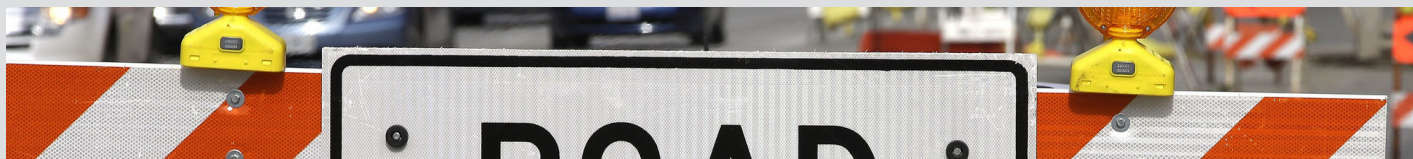
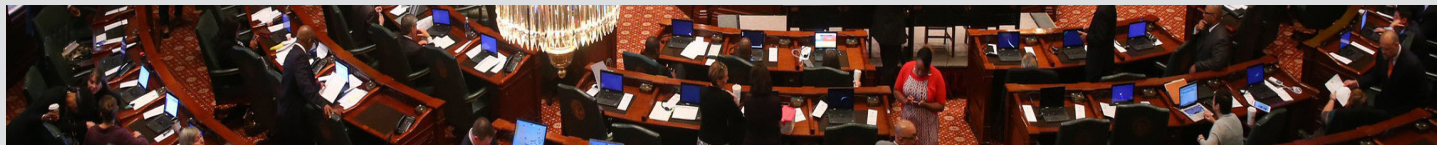


Illinois General Assembly



Model United Nations at Illinois XXII

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Letter from the Director

Dear Delegates,

Welcome to the Illinois General Assembly! My name is Max Weiss and I'm the director of the Illinois General Assembly. I am from Buffalo Grove, Illinois where I attended Stevenson High School. Here at the University of Illinois, I am a freshman currently majoring in Political Science and I intend to double major in Communications and add a Public Relations minor.

Over the past two years, I have learned to love politics in the State of Illinois. I interned for my local State Rep in the summer of 2015,2 where I got to do a lot of research on the state budget and how cuts affected our district. From there, I was hired to work on her campaign in Summer 2016 where I walked door to door listening to the problems and ideas of constituents. I also ran social media and communications for the campaign.

I really like the way this committee is shaping up so far. For me, State and Local politics are so much more interesting, and frankly more important, than national and presidential politics. I live by the famous quote of former Speaker of the House Tip O'neill. He said, "all politics is local". So, have fun researching, and I am very interested to see your solutions to the budget crisis, because so far, the professional politicians in Springfield can't seem to get anything done. Good luck, have fun, and let's have a great weekend!

Max Weiss

Director of the Illinois General Assembly

Letter from the Chair

Hello delegates!

My name is Will Armiros and I am a sophomore studying computer engineering with a minor in business here at the University of Illinois. I grew up in the Northern Suburbs of Chicago where I attended New Trier High School. Outside of Model UN, I am very involved in other organizations on campus like my fraternity and an engineering club devoted to building and racing drones.

I have been doing Model UN since my sophomore year in high school and this is my second time chairing at MUNI. I was a delegate at MUNI twice during high school and have consistently noticed the superior level of creativity and resolve MUNI delegates bring to each committee session year after year. This year I hope to see particularly passionate debate in our committee since the topic literally hits close to home. As some of you are future attendees of Illinois' public institutions of higher education and even more simply live within the state of Illinois, the impasse of the state's legislature is a deeply pressing matter with direct impact on countless lives. Furthermore, this committee will be a crisis GA meaning it will require all the stamina and cooperation of a traditional GA while incorporating the spontaneous and pressing updates of a smaller crisis committee. Keep all this in mind as you prepare, and I look forward to meeting you all at MUNI XXII!

William Armiros

Chair of the Illinois General Assembly

The Illinois General Assembly

Many of you are familiar with Congress, composed of the House of Representatives and the Senate. Illinois also has a bicameral system, where the House is referred to as the General Assembly, and the Senate, well, is called the Senate. The General Assembly and the Senate have equal powers on almost all matters and all bills must go through both Houses. The General Assembly has 118 members as of this writing, 67 Democrats, and 51 Republicans. The current Speaker of the House is Democrat Michael J. Madigan. You should become familiar with Speaker Madigan through your research. Speaker Madigan is responsible for assigning committee chairs and majority members to each committee. Committee positions come with an additional stipend for legislators, and therefore are highly coveted. Legislators receive these stipends even when the committee does little or no work on pending legislation. By controlling the members of the committees, Speaker Madigan in effect controls what bills will wind up being introduced and passed on the House floor. When bills are introduced in the General Assembly, they are referred to the Rules Committee for assignment to the relevant committee for further action. By controlling the committee memberships, Speaker Madigan also controls what bills will pass out of the Rules Committee and what will happen with each bill. If a bill is controversial or goes against the Speaker's agenda, those bills will remain in the Rules Committee or be re-referred to the Rules Committee, signaling the demise of the bill. As you can see, the Speaker has strong control over what happens in the General Assembly.

Rules and Procedures for the Illinois General Assembly

Conduct of the Representatives

The chairs, crisis staff, and directors have all put in a lot of work to make this a successful conference. All delegates should address this conference, committee, and fellow Representatives with respect and proper comportment. Be courteous to others and use common sense and there should be no problems.

Position Papers

This committee requires two position papers, one for each topic. Please submit them to the appropriate personnel **AT LEAST TWO WEEKS PRIOR** to the conference. Papers submitted on time will be favored, while failure to submit a paper at all may jeopardize your chance of receiving an award. Each paper should be single-spaced, Times New Roman, 12 pt. font, and about one page in length. Please cite using MLA formatting.

Procedures and Rules

The goal of MUNI is simple: make things as real as possible. So, for the Illinois General Assembly, we are going to spice things up a bit to achieve this goal by making it a crisis style General Assembly. Please read this next part thoroughly and don't hesitate to ask questions.

To start off, vetoes are possible. The Governor will make statements on bills (we will refer to resolutions as bills and laws, and they can be written in the same format as a UN resolution) as to whether he intends to sign them, veto the entire bill, or line item veto the bill. The committee may make amendments to meet the Governor's demands if they so wish. Thus, voting procedure will happen several times throughout committee, and not just on Sunday morning as is typical for a GA. When a bill is submitted, Representatives will read it, have a short moderated caucus and Q+A, then vote. Bills require a simple majority to pass, and a 3/5 vote to override a veto by the Governor. Sponsorship and signatory requirements will be decided following quorum. Pre-writing of any sort is not allowed and will disqualify one from winning an award. Still, come to the committee with ideas, but no clauses may be written prior to the conference.

Bills must designate a source of revenue, specific rates for taxes if an increase or decrease is proposed, and clearly lay out plans. Holes in resolutions may lead to problems later, as the committee's path will be based on resolutions passed.

Delegate Powers

Please remember that this is a Crisis GA, not a crisis cabinet or something many of you may be used to. Representatives have no personal powers to make laws or regulations as they might in normal crisis. Representatives will have the following powers and abilities through notes:

- Release a press release to one's district on an issue, outlining their planned intentions of voting on a bill or taking an official policy stance. Representatives are expected to follow the stance established in their statements and failure to do so may have consequences, positive or negative. Speaker's staff and or GOP Staff may offer advice on press releases, but the Representative can accept or decline that advice. To see how a press release is written, see this example¹.
- You will be divided up into one of three caucuses: progressive, moderate, and conservative. These are not real caucuses in Springfield, but for the purpose of this committee, we are dividing you up as such. Caucuses can submit notes to crisis staff establishing a position of the caucus. This requires 50% +1 of the caucus members to sign on as sponsors and members can indicate dissent or abstention from this position in the note. This will be made public to all members of the General Assembly.
- Representatives can inform the Speaker or Republican Leadership of their intentions on bills that differ from their statements to the district or caucus notes. These are short notes and should only be used when a vote is very different than what would be expected from previous statements.

Representatives should keep in mind that this is primarily a General Assembly with crisis elements. So, please make the most of your crisis notes. We will favor quality over quantity.

As I briefly mentioned, there are caucuses. The members of the caucus and their districts are listed below in no particular order.

Progressive Caucus Members		Moderate Caucus Members		Conservative Caucus Members	
Daniel Burke	1st	Sara Feigenholz	12th	Jeanne Ives	42nd
Theresa Mah	2nd	Laura Fine	17th	Peter Breen	48th
Luis Arroyo	3rd	Robyn Gabel	18th	Nick Sauer	51st
Cynthia Soto	4th	Michael Zalewski	23rd	David McSweeney	52nd
Juliana Stratton	5th	Elizabeth Hernandez	24th	Thomas Morrison	54th
Sonya Harper	6th	Anna Moeller	43rd	Sheri Jesiel	61st
Chris Welch	7th	Fred Crespo	44th	Barbara Wheeler	64th
LaShawn Ford	8th	Deborah Conroy	46th	John Cabello	68th
Arthur Turner II	9th	Martin Moylan	55th	Robert Pritchard	70th
Melissa Conyears	10th	Michelle Mussman	56th	Jerry Long	76th
Ann Williams	11th	Elaine Nekritz	57th	Lindsay Parkhurst	79th
Greg Harris	13th	Scott Drury	58th	Tom Demmer	90th
Kelly Cassidy	14th	Carol Sente	59th	Bill Mitchell	101st
John D'Amico	15th	Sam Yingling	62nd	Chad Hays	104th
Lou Lang	16th	Kathleen Willis	77th	Dan Brady	105th
Robert Martwick	19th	Stephanie Kifowit	84th	David Reis	109th
Barbara Flynn Currie	25th	Brandon Phelps	118th	Charles Meier	108th
Christian Michael	26th	Michael McAullife	20th	Thomas Bennett	106th

Justin Slaughter	27th	Grant Wehrli	41st		
Robert Rita	28th	Avery Bourne	95th		
Thaddeus Jones	29th	Sarah Wojcicki Jimenez	99th		
William Davis	30th				
Kelly Burke	36th				
Will Guzzardi	39th				
Rita Mayfield	60th				
Carol Ammons	103rd				

In general, caucuses are homogenous in their members' positions. This holds true except for the moderate caucus, which is made up of both Democrats and Republicans and thus has significant differences in policy position. However, all take a balanced approach on the issues. You are expected to research your specific representative's views on the topics and follow those views. Representatives are required to remain on policy. Crisis staff may redirect discussions to help Representatives stay on policy if they deviate too much from a Representative's actual policy. The Director and Chair will go over procedure at the beginning of committee, but please do not hesitate to ask us questions throughout the process.

Topic I: The Budget Crisis in Higher Education

Disclaimer: Even if a budget is reached in real life, we will go under the premise that there is no budget.

History

Illinois is a bastion of high quality higher education. The state boasts of eleven public institutions which include Chicago State University, Governors State University, Northern Illinois University, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale, Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville, Eastern Illinois University, Western Illinois University, and Illinois State University. Along with those, there is the flagship system, which includes the University of Illinois Springfield, the University of Illinois at Chicago, and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign². These universities all operate on a combination of State funding, tuition, Federal and private grants, and to a lesser extent, local taxes. The State Treasurer's office requires a budget to know how much funding to allocate to each program and university. Failure to reach a full budget for higher education means that no or only partial monies can be paid to the universities. Thus, Illinois finds itself in its current situation of inadequate State funding for higher education.

Current Situation

The higher education system in Illinois is not stable. Since July 1st, 2015, Illinois has failed to provide a full appropriation of revenues to the 11 universities. Although the lack of funding has affected all public universities, some have been hit harder than others. Furthermore, Moody's credit rating agency has downgraded six of Illinois' universities due to the lack of state funding.³ This means that bonds held by those universities are riskier because the universities are less able to repay the bondholders investments. In addition, almost every university has had to lay off personnel, including teachers, educators, maintenance staff, and other "non-essential" staff members.

Chicago State University

Chicago State University is a four-year institution of higher education located within the City of Chicago. It serves 4,500 students of mainly minority and low-income status. In the budget submitted by the Governor for FY16, Chicago State would receive \$27,059,000 from the State, down from \$39,074,000 in FY15, which is even less than the FY14 appropriation. This represents a cut of approximately 31%. That funding gap would need to be filled in another way, whether through massive cuts to the operating budget, more layoffs, or increased tuition. With the failure of the General Assembly to pass a budget for FY16, Chicago State received no State funding until the stopgap budget was passed on June 30th, 2016. The stopgap budget appropriated \$12,590,000 for the year, which amounts to about 70% funding of FY15 levels.⁴ The Governor vetoed a higher education budget passed by the House and Senate that appropriated \$33,512,000 for FY15, arguing that "Senate Bill 2046 is an empty promise. The bill purports to

appropriate \$3.89 billion, including more than \$3 billion in general funds that the State does not have, for higher education and social service providers, but provides no source of funding. Students, universities, community colleges, social service agencies, and our most vulnerable residents need real solutions and real funding, which Senate Bill 2046 does not provide.”⁵ Senate President John Cullerton opposed the veto saying “It’s disappointing that the governor chose to veto the entire proposal.” Other agencies, such as SEIU Healthcare and the AFL-CIO of Illinois lambasted the veto. SEIU Healthcare stated, “The governor’s veto of Senate Bill 2046 is more evidence this governor wishes to continue the hostage situation he has caused in Illinois. He has spent recent days blaming everyone but himself for holding up a budget until he gets his union-busting demands that have nothing to do with saving taxpayer dollars and everything to do with weakening rights and protections for Illinois’ working families and driving down wages and benefits for ALL workers.” According to the AFL-CIO, “Gov. Rauner has shown, once again, that he puts politics above people.”⁶

As mentioned earlier, Chicago State serves predominantly minority and low-income students from the City of Chicago. Over 80% of Chicago State students receive Federal Pell Grants, which are awarded only to low-income students. Historically, minority and low-income students face additional hurdles when enrolling in college, from funding to lack of information about what they need to succeed in college to less than top quality educational programs. When faced with funding cuts to schools like Chicago State, the only option available for many of these students is to drop out of college. Marybeth Gasman, director of the Penn Center for Minority Serving Institutions, has wondered whether states are further impacting institutions serving primarily minority or low-income students by passing up on research grants and funding. This leaves research at these universities at historically low levels, but also disproportionately hurts students who can directly benefit from research grants.

In the end, the lack of a State budget has led to massive cuts in services, staff, and pay. Chicago State has laid off a full third of its staff, including professors, clerical workers, and student support staff. It has also put all 800 employees on notice that their jobs may be in jeopardy if full funding does not come through. Due to the crisis, the Higher Learning Commission, which decides on accreditation for universities, has placed Chicago State on notice that it is at risk of losing their accreditation.⁷ Losing accreditation would prohibit students from using Federal loans or grants at Chicago State. The Chicago Tribune reports that “officials are drawing up plans in case money dries up in [March 2017]. Faculty may be asked to work without pay so students can finish the semester. Some of the 800 staff may get laid off, and services will be cut.” At the end of the day “there is potential for [the] University to shut down”⁸

Flagship Universities

The State of Illinois designates the University of Illinois System (Chicago-Springfield-Urbana-Champaign) as its flagship system, meaning it receives the most money, highest quality of education, and bears a premier name. These universities rely far

less on State monies for their operating budget than other State universities. To be sure, there have been negative effects, but not to the extent of universities like Chicago State. The University of Illinois System was slated to receive \$458,497,000 in FY16, down from \$667,455,000 in FY15 and FY14. This represents a cut of 31.3%. The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign receives about 15% of its total money from the State. Most of the money comes from tuition payments, federal grants, and university donors. Across the board, Illinois universities only get about 30% of their overall funding from tuition, which is lower than the national average⁹.

The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign has weathered the storm the best, with few cuts in professors and limited cuts in academic staff overall. However, areas affected are often those departments with lower income students and lower budgets. For example, the News-Gazette reports that nearly all cuts have been in the college of Liberal Arts and Sciences (LAS). This includes cuts in the math, history, and actuarial science departments. The history department is currently without professors in “Civil War and Lincoln, Native American History, Women’s History, and Military History.” The math department now has “small classes with 60 students” and some courses meant for 70 or 80 students now have 200. The actuarial science department has been unable to replace a faculty member in predictive analytics, a budding field that puts students into higher qualified jobs. Hiring has been frozen, and renovations across campus have been delayed.¹⁰ Furthermore, specific renovations that have been cut include planned renovations for Altgeld Hall (Mathematics Building). In Illini Hall, classrooms had to be shut down due to black mold and office renovations for graduate students in Coble Hall had to be put on hold mid-process. Furthermore, attempts to add another large lecture hall to Altgeld has been put on hold, causing students to be crammed into a lecture hall “full of chairs with broken desktops”. This does not mean all is bad though. The engineering school has far more resources, allowing them to complete the new Electrical and Computer Engineering building and continue renovations of Everett Laboratory in the North Quad. The main issue seems to be a lack of funding for Liberal Arts and Sciences, whereas the Colleges of Business, Agricultural, Consumer, and Environmental Sciences (ACES), and Engineering all have adequate funding for renovations and programs and have faced minimal cuts.

MAP Grants

Monetary Award Program (MAP) Grants are direct monies given to lower income students to help them attend college. In the Governor’s proposed FY16 budget, there was no cut in MAP grants; however, the Governor has repeatedly attempted to cut MAP grants out of future budgets and has vetoed standalone bills for MAP grants, including SB2043, which would have provided full funding for MAP grants to over 130,000 students. In his veto message, the Governor said he vetoed it because it was the same levels of funding proposed in an “unbalanced budget” passed by the Democrats last year, which he also vetoed.

The future of MAP grants is unknown. With the Governor and Republicans being largely opposed to their continued funding, and Democrats being unable to override a veto of bills, MAP grants are likely to be cut in the future. The Governor's actions have indicated that he does not plan to support future funding for MAP grants, despite their necessity for lower income students. The Democrats have pushed for MAP grants in budgets, with Treasurer Michael Frerichs slamming Rauner's veto of SB2043 by saying "last year, we made a promise to 130,000 students and their families that we would help pay for college so they could achieve a better life. I don't know when it became fashionable to not honor a promise."¹¹ MAP grants have become a fairly partisan issue, with only a handful of Democrats opposing the funding of MAP grants, mainly those coming from wealthy districts where students do not depend on MAP grants. Per the Illinois Student Assistance Commission, the agency responsible for allocating MAP grants, the Representatives whose district depended the most on MAP grants were the 2nd legislative district, currently represented by Theresa Mah, and the least dependent district was the 58th legislative district, represented by Scott Drury¹².

MAP grants are often a lifeline to low-income students and minorities and are the main reason they can even go to college. Per 2015 Illinois Student Assistance Commission data, 62% of MAP grant recipients are female, 56% have no other means of paying for college, the average MAP grant recipient family is only \$2,000 above the Federal poverty line for a family of 4, and MAP grant families are an average of 3.4 people, which is 1.2 higher than the state average. Furthermore, in FY2000 (which is unfortunately the last time racial data was published) 63% of African Americans at a public university were on MAP grants, compared to 24% for whites and 37% for Asians and 48% for Hispanics. Furthermore, in FY15, \$153,255,176 in MAP grant money went to students who attended public four-year schools, with the University of Illinois at Chicago receiving the most monies, followed by University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and Northern Illinois University, with the University of Illinois Springfield receiving the least. Also, \$148,237,916 was paid out to private nonprofit universities in FY15, with DePaul University being the biggest recipient in that category. Private, for-profit schools also received over \$12 Million dollars in MAP grant money, with DeVry University being the biggest recipient, with over \$4.5 Million dollars awarded in money, which is down from \$11 million in FY10. In all, \$357,158,718 in MAP grants were awarded to 128,399 students in FY15.

As mentioned above, private, for-profit schools are eligible to receive MAP grant money, although the educational value of those schools has been debated. The New York Times reported that the Federal Trade Commission will receive \$100M from DeVry University for "falsely advertising the success of its graduates." Several claims made by DeVry, such as students graduating from DeVry receive 15% more money than students from other universities and that 90% of graduates had jobs in their field within six months of graduation, were false. Also, because of the settlement, policies have been put in place to prevent future false advertisements. This follows a string of lawsuits and scandals involving for-profit colleges. The New Yorker reported that the Department of

Defense will no longer allow students on GI bill aid to attend the University of Phoenix, a for-profit school. Studies by Harvard Professors showed that graduates from for-profit schools are more likely to end up unemployed than graduates from other universities and that 96% of students at for-profit schools take out loans, averaging over \$40,000, much higher than students at other types of colleges. Furthermore, Corinthian Colleges (operator of Everest College) was found to have lied about job placement rates over a thousand times. Unsurprisingly, a “2010 undercover government investigation of fifteen for-profit colleges found that all fifteen made ‘deceptive or otherwise questionable statements’” to graduates. The State continues to allow students to use MAP grant money at accredited for-profit schools. Up until 2015, Everest College was accredited, despite its false claims, and thus students would have been able to use MAP grants there.

Possible Solutions

Any solution likely will require two things: cuts and revenue (AKA a tax increase). The issue becomes the willingness of the Representatives to make either of these moves. Cuts to higher education are extremely unpopular, which has led to protests across the State by students, including a notable protest at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign that forced the Governor to end an event early. Obviously, raising taxes is equally unpopular, and Representatives often worry that voting to raise taxes will cause them to lose re-election, especially among many suburban Democrats. Thus, the solution is not clear, but there are several routes that could be taken. These include pension reform for universities, staff cuts, administrator pay cuts, ending the MAP grant program as the Governor has proposed, and, consolidating universities. It is obvious that none of these solutions are great ones, but it is your task to figure out better ways to solve the higher education budget and come up with funding levels for the following year.

Caucus Positions

When it comes to the three caucuses--progressive, moderate, and conservative--the positions on higher education are quite clear. The Progressive Caucus overwhelmingly favors revenues, rather than cuts. A leader on higher education for the Progressive Caucus has been State Rep Carol Ammons (D-103) given that the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign is in her district. She has said that revenues, as well as “cuts at the top” are preferred, meaning that corporate taxes should be raised and other taxes should be levied on the wealthiest Illinoisans.

The Moderate Caucus has taken a very middle ground approach. Most of them have avoided calling for revenue, as it would endanger their seats. Some Reps have never voted for a tax increase, such as State Reps. Carol Sente and Scott Drury, two vulnerable suburban Democrats. It is unlikely this caucus would take a firm stance for either cuts or revenue and would wait to see which one is more likely to pass before committing to one. They have also spearheaded many working groups to try and solve the budget outside of leadership with limited success. The Moderate Caucus will likely come up with a solution

that cuts both at the top and bottom while favoring an income tax levy, rather than hurting businesses through a corporate tax levy.

Meanwhile, the Conservative Caucus has remained firm that cuts are the way to go. Many supported the original budget proposed by the Governor that would cut University funding by around 31% and have opposed funding MAP grants. Rep Tom Morrison (R-54) has said that we should be looking at the “cost drivers” of college rather than MAP grants. These reps are overwhelmingly opposed to revenues, declaring them bad for business. This group would likely favor pension reform, worker’s compensation reform, and “good government” reforms such as term limits and property tax freezes in return for a vote on revenues.

Questions a Resolution Must Answer

1. Where should money be raised and/or cut to fund higher education?
2. What is the future of MAP grants? Should they be kept, cut, or reformed?
3. How can state aid to different types of universities, including for-profit schools, be reformed?

Topic 2: The Budget Crisis and needed reforms in Social Services

History

Illinois has a troubled history of caring for its most vulnerable citizens. On and off payments for social services, frequent lack of oversight, and an overall apathetic attitude has caused the state to be ranked one of the worst in the nation for social services care. Illinois often relies on outside contractors to provide vital social service needs. This means the state signs a contract, pays the firm, and then the firm provides the requisite care. There have been issues with these contractors that have been further exacerbated due to inadequate oversight and lack of funding. Overall, much like higher education, there are severe problems, however, with social services, the results can lead to far worse things than not being able to attend college.

Current Situation

Across the board, social services in Illinois are facing situations never before seen. While some social service agencies have been receiving money due to court orders, these rulings have been rare, so most providers are not receiving any money. One of the biggest social services providers in Illinois is Lutheran Social Services of Illinois (LSSI). In a press release, LSSI said: “the state’s budget deadlock has severely challenged LSSI’s ability to provide services to those in need.” They added, “over 30 programs are closing, and more than 750 positions are being eliminated.” LSSI finished off the release emphasizing that the biggest cuts were to senior programming.¹³ These program closures have been seen across all aspects of care across the entire state. No area has been left unscathed.

Senior Care

The Governor’s budget for FY15 included substantial cuts across the board, however, some of the most noticeable cuts were to senior citizen care. Illinois currently has Medicaid placed in nondiscretionary spending, meaning that the levels are automatically renewed unless there is a law amending that amount, such as a new budget. Many of the cuts made in the FY15 budget proposed by the Governor revolve around Medicaid and cuts to services used by those on Medicaid. To clarify, Medicaid is a healthcare program, like Medicare (which is a federal program), that provides health care to low-income residents. The Northwest Herald reports that the FY15 budget proposed by the Governor plans to cut the Medicaid program by \$1.6 billion dollars, which would amount to a cut of approximately 10%. Furthermore, according to the same article “hospitals are the main target, shouldering \$735 million in payment cuts- a 13% reduction”. If this budget were to pass into law, “12,591 jobs [would be] lost.”¹⁴ Currently, many of the dire situations faced revolve around the fact that there is no funding to these programs, such as home health care and other Medicaid programs.

One of the most popular programs in Illinois when it comes to seniors is home health care. What this does is instead of forcing low-income seniors into nursing homes,

the state contracts with agencies to provide healthcare to those seniors at home. This program currently serves about 84,000 seniors across Illinois. These home health care programs help seniors with cooking, laundry, bathing, and other tasks that still allow them to live somewhat independently. Instead of continuing this program, the FY15 budget proposed by the Governor sought to transition many of those seniors not on Medicaid into a Community Reinvestment Program (CRE). This is a program that exists in other states, to some success, and the Department of Aging is in the process of drafting the specifics of this plan so it's ready for FY18. One of the biggest proponents of the current home health care program is the Service Employees International Union, or SEIU, who unionized many of the caretakers and fights for better wages and conditions in homes. SEIU has lambasted the governor over his proposed cuts, claiming they "amount to a 43% cut per senior" and that the cuts are "terrible policy." The Department of Aging responded by saying that "the CRP represents a pro-active, long-term strategy to meeting the anticipated growth in the aging population by sustaining the commitment to support older adults in their own homes and communities."¹⁵

At the end of the day, there is currently extremely limited funding for programs for seniors. Besides Medicaid funded programs, nearly all programs have faced layoffs, shutdowns, and crises due to the budget impasse. A program called Meals on Wheels, that provided frozen and cooked meals to seniors, has faced tremendous problems. In downstate Illinois, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch reports that Senior Services Plus (a provider of Meals on Wheels) "can't afford to make more than one delivery a week." The Post-Dispatch also reports that Senior Services Plus is being forced to rely on "a combination of donations, dwindling credit and a smattering of court-decreed funding."¹⁶ All of this has led to "four Metro East area centers [closing their doors and] halting services to 500 seniors" and "if the budget impasse continues, the Metro East is expected to lose 11 senior centers... affecting nearly 5,000 adults."¹⁷ This would prove catastrophic, as the Illinois St. Louis suburbs are extremely impoverished and lack local resources and are often neglected by the State. Without a budget, these types of cuts and lack of programs can be expected throughout the state in the coming months.

Women

Unfortunately, many women have been hit especially hard by the state budget crisis. Earlier, it was mentioned that over 60% of MAP grant recipients are women, and with the lack of funding to social services, many resources used by women have seen cuts and shutdowns.

Services that have faced cuts due to the lack of budget include those specifically tailored to women. The Chicago Tribune reports that many programs that almost exclusively serve women, such as intervention services for "infants and toddlers with disabilities, home visits for teen parents, and family care management for at-risk mothers have lost all state funding during the crisis." The funding crunch has even gotten so bad that women are being turned away from breast and ovarian cancer screening centers unless they are already displaying symptoms. The Tribune also reports that the Governor

opposed a bill that would spend \$715 Million to help salvage those programs. The Governor has said that he hopes that this bill would make it in as part of a grand bargain to fund all human services. The Governor has also claimed this bill “is designed to still create a government operations crisis” and that “it doesn’t have essential services in it.” Democratic House Speaker Madigan said that the Governor is “putting ‘office supplies over life-saving services.’” No matter who is to blame for this, service providers say that every day without funding is causing irreparable damage to the social service network.

As mentioned, the programs for breast and ovarian cancer screenings have not received any money from the state. They are slated to receive around \$13 Million from the state to provide screenings to low-income women. But, without the budget, they only receive \$6 million from the federal government, and without the state matching those funds, the federal government may cut funding for the program entirely. Usually, those who are diagnosed with cancer, via the screenings, are then enrolled for treatment in the State’s Medicaid program, though the Governor has proposed cutting spending there, citing the success of the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare) in providing those services.

Beyond the crisis with cancer screenings and pregnancy help centers, there is a growing crisis with counseling for victims of sexual assault. Currently, Illinois has 29 rape crisis centers, but according to Polly Poskin, executive director of the Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault, those centers are operating at bare bones. She reports that they have had to lay off 16 employees and that volunteers are stepping in to keep the rape crisis hotlines open. But, the waiting list of those seeking support has ballooned to 175 across the state. This is an area where having long lines are especially painful to victims. When they have to wait on the phone it is “further traumatizing to the victims.” The bill mentioned earlier that included millions for social services funding, would be “a godsend” to crisis centers and would appropriate \$2.76 million for these centers.¹⁸

Furthermore, the FY16 budget released by the Office of Management and Budget would cut funding for the Department of Human Services by about \$1.1 million, which mostly comes from cuts in addiction treatment and mental health grants, which are both being increasingly covered by federal dollars due to the Affordable Healthcare Act.¹⁹ Still, a cut of about \$419,000 would be cut from domestic violence shelters. This is still a very small cut when compared to other areas, such as higher education which will see cuts in the billions of dollars, but a substantial cut nonetheless.

Developmentally Disabled (DD) Persons

Perhaps the most disturbing effect of the state budget crisis has been the problems being faced by the developmentally disabled. Illinois currently places most adults with developmental disabilities in CILAs, or Community Integrated Living Arrangements. This basically means that adults with DD are placed in homes with other adults with DD and they have caretakers 24/7 that are supposed to care for the residents of the home. This was a change from the typical policy of placing DD adults in nursing homes, or worse, behavioral hospitals. Yet, with these group homes come often disturbing outcomes. A

tribune watchdog report detailed disturbing practices in the CILA homes and despite these reports, minimal reforms have been put in place²⁰.

The report by the Chicago Tribune details horrific occurrences in these CILAs.²¹ They include forcing “a 50-year-old man with the intellect of a small child to sleep on a soiled mattress on the floor of a room used for storage”. One CILA operated in a building that “bore a building inspection sticker that warned ‘not approved for occupancy.’” Some residents were “mocked for their intellectual limitations, barricaded in rooms, abandoned in soiled clothing and deprived of food.” Some of the more shocking cases were when “a male group home resident, accused of stealing cookies, was beaten to death by his caregiver. Employees at one home bound a woman’s hands and ankles with duct tape, covered her head with a blanket and left her for several hours on the kitchen floor.” Overall, the Tribune found 1,311 cases of documented harm since July 2011.

Such neglect has many causes, but a clear lack of oversight is a main one. Typically, an independent outside organization should conduct investigations; however, in the case of neglect in group homes this is not always the case. The Tribune found “in hundreds of cases, the Department of Human Services allowed employees of group homes to investigate allegations of neglect and mental abuse in their own workplace.” State investigative reports also failed to acknowledge that this system of investigation existed, a problem that has yet to be solved. The head of the Department of Human Services, James Dimas, has ordered widespread reforms to improve public accountability and streamline investigations, but has yet to put forward any details on reforms.²² In late December, a joint hearing was held between the house and senate to question Dimas. Senator Daniel Biss, the chairman of the joint hearing, in a press release said “the State of Illinois is failing these vulnerable residents every day that goes by without implementing comprehensive, meaningful changes to address the root causes of the alarming, gut-wrenching stories documented in the Chicago Tribune’s ‘Suffering in Secret’ series.”²³ Recently, a judge ordered the turnover of 18 residents in a Chicago CILA for fear of “irreparable damage” to the residents.²⁴

Some speculate that the reasons for these abuses are due to lack of pay to workers in the home and high turnover. What this means is that staffers are replaced very frequently in CILAs. This prevents workers from knowing the little things about residents and hinders the ability to make a personal connection to the residents. The same Tribune Watchdog report mentioned above said that the employees of these homes haven’t seen a raise in over 9 years and are paid wages below the federal poverty rate for a family of 3. When you think about it, it’s no wonder why employees don’t like their jobs. Illinois also ranks among the five worst states for funding DD programs, which is why pay hasn’t increased. Illinois pays the caregivers \$9.35 per hour and this is the single biggest factor in high staff turnover, which approaches a 40% per year in some home. This high turnover leads to much lower standards of care. An industry expert is quoted as saying “staff turnover is like a cancer that affects care.”

Possible solutions

First off, obvious reforms are needed to the oversight of CILAS. This includes the possibility of more government oversight independent of the homes, including hiring more investigators. Another way to fix this mess is through increasing wages, decreasing turnover, and increasing benefits to reduce turnover of employees. For helping seniors, increased funding to programs would help reduce the need for nursing homes, and continuing to fund the independent living programs would be a godsend. For rape crisis centers, pregnancy advising and cancer screening and other women's care, getting a solid budget that provides for those is needed.

Caucus Positions

When it comes to caucus responses to the social services problems, the progressive caucus is the leader on pushing for full funding with no cuts. In a joint hearing on CILA abuses, Representative Mary Flowers lambasted DHS head Dimas demanding to know who had been fired, what centers have been closed, and what is he going to do about it? Other progressive representatives have demanded similar things. Some Representatives took offense when Director Dimas blamed union contracts for the lack of firings.

On the moderate caucus, Representative Gabel chairs the house human services committee and has advocated for strong reforms to the social service network. She has also advocated for new funding while cutting waste and unnecessary administration. Many members of the moderate caucus will seek to follow this path, seeking cuts, but responsible and extremely targeted cuts.

Some conservative caucus members have attempted to make progress to CILAs. Rep Meier said in a press release "I warned them about the complaints I had received and that lives were at stake, but they turned their back. Not all group homes are bad, but they should all be the best at making sure their residents are safe and properly cared for." and during the hearing, he stated an instance where a woman died after records were forged, and was cremated less than 2 hours after death to prevent investigation. He has attempted to introduce legislation to require CILAs to be licensed annually instead of every three years. In February of this year, Meier introduced HB 5797 to require DHS to conduct unannounced or announced visits of group homes to ensure the safety and well-being of individuals residing under the care of a CILA and HB 5798 to require group homes to notify DHS when emergency calls are made from a CILA. These are all possible steps to be taken in addition to broader reforms. Many members of the moderate caucus have expressed support for some of these reforms.

Questions a Resolution Must Answer

- What is the role of the state in providing funding for cancer screenings and rape crisis centers?
- How can the state provide for seniors in the most fiscally conservative way while providing sufficient care?

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- What can the state do to increase oversight on CILAs and their occupants and how can the state increase the quality of care residents of CILAs receive?

Topic 3: The “Safe Roads” Amendment

History

In the 99th General Assembly, HJRC36, also known as the Safe Roads or Lockbox Amendment, passed 94-4. As is required by law, voters must approve constitutional amendments and 79% of voters voted in favor of the amendment in the 2016 election²⁵. However, since then, legislators and policymakers have growing concerns over the language of the amendment and the restrictions it places on budget makers and many are seeking options to roll back some of the restrictions.

Current Situation

The amendment, as it's written, prohibits the Government from spending any money derived from transportation related fees, such as road tolls, license fees, registration fees, and usage fees for mass transit, for purposes other than “the enforcement of traffic, railroad and motor carrier laws; the safety of highways, roads, streets, bridges, mass transit, intercity passenger rail, ports, or airports; and the construction, reconstruction, improvement, repair, maintenance, operation, and administration of highways.”²⁶ The amendment also prohibits the transferring of funds to other revenue funds other than the one designated for transportation.

However, since the passage of this amendment, people have begun to realize the grave danger to the state's economic status if the amendment takes place because the revenues derived from transportation are used for so many things other than transportation, like funding schools, healthcare, and other essential services.

Those who supported the amendment pointed to a few reasons why the lockbox is needed. The main reason is that \$6.8 Billion dollars over the past decade have been moved from the transportation fund to other funds.²⁷ This has led to a substantial decline in the quality of Illinois' infrastructure. The Quincy Herald-Whig reports that “Nearly 90 percent of state highways and bridges were rated as in “good” or better shape in 2005. However, per the latest statistics, half of the state's highways and 4,200 bridges are rated in ‘poor’.” Furthermore, supporters of the amendment are a broad coalition bringing together manufacturing and labor. The “Safe Roads” amendment was the idea of the Chamber of Commerce, Illinois Road and Transportation Builder's association, who then brought in a significant amount of Unions, especially the International Union of Operating Engineers, who operate heavy machinery. This is not surprising, given that locking in funds would allow for a massive expansion of road building which would ostensibly include more hiring of union workers and more use of manufacturing equipment. In the end, 3,771,979 was donated to Citizens to Protect Transportation Funding, with the most money coming from dark money sources like Excavators Inc, which has ties to business, and Fight Back Fund, which is mainly tied to labor unions.

Overall, the supports ran a concentrated ad campaign declaring this the safe roads amendment because not only would the amendment theoretically create safer roads, but was also a catchy title that got public support.²⁸

Opponents of the amendment were largely opposed to the fact that the amendment ties up funding and doesn't allow for the emergency release of funds. Similar legislation in Maryland allows for the release of funds if a supermajority of legislators vote to release those funds in a fiscal emergency.²⁹ Furthermore, the Chicago Sun-Times³⁰, Chicago Tribune³¹, Chicago Daily Herald³², Crain's Chicago Business³³, and the State Journal-Register³⁴ all came out against the amendment for two overarching reasons: that it ties up funding in case of natural disasters and is a guarantee for labor unions and road companies. It's not so much that anyone opposes keeping transportation money in transportation, but many feel it should not be at the expense of schools, hospitals, and universities. Overall, many opponents simply do not like the lack of flexibility.

Caucus Positions

The Progressive Caucus supported this legislation because unions supported it. The Caucus agreed that helping to guarantee funding for union jobs was worthwhile, however they weren't as open about this being their reason for supporting it. During the house vote to approve the amendment, all but one member of the progressive caucus voted for placing the amendment on the ballot, the lone detractor being Rep. Barbara Flynn Currie. Currie said that amendments are "supposed to set important priorities, but they're also supposed to be flexible so lawmakers can do what needs to be done as it needs doing."^{xxx} Despite supporting this, some Representatives may want to consider the effect that locking funds will have on schools, universities, and social services in one's district.

The Moderate Caucus mainly supported it, yet two of the detractors, Representatives Elaine Nekritz and Laura Fine, penned an op-ed in the Southern Illinoisan expressing their opposition to the amendment on similar lines as the editorial boards^{xxx}. The rest of the caucus supported it nonetheless but still has some qualms with the amendment, especially the lack of safety valve.

The conservative caucus, despite their opposition to unions, supported the amendment because it protects funding and prevents the State from redirecting money to other costs. Conservative caucus backers, like the IL Chamber of Commerce, have pumped thousands into Conservative Caucus races³⁵.

Additional Resources

The Daily Show: Jordan Klepper's Happy Endings - Illinois State Budget Crisis: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iHQ8udYQdC4>

Stranded by The State Series:

Higher Education: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CVeLcFzD8Xo&t=23s>

At Risk Youth: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vRksDIaFFa0&t=20s>

Homelessness: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=udnVFYSekqQ&t=29s>

Seniors: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g7aNMDvLpXk&t=41s>

Joint Hearing on Report: <https://livestream.com/blueroomstream/events/6706229/videos/144350649>

CapitolFax.com (best source for the “politics” of the budget crisis): <http://capitolfax.com/>
Governor Rauner FY16 Budget Address: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vcaGlcSBKg4>

¹<http://senatorbiss.com/news/27-latest-news/201-biss-automatic-voter-registration-should-be-the-law-in-illinois>

² "Public Universities -." IBHE-Public Universities-. Illinois Board of Higher Education, 2016. Web. 13 Dec. 2016.

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⁴ Public Act 099-0524

⁵ Rauner, Bruce. "State Links." Illinois Government News Network (IGNN). State of Illinois, 10 June 2016. Web. 13 Dec. 2016.

⁶ Miller, Rich. "Rauner Vetoes \$3.9 Billion for Social Services, Higher Ed." Capitol Fax. Capitol Fax, 10 June 2016. Web. 13 Dec. 2016.

⁷ Miller, Rich. "CSU Declares Financial Exigency as Accreditation Threat Issued to All Unis." Capitol Fax.com. N.p., 4 Feb. 2016. Web. 13 Dec. 2016.

⁸ Cohen, Jodi S. "State Universities: Illinois Budget Stalemate Causing Damage 'beyond Repair'" Chicagotribune.com. Tronc, 12 Apr. 2016. Web. 13 Dec. 2016.

⁹ "SHEEO FY15 Report." SHEF: FY 2015 (2015): n. pag. 2015. Web. 15 Dec. 2016.

¹⁰ Wurth, Julie. "How Is the UI Campus Feeling the State Budget Cuts?" News-Gazette.com. News-, 11 Dec. 2016. Web. 13 Dec. 2016.

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- ¹² "MAP REPORT LEGISLATIVE DISTRICT DATA." Digital file.
- ¹³ "Illinois Budget Impasse Forces Program Closures, Staffing Cuts at Lutheran Social Services of Illinois." Lutheran Social Services of Illinois, 22 Jan. 2016, Accessed 27 Dec. 2016.
- ¹⁴ Johnson, Carla. "Bruce Rauner budget strikes at Illinois hospitals, nursing homes." Northwest Herald, Shaw Media, 22 Feb. 2015, Accessed 27 Dec. 2016.
- ¹⁵ DeCero, Kaitlin. "ANALYSIS: Bruce Rauner Targets Seniors With \$197.6 Million Cut to Care." SEIU Healthcare Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Kansas, 25 Feb. 2016, Accessed 27 Dec. 2016.
- ¹⁶ Alamdari, Natalia. "Meals on Wheels, rides to doctor in doubt for seniors as Illinois budget crisis rolls on." St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 29 June 2016, Accessed 27 Dec. 2016.
- ¹⁷ Phillips, Camille. "Metro East social service agency lays off 117 employees due to Illinois' budget stalemate." St. Louis Public Radio, 7 Apr. 2016, Accessed 27 Dec. 2016.
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²⁷ "Illinois Safe Roads Amendment will end raids on transportation budget." *Quincy Herald-Whig*, 25 Sept. 2016, www.whig.com/20160925/illinois-safe-roads-amendment-will-end-raids-on-transportation-budget. Accessed 15 Jan. 2017.

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²⁹ Currie, Barbara Flynn, et al. "Guest View: Proposed 'lockbox' amendment would curtail state's abilities." *The Southern Illinoisan*, 7 Oct. 2016, thesouthern.com/news/opinion/editorial/guest-guest-view-proposed-lockbox-amendment-would-curtail-state-s-abilities/article_8f12cf20-9b19-5ed6-977d-a8151adda2f4.html. Accessed 15 Jan. 2017.

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