



“WHAT’S IN THE WATER IN ILLINOIS?”
ETHICS AND REFORM SYMPOSIUM
ON ILLINOIS GOVERNMENT

Paul Simon Public Policy Institute

September 2012

Papers Originally Presented at the

Ethics and Reform Symposium on Illinois Government

September 27-28, 2012 - Union League Club, Chicago, Illinois

Sponsored by the Paul Simon Public Policy Institute, SIUC, the Joyce Foundation, and the
Union League Club of Chicago

FOREWARD

The Paul Simon Public Policy Institute is the late senator's living legacy. Housed on the campus of Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, it continues his lifelong passions for helping young people, civic engagement, promoting sound public policy and pressing for honesty and integrity in Illinois' governments.

As part of that mission, we convened a symposium on ethics and reform issues in Illinois at the Union League Club in Chicago on Sept. 26-27 to consider the issues surrounding public corruption and the poor ethical climate in the state.

The statistics are familiar to many. Two governors are in prison. Prosecutors say the state is the most corrupt in the nation. There are jokes on late night talk shows. And recently, I heard an NPR announcer do a lead-in to a story about the Dixon city clerk being indicted for embezzling over \$50 million by quipping how it was Illinois and was "no surprise."

There is evidence this turmoil hurts the state for economic development. What business wants to locate here if they have to pay to play? Earlier in 2012, Illinois lost a \$1.5 billion fertilizer plant to Iowa. The governor there said Illinois was in no position to keep its promises of tax breaks to attract business because the state is "dysfunctional." He added "you know how many governors have gone to prison?"

In a November 24, 2012 Forbes Magazine article about good states for business, staff writer William Baldwin said "Illinois is especially known for its dishonesty, whether among office holders (future license plate motto: Land of Corruption) or in the habit of under accounting for promises to government employees."

Great publicity, isn't it? Corruption and unethical behavior drives up the cost of government at a time when Illinois' finances are among the worst in the nation. This takes dollars away from badly needed programs and adds pressure to increase taxes.

So what do we do? In the past, many people have just laughed. "That's Illinois. That's the way business is done," they'd say.

The premise of our Chicago symposium was we can't laugh about this anymore. At the gathering, scholars and reformers came together to explore why Illinois has these problems and what the options are that might help. We brought the scholarly community together with reform leaders and policy makers to explore why we have so many ethical and corruption problems, discuss what has been done to try to correct the problems and focus on the options for doing something about them in the future.

We are grateful to our partners, the Joyce Foundation and the Union League Club, for supporting the symposium. Both are organizations with long histories of fighting to improve Illinois governance. The staff of the Institute - Matt Baughman, John Jackson, Charlie Leonard, Linda Baker, Emily Burke and Carol Greenlee did yeoman's work pulling together the meeting.

Like Paul Simon, many people in Illinois have spent much of their lives working to battle corruption and unethical behavior in the state. It's to them we dedicate these **Proceedings.**

David Yepsen

Director, Paul Simon Public Policy Institute

January 2013.

Introduction to the Proceedings

By: John S. Jackson

Visiting Professor, Paul Simon Public Policy Institute

This volume contains the Proceeding of the “What’s In The Water In Illinois?” Ethics and Reform Symposium on Illinois Government held in Chicago at the Union League Club on September 27 and 28, 2012. The symposium was sponsored jointly by the Paul Simon Public Policy Institute at Southern Illinois University Carbondale, the Joyce Foundation, and the Union League Club. It drew over 110 participants who included political activists, scholars, media representatives, and current and former public office holders.

The purpose of the symposium was to explore the widely recognized fact that Illinois politics and government have been plagued for decades with problems related to public corruption. The sad litany of former Illinois governors who have gone to prison, four out of the last seven, is the most prominent manifestation of that tradition. There are also dozens, even hundreds of other lower level office holders, Illinois legislators, Chicago City Council members, suburban officials and downstate county and local governmental officials who have also shared that disgrace. The state clearly has a problem, real and perceptual, in the area of ethics and holding officials to high standards. It also has a reform movement which has long advocated changes in the ways we do business in the Prairie State.

The rhetorical title, “What’s in the Water in Illinois” served as the backdrop for the two day discussion. This title succinctly summarizes the thesis that the Illinois political culture has developed in such a way as to support, encourage, or at least condone the kinds of ethical and legal lapses which lead public officials to abuse the public trust, bend and then break the law and ultimately wind up disgraced and in prison.

The scholarly treatment of this theory is the well-known political culture of the states and regions theory first propounded by the political scientist, Daniel Elazar. His thesis was that Illinois predominantly shared the “Individualistic” culture which emphasizes government and politics as a path to personal advancement and enrichment instead of what he called the “Moralistic” culture which stresses the common good and the public interest. Elazar ranked southern Illinois as sharing with the American South a marked proclivity for the “Traditionalistic” culture which emphasizes hierarchical social and political arrangements where the average person is supposed to defer to the authorities so order and traditional values can be maintained to the advantage of the privileged in society.

Elazar's work is well known and widely quoted in academic circles. It provided a conceptual foundation for several of the papers which were presented at the symposium. The organization of the symposium centered on several large topics under which the individual academic papers were grouped. A call for papers was developed and sent to various news media and scholarly organizations. Scholars and reform advocates were also solicited to provide paper proposals for the conference. A wide variety of proposals was received and from that initial pool, twelve papers were selected for presentation at the conference. Those papers make up the first section of this document. They have been edited for clarity and consistency of format, but in basic form the papers published here are as they were received by the Paul Simon Institute and presented at the symposium.

There was a second set of papers not selected for presentation at the symposium in Chicago but chosen for inclusion in this document. Those papers were of high quality and potentially interesting to a wider audience, but they did not fit the topics of the panels as well as those chosen for public presentation. **That group of papers is also included in the middle section of these Proceedings.**

The symposium opened on Thursday afternoon with a panel on reform which included a wide range of people who had been actively engaged in the political arena for years. The title of the panel, 'What Have Been the Problems in Illinois and How Should We Fix Them: Where Do We Go from Here?' succinctly summarizes the content of the panel. These public policy advocates included: Dr. Paul Green of Roosevelt University who was the moderator and the panelists were: Brian Gladstein, of the Illinois Campaign for Political Reform; Andy Shaw of the Better Government Association; Brad McMillan of the Center for Principled Leadership at Bradley University and Terry Pastika of the Citizen Advocacy Center. Not surprisingly given their background and long history in the reform movement, these panelists found much to be concerned about in the state's history of corruption, and they also advocated for a wide variety of possible policy changes which could address some of the problems. These panelists did not prepare and present formal papers; however, **their oral presentations are included via transcripts of the conference in the last section of these Proceedings.**

The afternoon panel was followed in the early evening by a presentation of a large amount of empirical data by Dr. Charles Leonard of Southern Illinois University Carbondale. Each year the Paul Simon Public Policy Institute conducts a statewide poll on public opinion in Illinois. This year the poll was conducted in early September and was focused on questions designed to tap the public's view of corruption in Illinois and levels of support for reform.

Dr. Leonard and his colleagues found the Illinois public shared a widespread perception that the state does indeed suffer from a history of corruption and there is a

need for higher ethical standards among public officials. The poll also showed that virtually every potential reform which has been discussed as a possible cure for some of our state's problems has at least majority support and many of the proposed reform measures have overwhelming levels of public support.

These findings were presented and stimulated a broad ranging discussion of the potential for reform in the state. **Leonard's paper is the first one published in the Proceedings.**

The next presentation of Thursday evening was by Natalie Wood and Peggy Kerns representatives of the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL). Their presentation was entitled, "Painting the National Landscape- A Portrait of State Ethics". They used their national perspective to recount what is happening with regard to corruption and reform in a variety of other states. **Their presentation was not presented in form of a paper; however, a transcript of their remarks is available in the last section of these Proceedings.**

On Friday, September 28th the first presentation of the day was made by Michael Josephson who is the Founder and President of the Josephson Institute. The Institute is a leading voice in the field of public education. They place a strong emphasis on the teaching of civic education and especially on training students in ethical behavior. Josephson offered many practical guidelines which centered on their Character Counts program. This program is focused on the socialization of young people using their six "Pillars of Character" which include: Trustworthiness, Respect, Responsibility, Fairness, Caring and Citizenship (TRRFCC). This program has been widely adopted in public and private schools throughout the United States. **A transcript of Mr. Josephson's address is provided in the last section for these Proceedings.**

The first panel on Friday morning, September 28th was moderated by Dr. Linda Renee Baker of the Paul Simon Institute. It included papers designed to set the stage for the rest of the conference by focusing attention on the history of corruption in Illinois and comparing Illinois to other states. The panel included Dr. Dick Simpson, a long-time activist in Chicago, a former member of the Chicago City Council and an academic political scientist. Dr. Simpson is the head of a team of researchers who have studied cases of public corruption brought to the federal court in the Northern District of Illinois over a period from 1976 to 2010. His team documented how the large number of cases of convictions for public corruption in that district court compared to others in the United States earned Illinois and the City of Chicago the doubtful distinction of containing one of the most corrupt and perhaps the most corrupt federal judicial districts in the nation. In addition, Illinois ranked third in the nation in per capita convictions for public corruption, exceeded only by Louisiana and the District of Columbia. That singular

finding then set the stage for much of the remainder of the discussion for the entire symposium.

Simpson's paper was followed by Dr. Jim Nowlan of the University of Illinois Urbana Champaign. Nowlan is a former state legislator and long-time leader in Illinois who has had practical experience spanning four decades as well as being a leading academic authority on Illinois politics and government. Nowlan's paper documented the extent of corruption in Illinois and pointed out that the problem has deep roots in the history and culture of the state. One of the most notable early cases of corruption in Illinois had a national impact. In 1909 William Lorimor and his supporters apparently bought a seat in the United States Senate for him. This was in the era when state legislators named U. S. Senators and Lorimor's supporters allegedly bribed enough members of the Illinois General Assembly to buy the seat. The ensuing scandal was so pronounced that Lorimor was later expelled from the Senate and this episode helped pass the 17th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution requiring a popular vote for election to the Senate. Nowlan recounts other colorful cases, including the Orville Hodge and the Paul Powell cases, entailing very high profile instances of corruption coming to light in Illinois. Nowlan also discussed his own practical experience from long years of service in Illinois. He closed with a literature review on how complex organizations and political cultures can be changed with public campaigns.

Dr. David Hamilton and Dr. Dwight Gard of Texas Tech University presented a paper entitled, "Politics in Small Town Illinois: Is It Similar to Chicago and Illinois State Government?" Their paper was centered on research they conducted on officials from small and medium sized towns and cities in Illinois outside Chicago. They were interested in whether these local officials had experienced situations where they were pressured to compromise their principles or break the law and how they reacted to such pressure. They also were questioned about the officials' perception of whether their situations were markedly different from those faced by officials in the City of Chicago. They found that the majority of local officials outside Chicago did not feel significant pressure to act unethically or break the law. They also saw their situation as being quite different from that faced by Chicago area officials.

Drs. Raymond Scheele, Joe Losco, and Steven Hall of Ball State University presented a paper entitled, "The Illinois Culture of Corruption and Comparisons with Indiana". The two Midwestern states of Illinois and Indiana are much alike on many dimensions; however, on the incidence of political corruption, Illinois seemed to lead on all the indicators. This team from Ball State provides some answers to the question of why Illinois should outstrip our neighbor to the east on these negative markers.

The next panel was moderated by Dr. John S. Jackson from the Paul Simon Public Policy Institute. This panel was entirely devoted to the issue of campaign finance

and attempts to regulate it. One of the major problems of modern American politics is the potentially corrupting influence of big money and its ever escalating presence in American campaigns. Whether or not there is a quid pro quo between the politician who needs campaign cash and the donors, usually large interest groups, who are eager to supply it is a perennial question. The participants in this exchange will insist that the interest groups only want “access” or a chance to make their case. The transformation of interest group preferences and lobbying activities into law is also a well- documented phenomenon in American politics. When these cases come to light they feed the already rampant level of public skepticism and cynicism in this country. These papers focused on these generic problems and especially on the role of the courts in laying down some constitutional markers in the field of campaign finance and regulation.

The first paper on this panel was from Dr. Michael Miller of the University of Illinois Springfield. Dr. Miller has done extensive research on campaign finance, and especially on the Clean Elections movement which advocates in favor of the public financing of state and local campaigns. Miller’s paper especially focused on the recent McComish decision where the Supreme Court effectively outlawed the addition of matching funds or more public money to those candidates who take public funding and then are faced with self-financing candidates who put large sums of personal money into their campaigns. In effect, the use of public funding to even the playing field appears to be outlawed by this holding. The case raises many important issues about where such public funding plans are going in light of the McComish decision.

Dr. Scott Comparato of Southern Illinois University Carbondale presented a paper entitled, “On the Challenges Facing State Supreme Courts: Campaign Finance, Judicial Speech, and the Appearance of Impartiality”. Comparato’s paper was focused on judicial races where the problem of big money being spent by interest groups with cases pending before the courts is becoming increasingly common. Two races, one in Illinois and one in West Virginia, have received much attention recently because of the amounts of money spent and the appearance of a conflict of interest on the part of major campaign donors. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of avoiding an appearance of a conflict of interest in the West Virginia case, Caperton vs. Massey, and Comparato thoroughly discussed that ruling and its import for judicial races in Illinois and elsewhere.

Dr. Timothy Krebs of the University of New Mexico and Fraser S. Turner of Loyola University Chicago presented the next paper entitled, “Campaign Finance Reform in Illinois: An Examination of the 2011 Chicago Mayoral Election”. The Krebs-Turner research examined campaign finance in the most recent Chicago Mayor’s election which was the first time there was effectively an open seat in decades. They took advantage of the “natural experiment” situation provided by the fact that the Illinois law on campaign finance, for the first time limiting donation amounts, came on line in

2011 approximately half way through the campaign. They were interested in whether the new law had the impact of expanding the number of donors and decreasing the size of the donations which are both objectives reformers usually seek. Their results indicated that the campaign finance reforms did succeed in limiting the size of the average campaign donation; however, it did not seem to have any impact on broadening the base of donations.

James Merriner is a writer and editor based in Chicago who has written extensively on Illinois politics including ethics and campaign finance reform. His book, The Man Who Emptied Death Row: Governor George Ryan and the Politics of Crime, was published by the SIU Press in 2008. Merriner's paper, "Undoing Reform; Personal PAC v. State Board of Elections", provides a history of the reformers' attempts to limit campaign finance through various regulatory rules. He says that all such reforms and limits on campaign donations are doomed to failure. This is true first because those who want to donate money and want to buy their way into political campaigns and thus access to politicians will always find a route to do so. In addition, he contends that all such limits run afoul of the free speech provisions of the First Amendment.

Dr. Richard Winters of Dartmouth provided the keynote address at noon. Dr. Winters's paper, "Unique or Typical; Political Corruption in Illinois", provided a careful and empirically based examination of "public integrity" cases prosecuted by the U. S. Department of Justice utilizing a national data base. He set out to examine systematically whether the rate of convictions for public corruption placed Illinois at the top of the list of most corrupt states, as is often claimed, or whether the institution of proper controls on the data would change that finding. His research indicated that because Illinois is a large state in population, and more importantly because Illinois has more units of state and local government, and thus more public officials, the finding of Illinois as an outlier in public corruption rates stands in need of serious qualification. In addition, consideration must be given to the type of party system in each state with Illinois marked by a traditional party organization form which emphasized patronage jobs and contracts to reward the faithful or materialistic motivations, as compared to more issue and ideologically oriented parties in many other states. Dr. Winters concludes that his data make him, "an agnostic" on this matter of Illinois' ranking on corruption and the basic causal factors involved, and his presentation at least raises serious questions about the research design necessary to compare the state's corruption rates with those in other states.

The last panel of the afternoon session entitled, "What is to be Done?" was moderated by Mike Lawrence, former Director of the Paul Simon Public Policy Institute, who had extensive experience in the practical aspects of reform. It was a panel designed for the practitioners, those who had been in the field and who had extensive experience in trying to change the state's history and image on corruption. The panel

included: Kent Redfield of the University of Illinois Springfield and Cindi Canary, currently the Chair of the City of Chicago Ethics Reform Task Force for the Mayor of Chicago and former Director of the Illinois Campaign for Political Reform. Their paper was entitled, "Lessons Learned: What the Success and Failures of Recent Reform Efforts Tell Us about the Prospects for Political Reform in Illinois." The paper was a thorough recounting of the history of reform efforts in the state told by two activists who have been deeply and intimately engaged in the reform movement for three decades. Their participant observation methodology and detailed documentation of what happened in each of the major movement efforts provided an in depth look at how the story unfolded in each case, who the major players were, and what was accomplished. Just as importantly, they then used the case studies to draw out of those experiences certain very basic principles for reformers to learn from and to follow if they are interested in effecting practical change in Illinois.

Dr. Robert Rich of the University of Illinois Urbana Champaign presented a paper entitled, "Public Learning: Transforming Beliefs and Attitudes". His paper set a conceptual foundation dealing with the complexities of political culture, how the culture is learned through being transmitted from individual to individual and generation to generation, and how it is changed over time. He examined the complex question of how to change human behavior especially as it is influenced by the shared norms and mores of a society. Rich presented case studies of dramatic change in cultural norms which have occurred recently, i.e. the change in mass attitudes regarding smoking and the dangers of second-hand smoke, the federal government's role in education about and treatment of AIDS, and the early 20th Century mass experiment in Prohibition which was passed as the 18th Amendment (1919) and then repealed with the 21st Amendment (1933). From these cases Dr. Rich draws some important lessons for change which are relevant for the reform community today.

While they did not write a formal paper for the conference, Natalie Wood and Peggy Kerns of the National Conference of State Legislatures and Chris Mooney of the University of Illinois Springfield made important contributions to this panel and to the program. Wood and Kerns, on behalf of the NCSL made a formal presentation on Thursday evening and they followed that up with participation on this panel. Using the national vantage point which is afforded to them by their service with the NCSL, they were able to provide detailed updates on what other states are doing and they were adept at placing the Illinois situation into the larger national context. Chris Mooney also specializes in comparative state government and brought some of this same perspective to his panel contributions.

The symposium then ended with concluding remarks by David Yepsen, Director of the Paul Simon Public Policy Institute and David Kohn of the Union League Club. Both drew out the major lessons learned from the panels and from the exchange of

ideas. Both emphasized the need for much continued work toward a shared goal of changing the pathological elements of the Illinois political culture and increasing the role of ethics in our state.

The Post Symposium Proceedings Papers

There were also papers nominated to the symposium which were not included in the panels. These papers were not as close a fit to the specific topic of each panel, but they fitted the overall theme and each contained important points related to the major themes of the meeting. Thus the following papers were included in the Proceedings even though they were not actually presented at the Chicago panels.

1. Ryan Burge, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, "The Effect of Religion and Demographics on Support of Reform Proposals".

Burge is a recent Ph.D. graduate from the Department of Political Science at SIUC and currently teaches at Eastern Illinois University. Burge's paper takes up the question of the relationship between the various reform movements and the religious community. He points out how there is a long and venerable tradition in this country of the major mainstream religious groups taking a leading role in trying to improve the moral climate of the country. This has included, for example, the non-violent and pacifist tenants of the Quaker movement, the role of the religious community in the abolitionist movement to free the slaves, the temperance movement, and the black church's role in helping pass civil rights legislation

Burge then posed the research question of whether identifiable religious groups take any notably different positions on current reform issues compared to their neighbors. He presented empirical data from the Paul Simon Public Policy Institute's 2011 statewide survey of registered voters. The dependent variables were support for a variety of concrete public policy changes which are generally associated with the reform movement in Illinois. The independent variables were section of the state the respondents lived in, age, education, party identification, support for the Tea Party, attendance record for church services, interpretation of the Bible, and religious group identification. Burge found fairly high levels of support for almost all the proposed reforms and thus the various hypothesized causal variables failed to reach statistically significant correlation levels. The major exception on the religious identification front was for Black Protestants who expressed lower levels of support for reforms than others; however, the author speculated that this finding may be more a function of the respondents being predominantly from Chicago than of their religious values. Ultimately there is no

reform movement or reform ethic clearly being supported by the identifiable religious groups included in the study.

2. Earl Hopewell, CPA, Chicago, "Investigating the Invested Employee: The other side of the fraud equation within the State of Illinois".

Earl Hopewell is a CPA from Chicago who recounts a case study which he was personally and professionally involved with. He did a forensic audit of a Chicago company, R. J. Dale, which was the successful bidder on a very large contract to do marketing work for the Illinois State Lottery. He noted that with the long and widely recognized history of corruption in Illinois, it was all too easy to get caught up in charges of potential scandal which is what happened to this company. As a relatively small minority owned company which came under suspicion, it was hard for this company to defend itself once the charges of corruption in the attaining of the original contract were lodged. In Hopewell's view, certain state employees, ones he termed "the Invested Employees," in the relevant state agencies were responsible for a major part of the creation of the charges against the private company. Once the media got going on the narrative, it was impossible to change it in spite of the fact that the company was ultimately cleared of any wrong-doing. Hopewell offered some suggestions about how this problem can be avoided in the future.

3. Chang Sup Park, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, "How the Media Frame Political Corruption: Episodic and Thematic Frame Stories Found in Illinois Newspapers".

Chang Sup Park is a Ph.D. candidate in the School of Mass Communications and Media Arts at SIUC. He examined the historic role of the mass media in exposing public corruption and in treating it as a news story. He adopted the theoretical concept of the role of the media in the "framing" of the content of the news. That is, how do they tell the story and how does this particular story fit into larger narrative constructs which the public already carry in their minds? He posited that there were two frames for corruption stories. One is the "episodic" frame, i.e. the problem only occurs occasionally and is the reflection of the failures of one individual gone wrong. The other is the "thematic" frame which looks at the larger context and seeks social, economic and political system level explanations for the corruption. This would include the "political culture" theme which is utilized in several of the papers presented at this symposium.

Park then did a ten year data collection based on a content analysis of all the stories dealing with public corruption published in the Chicago Tribune from July 1, 2001 through June 30, 2011. This search yielded a very large data set of 5,362 articles which fit the criteria. He found that episodic framing occurred much more frequently than thematic framing. This is important because this kind of news coverage suggests that the explanation for public corruption in Illinois is much more attributable to a few individuals deciding to break the law rather than attributing any share of the blame to the political, economic or social system. In other words under episodic framing sending Rod Blagojevich (or George Ryan) to prison should solve the problem, but of course, it does not.

4. Maya Pillai, University of Chicago and South Asian American Policy and Research Institute, Chicago, "Social Capital in Illinois: Potential and Pitfalls".

Maya Pillai is a research assistant at the University of Chicago. She wrote on behalf of the South Asian ethnic community in Chicago and Illinois. She pointed out that this community, like all ethnic groups who migrate to the United States, faces profound challenges to their assimilation into the larger culture. In addition, if they want to be assimilated or even acculturated, they face the issue of whether to adopt some of the less desirable elements of the dominant culture. If one of the political culture norms is tolerance for corruption, then the ethnic group faces the issue of whether to try to play the game and benefit from the largess of the power structure, or refuse to play and risk being marginal or powerless in the larger system.

Pillai utilized the central concept of "Social Capital" which was first made popular by Robert Putnam's famous book, Bowling Alone. She assessed the question of how much social capital the South Asian community had in Chicago and in Illinois and how they might use their social capital to create an ethic of good citizenship and community involvement. She also reviewed cases where major figures prominently identified with the South Asian community had gotten caught up in political scandal. She concluded by recommending that reformers give attention to the South Asian community and other ethnic groups in their attempt to find allies in their fight against public corruption.

5. Lilliard E. Richardson, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis "Political Corruption and Its Effects on Civic Involvement".

Professor Richardson of Indiana University- Purdue University Indianapolis wrote an ambitious paper on the relationships between the level of corruption in the states and various forms of political participation and the level of political distrust. He began with a conceptual framework exploring why these were important topics in light of the theories of mass democracy which posit that democracy rests on a foundation of popular participation, civic trust, and the integrity of the governors. Richardson then combined two large national studies to analyze the correlations between the major concepts and the empirical indicators available in those surveys. He hypothesized that high levels of governmental corruption would be associated with low levels of trust in government and low levels of political participation. He used data from the U. S. Department of Justice studies of convictions per capita in the states for the independent variable. This was the same data set used in the Dick Simpson and the Richard Winters papers included in the panels. Data from the Cooperative Congressional Election Survey (CCES) were used to provide the dependent variables of political distrust and various specific indicators of mass political participation. Data were taken from both the 2008 presidential election and the 2010 midterm congressional elections for this phase of the study.

In general Richardson found much empirical support for the hypotheses. Using multiple regression techniques the author found many significant correlations between the independent variable of public corruption, as measured by the Department of Justice statistics and the dependent variables of political trust and political participation. In general too, minorities, females, the less educated and those with lower income could be expected to have lower levels of trust and participation. Also strong partisans and those who had lived in the community were higher on the dependent variables. Richardson concludes with a discussion of what these findings mean for the operation of a mass democracy and especially for the conduct of politics in those states with demonstrably high levels of public corruption.

6. Dante Scala, University of New Hampshire, "Toward a Typology of Super PACs".

Dr. Dante Scala, a political scientist at the University of New Hampshire, took on the very timely topic of Super PACs in this paper which was originally delivered at the Midwest Political Science Association meeting in April of 2012 in Chicago. Super PACs have experienced explosive growth in money raising and political clout just since the mid-term elections of 2010. They threatened to be even more important and influential in the presidential and congressional elections of 2012. The Supreme Court's 2010 ruling in the famous Citizens United case make the

Super PACs potentially an even greater influence in American campaigns and in the way the government does policy making in the future.

Super PACs, like Karl Rove's American Crossroads, The Club for Growth, and America's Families First Action Fund, have experienced great growth recently. Scala explored their record in the 2010 elections and made a number of interesting discoveries about their expenditure patterns. For instance, some of these PACs, e.g. the three noted above, are major national players with a reach that covers competitive races in a variety of states. Others are just local groups with a mission to help only one candidate, e.g. the PAC (The "Ending Spending Fund") created to assist only Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid in his 2010 re-election campaign in Nevada or Senator Lisa Murkowski's "Alaskans Standing Together" designed only to assist her re-election bid in Alaska. Obviously, the major national groups will have a much larger and more important national impact than these purely localized groups did. Karl Rove's group is so strong and rich they virtually rival the Republican National Committee in terms of influence and amounts of money they have to invest in their favored candidates according to Scala's analysis.

7. Leah Williams, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, "How Rod Blagojevich Manipulated the Media Before, During and After His Federal Trials".

Leah Williams is a graduate student in Journalism at Southern Illinois University Carbondale. She was attracted to the story of Rod Blagojevich and analyzed it from a journalistic perspective. It was one of the major news stories in Illinois for two years as his arrest, impeachment and removal from office, federal trial, and subsequent sentencing to a long prison term unfolded. As her title indicates, she found that Blagojevich was a major mover and manipulator, first in the state's media, and later in the national media, during the entire period when his saga was unfolding. One might well conclude that Blagojevich had a Narcissistic personality and his constant desire to be in the spotlight does seem to explain at least a part of his actions. However, if Williams is correct, he may also have calculated that his media antics could perhaps influence the jury pool and help him sell his "man of the people just being persecuted by the powers that be" narrative. That seemed at least to be the one thread of consistency in a highly erratic and often seemingly irrational pattern of behavior which Blagojevich exhibited during his arrest, trial and sentencing. Ultimately the strategy failed, but Williams' narrative places the Blagojevich case in a much larger context. It is one that reformers will want to consider carefully as they study the role of the mass media in any reform effort.

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1. Michael Josephson, Founder and President, The Josephson Institute of Ethics, "The Problems of Ethics in Government."
2. Peggy Kerns and Natalie Wood, Center for Ethics in Government, "National Conference of State Legislatures Presentation."
3. Paul Green, Roosevelt University; Brian Gladstein, Illinois Campaign for Political Reform; Andy Shaw, Better Government Association; Brad McMillan, Center for Principled Leadership; Terry Pastika, Citizen Advocacy;, Panel 1 – "What Have Been the Problems in Illinois and How Should We Fix Them: Where Do We Go From Here?"
4. Linda Baker, Paul Simon Public Policy Institute; Dick Simpson, University of Illinois-Chicago; Richard Winters, Dartmouth College; Jim Nowlan, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign; David Hamilton and Dwight Gard; Texas Tech University; Raymond Scheele and Joe Losco, Ball State University;, Panel 2 – "Academic Papers and Discussion."
5. John S. Jackson, Paul Simon Public Policy Institute; Michael Miller, University of Illinois-Springfield; Scott Comparato, Southern Illinois University Carbondale; Timothy Krebs, University of New Mexico; Fraser S. Turner, Loyola University-Chicago; James Merriner, writer and editor;, Panel 3- "Academic Papers Discussion Continued."
6. Mike Lawrence, retired director Paul Simon Public Policy Institute; Kent Redfield, University of Illinois-Springfield; Cindi Canary, Chair of City of Chicago Ethics

Reform Task Force and Former Director of the Illinois Campaign for Political Reform; Robert F. Rich, University of Illinois – Urbana-Champaign; Natalie Wood and Peggy Kerns, National Conference of State Legislatures; Chris Mooney, University of Illinois-Springfield; Panel 4 – “The Policy Change Panel: What is to be Done?”