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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Health and Budgetary Costs of Tobacco Use in Illinois

- Tobacco-induced diseases cost $785 million in state Medicaid expenditures in 2005; over 1 percent of the state budget in the 2010s went to treating the health effects of tobacco.

Tobacco Industry Influence

- Tobacco industry campaign contributions to elected officials in Illinois between 1995 and 2012 totaled at least $4.9 million.
- In every two-year election cycle between 1995-1996 and 2011-2012 the tobacco industry gave campaign contributions to most (58% to 88%) state legislators.
- Spikes in contributions occurred around the 2002 state cigarette tax increase, the January 2008 effective date of the Smoke Free Illinois Act, and the 2012 increase in state taxes for cigarettes and other tobacco products.
- On a per capita basis, the tobacco industry made campaign expenditures in Illinois at a rate four times that of neighboring Indiana.
- Tobacco industry allies from the 1950s through 1990s included the heads of major state hospitality associations.
- In the 2000s, the heads of the Illinois Restaurant Association and Illinois Licensed Beverage Association changed, and these organizations stopped backing tobacco industry policy positions.

State Tobacco Control Organization

- The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco originated from precursor health advocate groups starting in 1965, and had its strongest funding from 1994 to 2004 under a series of grants from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation's SmokeLess States program.

Clean Indoor Air and the Smoke Free Illinois Act

- Between 1977 and 1989, 21 municipalities passed smoking restrictions.
- From 1983 through 1988 the tobacco industry blocked state clean indoor air legislation.
- In 1989, the Tobacco Institute won legislation that preempted local governments from regulating smoking, freezing local activity.
- After a 16-year-long campaign by health advocates, the Illinois General Assembly restored local authority in 2005 for municipalities, and in 2006 for counties.
- Local ordinances between 2005 and 2007 came from the efforts of local smokefree coalitions with assistance from the members of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, which encouraged local activity to build pressure for a statewide law.
- The Smoke Free Illinois Act passed in 2007 and went into effect in 2008, requiring smokefree indoor workplaces, restaurants, bars, casinos, and private clubs.
- The Smoke Free Illinois Act included casinos because its Senate sponsor and an additional key supporter were in positions of legislative leadership and took a stand against amendments that might weaken the law.
- As part of a jurisdictional battle between the legislature and Governor Rod Blagojevich, the Illinois General Assembly's Joint Committee on Administrative Rules blocked

implementing rules for the Smoke Free Illinois Act in 2008. As of May 2014, the implementing rules had not been issued.
- Between 2007 and 2012, health advocates blocked a series of legislative attempts to add exceptions to the Smoke Free Illinois Act, especially for casinos.

Tobacco Taxes, Youth Smoking Prevention, and State Tobacco Control Programs

- Between 1970 and 1993, cities and counties with "home rule" status could enact new cigarette taxes.
- The tobacco industry won legislation in 1993 to remove local power to establish new local cigarette taxes, leaving only a handful that already had local cigarette taxes to maintain or change existing local cigarette tax rates.
- Chicago's cigarette tax of $1.18, as of 2014, combined with Cook County's $3 tax and Illinois' state cigarette tax, gave Chicago the highest combined state and local cigarette taxes in the United States.
- Chicago banned the sale of bidis in 1999; Illinois banned bidi sales in 2000.
- In 2013, Chicago prohibited the sale of menthol cigarettes within 500 feet of schools.
- In 2014, Chicago required tobacco retailer licenses to sell electronic cigarettes and added requiring electronic cigarettes in Chicago's existing smokefree ordinance.
- Funding for tobacco control programs reached over $46 million in the 2001-2002 fiscal year but was reduced to $11 million in fiscal year 2002-2003, and remained at similar levels through the early 2010s.

Conclusions and Recommendations

- Tobacco policymaking in Illinois shifted from a period of persistent wins by tobacco industry interests from the 1960s to 1980s, to increasing progress on clean indoor air and tobacco taxes from the 1990s onwards.
- Major factors in the success of public health advocates were giving priority to tobacco control and becoming more assertive over the decades from the 1960s to 2010s.
- Outside funding from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation contributed to building the capacity of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, showing the ability of national organizations to shape the conditions under which tobacco policymaking takes place.
- The case of Illinois confirms that the tobacco industry works to thwart smokefree laws by courting the restaurant and casino industries, using third-party business associations, creating front groups, and fighting smokefree laws after passage.
- Health groups at the state level must have dedicated staff working to tobacco control, including lobbyists at the state capitol during the legislative session.
- Health advocates should make the widespread campaign contributions of the tobacco industry in Illinois more of an issue.
- For policy issues with inaction at the state level, including for menthol cigarettes and electronic cigarettes, advocates and local health departments must push at the local level, replicating the local-to-state strategy that proved successful for smokefree laws.
- State health advocates should continue to press for increased appropriations for the state tobacco control program.
- The state tobacco control program should broaden the scope of advertising to discuss issues of tobacco beyond promoting the Illinois Tobacco Quitline.

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Chapter 1: The Shape of Tobacco Control Policymaking in Illinois

- Dramatic advances in tobacco control occurred in the decade of the 2000s in Illinois.
- In 2013, the state celebrated the fifth anniversary of its statewide comprehensive smokefree law, requiring smokefree indoor workplaces including restaurants, bars, casinos, private clubs, and other hospitality venues, thereby reducing exposure to secondhand smoke.
- Developments in cigarette tax policy in Illinois included increases in the during the early 2010s at the state level, in Cook County, and in the city of Chicago.
- Youth smoking declines in the 1990s through early 2010s tracked declines in youth smoking in the United States as a whole.
- Legislative appropriations for state tobacco control programs started well-funded with a comprehensive program in the early 2000s, and then saw funding dive, remaining at low levels through the early 2010s.

Gaining Ground in a Short Time

As recently as 2007, along the cool blue shores of Lake Michigan, a meal inside a restaurant on the Chicago waterfront, with views of a clear sky and sparkling water outside, might on the inside require breathing cigarette smoke from elsewhere in the restaurant. A drink at a bar, whether within view of the state capitol dome in Springfield, nestled in the downtowns of established cities like Decatur, Naperville, and Peoria, or in small towns throughout mostly agrarian southern Illinois, also required facing the health dangers of secondhand smoke.

Office workers, from the central and southern Illinois cities of Bloomington, Champaign, and Carbondale, to northern Illinois' densely urban counties of Cook, Lake, DuPage, McHenry, Kane, and Will, often also faced the same dangers. Being a casino worker at an Illinois casino, whether in a northern Illinois city, or on a riverboat casino facing the Mississippi River in the Quad Cities and Metro East urban areas, often meant 8-hour shifts staffing a table surrounded by a half dozen lit cigarettes just an arm's length away.

Other signs of change in tobacco policy and prevalence in Illinois have been similarly dramatic. The prevalence of smoking among adults, through the first years of the 2000s, tracked national trends at being almost one-quarter of the population. As recently as 2000, tobacco products with candy-like flavors which had been growing in popularity and which appealed to youth, led to state legislation to reduce the impact of such products. As recently as 2004, cigarette advertising in Illinois existed that targeted young adults and youth, by including portraits of popular music artists on cigarette packs and only ending by threats of legal action from the Illinois Attorney General as violations of the Master Settlement Agreement that settled Illinois and other states' litigation against the major cigarette companies. Weak enforcement of retail sales restrictions on sales to youth, in combination with low cigarette prices, promoted smoking among youth; these same low cigarette prices kept adults continuing to smoke. Meanwhile, smoking-related healthcare expenses took a large and increasing drain on state and county budgets.

As the fifth most populous state, with 12 million people stretching from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, Illinois has a nationwide impact in its tobacco policy choices. As of the early 2010s, in the Chicago metropolitan area alone, Cook County and the five adjacent counties to it, an estimated 1.1 million adults smoked.[1-2] Changes in the state's policy decisions and changes in tobacco smoking rates in Illinois have an impact not just because these policies affect a large number of people, but also because they serve as an example for elected officials and policy advocates throughout the Midwest and in comparable states throughout the United States.

Illinois has been frequently characterized by observers, both from inside and outside the state, as a "microcosm" of the United States. Illinois, which spans rural river basin agricultural areas to towering urban areas, has a demographic profile similar to the United States as a whole, and is the most populous state in the Midwest. These qualities make it easy for elected leaders and the broader public in other states to see clear comparisons to Illinois, as a state similar in political culture and demographics, such that examples from Illinois can be seen as relevant for policy analysts and health advocates in other states to use as an example.

Many notable advances in tobacco control occurred during the decade of the 2000s and early 2010s, causing Illinois to gain ground in public health in a short time period; these advances occurred as a result of years tobacco control advocacy efforts since the 1960s and built off previous successes that occurred leading up to the decade of the 2000s. Lessons from understanding the development of tobacco policy in Illinois, including how the state accomplished so much in a short period of time, are worthwhile as examples that elected officials and health advocates elsewhere can emulate for how to achieve smokefree local ordinances and statewide smokefree legislation that includes all hospitality venues including restaurants, bars, and casinos. Illinois is an example of how to protect such strong state smokefree laws against attempts to peel back pieces of the legislation, and how to increase tobacco taxes to discourage tobacco use in a way that gave the city of Chicago the highest combined state and local cigarette tax in the United States, as of 2014. It is also an example of how to take the lead on policies to prohibit tobacco use among children and teenagers, including prohibiting the sale of bidis statewide, restricting the sale of menthol and other flavored cigarettes around schools in Chicago, and including electronic cigarettes in existing clean indoor air ordinances in several cities.

Tobacco-related medical expenditures alone represented more than 1 percent of the state annual budget.

Tobacco Use in Illinois: Prevalence, Health Impact, and Budgetary Impact

Tobacco use is the leading preventable cause of death in Illinois and in the United States,[3-4] and secondhand smoke is the third most common preventable cause of death,[5] so tobacco use in Illinois impacts public health and the state budget. State Medicaid expenditures

for smoking-attributed diseases in 2005 accounted for about $785 million annually, up from $690 million in 2001.[6-7]

Of Illinois' annual budget of $50 billion to $55 billion in the early 2010s,[8-10] these tobacco-related medical expenditures alone represented more than 1 percent of the state annual budget. Total state and federal combined Medicaid costs on smoking-attributable diseases in 2005 were $1.6 billion per year.[6-7]

Tobacco use in Illinois from 1990 to early 2010s tracked the general national decline (Figure 1). In 2011, the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention estimated that adult smoking prevalence in Illinois was 20.9%.[11]

Regions of Illinois in the early 2010s varied greatly in adult smoking prevalence. As of the early 2010s, the prevalence of smoking among adults was lower in northern Illinois than in other parts of the state, especially in the Chicago-area counties of DuPage, Kane, and Lake, all at 15% or lower.[1] Southeastern Illinois' Hardin, Johnson, and Massac counties, in contrast, had some of the highest adult smoking prevalence in the state, as of 2004-2006 each at 30% or higher.[12]

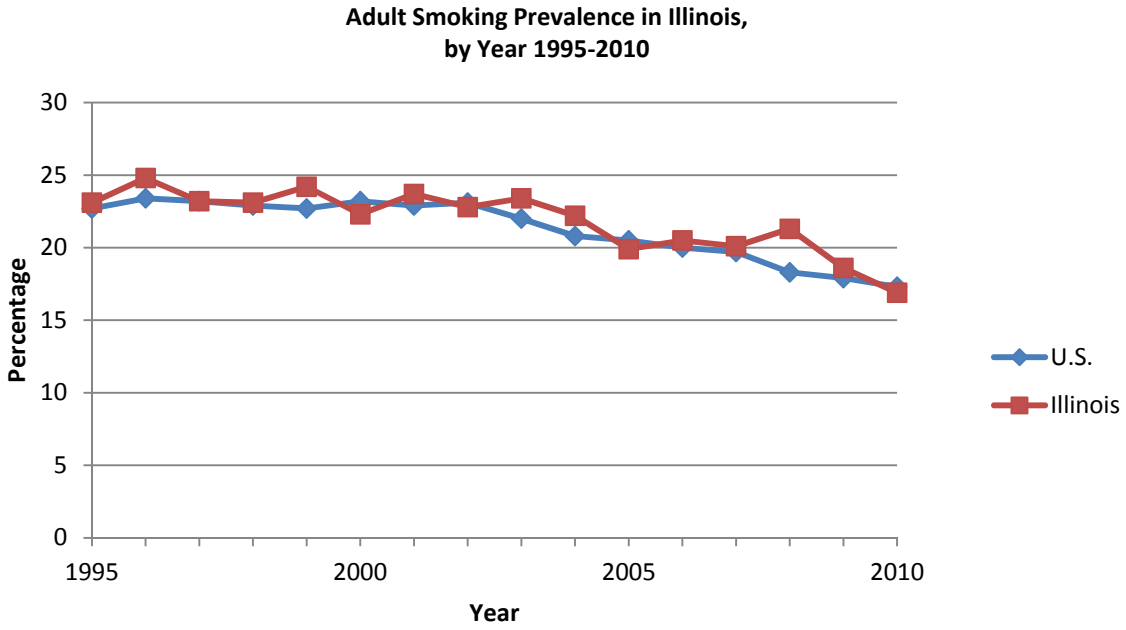


Figure 1: Adult Cigarette Smoking Prevalence in Illinois, by Year 1995-2010
Source: Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, 2010[13]

Nondaily smoking became a growing category of smoking behavior in the early 2000s among people who smoked, reflecting a "softening" of smoking behavior and moving Illinois in the direction of becoming smokefree. Despite carrying lower risks in lung cancer as daily smoking, however, light smoking and nondaily smoking result in almost the same risk as daily smoking for cardiovascular disease.[14] In 2011, 6.6% of Illinois' adult population were nondaily smokers, higher than the 5.7% nationwide.[15]

Declines in tobacco prevalence among youth from the 1990s to early 2010s also tracked the U.S. as a whole (Figure 2). In 2011, high school smoking prevalence stood at 17.5%, down from a peak of 35.7% in 1995.[16]

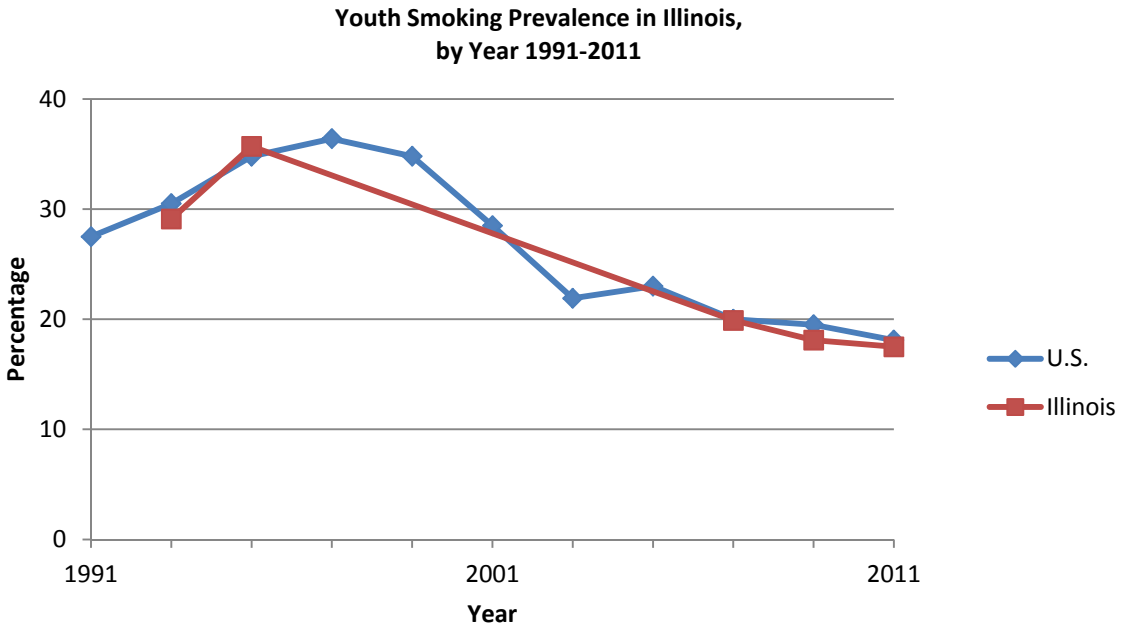


Figure 2: Youth Smoking Prevalence in Illinois, by Year 1991-2011
Source: Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System, 2011[16]

Key Actors in Tobacco Policymaking

The key actors working to shape tobacco policy in Illinois centered on tobacco industry interests and public health advocates, whose efforts and goals have been opposed directly. Public health advocates were organized as the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, an informal coalition with precursors in 1965. The competing efforts of the tobacco industry and health advocates took place alongside the activities of elected officials, health authorities, and state regulators. State health authorities and regulatory agencies were also part of the organization of tobacco control within the state. The Illinois Department of Public Health has been the organization tasked with running tobacco control programs. The Illinois Liquor Control Commission has been tasked with running enforcement programs to prevent the sale of tobacco to people under 18. Also at play have been the interests of business owners and associations,

labor unions, and hospitals in Illinois; public health advocates have tried to mobilize such groups, and tobacco industry interests have tried to mobilize many such groups as well.

Tobacco industry influence in Illinois has included campaign contributions and lobbying. These activities have been done with eye on supporting elected officials who will head off tobacco control policies, influencing the policy positions of existing officials, and changing legal standards in the state. Contributions, tracked in this report between 1995 and 2012, were sustained through each year and were amplified at time periods of high policy activity on tobacco issues. Political activities and campaign contributions of tobacco industry interests to politicians and political parties in Illinois occurred more intensely than other states, with lobbying expenditures in Illinois on a per capita population basis being approximately five times that of neighboring Indiana.

State of Tobacco Control Policies in Illinois

To reduce the incidence of tobacco-caused health problems due to tobacco use and secondhand smoke, and to reduce tobacco-driven medical costs for taxpayers and families, efforts by elected officials, public health authorities, and health advocates to reduce the impact of tobacco have centered on regulating the use of tobacco products and discouraging the purchase of tobacco products in the first place. Reductions in cigarette use since the 1990s largely tracked the U.S. trend (Figure 3).

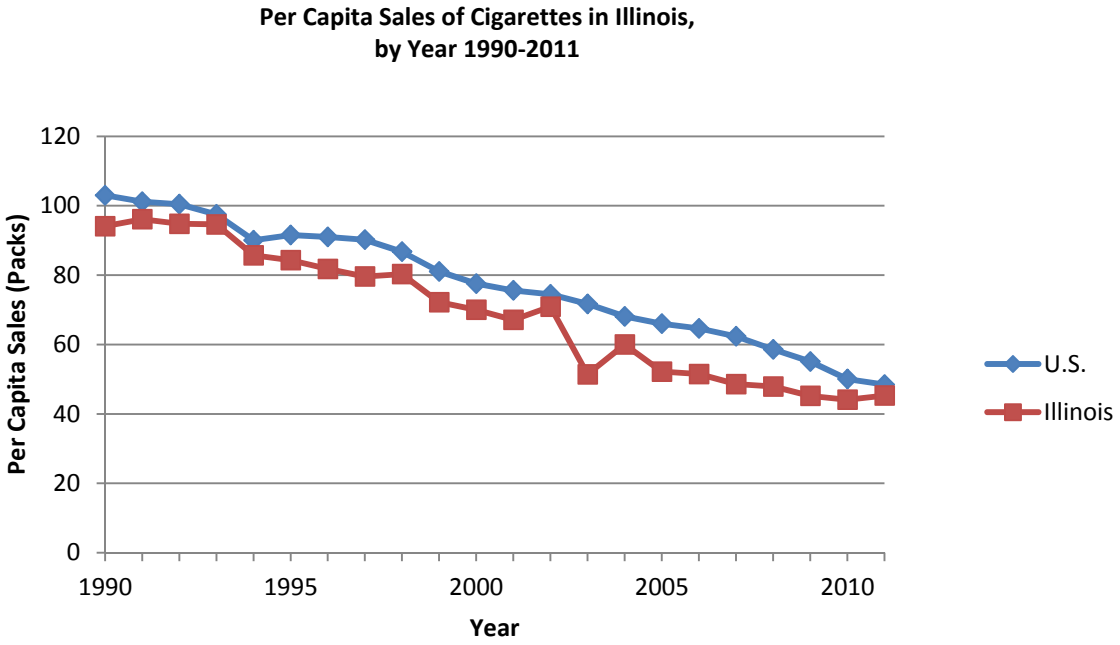


Figure 3: Per Capita Sales of Cigarettes in Illinois, by Year 1990-2011
Note: Figure for 2003 is for 11 months, and for 2004 is for 13 months, due to a new tax system.
Source: 2013 Tax Burden on Tobacco[17]

To discourage tobacco use, common policy tools in Illinois included clean indoor air ordinances, which began in the state in the 1970s, picked up dramatically in the mid-2000s, and resulted in a state smokefree air law in 2007; tobacco taxes, which began in the 1940s and began to accelerate starting in the 1980s; youth smoking prevention laws, ranging from minimum-age purchasing laws in the 1960s to attempts at the local level to require licenses for retail tobacco sales starting in the 1980s; and state tobacco control programs, first developed systematically in the early 2000s.

Smokefree Air

Strong "smokefree" laws are the most effective approach to limit secondhand smoke exposure.[18] These laws also help people quit smoking and, at the very least, reduce cigarette consumption.[19] Efforts to enact clean indoor air laws emerged at the local level in Illinois starting from the 1970s.

The Smoke Free Illinois Act, which is Illinois' comprehensive statewide smokefree law, came into force in 2008. The law made Illinois a leader among states in smokefree coverage, requiring smokefree indoor workplaces, restaurants, bars, casinos, and other hospitality venues. When it went into effect on January 1, 2008, the law's coverage of casinos made Illinois one of the two states on that day to be the first to require smokefree casinos.

The path to smokefree legislation in Illinois first involved a period of state preemption of local authority to regulate smoking, starting in 1989 by tobacco industry efforts to introduce preemption into state clean indoor air legislation. Health advocates' attempted for 16 years to reverse preemption. Despite tobacco industry lobbyists' attempts to maintain preemption, health advocates began to explain the situation in a way that convinced legislators to remove it. In 2005, the state government reversed this state preemption of clean indoor air ordinances, restoring local governments' authority to regulate smoking.

After the repeal of state preemption, a surge of local governments passed laws restricting smoking in indoor workplaces, restaurants, and bars. In 2006, 36 local ordinances passed, the most of any one state in that year,[20] with more than three-quarters of the local ordinances being comprehensive, covering at least indoor workplaces, restaurants, and bars.

Every year between 2007 and 2012, the Illinois General Assembly, the state legislature, saw attempts to roll back parts of the Smoke Free Illinois Act, including the requirement for smokefree casinos; each year, legislators supporting smokefree protections joined with health advocates to defeat these attempts. In 2007 and 2008, these challenges came from both Republicans and Democrats, and from both the Illinois House and Illinois Senate. Starting in 2009, strong supporters of the Smoke Free Illinois Act came to positions of leadership in the Illinois Senate, ending attempts originating in the Senate to weaken the law, and rebuffing those that came from the Illinois House of Representatives. In 2011, the Illinois House passed a bill to allow smoking in casinos, but the Senate buried the bill. As of early 2014, smokefree requirements for casinos in Illinois remained in place.

Tobacco Taxes

Tobacco taxes, an effective way to discourage smoking among adults and youth,[21] increased in Illinois at the state level in 1985, 1989, 1993, 1997, 2002, and 2012. The 2012 increase, which raised the state cigarette tax for the first time in a decade, by one dollar for a total state tax of $1.98 per pack, made Illinois only one of two states to increase cigarette taxes in 2012. This level placed Illinois at 16th among states; as of 2012, state cigarette taxes ranged from $4.35 to $0.17.[22]

Between 1970 and 1993, Illinois permitted cities, towns, and villages to levy additional taxes on cigarettes; it also allowed its largest county, Cook County, to levy an additional cigarette tax. Under pressure from the tobacco industry, in 1993, the state legislature prohibited the ability of local governments to start new local cigarette taxes; only local governments with existing cigarette tax ordinances retained the power to change local cigarette tax rates. In 2012, the Cook County Board of Commissioners increased the county tax on cigarettes by one dollar, to a total of $3.00. Along with the state tax of $1.98, the combined state and county tax within Cook County as of 2014 was $4.98. In addition, as of 2014, three municipalities in Cook County had local taxes on cigarettes on top of the county tax: $1.18 in Chicago, 50 cents in Evanston, and 16 cents in Cicero.[23] As of 2014, combined state, county, and city cigarette taxes for Chicago were the highest in the United States, a total of $6.16 in taxes.

Youth Smoking Prevention

In 1990, Illinois closed a loophole that had allowed some purchases of tobacco products by people under 18. In 2005, state law changed to mandate that single packs of cigarettes be kept behind the counter in stores, in a sealed display case, or in an age restricted area, and required that other tobacco products be kept in the line of sight of a cashier or another employee.[24] In 2009, the state prohibited people under age 18 from possessing tobacco products, regardless of who purchased the products.[25] This 2009 law established fines of $200 for violation of sales to those under 18, increasing up to $600 for subsequent violations.[26] In addition, on products such as bidis, menthol cigarettes, and electronic cigarettes, as used by youth, the city of Chicago led to state on acting on these items.

Policies dealing with youth smoking included local ordinances requiring licenses for retail sales of cigarettes. In 1993, an attempt to have statewide tobacco retail licensing occurred as part of legislation that health advocates drafted, to implement federal legislation that required states to ensure the enforcement of tobacco minimum-age purchasing laws, but tobacco industry pressure caused this requirement to be removed from the legislation. As of early 2014, no statewide tobacco licensing requirement existed, even as 34 states had such requirements.[27] Local tobacco retail licensing requirements occurred mainly in municipalities in the Chicago area, starting in the late 1980s and accelerating in the early 2000s.

State Tobacco Control Program

The state's comprehensive tobacco prevention and control program, Illinois Tobacco-Free Communities, started in 2000 under the Illinois Department of Public Health. The program involved grants to local health departments to run local programs, state-level programming, support and advertising for a statewide helpline for quitting smoking called the Illinois Tobacco Quitline, and programs that involved youth in local tobacco policy advocacy. The return on investment for state tobacco control programs is high, with every $1 spent on tobacco control at the state level preventing between $5 and $50 in medical expenses.[28-31]

Appropriations for tobacco control programs came almost entirely from the state's share of the funds that it receives every year from the 1998 Master Settlement Agreement, a legal settlement between 46 state governments and the largest U.S.-based tobacco companies, that resolved state litigation against the major tobacco companies.[32] Tobacco youth enforcement programs, housed in the Illinois Liquor Control Commission, were paid for by funds other than the Master Settlement Agreement.

In the early 2000s, funding for state tobacco control programs dropped precipitously. These state appropriations are down from a high of over $46 million appropriated in the 2001-2002 fiscal year. Beginning in the 2002-2003 fiscal year, according to figures from the Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, state appropriations for tobacco control fell to $11.1 million, and remained in the range of $8.5 to 11.1 million in subsequent years, that is, between the 2002-2003 through 2013-2014 fiscal years (Figure 4).

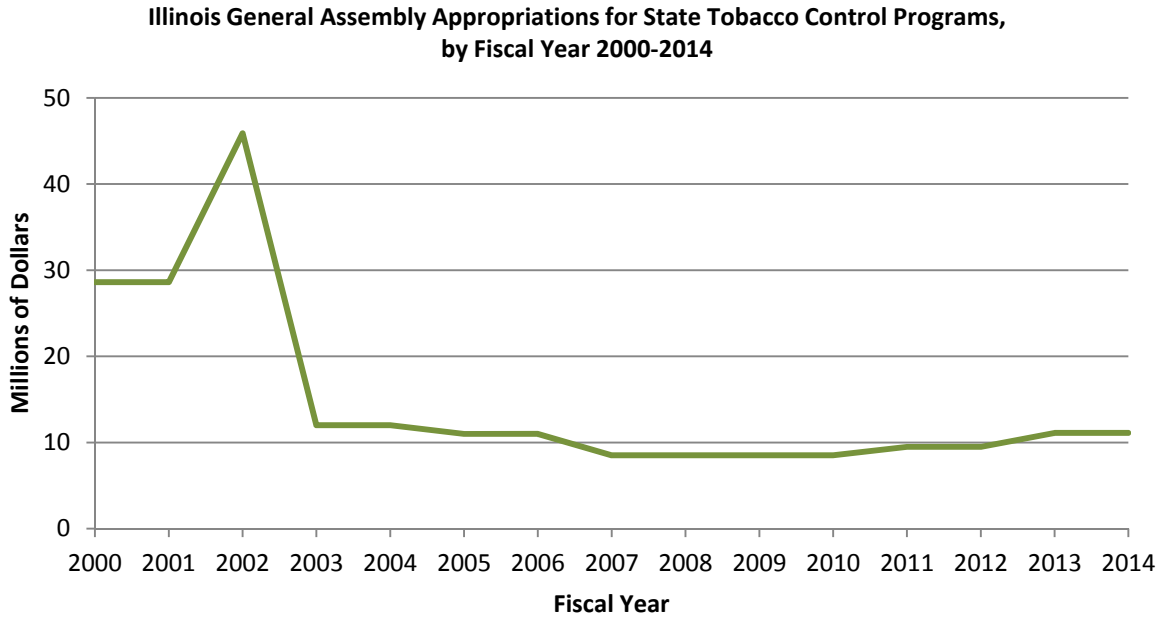


Figure 4: Illinois General Assembly Appropriations for State Tobacco Control Programs, by Fiscal Year 2000-2014
Source: Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, 2013[33]

For the 2013-2014 fiscal year, Illinois appropriated $11.1 million for its tobacco control programs; Still, the 2014 levels were higher than before the Master Settlement Agreement, where in many years of the late 1990s the General Assembly appropriated approximately $670,000 per year total for tobacco control. The level of funding as of 2014 put Illinois' per capita support for tobacco control programs at 32nd among states.[34] These state and federal funds supported state and local health department programs, as well as the Illinois Tobacco Quitline.[35]

Sources and Methods

Tobacco companies' formerly secret internal documents are used to demonstrate tobacco industry political activities. By court order, these documents must be made accessible to the public. As a result of litigation against the tobacco industry initiated by the state of Minnesota and settled in 1998, tobacco companies became required to make public their internal documents, and so did the the tobacco industry's primary lobbying organization, the Tobacco Institute. From these documents, activities of the Tobacco Institute, other tobacco industry organizations, and tobacco companies in Illinois can be seen. When the Tobacco Institute dissolved in 1998, by order of the Tobacco Master Settlement Agreement, companies continued to have to turn over internal documents. As of 2014, the major tobacco companies involved in the settlement were required to turn over documents until the year 2023.

Interviews of key policy players and key informants knowledgeable about the tobacco policymaking process served as further sources. These sources included health advocates based in the state and in local communities throughout Illinois, state and local elected officials, health authorities at both the state and local levels, state and local regulators, staff at business associations, and staff at national organizations dedicated to tobacco control. A total of 47 interviews, with 39 individuals, were made between May 2013 and May 2014. In addition, the report includes information from state legislative records and transcripts, state-level campaign contribution data, and news sources.

Legislative records included the text of state legislation, the history of legislative actions on bills, voting records on bills, committee minutes and reports, the state legislative register of proposed administrative rules, and in certain cases, the files associated with bills, located at the state archives in Springfield.

These sources were supplemented by news sources, nonprofit organization and state agency files, and campaign contribution data. News sources were the main source of secondary information to stitch together a history of tobacco control policymaking. Files furnished by nonprofit health organizations based in Illinois included examples of health groups' work. Agencies' files include public reports and voluntarily furnished files from the Illinois Department of Public Health. Campaign contributions covered all contributions from 1995 to 2012, and the procedure for campaign contributions is described in the chapter on tobacco industry influence; the results of analysis of the data are used throughout the report to give context to the political activities occurring. Information throughout was triangulated: corroborating information by verifying such information through additional sources.

Conclusion

Given the tobacco industry's campaign contributions and lobbying activities, the process by which tobacco control policies developed involved not only the efforts of health advocates but also the efforts by tobacco industry lobbyists to block such policies. Public health advocates succeeded in changing tobacco control policy in many respects, but some factors also distracted from health advocates' cause.

Among the tobacco policy developments in Illinois, several key developments are major points of interest. The loss of local authority to regulate smoking between 1989 and 2005, followed by the restoration of local control in 2005, the flourishing of local tobacco control laws through 2007, and the culmination of these efforts in a statewide smokefree law that took effect in 2008, represent tobacco policy gaining ground dramatically in a short period of time. Furthermore, cigarette excise tax increases raised cigarette prices at the statewide level, in Illinois' most populous county, Cook, and in Illinois' most populous city, Chicago. Also, Cook County and some nearby counties made innovations in local tobacco retailer licensing requirements, and Chicago also made additional innovations in legislation to protect youth from smoking, including efforts prohibiting the sale of bidis, limiting the sale of menthol cigarettes, and requiring tobacco retailer licensing for the sale of electronic cigarettes.

Such dramatic advances especially in smokefree air but also on cigarette taxes, along with innovative efforts to restrict the sale of bidis, menthol tobacco products, and electronic cigarettes, stand out as the most influential tobacco control policy developments in Illinois. These policy changes are even more notable given the broad mix of tobacco industry political strategies and volume of campaign contributions in Illinois politics, which are detailed in the next chapter.

Chapter 2: Tobacco Industry Influence in Illinois

- Campaign contributions by tobacco industry interests to elected officials in Illinois between 1995 and 2012 totaled at least $4,936,327. On a per capita basis, the tobacco industry made campaign expenditures in Illinois at a rate four times that of neighboring state Indiana.
- Philip Morris accounted for 71% of total state level tobacco industry campaign contributions in Illinois between 1995 and 2012.
- In any given two-year election cycle between 1995-1996 and 2011-2012, the tobacco industry gave campaign contributions to most (58% to 88%) state legislators.
- The Tobacco Institute and tobacco companies in the 1980s and 1990s fielded teams of veteran lobbyists and politically influential figures in Illinois and Chicago-area politics and also former state legislators, to block tobacco control legislation especially on clean indoor air and tobacco taxes.
- Tobacco industry allies from the 1950s through 1990s frequently included the heads of major state hospitality associations.
- In the 2000s, the heads of the Illinois Restaurant Association and Illinois Licensed Beverage Association changed, after which these organizations did not align with standard tobacco industry policy positions.
- The intensity of tobacco industry campaign contributions in Illinois, combined with the reach of the tobacco industry in contributing widely across the state legislature and systematic use of lobbying teams, made Illinois state tobacco control policymaking seem especially difficult.
- The tobacco industry's efforts at cultivating third party business associations to do the work of the tobacco industry, along with its creation of front groups, demonstrates that health advocates' and elected officials' challenges in tobacco control policymaking extended beyond confronting the tobacco industry itself.

Tobacco industry efforts to influence public policy in Illinois included lobbying and campaign contributions from industry associations, notably the Tobacco Institute, as well as lobbying by individual companies and sustained campaign contributions, most notably Philip Morris. Tobacco manufacturers also worked to get other business associations, principally the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors, Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, and Illinois Restaurant Association to act as "third parties" to advance industry positions, and worked to create the appearance of third-party support for policies where little external support for tobacco industry positions existed.

Direct Tobacco Industry Action

Tobacco industry efforts to shape Illinois politics involved coordinating teams of lobbyists in Illinois and more intensive spending on campaign contributions than in neighboring states. Efforts during portions of this activity included keeping out of the public eye the connections between different tobacco industry interests and related organizations.

The Tobacco Institute and Key Individuals in Illinois

The Tobacco Institute, in operation from 1958 to 1998, was the cigarette companies' primary lobbying and public relations organization for affecting policy in Illinois, as in other states. The activities of the Tobacco Institute until its dissolution reflected a well-funded organization with continuous leadership and with the sustained backing of tobacco companies. The Tobacco Institute was dissolved as part of the settlements of state litigation against the cigarette companies, including the 1998 Master Settlement Agreement.

The Tobacco Institute was organized administratively into the Federal Relations Division, Public Affairs Division, and State Activities Division. The State Activities Division monitored legislative developments in each state and coordinated both reactive and proactive strategies for each state. Throughout the 1990s, the State Activities Division budget constituted about one-quarter of the Tobacco Institute's annual expenditures, with the average budget for the division being approximately $10 million per year;[36] between 1991 and 1997 Tobacco Institute lobbying expenditures on Illinois were fourth highest among states.[36]

For Illinois, the Tobacco Institute's key individuals coordinating lobbying and policy matters included:[37-42]

- Samuel Chilcote, Tobacco Institute President
- Susan Stuntz, Senior Vice President for the Public Affairs Division
- Jack Kelly (1978-1983), Senior Vice President of State Activities from 1978 to 1983,[43] also operating the Tobacco Action Network, a nationwide umbrella organization with state chapters, dedicated to opposing tobacco control policies,[44] largely by mobilizing employees of companies in the tobacco industry, in all states including Illinois
- Kurt Malmgren, Senior Vice President for the State Activities Division (from 1989[45, p.3])
- Roger Mozingo (starting in 1983)[46] and Pat Donoho (mid-1990s), Senior Vice President of the State Activities Division
- Paul Emrick (in the late 1980s) and Pat Donoho (starting in 1991), serving as the State Activities Division Vice President for the Northern Sector, the arm of the State Activities Division that covered midwestern, northeastern, and northwestern states
- Bob Pruett, by the mid-1990s a Tobacco Institute vice president for federal issues, and before that a regional director for the State Activities Division region including Illinois
- Bill Trisler, State Activities Division Region III Vice President, followed as regional vice president by Ray Rizzo. Trisler was the Democratic Party state chair in neighboring Indiana and first started working for the Tobacco Institute State Activities Division as the state director for Indiana, becoming the Region III Vice President in 1984.[47] As Vice President for the region, Trisler headed efforts to monitor state-level tobacco policy developments and coordinate lobbying efforts in all states in the region, including Illinois.
- Bill Cannell, Vice President for Legislative Support, headed the branch of the State Activities Division dealing in matters that covered all states. Under Cannell, the following people also worked on legislative affairs:
- Cathey Yoe, Director of Legislative Information
- Walter Woodson, Director of Communications

- Paula Duhaime, Manager of Legislative Issues
- Bill Orzechowski, Director of Economic Issues

An organizational chart during the 1980s that exemplifies the structure and highlights key long-term personnel can be seen in Figure 5.

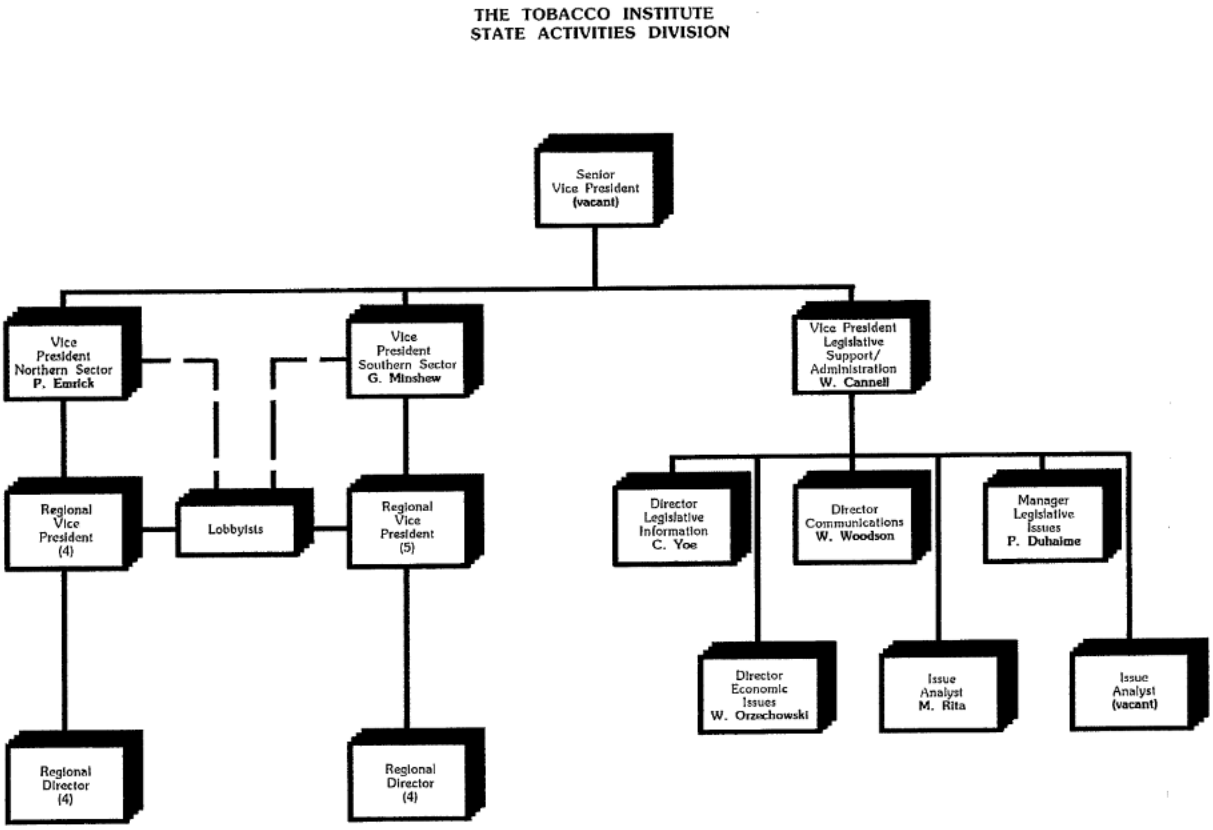


Figure 5: Tobacco Institute State Activities Division Organization Chart, June 1988
Source: Tobacco Institute internal files, 1988[48]

Tobacco Action Network and Tobacco Tax Council

The Tobacco Institute set up the Tobacco Action Network, an umbrella organization dedicated to opposing tobacco control policies, in 1977.[49] The Tobacco Action Network sought to coordinate lobbying efforts by encouraging employees of tobacco manufacturing, wholesaling, and retailing companies to write letters, speak at committee hearings, and contact elected officials about issues against which the State Activities Division intended to raise opposition.[50] Staff at the Tobacco Institute's State Activities Division operated the Tobacco Action Network.[50] The Tobacco Action Network worked vigorously to oppose bills in Illinois regulating smoking indoors as early as 1981,[51] but became less active in Illinois through 1989,[52] and largely fell into disuse in the early 1990s.[53] It continued to exist and carried out activities in other states through 1995.[54]

Cigarette manufacturers founded the National Tobacco Tax Research Council in 1949 to oppose tobacco taxes, and simplified its name to the Tobacco Tax Council in 1954.[55] The National Tobacco Tax Research Council was active in Illinois as early as 1953, carrying out studies of cigarette sales criticizing cigarette taxes,[56] focusing on both state and municipal taxes. The Tobacco Tax Council operated in Illinois through 1982;[57] that year it was folded into the Tobacco Institute.[58]

Tobacco Industry Labor-Management Committee

The Tobacco Labor-Management Committee was an industry-sponsored national coalition aiming to reframe tobacco tax issues in terms that would convince unions to oppose tobacco taxes.[59] This committee attempted to convince labor unions to oppose smokefree laws, by casting smokefree rules as either taking away workers' rights or costing jobs. In the late 1980s the Tobacco Labor-Management Committee enlisted David Wilhelm of The Strategy Group, an Evanston-based, Democratic-aligned national-level political and market research firm.

As part of Wilhelm's communications with the Tobacco Labor-Management Committee, Wilhelm remarked in a August 18, 1989 memo, "One thing was clear from the recently concluded legislative session in Illinois: foes of excise taxes need more friends [...] This time around we need to have a few more allies in the labor and minority communities."[60] Tobacco Institute lobbyists and strategists worked as a result to court labor unions to oppose tobacco taxes, and also worked to convince African American and Latino groups to oppose taxes. The Strategy Group under new leadership by the early 2000s had come to work on the side of tobacco control, receiving a grant from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, a healthcare-focused foundation that includes an emphasis on tobacco control, for the period from 2002 to 2008, and evaluated the effectiveness of communications messages on issues of smokefree laws and cigarette taxes.[61]

In Illinois, tobacco industry strategists worked to convince labor unions to support legislation that prohibited firing or sanctioning employees who smoked while not at work, casting it as employment protection when using a legal product during non-business hours.[62] In 1989, the Tobacco Institute sought, and achieved, an amendment to a state clean indoor air bill that preempted local governments from enacting clean indoor air ordinances. The Tobacco Institute lobbyists then lobbied in favor of the amended bill, and the amendment forced health advocates to choose between supporting a weak bill with preemption or withholding support from the bill. During this time, the Tobacco Institute attempted to convince labor unions to support the modified bill.[63] The bill passed, ushering in state preemption of local clean indoor air ordinances for the next 16 years. This bill is covered in detail in the chapter on clean indoor air, Chapter 4.

National Smokers Alliance and Tobacco Policy Opposition

Tobacco industry interests in Illinois hid behind front groups, organizations created by the tobacco industry to hide its involvement in policy debates. These included the National Smokers Alliance, as well as the Illinois Hospitality and Commerce Commission on Indoor Air Quality, which was created in 2001 as part of Philip Morris' *Options* program to ward off smokefree restaurant laws. Strategists within the tobacco industry aimed to create the appearance of third-party support for tobacco industry-supported policies that lacked broader support. Tobacco industry strategists also sought to do so in a way that kept the tobacco industry from appearing to be involved directly.

The National Smokers Alliance, an organization created by Philip Morris and its public relations firm Burson-Marsteller,[36, 64-65] and in operation from 1994 to 1999, received virtually all of its money from Philip Morris and, to a lesser extent, the other cigarette companies.[66]

The National Smokers Alliance received virtually all of its money from Philip Morris.

In 1994, the National Smokers Alliance accounted for $1 million, over 90%, of Brown & Williamson's spending on "corporate memberships."[67] In 1995 this amount increased to $1.5 million,[68] in 1996 the National Smokers Alliance continued to receive less than 1% of its money from member dues,[66] and in the mid- and late-1990s it continued to be approved by Philip Morris and additional tobacco companies for funds and additional "grants."[69-71]

The National Smokers Alliance opposed local clean indoor air ordinances primarily in Texas and in east coast cities.[65] It did, however, make one concerted effort in Illinois. The National Smokers Alliance mobilized forcefully against a 1997 proposed smokefree restaurant and bar ordinance in Arlington Heights.

Philip Morris' "Options" Program: Ventilation Alternatives as Policy Diversion

As part of overall tobacco industry efforts to push for "accommodation" between people who smoke and those who do not smoke,[72-73] Philip Morris introduced the *Options* program as a way to keep smoking in restaurants and bars. Chicago was Philip Morris' test case to see if this could be used as a national strategy.

The program ought to convince businessowners that smokefree laws would ruin restaurants' and bars' business, and to convince businessowners that smoking ought to be up to individual businesses to decide. This program came into effect in 2000, after being introduced nationwide at the National Restaurant Association convention in Chicago.[74]

The tobacco industry attempted to depict ventilation as an option that it asserted could remove smoke from indoor air.[75] Rather than smokefree laws having neutral effects on revenue

or resulting in gains in revenue for the hospitality industry, tobacco companies claimed repeatedly to restaurant, bar, and other hospitality associations that smokefree laws would lead to lost profits.[73]

In 2000, Philip Morris selected Chicago as a test city to start this campaign among businesses.[76] Philip Morris' 2001 Marlboro Bars program, a series of Marlboro promotions at bars in selected cities across the United States, included both Chicago and Springfield as selected cities.[77] House of Blues, a music venue chain with a location on Dearborn Street in downtown Chicago, served as a demonstration site for the *Options* program in 2001, entering into an exclusive promotion relationship with Camel.[78]

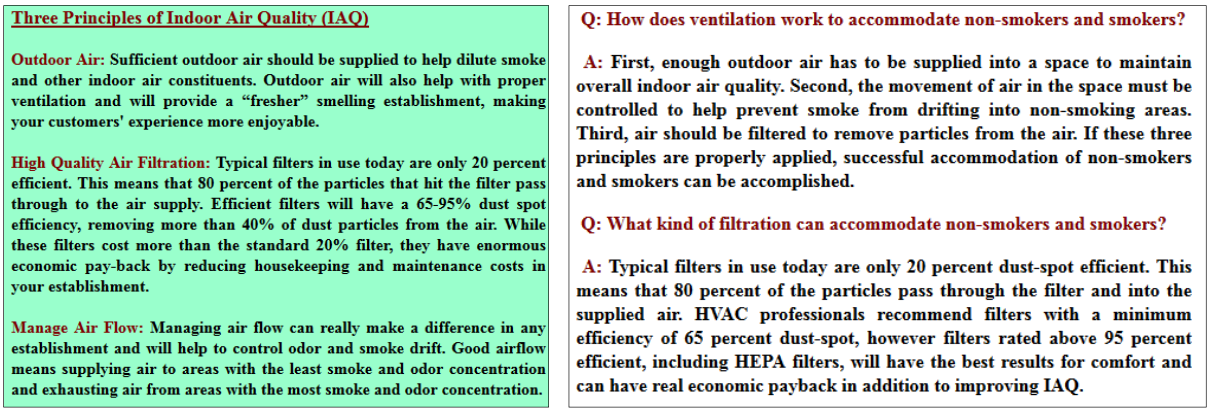
Illinois Hospitality and Commerce Commission on Indoor Air Quality

Building on the success of the Philip Morris' *Options* test pilot in Chicago, the *Options* program attempted to created a national coalition of organizations on "indoor air quality" that promoted ventilation of restaurants, bars, and other publicly accessible spaces as a policy alternative to clean indoor air laws: an alternative that would enable smoking to be continued to be allowed indoors.

The *Options* program established at least four state-level coalitions: the Illinois Hospitality and Commerce Commission on Indoor Air Quality was one of these,[79] and became active in 2001. These organizations asserted that cigarette smoke could be ventilated quickly enough out of indoor areas to eliminate harm. These efforts can be classified as a form of policy diversion: providing the appearance of doing something on smoke-filled indoor air without eliminating cigarette smoke through smokefree laws.

Philip Morris selected Illinois as one of five pilot study states in 2001 to see if creating a coalition on "indoor air quality" could increase the proportion of restaurant and bar owners who believed that smoke could be controlled through ventilation.[80] As part of this pilot, Philip Morris recruited organizations to form the Illinois Hospitality Commerce Coalition for Indoor Air Quality, including the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, Illinois Retail Merchants Association, Illinois Hotel & Lodging Association, Illinois Chamber of Commerce, Chicagoland Chamber of Commerce, Illinois Restaurant Association, Illinois State Bowling Proprietors Association, Metropolitan Pier and Exposition Authority, Chicago Convention and Tourism Bureau, and the Northern Illinois Air Conditioning Contractors of America, as well as Philip Morris as a member.

The website Illinoiscleanair.org between 2001 and 2005 focused on voluntary measures to clean air, and steadfastly asserted that smoking issues should be left to business owners. It also used language from its "accommodation" programs from the 1990s: that ventilation helps "accommodate non-smokers and smokers" (Figure 6).[81]



Three Principles of Indoor Air Quality (IAQ)

Outdoor Air: Sufficient outdoor air should be supplied to help dilute smoke and other indoor air constituents. Outdoor air will also help with proper ventilation and will provide a "fresher" smelling establishment, making your customers' experience more enjoyable.

High Quality Air Filtration: Typical filters in use today are only 20 percent efficient. This means that 80 percent of the particles that hit the filter pass through to the air supply. Efficient filters will have a 65-95% dust spot efficiency, removing more than 40% of dust particles from the air. While these filters cost more than the standard 20% filter, they have enormous economic pay-back by reducing housekeeping and maintenance costs in your establishment.

Manage Air Flow: Managing air flow can really make a difference in any establishment and will help to control odor and smoke drift. Good airflow means supplying air to areas with the least smoke and odor concentration and exhausting air from areas with the most smoke and odor concentration.

Q: How does ventilation work to accommodate non-smokers and smokers?

A: First, enough outdoor air has to be supplied into a space to maintain overall indoor air quality. Second, the movement of air in the space must be controlled to help prevent smoke from drifting into non-smoking areas. Third, air should be filtered to remove particles from the air. If these three principles are properly applied, successful accommodation of non-smokers and smokers can be accomplished.

Q: What kind of filtration can accommodate non-smokers and smokers?

A: Typical filters in use today are only 20 percent dust-spot efficient. This means that 80 percent of the particles pass through the filter and into the supplied air. HVAC professionals recommend filters with a minimum efficiency of 65 percent dust-spot, however filters rated above 95 percent efficient, including HEPA filters, will have the best results for comfort and can have real economic payback in addition to improving IAQ.

Figure 6: Indoor Air Quality Coalition "Information on IAQ" and "Frequently Asked Questions" Pages, 2002
Source: Internet Archive Wayback Machine, 2002[81-82]

Tobacco Institute and Tobacco Company Lobbyists

The Tobacco Institute and individual companies R.J. Reynolds and Philip Morris used many law firms and lobbyists.

Incomplete Lobbying Information Under State Lobbying Disclosure Laws

Illinois state laws on lobbyist disclosure laws, as of 2014, were permissive relative to other states. Salaries for lobbying, that is, money that companies paid to lobbyists, as of 2014 were not required to be reported.[83] Lobbying disclosure and reporting laws stated, "Salaries, fees, and other compensation paid to the registrant [the lobbyist who registers with the state] for the purposes of lobbying need not be reported."[84] Total salaries for all lobbyists in Illinois, for all issues not just tobacco, was estimated in 2009 to be $80 million to $100 million each year.[85]

Expenses for lobbying, that is, expenditures by lobbyists for the people being lobbied, consisting of travel, lodging, meals, gifts, entertainment, and honoraria, only were required by state lobbying disclosure laws to reported for directly hired lobbyists. The law required reporting of lobbying expenses every two weeks,[84] with these expenses tied to the client who paid for the lobbying. Yet, lobbyists hired by companies often contract the lobbying work out to additional lobbyists; these subcontractor lobbyists then lobby on behalf of the original lobbyists' clients. State law as of 2014 did not require that subcontractors report the original funder of lobbying activities.

Consequently, reported, disclosed expenses for lobbying in Illinois were estimated in 2012 to be less than one percent of the expenditures disclosed in comparably sized states.[86] The disclosed lobbying expenses for Altria for the year 2011, as submitted through and reported on the Illinois Secretary of State website, totaled approximately just $78.[87] Therefore, total tobacco industry lobbying expenses could not be accurately determined by public records.

Salaries and expenses for lobbying done after 1998 cannot be divined as easily as expenditures before 1998, the year that a lawsuit that the state of Minnesota settled with the major U.S.-based tobacco companies mandated that the documents that tobacco companies produced would be made public,[88] and also the year that the Master Settlement Agreement

mandated that these documents be made available on the internet. Tobacco companies, knowing that written statements would be made public record, became more cautious with the information on written documents since 1998.[89]

The seven lobbyists whose names appeared most frequently in formerly secret tobacco industry documents from 1990 to 2013, along with law firms of which the lobbyists were a part, are listed below:

Tobacco Institute Lobbyists

Harry L. "Bud" Kelley

In the 1980s and 1990s, the Tobacco Institute paid for lobbying work by Harry "Bud" Kelley (d. 2011), who had a long career as a lobbyist in Springfield. Compensation for Kelley appeared as individual line items in the State Activities Division annual budgets from the early 1980s to the early 1990s.[90-94]

Bud Kelley served as a lobbyist for the Tobacco Institute while serving as the executive director of the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors. As the executive director, Kelley made opposition to tobacco taxes and smokefree laws one of his main focuses.

Bud Kelley served as a lobbyist for the Tobacco Institute while serving as the executive director of the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors.

Kelley opposed state clean indoor air legislation and local clean indoor air ordinances in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, and opposed smokefree legislation in the decade of the 2000s. As a lobbyist for the Tobacco Institute he coordinated campaign contributions to statewide elected officials. Kelley and the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors also backed a lawsuit to invalidate a local cigarette tax adopted by the city of Berwyn. The role of the distributors' association in opposing tobacco control policies is detailed in the section of this chapter on third-party allies of the tobacco industry.

According to Tobacco Institute directories listings of Kelley as a lobbyist, he was also a lobbyist for the Smokeless Tobacco Council in the 1980s,[95] as well as for the Washington, D.C.-based Cigar Association in the 1990s.[42] The Tobacco Institute paid Kelley $50,000 each year from 1987 to 1990.[94]

The Tobacco Institute had Kelley research issues within Illinois and lobby on smokefree laws and cigarette taxes. A June 5, 1987 Tobacco Institute evaluation of Kelley read that Kelley "maintains strong contacts with selected legislators, several legislative aides and staff members.

We [at the Tobacco Institute] often receive information prior to its own publication."[95] The 1987 evaluation by the Tobacco Institute also included, "Bud Kelley has never failed to assist our industry on any legislative-type requests which have been made of him."[95]

John T. O'Connell

The Tobacco Institute also hired former state representative John T. O'Connell (D-La Grange), who had represented portions of southwestern and western Cook County. O'Connell served in the Illinois House of Representatives from 1981 to 1989.[96] Among O'Connell's legislative focuses, according to the 1989 House resolution congratulating him on his retirement from elected office, was passing "some of the toughest laws in the war against drugs."[96]

O'Connell focused on relations with labor, working to improve the image of the tobacco industry among organized labor in Illinois. By the end of 1989, O'Connell was working for the Tobacco Labor Management Committee;[97] his tasks included representing the tobacco industry before state and local labor organizations and encouraging unions to oppose tobacco control legislation within Illinois.[98]

Between 1989 and 1997 the Tobacco Institute paid him at least $552,690 (Table 1). Notable activities that O'Connell took for the Tobacco Institute included mobilizing labor unions to support the industry-supported Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act of 1989,[99] and lobbying the governor's office for a 1993 bill that prohibited local governments from starting new local cigarette taxes.[100]

William Ward Johnson (W. Ward Johnson and Associates)

William Ward Johnson and his law firm W. Ward Johnson and Associates worked for the Tobacco Institute from 1987 to 1993. Johnson's efforts for the Tobacco Institute focused on promoting product liability, or tort, legislation that favored the tobacco industry. Tobacco Institute expenses for Johnson or his firm for lobbying activities and expenses in Illinois between 1987 and 1993 total at least $222,000 (Table 2). Johnson also took part in mobilization plans for defeating statewide clean indoor air legislation, resisting cigarette taxes, and promoting preemption and ventilation standards.[114-116]

Charles Schrader

The Tobacco Institute paid for Charles Schrader (d. 2012), a lawyer,[123] to work as the lobbyist for the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors as early as 1979, with the Tobacco Institute funding the distributors' association to pay part of Schrader's salary.[124] Schrader's firm, Charles Schrader and Associates, was based in Batavia, in Kane County.[125] The Tobacco Institute continued to fund the distributors' association to pay for Schrader through at least the late 1980s.[94, p. 78] The 1987 Tobacco Institute lobbyist evaluation form on Schrader noted, "Chuck is actually employed by the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors rather than TI [Tobacco Institute]. However, our funding of the IATCD supports his retainer."[95]

Table 1: Tobacco Institute Expenditures Using John T. O'Connell

Year	Amount	Description	Source
1989	$6,809	December 15, 1989 statement for services rendered	[101]
1990	5,000	January 4, 1990 statement for services rendered	[102]
1990	7,000	February 25, 1990 statement for services rendered	[103]
1990	8,999	March 1, 1990 statement for services rendered	[104]
1990	7,882	August 20, 1990 statement for services rendered	[105]
1991	14,000	July 26, 1991 statement for services rendered	[106]
1992	7,000	February 13, 1992 statement for services rendered	[107]
1993	84,000	December 21, 1992 letter of agreement for 1993 for the Tobacco Industry Labor Management Committee for Illinois	[98]
1994	65,000	December 10, 1993 letter of agreement for 1994 for Illinois	[108]
1994	12,000	February 18, 1994 letter of agreement for 1994 for Chicago and Cook County	[109]
1995	65,000	Tobacco Institute 1998 budget with past years' spending, for Illinois	[110]
1995	20,000	Tobacco Institute 1998 budget with past years' spending, for 1995 for local consulting	[110]
1995	67,500	December 20, 1995 letter for 1996 for Illinois	[111]
1996	20,000	Tobacco Institute 1998 budget with past years' spending, for 1996 for local consulting	[110]
1997	70,000	Tobacco Institute 1999 draft budget with past years' spending, for 1997 for Illinois	[112]
1997	20,000	Tobacco Institute 1999 draft budget with past years' spending, for 1997 for local consulting	[112]
1997	72,500	December 15, 1997 letter of agreement for 1998 for Illinois	[113, p. 68]
Total:	$552,690		

Table 2: Tobacco Institute Expenditures on W. Ward Johnson and Associates

Year	Amount	Description	Source
1987	$25,000	Tobacco Institute 1988 budget with past years' spending	[117]
1988	25,000	Tobacco Institute 1988 budget	[117]
1989	28,000	Tobacco Institute 1993 budget with past years' spending	[118]
1990	33,000	Tobacco Institute 1993 budget with past years' spending	[118]
1991	34,000	Tobacco Institute 1993 budget with past years' spending	[118]
1991	5,000	July 12, 1991 invoice for extra for torts work, approved by Bill Trisler on August 1, 1992	[119]
1991	34,000	December 16, 1991 letter of agreement for 1992 for Illinois	[120]
1992	2,000	March 4, 1992 letter and check for extra for 1992 for torts work	[121]
1992	36,000	December 16, 1992 letter of agreement for 1993 for Illinois	[122]
Total:	$222,000		

Schrader worked to defeat cigarette tax and smoking legislation.[114-115, 124] The 1987 Tobacco Institute evaluation of Schrader stated, "Chuck is an excellent tactician who compl[e]ments the activities of our Illinois lobbying team. Since our contact with him only one major issue has been lost."[95]

Through the late 1980s, Schrader remained regularly in communication with the Tobacco Institute, receiving information and participating in Illinois-focused strategy meetings alongside the Tobacco Institute's directly paid lobbyists covering Illinois, for tobacco issues similar to those covered by Ward Johnson.[114-116]

Thomas G. Lyons (O'Keefe, Ashenden, Lyons & Ward)

In the 1990s, the Tobacco Institute's lead lobbying firm for Illinois was O'Keefe, Ashenden, Lyons & Ward. A partner in this firm, Thomas G. Lyons (d. 2007), represented the Tobacco Institute in Illinois, Cook County, the city of Chicago, or some combination of these geographical areas, from 1989 until at least 1998.[41, 126] In 1989, Bill Trisler, the State Activities Division Regional Vice President, selected Lyons as the Tobacco Institute's best prospect for a lobbyist in Illinois.[127] Lyons had been a member of the Illinois Senate in the 1960s,[128] and served as chair of the Cook County Democratic Party from 1990 to 2007.[128]

Lyons used his relationships and connections with legislative leadership to defeat state and Chicago-area public health legislation on tobacco. The Tobacco Institute's yearly evaluation of Lyons for 1992 noted that "[Lyons] is very instrumental in the defeat of bills coming out of committee and the timing of hearings for these bills which allows our entire lobbying staff to be more effective for the support or defeat of the bill. As our lead lobbyist, I commend Tom for a 'job well done.'"[118] The evaluation continued, "His contacts with leadership and all members of the assembly and use of allies is very impressive and is ongoing."[118] Between 1989 and 1998 the Tobacco Institute paid O'Keefe, Ashenden, Lyons & Ward, or Lyons directly, at least $555,525 (Table 3).

R.J. Reynolds Lobbyists

Larry Suffredin (Simon & Spitalli)

Lawrence J. Suffredin, who served as a Cook County Board Commissioner since 2002, and who remained on the Board of Commissioners as of 2013, served as a lobbyist for R.J. Reynolds, with much of his work in the mid and late 1990s. Suffredin worked as part of Simon & Spitalli, a Chicago-based law firm, and in the late 1990s worked as his own firm, the law offices of Lawrence J. Suffredin, Jr.

Between 1993 and 2001, R.J. Reynolds spent $933,445 in fees, bonuses, and expenses for Suffredin's lobbying activities (Table 4). Suffredin was also a lobbyist for the Illinois Restaurant Association, serving in this capacity from the early 1980s through 2006.[141] As the lobbyist for the Illinois Restaurant Association, Suffredin lobbied against proposed clean indoor air legislation in Chicago,[142] and as the lobbyist for R.J. Reynolds opposed cigarette tax increases.[143]

Table 3: Tobacco Institute Lobbying Expenditures for O'Keefe, Ashenden, Lyons & Ward

Year	Amount	Description	Source
1989	$25,000	July 5, 1989 letter of agreement to work for the Tobacco Institute for 1989 Chicago local legislation; invoice for partial received	129
1989	28,400	August 28, 1989 letter of agreement for work on Illinois, Cook County, and Chicago	130
1990	21,250	March 27, 1990 invoice from Lyons' firm for 2nd quarter 1990	131
1991	21,625	January 10, 1991 check to Lyons' firm for 1st quarter 1991 work	132
1991	5,000	August 9, 1991 check and July 24 invoice from Lyons' firm to the Tobacco Institute, approved by Bill Trisler on August 1	133-134
1992	56,500	December 18, 1991 letter of agreement for 1992 on Illinois	120
1992	15,000	December 18, 1991 letter of agreement for 1992 for Cook County	120
1992	15,000	December 18, 1991 letter of agreement for 1992 for Chicago	120
1992	2,000	March 4, 1992 check to Lyons' firm for torts work	135
1993	58,500	December 16, 1992 letter of agreement for 1993 for Illinois	122, p. 5
1993	16,500	December 16, 1992 letter of agreement for 1993 for Chicago	122, p. 8
1993	15,000	December 16, 1992 letter of agreement for 1993 for Cook County	122, p. 11
1993	2,000	February 9, 1993 extra check to Lyons' firm for torts work	136, p. 141
1994	26,250	February 18, 1994 letter of agreement for 1994 for Cook County	41
1994	26,250	February 18, 1994 letter of agreement for 1994 for Chicago	137
1994	3,750	March 8, 1994 check to Lyons' firm	138, p. 514
1994	7,500	April 12, 1994 check to Lyons' firm	139, p. 899
1995	30,000	Tobacco Institute 1998 budget with past years' spending, for 1995 for Cook County	110
1995	30,000	Tobacco Institute 1998 budget with past years' spending, for 1995 for Chicago	110
1996	60,000	IRS filing report by Lyons declaring the year's compensation by the Tobacco Institute	140
1997	30,000	Tobacco Institute 1999 draft budget with past years' spending, for 1997 for Cook County	112
1997	30,000	Tobacco Institute 1999 draft budget with past years' spending, for 1997 for Chicago	112
1998	30,000	December 15, 1997 letter of agreement for 1998 for Chicago	113, p. 76
Total:	$555,525		

After Suffredin won election as a county commissioner in 2002, he favored higher cigarette taxes. Suffredin represented an area of Cook County north of Chicago with strong public support for tobacco control policies. This area of Cook County included many cities where the main tobacco control advocates within the Chicago area lived.

Table 4: R.J. Reynolds Lobbying Expenditures Using Larry Suffredin

Year	Amount	Description	Source
1993	$95,788	Budget report of 1993 lobbying expenses, processed January 20, 1994	144, p.5
1994	101,894	Budget report of 1994 year-to-date lobbying expenses, processed September 14, 1994	145, p.5
1995	90,000	December 1, 1994 letter for 1995 for Illinois, for 22,500 per quarter	146
1996	98,000	Budget for 1997 reporting 1996 year-to-date lobbying expenses for 1996, processed December 20, 1996	147
1997	95,000	December 16, 1996 letter of agreement for 1997 for Illinois	148
1998	133,499	Budget report of 1998 lobbying expenses, processed January 11, 1999	149, p.15
1999	98,758	Budget report of 1999 lobbying expenses, processed January 13, 2000	150, p.10
2000	105,000	December 15 letter of agreement for 2000 for Illinois	151
2001	115,506	Budget report of 2001 lobbying expenses, processed January 10, 2002	152, p.8
Total:	$933,445		

Note: Figures combine lobbying salaries, expenses, and bonuses.

Philip Morris Lobbyists

Jeff Whipple

Philip Morris hired Jeff Whipple as the company's lobbyist for Illinois from 1989 to 1998.[153-159] Whipple regularly served in meetings with Tobacco Institute staff, including State Activities Division regional vice president Bill Trisler and R.J. Reynolds lobbyist Larry Suffredin.[153-156] In 1994, Philip Morris paid $100,000 to $125,000 per year to Whipple for his lobbying efforts. Philip Morris listed Whipple's firm as parts of its collection of lobbyists for Illinois through at least 1998.[160]

Whipple coordinated with Tobacco Institute strategists to mobilize Philip Morris' resources on activities that would favor the tobacco industry in Illinois, including mobilizing Philip Morris contacts to contact legislators about supporting the 1989 Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act.[161] Whipple directly lobbied legislators against the 1989 state cigarette tax increase.[162]

Al Ronan

Al Ronan was a Democratic state representative from Chicago from 1979 to 1992. While in the Illinois House, Ronan was in active contact with the tobacco industry's Illinois-focused lobbyists, including Ward Johnson and Charles Schrader: a Tobacco Institute memo from State Activities Division Communications Director Walter Woodson to other Tobacco Institute executives, dated July 17, 1987, referred to Ronan as a "key IL [Illinois] tobacco ally."[163]

In the mid 1980s, Rep. Ronan helped to kill statewide clean indoor air legislation; Ronan was on the House Human Services Committee, the committee to which clean indoor air bills were referred, and was one of the most influential members of the committee.[164] After Ronan's service in the Illinois House, Philip Morris hired him as a lobbyist through at least 1994, doing work including contacting the governor's staff on tobacco issues.[165-167]

Tobacco Industry Allies

In addition to attempting to influence policy directly through trade associations and setting up front groups to synthesize third-party support where none existed, tobacco companies also worked to have business organizations promote policy positions and lines of argument that aligned with the tobacco industry's positions.

These organizations included the Illinois Association of Wholesale Distributors, the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, the Illinois Retail Merchants' Association, and the Illinois Casino Gaming Association. The heads of these business associations often became close collaborators with Tobacco Institute strategists and officers.

The Tobacco Institute gave nominal funds to wholesale distributors' associations in at least 36 states.

Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors and Harry Kelley

The Illinois Association of Wholesale Distributors had the name of Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors through 2011. In many states, "Tobacco and Candy Distributors" associations later broadened from this initial focus and were remade into wholesaling organizations in general. The Tobacco Institute gave nominal funds to wholesale distributors' associations in at least 36 states.[168] Even in the 1950s, as the Illinois Association of Tobacco Distributors, the organization was one of the key opponents of tobacco control legislation in Illinois, opposing legislation to label contents on cigarette packs.[169] In the mid 1980s, the letterhead of the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors carried the tagline, "Cigarettes Don't Pay Taxes: PEOPLE DO!" (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors Letterhead, 1987
Source: Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors[170]

Harry "Bud" Kelley served as executive director of the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors from 1975 to 2009.[171] During Kelley's tenure as executive director, the Tobacco Institute also enlisted Kelley frequently. A 1989 Tobacco Institute "ACTION-TRAC" report, which was a report circulated among State Activities Division staff to track local legislation and what the Tobacco Institute was doing to support or oppose such legislation, noted Kelley's efforts to speak against a proposed smokefree restaurant ordinance in Oak Park in 1989.[172] Kelley was also active at State Activities Division meetings to plan yearly policy efforts for Illinois.[165]

The Tobacco Institute started a youth enforcement program in 1990 called "It's the Law," placing responsibility on retailers to include signage declaring a prohibition on sales to people under 18;[173] this and additional youth smoking prevention programs such as the 1995 "We Card" program were the tobacco industry's way of heading off legislation to prevent youth smoking.[173-174] Tobacco Institute personnel regarded "It's the Law" as the industry's favored program addressing pressures about youth smoking.[175] In 1991, Tobacco Institute strategists and officials noted Kelley's efforts to promote the "It's the Law" campaign in Illinois.[176-177]

The Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors coordinated directly with the Tobacco Institute about campaign contributions to candidates, as early as 1986.[178]

This organization served as a key supporter of tobacco manufacturers' policy positions. As the Tobacco Institute noted in 1986, "Strong support from the I.T.C.D.A. and member company personnel forms the core of our grassroots program in Illinois. The association also greatly supplements our direct lobbying and campaign support activities."[179] Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors personnel also helped provide local information in mobilization against a proposed clean indoor air ordinance in the city of Aurora in 1989.[180]

The distributors' association received funds from both the Tobacco Institute and tobacco manufacturers. The Tobacco Institute funded the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors in the early 1990s, earmarking $50,000 for 1990 and $52,000 for 1991[181] The Tobacco Institute did not, according to the Tobacco Institute's budget historical summaries, provide funds for 1994, but did give $25,000, under its account for supporting the "State

Tobacco Whole[sale] Org[anization]" in Illinois, each year from 1995 to 1997.[110] In 1995, Brown & Williamson gave $30,000 to the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors, approximately one-fifth of the total that it gave to state wholesalers that year and more than any other state wholesaler listed in its budget that year.[182]

Illinois Licensed Beverage Association and Steve Riedl

The Illinois Licensed Beverage Association received funds directly from the Tobacco Institute in the 1990s and from Philip Morris in the decade of the 2000s.[183-184] Throughout the decade of the 2000s, Steve Riedl and the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association opposed smokefree local ordinances up and down the state from Wilmette and Chicago to Springfield, Champaign, and Carbondale. Yet, in 2005, when the receipt of these funds from the tobacco industry became known to the public in Springfield during the effort to pass a local smoke-free ordinance, executive director Steve Riedl claimed in a 2005 article in Springfield's *State Journal-Register* that the receipt of these funds did not change the reasons for the argument against smokefree laws, which Riedl claimed to be economic and adverse.[183] After the Smoke Free Illinois Act passed, and after Riedl ceased to be the head of the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, the organization stopped being active in opposing smokefree laws in Illinois.[185]

Illinois Restaurant Association: Pushing Away From the Tobacco Industry

The tobacco industry courted state restaurant associations nationwide.[73] The Illinois Restaurant Association aligned with tobacco industry positions in the 1980s and 1990s, only to move away from tobacco industry positions between the 1990s and early 2010s. It changed from a close collaborator with the Tobacco Institute and a firm backer of positions in line with tobacco industry strategists on clean indoor air ordinances, to accepting public health advocates' positions.

Steve Riedl and the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association opposed smokefree local ordinances up and down the state.

In 1986, the Illinois Restaurant Association did paid work for the Tobacco Institute, preparing a mailing campaign to defeat the attempt that year to pass a statewide clean indoor air act; the Tobacco Institute then paid for it.[186-187] The Tobacco Institute's State Activities Division had $26,367 in extra expenses in mailing and phone banking to the member businesses of the Illinois Restaurant Association, in 1986.[188] The Tobacco Institute regarded the Illinois Restaurant Association as "probably one of the most effective associations to help us for the defeat" of the 1986 proposed clean air act.[187] Through much of the 1990s the Tobacco Institute did not budget funds for the Illinois Restaurant Association, but for 1998 budgeted $2,000, and zero again for its planned budgets for 1999.[189]

The Illinois Restaurant Association's president, Andy Kelly, collaborated closely with the Tobacco Institute in the late 1980s and represented the Tobacco Institute in opposition to a proposed 1988 clean indoor air ordinance in the city of DeKalb.[190] The Tobacco Institute

attempted in 1994 to get the Illinois Restaurant Association to run, in Chicago-area newspapers, an advertising editorial that the Tobacco Institute created to oppose clean indoor air legislation.[191]

The Illinois Restaurant Association continued to oppose laws tightening regulations on smoking through the 1990s. In 1997, when the village of Arlington Heights considered an ordinance for smokefree restaurants, Illinois Restaurant Association Executive Director Colleen McShane spoke out forcefully against the proposed ordinance.[192] Later that year, when state representative Carolyn Krause (R-Mount Prospect, northwest of Chicago) proposed a statewide law prohibiting smoking in restaurants, McShane spoke against the bill in a House committee.[193] The Tobacco Institute paid membership dues to the Illinois Restaurant Association for 1998, in the amount of $2,000.[194-195]

In 1999, McShane spoke out at a Chicago City Council budget hearing against a proposed smokefree restaurant ordinance.[196] The Illinois Restaurant Association staunchly opposed local and state laws related to smoking in the early 2000s,[197-198] including opposing proposed smokefree restaurant ordinances in Chicago in 2000, 2003, and 2005.[199-201]

McShane met with Philip Morris' Illinois team of strategists ...to plan how to put together a coalition supporting ventilation as an alternative to clean indoor air laws.

The tobacco industry regularly attempted to depict installation of ventilation systems as an option that it asserted could remove smoke from indoor air, in an attempt to prevent smokefree policies.[75] In March 2000, McShane met with Philip Morris' Illinois team of strategists along with Bud Kelley, Steve Riedl, and a representative of the Hotel-Motel Association of Illinois, to plan how to put together a coalition supporting ventilation as an alternative to clean indoor air laws. McShane and Riedl offered to have their names listed on any letter opposing a proposed Chicago smokefree indoor office ordinance in Chicago being considered that year.[202] The Illinois Restaurant Association was also a major organization of Philip Morris' *Options* program.[203]

In a clean indoor air ordinance attempt in Skokie in 2003 that the Illinois Restaurant Association opposed, McShane wrote a letter to the *Chicago Sun-Times* arguing that sales tax revenue in Tempe, Arizona fell as a result of a smokefree ordinance.[204] These assertions were proven incorrect when the mayor of Tempe, Neil Giuliano, wrote a letter to the *Chicago Sun-Times* in response, declaring that sales tax revenue in downtown Tempe had actually gone up, and arguing that Tempe's ordinance had drawn in new, non-smoking patrons from outside of Tempe.[205]

This period of close support of tobacco industry positions ended by the mid-2000s. Colleen McShane stepped down as president of the Illinois Restaurant Association in 2007, after

14 years in the position, and was replaced by Sheila O'Grady.[206-207] Starting from O'Grady's leadership, the Illinois Restaurant Association did not oppose statewide smokefree legislation. In 2007, during the Illinois General Assembly's consideration of Illinois' statewide smokefree law, the Smoke Free Illinois Act, the Illinois Restaurant Association did not oppose the bill, seeing it as an inevitability but not arguing against its adoption. After the passage of the law the Illinois Restaurant Association made public statements assuring that it would help with the law's implementation.[208-209]

Illinois Retail Merchants' Association and David Vite

In 1991, when Illinois, along with its Midwestern neighbor Michigan, were devoting increased attention to issues of tobacco retailer licensing, the Tobacco Institute tried several times to get David Vite, president of the Illinois Retail Merchants' Association, an organization representing store owners both big and small, to help the Tobacco Institute oppose stricter licensing rules for tobacco.[210]

In the Tobacco Institute's 1992 report covering its meetings for planning state legislative activity for 1993, the report listed the Illinois Retail Merchants' Association as an "ally" in Illinois.[165] Tobacco industry strategists also regarded the Illinois Retail Merchants' Association as an important backer of the "We Card" program within Illinois,[211] which was Philip Morris' successor program on youth sales enforcement to the "It's the Law" program. Despite its widespread application, "We Card" served more as tobacco industry strategists' approach to improve the tobacco industry's image and to head off youth tobacco purchasing laws across the United States, than as a way to reduce smoking.[174] The Tobacco Institute also gave money to the Illinois Retail Merchants' Association in 1995, 1996, 1997, and 1998; these funds were the most amount that the Tobacco Institute's State Activities Division budgeted to any organization in Illinois during these years.[184, 194, 212]

Illinois Casino Gaming Association and Tom Swoik

The tobacco industry worked to engage gaming associations across the United States to align with its policy positions opposing smokefree environments, by creating tobacco company-sponsored studies that claimed negative economic effects of smokefree environments.[213] Tobacco Institute strategists contacted the Illinois Casino Gaming Association as part of broader attempts to bring together support for its positions.[214] The Illinois Casino Gaming Association steadfastly opposed smokefree legislation that covered casinos. Since 2008, the Illinois Casino Gaming Association's executive director, Tom Swoik, became much more involved in smoking issues, having spoken out against Illinois' statewide law.

Unsuccessful Attempts: Illinois Farm Bureau

In contrast with successful attempts by tobacco industry lobbyists to get other organizations to speak for the tobacco industry's positions, other attempts fell flat. The Tobacco Institute strategists targeted the Illinois Farm Bureau as an organization to attempt to win over beginning in the early 1990s to align with its policy positions in general. Tobacco Institute strategists attempted for several years to win over the Farm Bureau in Illinois, but as far as 1993

remained unsuccessful.[165] Characterizing the Farm Bureau as "the only agricultural group with any recognition with state government," the Tobacco Institute in the early and mid-1990s aimed to convince Farm Bureau leaders to lobby for Tobacco Institute-favored positions. The lack of interest in the Illinois Farm Bureau in linking with the tobacco industry stands in contrast with the state Farm Bureaus of neighboring Indiana, which historically opposed tobacco control measures,[47], as well as Kentucky[215] and all major tobacco growing states.

Campaign Contributions

In a July 8, 1982 memo, Tobacco Institute Vice President Bob Hanrahan wrote, in a July 9, 1982 memo to Senior Vice President Jack Kelly:

> Since the inception of TAN [the Tobacco Action Network] several years ago it has become apparent that we [cannot] effectively lobby against health related legislation as well as tobacco tax increases without awarding our legislator friends with commensurate contributions to their political campaigns. Consequently, our friendships are wearing thin and it is imperative that we develop some kind of state PAC contribution system. ... On the attached sheets I have given you the anticipated legislative activity for 1983 as well as a state profile of the four states, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri and Nebraska which are eligible to receive corporate contributions.[216]

Tobacco industry campaign contribution expenditures in Illinois amounted to approximately $21,000 per million people per year.

As an example of the scale and reach of tobacco companies' and allied associations' campaign contribution efforts, in an August 19, 1986 letter from the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors' Executive Director Bud Kelley wrote to the State Activities Division Regional Vice President Bill Trisler. In the letter, Kelley asked Trisler for political contributions for 14 Illinois House members for a total of $2,100 to be sent from the Tobacco Institute, through Kelley, to be given to these candidates. In the letter, Kelley wrote: "If you can make out these checks and send them to me, Bill, I will get them in the Representatives' hands before the election."[217]

Between the 1995-1996 and 2011-2012 election cycles, tobacco industry campaign contributions to statewide elected officials, candidates for office, and political parties totaled $4,936,327. Details of these contributions can be found at the end of this report, with contributions arranged by candidate in Appendix A, by contributor in Appendix B, and by political party organization in Appendix C.

Tobacco industry campaign contributions in Illinois represented a concentration of political expenditures by the tobacco industry of four to five times as much per resident in comparison with some neighboring states. In Indiana, a state about half the population as Illinois

with a 2010 population of 6.5 million, in a period of similar length, 1993 to 2008, the industry made $560,884 in campaign contributions.[47] In Kentucky, a state with a third of the population of Illinois with a 2010 population of 4.3 million, the tobacco industry made $311,614 in contributions between 1993 and 2010.[215]

Converting these contribution totals into annual expenditures per million residents per year, with Illinois having a 2010 population of 12.8 million, tobacco industry campaign contribution expenditures in Illinois amounted to approximately $21,000 per million people per year, while in Indiana it was $5,400 per year and in Kentucky it was approximately $4,000 per million residents per year.

Methods and Campaign Contribution Data

Campaign contribution data came from the National Institute on Money in State Politics (www.followthemoney.org), a nonprofit organization that tracks campaign funds in the politics of each state, through its project, Follow The Money. Campaign contribution totals included contributions by tobacco companies and tobacco industry trade organizations, as well as contributions by employees of tobacco companies. The accuracy of reported contribution figures as a measure of actual tobacco industry campaign contributions was dependent on state campaign finance reporting requirements. A 2009 law placed limits, starting in 2011, on campaign contributions, of $5,000 from individuals, $10,000 from corporations, unions, and other associations, and $50,000 for political action committees. In addition, reporting of contributors' occupations and employers became required for contributions of over $300.[218-220]

In consolidating these campaign finance reports, changes in the main players of the tobacco industry are relevant to the accurate reporting of these figures. Philip Morris renamed itself Altria in 2003. As of 2012, according to Altria's 2012 stockholder report, of its $24.6 billion in net revenue, tobacco products constituted $23.9 billion, or approximately 97 percent, of Altria's net revenue. Such revenue figures for Altria were consistent with previous years: for each year since 2009, at least 96 percent of net revenues came from tobacco products.[221-223] For the reporting of campaign contributions in this report, contributions under the names of Altria and under the name of Philip Morris were categorized as contributions by Philip Morris.

Lorillard became a subsidiary of Loews Corporation in 1967 and remained a subsidiary of Loews Corporation until Loews spun off Lorillard in 2008. During its period as a subsidiary of Loews, Lorillard used the Loews Clearing Corporation for maintaining bank accounts and withdrawing funds.[224] Campaign contributions for the 1997-1998 election cycle using the name Loews Clearing Corporation that were marked by Follow the Money as tobacco industry contributions were categorized as contributions by Lorillard.

U.S. Tobacco in 2001 changed its name to U.S. Smokeless Tobacco, and in 2009 Altria, the owner of Philip Morris, purchased U.S. Smokeless Tobacco and continued to use "U.S. Smokeless Tobacco" as a separate brand name. Campaign contributions by U.S. Tobacco and U.S. Smokeless Tobacco before being purchased by Altria were listed as U.S. Smokeless Tobacco, as a company separate from Altria; from the 2009-2010 election cycle onward, U.S. Smokeless Tobacco was included under Altria (Philip Morris).

Illinois campaign law, as of 2014, required reporting of all contributions received in excess of $5,000 per 12-month period.[225] Campaign contribution limits were $5,300 from individuals, $10,500 from corporations, and $52,600 from political action committees.[225]

Total Tobacco Industry Campaign Contributions

Table 5 summarizes the total tobacco industry campaign contributions from 1995 to 2012. Altria and Philip Morris consistently contributed the largest amount of any individual tobacco company or trade organization. Over the nine election cycles, from the 1995-1996 cycle to the 2011-2012 cycle, Philip Morris and then Altria contributed a total of over $3.5 million. The other notable contributor, R.J. Reynolds, gave a total of $823,398 in contributions over these nine election cycles. The 2007-2008 election cycle, which was the election cycle during which state elected officials considered and passed the Smoke Free Illinois Act, saw the highest amount of spending of all these cycles, with a total of $793,306 spent by tobacco companies and trade associations (Figure 8).

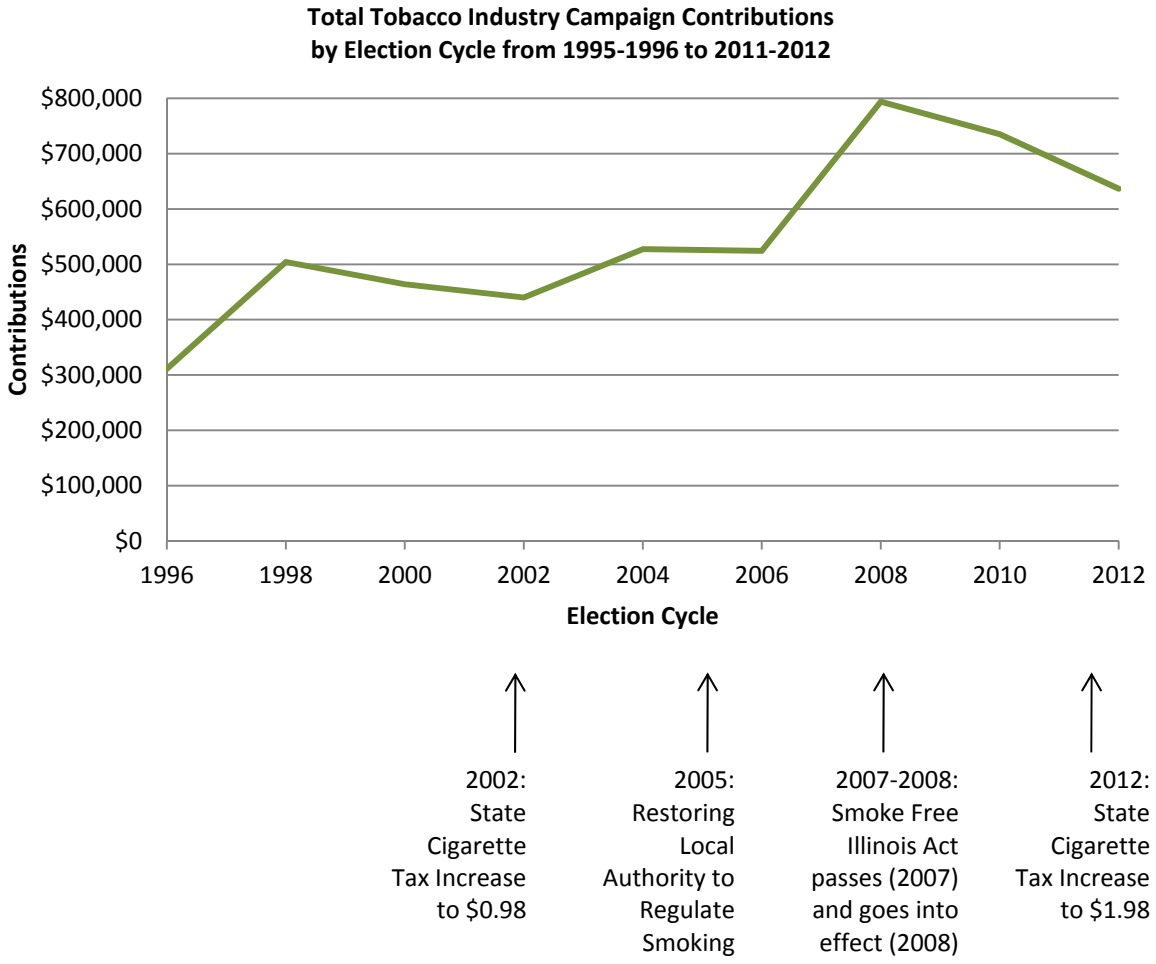


Figure 8: Total Tobacco Industry Contributions by Election Cycle from 1995-1996 to 2011-2012
Source: Data from National Institute on Money in State Politics[226]

Table 5: Summary of Tobacco Industry Political Contributions by Election Cycle, 1995-1996 to 2011-2012

Election Cycle	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	Total
Tobacco Manufacturers										
Altria/Philip Morris	$245,320	$340,520	$357,157	$357,610	$346,900	$357,650	$516,408	$520,750	$470,000	$3,512,315
Brown & Williamson	0	11,000	31,598	12,500	6,000	0	0	0	0	61,098
Lorillard	0	500	13,200	20,800	43,750	500	15,000	0	0	93,750
National Tobacco	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12,500	12,500
R.J. Reynolds	0	40,950	37,470	23,750	57,050	95,500	219,428	203,750	145,500	823,398
U.S. Smokeless Tobacco	16,200	21,250	20,754	21,862	48,898	60,700	41,225	0	0	230,889
Tobacco Distributors and Retailers										
A&T Tobacco Marketers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,500	0	1,500
Arango Cigar Company	0	1,250	1,250	0	0	1,400	0	0	2,950	6,850
Bogies Fine Cigars & Smokehouse	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	750	750
Burning Leaf Cigars	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	250	250
Caribbean Cigars	2,500	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,500
Cigar Monthly Inc.	0	200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	200
Consolidated Cigar (now Altadis)	0	0	1,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,000
Discount Smoke Shop	0	0	0	0	250	500	0	0	0	750
Geoffrey Tobacco Imports	0	10,090	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10,090
L & D Discount Tobacco Shops	0	0	0	0	0	300	0	0	0	300
Republic Tobacco	0	22,500	0	750	16,500	6,600	0	2,100	0	48,450
Swedish Match North America	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,844	0	0	1,844
Tobacco Trade Organizations										
Cigar Association of America	0	750	0	0	2,000	750	0	0	300	3,800
Illinois Association of Tobacco & Candy Distributors	0	0	0	0	1,892	350	0	0	0	2,242
RYO Cigar Association	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7,000	4,500	11,500
Smokeless Tobacco Council	4,450	5,750	1,500	2,750	4,000	0	0	0	0	18,450
Tobacco Institute	42,500	49,400	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	91,900
Total:	$310,970	$504,160	$463,929	$440,022	$527,240	$524,250	$793,906	$735,100	$636,750	$4,936,327

Note: Figures rounded to the nearest dollar. Source: Data from National Institute on Money in State Politics.[226]

Contributions to Political Parties and Party Organizations

Tobacco industry campaign contributions occurred in contexts of both split and unified political party control over the governor's office and General Assembly. Republicans were last simultaneously in charge of the governor's office, the Illinois Senate, and the Illinois House during the 1995-1996 legislative session; Democrats took simultaneous control of the governor's office, Illinois Senate, and Illinois House in 2003; as of 2014, the Democratic Party remained in such control (Table 6).

Table 6: Political Party Control in Illinois

	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005	2007	2009	2011	2013
Governor	Jim Edgar (R) ----------				George Ryan (R)		Rod Blagojevich (D) --------			Pat Quinn (D) ----------		
Senate	Dem-----	Rep ----------					Dem----------					
House	Dem ----------		Rep-----	Dem ----------								

Notes: Senate President: Philip Rock (D-Oak Park) to 1993, James "Pate" Philip (R-Wood Dale) in 1993-2003, Emil Jones, Jr. (D-Chicago) in 2003-2009, and John Cullerton (D-Chicago) since 2009.
Speaker of the House: Michael Madigan (D-Chicago) to 1993, Lee Daniels (R-Elmhurst) in 1995-1997, and Madigan since 1997.

Campaign contribution data to political parties and party organizations were not available for the 1995-1996 election cycle. Among the tobacco industry's campaign contributions, the tobacco industry contributed slightly more to the Republican Party between 1997 and 2012. In total from 1997 to 2012, the tobacco industry contributed $487,950 to the Illinois Republican Party or to state Republican Party organizations, as well as $416,800 to the Illinois Democratic Party or state Democratic Party organizations (Figure 9). Since 2003, when the Democratic Party took unified control of state government, tobacco companies in most election cycles contributed more to the Republican Party and its party organizations.

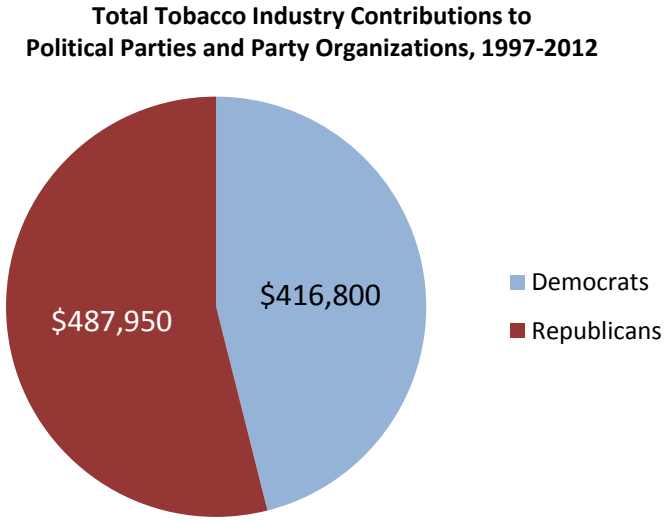


Figure 9: Total Tobacco Industry Contributions to Political Parties and Party Organizations, 1997-2012
Source: Data from National Institute on Money in State Politics[226]
Note: National Institute on Money in State Politics campaign contribution data to political parties and party organizations for Illinois did not include the 1995-1996 election cycle.

Patterns over time in these contributions show that tobacco companies gave more to the state Republican Party and related party organizations in most cycles. Tobacco companies gave more to the state Democratic Party and related party organizations in the 2001-2002 election cycle, during which time elected officials passed an increase in the cigarette tax, and also the election cycle leading up to a Democratic takeover of the Senate and governorship. Tobacco companies also gave more to the Democratic Party and its related organizations as well in the 2008 election cycle, during which time elected officials enacted the Smoke Free Illinois Act and also right before another Democratic win in the governor's office. In the 2011-2012 cycle, tobacco industry interests' total contributions to the Democrats and Republicans were almost equal (Figure 10).

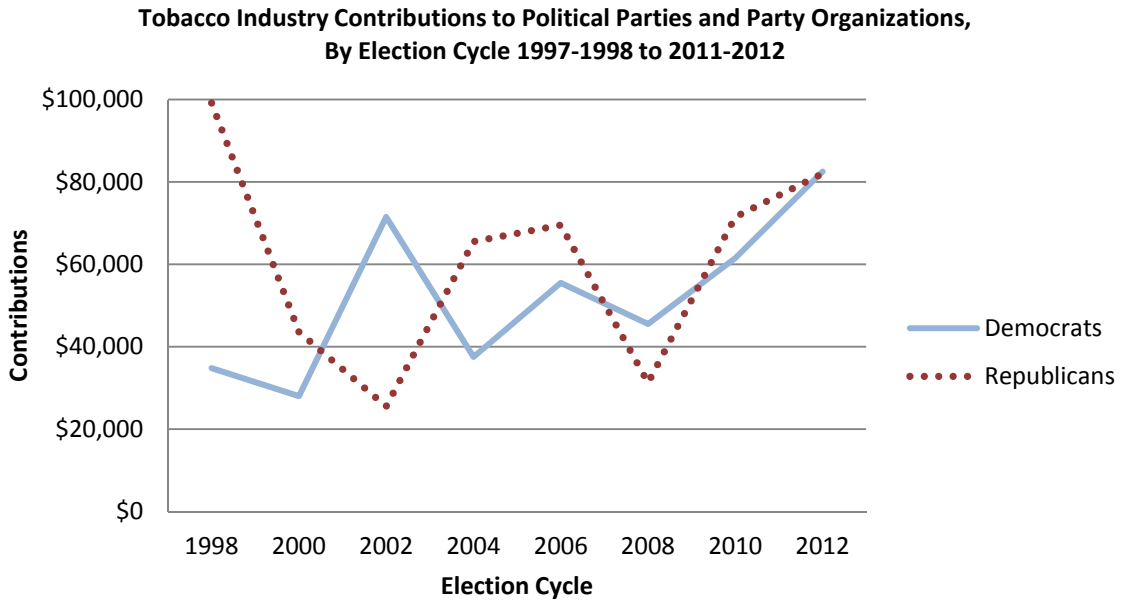


Figure 10: Total Tobacco Industry Contributions to Political Parties and Party Organizations, By Election Cycle 1997-1998 to 2011-2012
Source: Data from National Institute on Money in State Politics[226]
Note: National Institute on Money in State Politics campaign contribution data to political parties and party organizations for Illinois did not include the 1995-1996 election cycle.

Contributions to Political Action Committees

In 2004, Altria/Philip Morris gave $20,000 to the Illinois Chamber of Commerce's political action committee. The contributions to the Illinois Chamber of Commerce occurred in an election cycle when Philip Morris gave less overall compared with the election cycles before and after, and compared with subsequent election cycles aligned with presidential election years. This contribution represents the only reported contributions outside of individual candidates, political parties, or party-related organizations during the 1995-1996 through 2011-2012 election cycles recorded in the Follow the Money campaign data.

Contributions to Legislative Candidates

Campaign contributions were given to the General Assembly, comprised of the 59-member Illinois Senate and the 118-member Illinois House of Representatives. Illinois' 1970 constitution set these numbers, with each Illinois Senate district consisting of two adjacent Illinois House districts.

The proportion of Illinois General Assembly members receiving contributions from the tobacco industry was between 58% and 88% for each election cycle for each chamber. The Senate proportion peaked in 2002 with 88% of Senate members receiving some tobacco industry contribution that election cycle. The 2003-2004 election cycle was relatively low. While the proportion of House members receiving tobacco industry contributions fell to 58%, the proportion of Senate members that election cycle remained at 68%. For each election cycle through the 2009-2010 cycle, the proportion of House members receiving contributions from the tobacco industry increased, to a high of 88% in the 2009-2010 election cycle. The election cycles with high total tobacco industry campaign contributions occurred during periods of important attempted tobacco control legislation. The 2001- 2002 election cycle saw a statewide cigarette tax increase to a total of 98 cents; the 2007- 2008 election cycle saw the passage of the Smoke Free Illinois Act and attempts to peel parts of it back; the 2009-2010 cycle saw an attempted statewide cigarette tax increase that did not pass; and the 2011-2012 cycle saw a successful statewide cigarette tax increase to a total of $1.98.

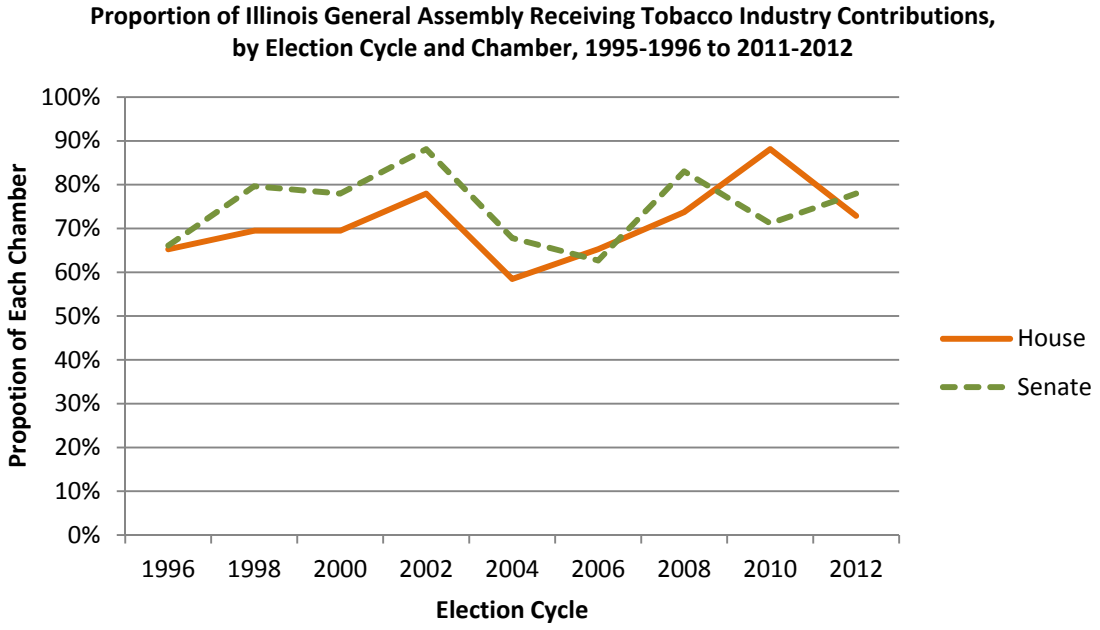


Figure 11: Proportion of Illinois General Assembly Receiving Tobacco Industry Contributions, by Election Cycle and Chamber, 1995-1996 to 2011-2012
Source: Data from National Institute on Money in State Politics[226]

Public officials who received the most in tobacco industry campaign contributions came from both the Democratic and Republican parties, and had a range of offices (Table 7). Foremost among these were many legislative leaders, whom the tobacco industry frequently targeted with large contributions.

Table 7: Officials Receiving the Most Tobacco Industry Contributions Over Time, 1995-2012

Elected Official	Party	Recent Office	Total	Notes
Emil Jones, Jr.	Democrat	Senate	$413,600	Senate Majority Leader, 2003-2009
Michael Madigan	Democrat	House	342,500	House Speaker, 1983-1995, 1997-present
Tom Cross	Republican	House	252,950	House Minority Leader, 2002-2013
Frank Watson	Republican	Senate	185,871	Senate Minority Leader, 2003-2009
Lee A. Daniels	Republican	House	181,830	House Speaker, 1995-1997 and House Minority Leader 1997-2003
James "Pate" Philip	Republican	Senate	121,290	Senate Majority Leader, 1993-2003
George Ryan	Republican	Governor	83,800	Governor, 1999-2003
Angelo Saviano	Republican	House	61,250	In office 1993-2013
Christine Radogno	Republican	Senate	60,200	Senate Minority Leader, 2009-present
Bill Brady	Republican	Senate*	56,350	Republican candidate for governor, 2010
Michael P. McAuliffe	Republican	House	45,350	In office 1996-present
Arthur L. Turner	Democrat	House	41,850	In office 1981-present
Daniel J. Burke	Democrat	House	41,550	In office 1991-present

Notes: Officials listed all received at least $40,000 total over the 1998-2012 election cycles. Figures rounded to the nearest dollar. *= $47,000 of the contribution figures for Bill Brady reflect contributions for his gubernatorial run, not for his Illinois House and Illinois Senate campaigns.
Source: Data from National Institute on Money in State Politics[226]

Among the recipients of the highest total of campaign contributions from the tobacco industry from 1995 to 2012, several can be highlighted. Sen. Emil Jones, Jr. (D-Chicago), the President of the Senate from 2003 to 2009, who smoked heavily, received $413,600 between 1995 and 2012 the most for any individual in Illinois. Jones opposed many cigarette tax increase attempts. He did not, however, attempt to block the bill for the Smoke Free Illinois Act.

Emil Jones, Jr., the President of the Senate from 2003 to 2009 ... received $413,600 between 1995 and 2012, the most for any individual in Illinois.

Rep. Michael Madigan (D-Chicago) was Speaker of the House from 1983-1995, and after two years with a Republican-controlled house, became the speaker again in 1997; as of 2014, Madigan continued to serve as House Speaker. Madigan was the second-largest recipient of tobacco industry contributions between the 1995-1996 and 2011-2012

election cycles. During these cycles, tobacco industry interests donated a total of $342,500 to House Speaker Madigan. Madigan received, during each election cycle in this period, total tobacco industry contributions of between $16,500 and $67,500 each election cycle. Philip Morris, the largest contributor of tobacco industry campaign contributions to elected officials during these cycles, alone gave Madigan between $3,500 and $50,000 each election cycle. Madigan presided over periods of declines in funding for state tobacco control programs.

Other members of General Assembly leadership were among the highest recipients of tobacco industry political contributions. Rep. Tom Cross (R-Oswego) was House Minority Leader from 2002 to 2013; Cross resigned in August 2013, to run for state treasurer in the 2014 elections. Cross received $252,950 in contributions, with the highest amounts in the 2007-2008 and 2009-2010 election cycles. Frank Watson (R-Greenville) was Senate Minority Leader from 2003 to 2009. Watson received $185,871 in contributions. Lee Daniels (R-Elmhurst) was Speaker of the House from 1995 to 1997. Daniels received $181,830 in contributions.

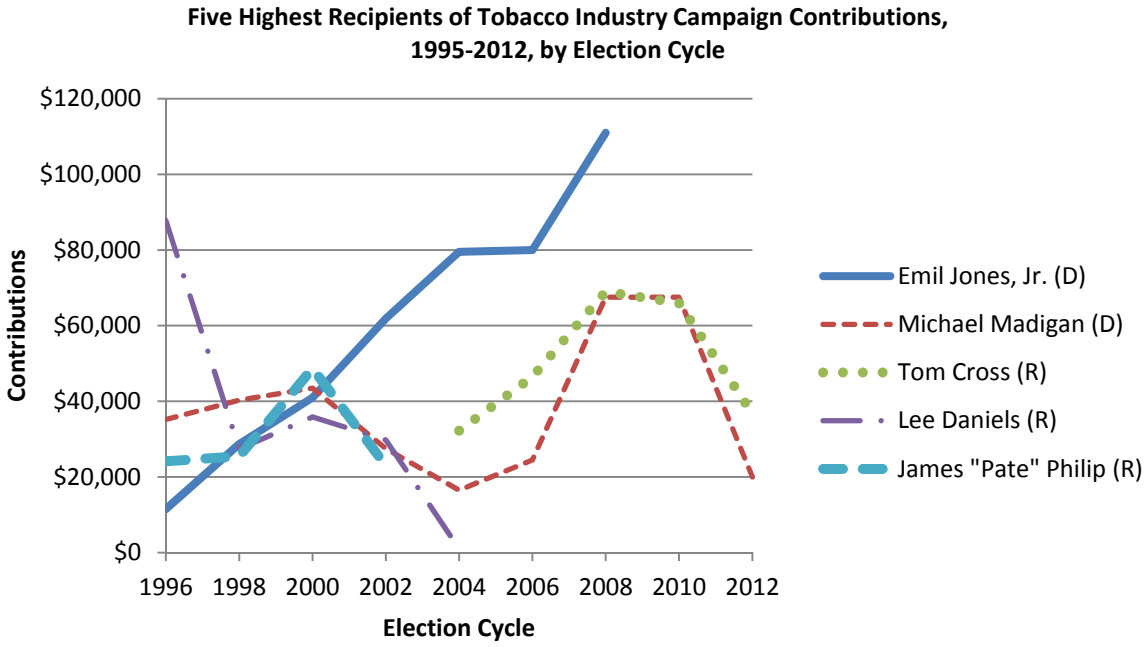


Figure 12: Top Recipients 1995-2012, by Election Cycle
Source: Data from National Institute on Money in State Politics[226]

Legislators Free of Direct Tobacco Industry Contributions, 1995-2012

All but a handful of legislators serving as of 2014 did not take contributions from tobacco industry interests bewteen 1995 and 2012. With the combined Illinois Senate and House consisting of 177 members, as of 2014, a total of 137 served at least one full term in the Illinois General Assembly before the start of the 2013-2014 legislative season. Only 13 legislators did not accept tobacco industry campaign contributions during election cycles 1995-1996 to 2011-2012 (Table 8).

Table 8: Current Members of the Illinois General Assembly (2013-2014), in Office for at Least One Term, Without Any Tobacco Industry Contributions Reported During the 1995-1996 to 2011-2012 Election Cycles

Nonrecipients, 1998-2012	Tenure in office
Sen. Daniel Biss (D)	2013-present; was a state representative 2011-2013
Sen. Tim Bivins (R)	2008-present
Sen. Jacqueline Collins (D)	2003-present
Sen. David Koehler (D)	2006-present
Sen. Heather Steans (D)	2008-present
Rep. Kelly Burke (D)	2011-present
Rep. La Shawn Ford (D)	2007-present
Rep. Naomi Jakobsson (D)	2003-present
Rep. Donald Moffitt (R)	1993-present
Rep. Michelle Mussman (D)	2011-present
Rep. Elaine Nekritz (D)	2003-present
Rep. Darlene Senger (R)	2009-present
Rep. Ann Williams (D)	2011-present

Source: Data from National Institute on Money in State Politics[226]
Note: Among those in the Illinois General Assembly for at least one full term before the 2013-2014 legislative session. "Present" denotes the 2013-2014 legislative session.

Having zero dollars in campaign contributions from tobacco companies during this period was more notable for those legislators who had served long periods of time in the Illinois General Assembly: these included Rep. Donald Moffitt (R-Gilson), who had served since 1993, as well as Sen. Jacqueline Collins (D-Chicago), Rep. Naomi Jakobsson (D-Champaign), and Rep. Elaine Nekritz (D-Northbrook), who had each been in office since 2003. These patterns illustrated tobacco companies' broad distribution of campaign contribution funds. These legislators were generally supporters of tobacco control measures.

Legislative Leadership and Committees

Campaign contributions by tobacco industry interests to legislative leaders in the 2013-2014 Illinois General Assembly reflected patterns of funding leadership members who supported tobacco industry positions. These figures also reflected attempts of large contributions to elected officials who rose to the top of leadership in the Illinois Senate or Illinois House, followed by sustaining such contributions only if such officials supported policies aligning with tobacco industry interests.

Illinois Senate Leadership

Contributions to members of the Illinois Senate leadership, made from 1995 to 2012, included $56,350 to Sen. Bill Brady (R), $38,550 to Sen. Kirk Dillard (R), and $32,750 to Sen. James Clayborne (D) (Table 9). Of the $56,350 made to Sen. Brady during this period, $47,000 occurred during Brady's 2010 run for governor against incumbent governor Pat Quinn (D).

Table 9: Illinois Senate Leadership in 2013-2014 and Reported Contributions for 1995-2012

Position	Name	Amount	Notes
President of the Senate	John Cullerton	$28,550	
Senate Majority Leader	James Clayborne	32,750	
Assistant Majority Leaders	Kimberly Lightford	7,500	
	Terry Link	29,360	
	Antonio Muñoz	12,000	
	John Sullivan	1,400	
	Donne Trotter	22,150	
Majority Caucus Chair	Ira Silverstein	7,500	
President Pro Tempore	Don Harmon	31,500	
Majority Caucus Whips	William Haine	9,250	
	Mattie Hunter	2,500	
	Iris Martinez	750	
Senate Minority Leader	Christine Radogno	60,200	
Deputy Minority Leader	Matt Murphy	14,750	
Assistant Minority Leaders	Bill Brady	56,350	
	Kirk Dillard	38,550	
	David Luechtefeld	17,500	
	Dave Syverson	10,300	
	Pamela Althoff	16,750	
	Tim Bivins	0	None

Source: Data from National Institute on Money in State Politics[226]
Note: Positions listed by Illinois Senate listing in 2013.[227]

Funds given to the top Illinois Senate leaders followed a pattern of initial large amounts, which either continued or ceased depending on such leaders' subsequent policy positions. Contributions to Senate President John Cullerton (D-Chicago), a sustained champion of tobacco control legislation, were small from 1995 to 2008: tobacco industry interests gave Cullerton $6,550 total in these six election cycles. When Sen. Cullerton came to the position of Senate President in 2009, these contributions spiked: for the 2009-2010 election cycle, tobacco industry interests gave Cullerton $22,000 in contributions, including one $20,000 contribution from Philip Morris. Yet Sen. Emil Jones, Jr. (D-Chicago), the President of the Senate from 2003 to 2009, who smoked heavily, received $413, 600 between 1995 and 2012, the most for any individual. Consequently, the tobacco industry ceased contributions to Cullerton: in the 2011-2012 election cycle, tobacco industry interests gave him zero dollars in contributions.

Senate Minority Leader Christine Radogno (R-Lemont), a strong supporter of the Smoke Free Illinois Act in 2007, after 2009 came to oppose additional taxation of cigarettes as the Republican leader in the Illinois Senate since 2009. Radogno received $60,200 between the 1995-1996 and 2011-2012 election cycles. From 1997 to 2008, before becoming Senate Minority Leader, Sen. Radogno received only $700 total, with zero dollars received from 2003 to 2008. In the 2009-2010 election cycle, tobacco industry interests gave Radogno $26,000, including one $20,000 contribution from Philip Morris, just as Philip Morris gave $20,000 to Cullerton, as each Cullerton and Radogno reached a top leadership position that year. Radogno led Senate Republicans in opposing the 2010-2011 proposed cigarette tax increase. In the 2011-

2012 election cycle, Philip Morris gave Radogno $20,000, even as the company gave zero dollars to Cullerton during the 2011-2012 cycle, and R.J. Reynolds gave Radogno $12,000. Radogno, however, continued strongly to support smokefree air in Illinois.

Illinois House Leadership

The tobacco industry campaign contributions to legislative leaders in the Illinois House centered most notably on donations to Speaker of the House, Michael Madigan (D-Chicago) (Table 10). In addition to the tobacco industry's sustained pattern of giving campaign contributions to House Speaker Madigan, additional representatives with large numbers of campaign contribution receipts included Arthur Turner (D-Chicago) with $54,350 between the 1995-1996 and 2011-2012 election cycles, Daniel Burke (D-Chicago) with $41,550, and Frank Mautino (D-Spring Valley) with $37,700.

Table 10: Illinois House Leadership, 2013-2014, and Reported Contributions, 1995-2012

Position	Name	Amount	Notes
Speaker of the House	Michael Madigan	$342,500	
House Majority Leader	Barbara Flynn Currie	9,100	
Deputy Majority Leaders	Lou Lang	19,600	
	Frank Mautino	37,700	
Assistant Majority Leaders	Edward Acevedo	16,150	
	Charles Jefferson	13,200	
	Daniel Burke	41,550	
	Sara Feigenholtz	4,750	
	Al Riley	14,000	
	Arthur Turner	54,350	
	Elaine Nekritz	0	None
	John Bradley	1,500	
House Minority Leader	Jim Durkin	11,500	
Deputy Minority Leaders	David Leitch	17,600	
	Patricia Bellock	750	
Assistant Minority Leaders	Dan Brady	4,050	
	Chad Hays	1,250	
	Bill Mitchell	5,250	
	JoAnn Osmond	12,600	
	Dennis Reboletti	1,750	
	Mike Tryon	5,250	
Republican Conference Chair	Mike Bost	8,250	

Source: Data from National Institute on Money in State Politics[226]
Note: Positions listed by Illinois House listing in 2013.[228]

Key Committees

The major committees dealing with major tobacco policy issues, as of 2014, were the Senate Public Health Committee, as well as the Senate Executive Committee and House Executive Committee (Table 11). Most of the members of the executive committees were listed

in the tables on the Illinois House and Senate leadership. Up through the 2009-2010 General Assembly, the Illinois House sent many tobacco related bills through the House Environmental Health Committee, but stopped doing so in the 2011-2012 General Assembly, and the House Environmental Health Committee was not listed, as of 2014, as a committee in the Illinois House.

Table 11: Tobacco Industry Contributions to Members of the Senate Public Health Committee, 1995-2012

Committee		Member	Amount	Cycles received some amount
Senate Public Health Committee	Chair	John G. Mulroe (D)	$2,000	2012
	Vice-Chair	Mattie Hunter (D)	2,500	2004, 2008, 2010
	Member	Napoleon Harris (D)	500	2012
	Member	Kwame Raoul (D)	3,000	2006, 2010
	Member	Heather Steans (D)	0	None
	Member	Patricia Van Pelt (D)	0	None
	Minority Spokesperson	Dave Syverson (R)	10,300	1998, 2002, 2008, 2010
	Member	Darin LaHood (R)	2,000	2012
	Member	Jim Oberweis (R)	2,000	2012
	Member	Michael Tryon (R)	5,250	2006-2012

Source: Data from National Institute on Money in State Politics[226]

Contributions in Gubernatorial Races and Other Statewide Races

Tobacco industry campaign contributions in gubernatorial races reflected attempts in open races to support candidates who were more likely to support policy positions aligned with tobacco industry interests, followed by attempts to contribute to the winner of gubernatorial elections in the cycle after the election, when the winner had become governor (Table 12). Tobacco companies donated to each gubernatorial race during this period. For the 1998 gubernatorial election, winner George Ryan (R; 1999-2003) received $63,800 in his 1998 run for governor. His tobacco industry campaign receipts totaled $88,300, including $4,500 for his 1996 run for Secretary of State. Ryan's opponent in the race, U.S. Representative Glenn Poshard (D), received one $500 contribution from Philip Morris.

During the 1999-2000 election cycle, Philip Morris gave Gov. Ryan one $20,000 contribution. The last fiscal year of his term, for the 2001-2002 fiscal year, appropriations for tobacco control programs increased to the highest level of any year from the start of Master Settlement Agreement funds in 2000 through 2014. In 2002, for the 2002-2003 fiscal year, state appropriations for tobacco control programs, including youth enforcement, fell to $13.5 million.

For the 2002 gubernatorial election, Rod Blagojevich (D) received $4,000 in contributions. Blagojevich's opponent, Attorney General Jim Ryan (R), had received tobacco industry contributions for his 1996 campaign for Attorney General, to the tune of $5,500. He also received $500 during the 1997-1998 election cycle. But, given that Jim Ryan was the attorney general who launched Illinois' lawsuit against tobacco companies and settled in the

Master Settlement Agreement, tobacco companies did not donate to Jim Ryan's gubernatorial campaign during the 2001-2002 election cycle.

Blagojevich was in office from 2003 to 2009. Blagojevich promised during the 2002 campaign to increase tobacco control funding, but did not actually do so in his first year.[229] In his second term, from 2007 onward, Gov. Blagojevich had long-running tensions with the General Assembly about rulemaking authority. Gov. Blagojevich had attempted to expand health insurance coverage in Illinois by having emergency rules submitted from the Department of Healthcare and Family Services, which the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules had rejected in December 2007. This touched off already tense relations with the General Assembly, and contributed to interfering with the Smoke Free Illinois Act's implementing rules, first submitted in 2007. To the extent that implementation of the Smoke Free Illinois Act would later be stymied for years after the passage of the law, this was a situation resulting not primarily by tobacco company lobbying, but rather by the direct conflict between the governor's office and the legislature.

The General Assembly impeached Blagojevich and removed him from office in January 2009, as a response to Blagojevich's attempt to sell newly elected President Barack Obama's U.S. Senate seat. The lieutenant governor, Pat Quinn (D), became governor, and ran to hold on to the office in 2010.

In the February 2010 Republican primary, state senator Bill Brady (R; $56,350 in contributions in 1995-2012 from tobacco industry sources) beat state senator Kirk Dillard (R; $38,550 in contributions) by just 193 votes out of over 767,000 votes cast statewide. In the 2009-2010 election cycle, Philip Morris gave $37,000 to Brady's campaign, and R.J. Reynolds contributed $10,000. On the Democratic side, during the 2010 election cycle, Philip Morris gave $10,000 to Gov. Quinn. Quinn defeated Brady in the 2010 gubernatorial election.

Table 12: Tobacco Industry Campaign Contributions to Gubernatorial Candidates, 1995-2012

Gubernatorial Candidate	Year of Gubernatorial Election	Won Election	Amount
George Ryan (R)	1998	Yes	$4,500 for 1996 Secretary of State $63,800 for 1998 governor's race $20,000 during the 2000 cycle, after entering office, from Philip Morris
Glenn Poshard (D)	1998	No	$500 from Philip Morris
Rod Blagojevich (D)	2002	Yes	$3,000 for 2002 governor's race and $1,000 in the 2004 cycle
Jim Ryan (R)	2002	No	None for the gubernatorial race (for Ryan's attorney general races in 1996 and 1998, a total of $6,000)
Pat Quinn (D)	2010	Yes	$10,000, one time, while already in office, from Philip Morris
Bill Brady (R)	2010	No	$47,000, including $20,000 from Philip Morris

Source: Data from National Institute on Money in State Politics[226]

Illinois Courts: The Tobacco Industry's Attempts to Change the State Judiciary

Tobacco Industry Campaign Contributions in Illinois Judicial Elections

The Issue of Product Liability Legal Reforms (Tort Reform)

From the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, the Tobacco Institute maintained an interest in supporting efforts, made broadly nationwide during this time period, to carry out product liability or tort reform: a reduction in the amount awarded in legal rulings awarded for harming a person. In the case of tobacco, such changes in state legal systems would result in reduced or dismissed awards for illnesses related to tobacco use. In 1986, the Tobacco Institute sought a coordinated industry effort to favor such changes to state legal rules,[230] and made Illinois one of its 12 "priority" states to attempt to push for such changes.[231] Also, from the late 1980s to early 1990s, Philip Morris allocated $300,000 across states toward efforts in support of tort reform.[232]

The Illinois General Assembly considered a flurry of product liability reform bills throughout the mid-1980s to the early 1990s. During the 1985-1986 legislative session, the Senate approved a bill that would have reduced the legal liability of companies: Senate Bill 2263. This bill dealt with the legal principle of "comparative fault" where defendants have differing levels of responsibility for causing damage. The bill sought to change state law to let defendants who were less at fault than the claimant only to pay the portion of the judgment representing the percent that the defendant was at fault.[233] In the Illinois House, however, the House Executive Committee suppressed the bill.[234] During the 1987-1988 legislative session, Illinois state representatives and senators introduced at least 16 bills dealing with product liability reform; none of these bills passed any committee.[235]

Throughout the 1989-1990 legislative session, Tobacco Institute executives consulted with strategists attempting to introduce product liability reform legislation in Illinois.[236] State representatives during this session introduced 13 bills related to product liability, and state senators introduced six bills.[237] Of these, no bills passed either chamber.

In a countermovement, during the 1991-1992 legislative session, bills on product liability in Illinois attempted to expand product liability rather than limit it, and the Tobacco Institute worked against these bills. The two product liability bills that passed the Illinois House aimed to increase, not decrease, the legal liability for damages caused by tobacco companies. Rep. John Matijevich (D-North Chicago) sponsored both bills, House Bill 276 and House Bill 1196.[238] House Bill 276 sought to prohibit courts from making judgments that have the effect of concealing public hazards; the bill passed the Illinois House 62-45, but the "Senate Judiciary 1" Committee voted down the bill on a 5-4 vote.[238]

House Bill 1196 sought to expand the time horizon of being able to sue for liability, from the existing time horizon of ten years after the sale of the product, to become two years after a disease or its cause became known.[238] This bill passed the House 112-0. The Tobacco Institute worked with major companies in other industries to develop ways to pressure state senators to vote against the bill.[239] The Illinois Senate defeated the bill on a 29-29 tie.[238]

During the 1993-1994 legislative session, one bill passed the Illinois Senate, but not the House.[240] Senate Bill 3 by Sen. David Barkhausen (R-Lake Bluff) sought to limit punitive damages to be given only if actual damages were awarded. This bill passed the Illinois Senate 31-24, but did not make it past the House "Judiciary 1" Committee.

Contributions in the Illinois Supreme Court Election in 2004

The tobacco industry made campaign contributions to an Illinois Supreme Court election, during a time that the Illinois Supreme Court planned to hear a case of private litigation against the industry. Philip Morris made campaign contributions in an Illinois Supreme Court judicial race during a period when the court heard one of the largest cases involving Philip Morris: Philip Morris backed the winner in the election, who later ruled in favor of Philip Morris.

Price v. Philip Morris, a class action lawsuit heard in 2000 in Madison County in Illinois' Metro East urban area near St. Louis, asserted that Philip Morris engaged in deceptive advertising by calling some of its cigarette product lines "light" even though such cigarettes were not safer to use. In 2003, the jury for the case awarded a $10.1 billion verdict, the largest verdict in Illinois history.[241] Philip Morris appealed the ruling to the Illinois Supreme Court, and the court heard testimony starting in late 2003.

Before the ruling, in 2004, an opening on the Illinois Supreme Court led to a hotly contested election campaign for that opening. Illinois, one of seven states where judges run for office in partisan elections, saw its first state supreme court election campaign in twelve years: [242] between Lloyd Karmeier, a Republican circuit judge, and Gordon Maag, a Democratic appellate court justice.

Price v. Philip Morris awarded a $10.1 billion verdict, the largest verdict in Illinois history ... Philip Morris appealed the ruling to the Illinois Supreme Court.

The race between Karmeier and Maag became the most expensive judicial election in Illinois history:[241] each raised over $4 million for their campaigns, including $2 million each from their respective state political parties.[243-244] In addition, over $1 million came to Karmeier from the Illinois Civil Justice League, a group advocating tort reform that filed a supportive brief with the Illinois Supreme Court in favor of Philip Morris,[241] and over $1 million came to Maag from Justice For All, a lawyers' political action committee opposing tort reform.[243-244]

The law firm used by the Tobacco Institute for much of its national work, Covington & Burling, had early contacts with the Illinois Civil Justice League. In a March 5, 1993 memo from Keith Teel of Covington & Burling to the Tobacco Institute's tort reform policy committee, Teel informed the Tobacco Institute tort committee that he met with leaders of the Illinois Civil Justice League to demonstrate interest in the reforms that the Illinois organization was planning

to promote.[245] In concluding his remarks about Illinois, Teel wrote, "Early involvement in the Illinois Civil Justice League may be sensible."[245]

Campaign contributions occurred in similar amounts for both candidates, but more notable is that Philip Morris' hired legal team gave money directly to Karmeier's campaign. Contributions by Philip Morris' hired legal team totaled $16,800,[241, 246] which while small in comparison with state political party and Illinois Civil Justice League contributions, together would rank among the top 15 contributors to Karmeier.[243]

Karmeier won the election by a 10 percentage point margin,[247] and afterward took part in the ruling. Six of the seven justices took part in the case, with one justice abstaining,[248] meaning that overturning the verdict required four votes. The Illinois Supreme Court ruled with four to overturn, and two to uphold, thereby throwing out the $10.1 million verdict against Philip Morris.

In the wake of the ruling, several public interest groups agitated for an investigation of Karmeier, arguing that Karmeier should have recused himself from the *Price v. Philip Morris* appeal.[249] These public interest groups focused on state party and Illinois Civil Justice League contributions;[249] interestingly, these groups focused less on the direct contributions from Philip Morris, perhaps because the direct contributions totaled less than the Illinois Civil Justice League contributions.

The Illinois Supreme Court ruled with four to overturn, and two to uphold, thereby throwing out the $10.1 million verdict against Philip Morris.

Even afterward, the Tobacco Institute gave contributions to elected officials and political parties in Illinois, done with the advice of many of its lobbyists. These include a $1,000 contribution in 1992 to the Cook County Democratic Party,[250] whose head by this time was already Tom Lyons, as well as giving a $2,500 contribution in 1998.[251]

Conclusion

Tobacco companies, along with the Tobacco Institute, engaged in sustained lobbying and campaign contributions in Illinois. Tobacco industry interests' reported lobbying expenditures are an undercount of total lobbying expenditures because state lobbying disclosure laws do not require reporting of lobbyist salaries or tracking of subcontractor lobbyists' expenses. Tobacco industry interests worked with third party business associations and even worked to create the appearance of third party support for issue arenas where little external support had materialized. In addition, the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors and Illinois Licensed Beverage Association also worked closely with Tobacco Institute strategists and offices.

Despite efforts to use business associations as allies, the Illinois Restaurant Association demonstrated that business organizations could later move away from tobacco industry lobbyists

and instead accept public health advocates' efforts on tobacco control, and the Illinois Farm Bureau did not take an interest to start out.

Elected officials received many campaign contributions. Campaign contributions made by tobacco companies and associations to Illinois state-level politicians, totaling in the 1998 to 2012 election cycles to over $4.9 million, represent contributions at a higher amount of money per resident in Illinois than in many neighboring states. In particular, contributions to the pre-2009 Senate President Emil Jones, Jr., and to 1997-present Speaker of the House Michael Madigan, top the lists of campaign recipients. Philip Morris was the largest tobacco industry contributor by far, giving over $3.5 million in campaign contributions to Illinois state-level politicians during these election cycles.

Chapter 3: Tobacco Control Resources at the State Level

- Public health advocates working on tobacco control organized in 1965 as the Illinois Interagency Coordinating Committee on Smoking and Health, renamed the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco in 1991.
- The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco's funding was high during the SmokeLess States Program run by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation from 1994 to 2004, allowing health advocates to build a tobacco control infrastructure that would later help to promote clean indoor air laws; after 2004, it did not have a sustained source of funding, making coordinated efforts as a coalition more difficult.
- State agencies working on tobacco control the Illinois Department of Public Health, which runs the state's comprehensive tobacco prevention and control program, the Illinois Liquor Control Commission, which enforces compliance with laws prohibiting the sale of tobacco to youth, and local health departments.
- Financial resources for tobacco control in Illinois came from the 1998 Master Settlement Agreement, starting in the 2000-2001 fiscal year.
- State tobacco control program funding peaked in the 2001-2002 fiscal year at over $46 million and then plummeted in the 2002-2003 fiscal year to $11.5 million, and remained low thereafter.
- Tobacco control resources at the state level were therefore precarious, for advocates depending on a reliable extra source of funding, and for state tobacco control programs relying on a commitment by the Illinois General Assembly and other elected state officials such as the governor.

Tobacco Control Advocates

Illinois advocates for public health, including nongovernmental public health organizations, have pushed for changes in policy to reduce tobacco use and countered the tobacco industry's efforts to advance its own preferred policies starting in the mid-1960s.

Origins: the Illinois Interagency Coordinating Committee on Smoking and Health

The Illinois Interagency Coordinating Committee on Smoking and Health was formed to work with the National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health in 1965.[252] In 1967 the name changed to the Illinois Interagency Council on Smoking and Health.[253] In 1970 its name was the Illinois Interagency Council on Smoking and Disease. This name was in use through the late 1980s.

Members of the Illinois Interagency Council on Smoking and Disease centered on health groups based in Chicago. The major players were the Chicago Heart Association (as of 2014, the American Heart Association's Midwest Affiliate) and the Tuberculosis Institute of Chicago and Cook County (later the Chicago Lung Association, and as of 2014 the Chicago-based Respiratory Health Association). These largely consisted of a series of meetings to examine a cluster of tobacco-related issues. Foremost among them at the time was the issue of tobacco company sponsorships of athletic events and other large public events.

The emergence of the council prompted some research by the Tobacco Institute: it had the public relations firm Ruder & Finn, based in New York, "dig into the background of the Illinois Interagency Council on Smoking and Disease".[254] The Illinois Interagency Council on Smoking and Disease operated through at least 1986.[255]

Early governance consisted of the headquarters shifting back and forth from the Lung and Heart offices.[256] The headquarters rotated among the member organizations, with each organization in turn having a staff member of the organization selected to coordinate the coalition.[257]

Funding initially came from member organizations: as Diana Hackbarth recounted in a 2014 interview, in the early years in the 1970s, each organization chipped in $5,000 to $10,000 per organization and the budget was $20,000 to $30,000 per year.[256]

Other than the coordinating role, early on the only staff consisted of one person, Marjorie Molyneaux. Molyneaux, from the Chicago-area city of Glenview,[258] came out of retirement, to be the staff member. Molyneaux became the executive director of the Illinois Interagency Council on Smoking and Disease.

According to a 2013 interview with Madeleine Solomon, who was the policy director at the Chicago Heart Association during the early days of the coalition, Molyneaux:

> [W]ould do smoking cessation classes, and people would call, and she'd give them advice on how to quit. And she would have these periodic and then quarterly meetings, and it was mostly information sharing, but there wasn't a lot of consensus building around policy in those days.[259]

In the 1980s, Diana Hackbarth focused on the issue of Philip Morris' sponsorship of art exhibits, as well as putting pressure on art organizations that accepted tobacco company funds, particularly the Art Institute of Chicago.[256] In 1983 Philip Morris sponsored an exhibition of Vatican art that swung through three major cities, including a three-month exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago that began with a reception for Philip Morris sales staff at the Art Institute.[260] Hackbarth organized a large letter writing campaign against Philip Morris for its sponsoring of such art exhibits, and recounted in a 2014 interview:

> The Art Institute of Chicago was sponsoring an art exhibit, and the big sponsor was Philip Morris. And it was the Vatican Art Exhibit. And the Vatican Art Exhibit was going around the country with Philip Morris as a sponsor ...
>
> And Philip Morris said that [the sponsorship] showed they were a socially responsible company because they supported the arts ... So what I did is, I'm on the faculty at Loyola University, but I was on leave going to graduate school. So, I wrote a letter to the editor to the *Tribune* and the *Sun-Times*, but also to the Catholic newspapers. And I did go ahead and put it on Loyola stationary, saying that the Vatican should be ashamed to take money from Philip Morris ...

I did not go to the opening of the Vatican Art Exhibit, but a colleague of mine went, and they did, in fact, pass out little packages of Marlboro cigarettes at the Art Institute.[256]

In the late 1980s, after Molyneaux, the Illinois Interagency Council on Tobacco and Disease, had one paid part-time staff member, Barbara Schell.[261] Schell had been the executive director of a Springfield-based health-related organization, the Lincoln Land Epilepsy Association.[262-263]

Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco's Structure, Membership, and Governance

Health advocates continued to change its name in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In 1989, advocates changed the name to the Illinois Interagency Council for a Tobacco-Free Society, and used this name during 1989 and 1990.[264-265] In 1991, health advocates change names to become the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco. This was a loose coalition, never formally incorporated as a nonprofit organization. The coalition focused on promoting smokefree air laws and other laws to reduce smoking among both adults and youth, pushing for increased taxes on tobacco products. A benefit of being a coalition was that it could apply for funds saying it was a coalition of groups, rather than just one group.[256]

Some of the individuals representing prominent organizations within the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco in its early days included: Diana Hackbarth, a Professor of Nursing at Loyola University; Madeleine Solomon, the director of policy at the American Heart Association; and Janet Williams, then at the American Lung Association of Metropolitan Chicago, from 2001 to 2003 the director of tobacco prevention at the Cook County Department of Public Health, and, as of 2013, a policy analyst at the American Medical Association.

From its start in its precursor organizations, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco was loosely organized. As of 2014, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco had never formally organized itself into a separate nonprofit organization. The most active member organizations came together for issues of common interest but frequently worked on tobacco issues independently from each other. Through the years it worked to broaden its membership to include groups throughout the state, including local health departments,[256] but the Illinois Department of Public Health did not have a formal relationship with, or informal representation on, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco.

As early as 1994, individuals representing the member organizations began to be identified in media coverage as representing the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco rather than just individual organizations, to give a common identity to whoever was speaking on behalf of it.

American Heart Association's Midwest Affiliate

The Chicago Heart Association became the American Heart Association of Metropolitan Chicago in 1989. As of 2014, it was part of the American Heart Association's Midwest Affiliate. As of 2014, the American Heart Association's Midwest Affiliate's advocate was Mark Peysakhovich. Peysakhovich started working at the American Heart Association in 1999 as the director of advocacy, and in 2008 became the senior director of government relations.

Respiratory Health Association

In 1972, the Tuberculosis Institute of Chicago and Cook County became the Chicago Lung Association. In 1993, the organization became the American Lung Association of Metropolitan Chicago, and in 2007 it became the Respiratory Health Association of Metropolitan Chicago, later shortened to just the Respiratory Health Association. The American Lung Association of Metropolitan Chicago's deputy executive director from 1987 to 2000 was Janet Williams. In 2001, Williams became the Cook County Department of Public Health's director of tobacco prevention and control, until 2003, from where she went to the American Medical Association. As of 2014, the Respiratory Health Association's director of health policy was Matt Maloney. Maloney had been working at the association since 2002.

American Lung Association in Illinois

The American Lung Association in Illinois, based in Springfield, was until the mid-2000s national reorganization of the American Lung Association part of the same national American Lung Association as the Chicago office. After the national reorganization of the American Lung Association into a top-down organization during the mid-2000s, the Springfield office remained part of the national organization, as the American Lung Association in Illinois. As of 2014, the advocate was Kathy Drea. Drea, the vice president of advocacy, had been at the American Lung Association since 1997. Drea supported local smokefree coalitions in cities throughout Illinois in 2005-2007, and was the lead lobbyist advocating at the Springfield state capitol for the Smoke Free Illinois Act in 2007.

American Cancer Society in Illinois Formally Joined

Throughout the 1990s and the early 2000s, the American Cancer Society in Illinois did not consider itself a formal member of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco.[257, 266] The American Cancer Society representatives came to coalition meetings but resisted being called part of the coalition, preferring to be an observer. In the mid-2000s, the representative from the American Cancer Society in Illinois, Mike Grady, participated in meetings, and declared the American Cancer Society in Illinois to be a member of the coalition.[257] As of 2014, the advocate from the American Cancer Society in Illinois was Heather Eagleton. Eagleton had been at the American Cancer Society in Illinois since 2008; Eagleton succeeded Grady as the government relations director in 2011.

Illinois Academy of Family Physicians Also Contributing

The Illinois Academy of Family Physicians originally in its involvement did not contribute funds to the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco. It did, however, dedicate staff time to work on issues.[267] In 2006, according to archived websites of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, the Illinois Academy of Family Physicians became a sponsoring member of the coalition.[268] As of 2014, the advocate from the Illinois Academy of Family Physicians was Gordana Krkic. Krkic, the deputy executive vice president of external affairs, had been at the Illinois Academy of Family Physicians since 1997.

Local Health Departments Also Acting Directly As Coalition Members

In addition to these nongovernmental public health organizations, many local health departments also had sustained involvement as members of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco. The local health department that exemplifies involvement in the coalition was the Cook County Department of Public Health. This local health department was a member of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco since 1994 and had staff in the department supporting the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco since 1998. The Cook County Department of Public Health worked in the 1990s through 2010s on local smokefree ordinances and tobacco retailer licensing requirements, and also took an active role in advocating for smokefree legislation at the state level.

SmokeLess States Funding from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 1994-2004

Funding for the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco grew substantially in the 1990s and early 2000s with funds from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, a foundation dedicated to improving public health.

The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation operated a grants program called SmokeLess States. The purpose of the program was to fund the tobacco control coalitions in each state to improve each state coalition's infrastructure and ability to conduct policy advocacy. The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation tapped Madeleine Solomon, the Chicago Heart Association policy director, to help manage the new SmokeLess States program nationwide. The national program office for SmokeLess States was located at the American Medical Association's national headquarters in Chicago.

According to the 2013 interview with Solomon, across state coalitions, with differing formal structures or deliberative culture among the people representing the member organizations in each coalition, "the same kind of time was necessary to build consensus around policy, and I think what SmokeLess States did was it gave people that luxury to have a staff team that would support that kind of deliberation ... so it fostered collaboration and then coordination ..."[259] As Janet Williams remarked in a 2013 interview, "Robert Wood Johnson really kickstarted and really professionalized the coalition."[257]

SmokeLess States had three phases of funding: a round in 1994, another phase in 1998, and a final phase in 2001, lasting until 2004. The American Heart Association took the lead in preparing grants on behalf of the coalition and administered the funds that the coalition received from the SmokeLess States grants.

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco earned four grants from the SmokeLess States program. In 1994, the coalition won a grant of $1 million total for the four-year period of the grant.[269] The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco was one of the eight state tobacco control coalitions to be awarded a main grant by the SmokeLess States program to advocate for tobacco control policies. In 1998, the coalition received $250,000 total, in a renewal grant used to fund the coalition's activities for 1999 and 2000. In 2000, the coalition received a one-year renewal

grant of $225,000 total.[270-271] For the 2001 round of funding, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco received a grant of over $900,000 total for 2001 through 2004.[272]

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco focused its efforts on educating the public, not direct lobbying; the SmokeLess States grants prohibited using grant funds for lobbying. The individual health organizations could lobby, but the coalition was not a formal organization and did not have lobbying staff to represent the coalition as an organization. Health advocates made its efforts to educate the public under the banner of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco. The coalition's educational activities included local grants for advocacy coalitions, as well as rallies in Springfield, the state capital. It sought to promote proposed smokefree laws, as well as tobacco taxes and prohibiting cigarettes in vending machines.[257] The individual member organizations continued to be free to engage in lobbying activities.

Any media activities by the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco were limited to areas outside the Chicago metropolitan area, where the cost of advertising was prohibitive. Occasionally the major organizations, individually, spent heavily on campaigns, such as the American Cancer Society paying for an advertising blitz for the 2005 Chicago smokefree ordinance,[273] and the American Lung Association in Illinois' paying for capacity building, research, and yard signs for local smokefree efforts around the state.[185] As a coalition, however, such advertising could only be done in less populous urban areas, such as Springfield, where the cost of newspaper advertising was much lower than in Chicago.[274]

Solomon credited the SmokeLess States program for orienting state coalitions toward media use, reflecting in the 2013 interview that "the role of media was an eye-opener. There had not been huge media campaigns, at least in Illinois and in most states around tobacco control."[259]

In 1994, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco was one of the eight state tobacco control coalitions to be awarded a main grant by the SmokeLess States program.

After SmokeLess States

The SmokeLess States grants to Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco ended in 2004 with the end of the SmokeLess States program. Afterwards, the coalition never found a sustainable alternative source of external funding. In 2005, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation determined that the foundation's funds could not support another round of funding.[275]

Funding for the coalition after SmokeLess States ended was more halting. With the drying up of the Robert Wood Johnson foundation grants, however, as Janet Williams commented in the 2013 interview, "We're really in decline now, because we have no funding." Often, individual organizations would just have to use their own internal resources to cover the activities undertaken by the coalition.

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco won a grant from the Illinois Department of Public Health to mobilize around issues of clean indoor air.[261] Also in the early 2000s, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco received grants on the order of $500 from some local health departments in the Chicago area, to promote calling for more state funding for tobacco control, mainly through work on the coalition's website.[261]

As of 2014, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco continued to meet occasionally. Constraints in funding since the end of the SmokeLess States grant program meant the coalition work consisted of what individual health groups' resources provided. Outside the health groups' advocates, there was no coalition staff. The informal convening process from the beginning days of the coalition remained in place as of 2014: meetings continued to be called as needed, rather than having any official protocol and official structure about when to call the meetings. Advocates in the member organizations simply communicated the need for a meeting and then would hold a meeting.[276]

The Tobacco Master Settlement Agreement in 1998

Funds for state tobacco control programs formed the other part of tobacco control resources in Illinois. These funds were administered by the state and part of the funds were used for state tobacco control programs.

Throughout the mid 1990s, following the lead of the attorneys general of Mississippi and Minnesota in 1994, state and territorial attorneys general throughout the United States filed lawsuits against the major tobacco companies operating in the United States to recoup the costs that states and territories were spending on Medicaid expenses for tobacco-related diseases. Illinois filed suit in November 1996, in the middle part of the national process: it was the 16th state to file suit against the tobacco industry.[277]

Calls for Illinois to join the collection of states filing lawsuits against the major U.S.-based tobacco companies picked up steam when the American Lung Association, along with smokefree-focused Chicago alderman Edward Burke, called for a lawsuit in March 1996,[278] and when U.S. Representative Dick Durbin (D), then running for U.S. Senate in Illinois, also called for such a lawsuit in April 1996.[279]

Illinois Attorney General Jim Ryan (R; 1995-2003) declared in April 1996 that the Attorney General's office had been considering it, along with a group of other states that were considering filing lawsuits in the spring of 1996.[280-281] According to a 2014 interview of Mark Peysakhovich of the American Heart Association, Attorney General Ryan seemed already interested in pursuing a lawsuit against the major tobacco companies, without needing to have the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco convince him to do so:

> Jim Ryan had some health issues of his own, and he was a progressive Republican ... I think Jim Ryan was an attorney general who stuck to his beliefs, and I think he did see the tobacco industry as having lied and misled the public. And I think he genuinely believed that the tobacco companies were liable ... there was communication [between health groups and Ryan] at that point, but I don't know that it was really the health groups that had to deliver Jim Ryan to this realization. I think he was walking that path anyway.[274]

By September 1996, the states that had already done so included Illinois' regional Midwest neighbors of Kansas, Michigan, and Minnesota, as well as seven southern states, three northeastern states, and two western states.[282] On September 17, Attorney General Jim Ryan announced that the Attorney General's office would file a lawsuit,[277] which Illinois did on November 12, 1996.[283]

Gov. Jim Edgar (R) did not oppose the lawsuit. Although Edgar along with House Speaker Lee Daniels (R) and House Minority Leader Michael Madigan (R) were among the top recipients of tobacco industry campaign contributions during the 1995-1996 election cycle,[284] with $87,800 given to House Speaker Daniels during the election cycle,[226] these elected officials did not oppose the lawsuit, either in public statements or in other activities. The lack of opposition by other state elected officials in Illinois contrasted with those in some other states where state elected officials attempted to interfere with the lawsuits against the tobacco industry.

Attorney General Ryan seemed already interested in pursuing a lawsuit against the major tobacco companies.

Tobacco industry campaign contributions to all of these elected officials, who did not oppose the lawsuit, fell in the next election cycle.[226] The election cycle after Attorney General Jim Ryan announced the lawsuit, 1997-1998, tobacco companies stopped contributing to Ryan. Campaign contributions to Lee Daniels also fell, to $27,400, although in this election cycle the Republicans had lost control of the Illinois House to the Democrats. Campaign contributions to Michael Madigan who had become House Speaker again after the Democrats took control of the House, inched up only by $5,100, to $40,300 during the 1997-1998 election cycle, despite becoming House Speaker. Contributions to Gov. Jim Edgar also plummeted, to just $1,500.[226]

Several states settled these lawsuits separately, and the American Lung Association in Illinois took the position that the state ought not to settle jointly, but should, settle separately with tobacco companies, as did the original plaintiffs Minnesota and Mississippi, as well as Florida and Texas, and to do so with the prospect of receiving more money.

Attorney General Ryan settled with tobacco companies as part of the 1998 Master Settlement Agreement, a joint settlement in 1998 between the attorneys general of 46 states, five

territories, and the District of Columbia, on one side, and the major U.S.-based tobacco companies, on the other side.

Initial projections of tobacco settlement revenue forecast payments of $360 million per year for Illinois.[285] Under the terms of the Master Settlement Agreement, the covered tobacco companies would pay funds in perpetuity based on the number of cigarettes sold to cover the resulting medical costs borne by states.

Details on how the Illinois General Assembly appropriated subsequent years' settlement funds for state tobacco control programs is detailed in Chapter 8 on state tobacco control programs.

State Agencies and Local Health Departments

The Illinois General Assembly's appropriated a portion of the funds that it received every year from the Master Settlement Agreement, for state tobacco control programs. State agencies and local health departments played a key role in shaping tobacco policy in Illinois. These agencies carried out and developed tobacco control programs and tobacco enforcement programs.

Illinois Department of Public Health

The Illinois Department of Public Health began in 2000 to operate a comprehensive tobacco program. The program was run by the Division of Chronic Disease Prevention and Control, which was part of the Illinois Department of Public Health's Office of Health Promotion. The state program included statewide programming, distributing grants to local health departments including youth civic engagement and tobacco control advocacy programs, surveys and studies to monitor tobacco use and its effects in the state, and oversight of the Illinois Tobacco Quitline. The local departments used the grants from the Illinois Department of Public Health to undertake local programs, media efforts, and youth programs.

Illinois Liquor Control Commission

The Illinois Liquor Control Commission, an agency of the Illinois Department of Revenue, in 1996 began to administer the Kids Can't Buy 'Em Here program. It operated the Tobacco Enforcement Program to monitor retailer compliance with state minimum-age tobacco laws.[286] In the 1990s, before the Department of Public Health's comprehensive tobacco control program started, the Illinois Liquor Control Commission administered portions of funds, approximately $670,000 per year, for programs and studies related to enforcement of youth minimum-age laws for tobacco.[287]

Collaboration Among State Agencies

The state agencies also collaborated to harmonize efforts for tobacco control. As Illinois Department of Public Health tobacco program manager Gail DeVito described, for a 2013 interview, these interagency collaborations, "IDPH has an interagency work group. It's an

informal interagency work group with [the Illinois Liquor Control Commission and the Illinois Department of Human Services] where we meet quarterly."[288] These meetings began in the summer of 2012.

Local Health Departments

Local health departments also provided much activity at the local level, and in coordinating with the state health department to help set the tone and pace of tobacco policy in Illinois. As of 2014, the state health department had three coordinators to stay in communication with local health departments in the state, one each for northern, central, and southern Illinois.

Local health departments were key movers in Illinois at promoting local smokefree activity and licensing requirements for tobacco retailers, especially in northern Illinois. Often these moves occured in advance of a move to a broader state law, or as a response to a lack of policy movement at the state or national levels. Local health departments' efforts were supplemented by grants from the state health department given as part of the state's program. In addition, the Chicago Department of Public Health, as the health department for the third largest city in the United States, often took a lead role in policy on tobacco products used disproportionately by youth. Local departments often advocated for good public health policy on tobacco by providing information for state and local policymakers and for local advocacy coalitions' efforts. Department staff could also engage in capacity building and training events for local health coalitions.

In 1999, many local health department directors in northern Illinois, geographically concentrated in the Chicago region, began to meet informally to discuss shared issues, such as a joint need for increased state funding and common demographic and health issues. These local health department directors formally incorporated the Northern Illinois Public Health Consortium in 2002.[289] It was founded for the northern county health departments to work on issues of common concern to these departments, including arguing for increased funding from the state's Local Health Protection Grant.[290] The Northern Illinois Public Health Consortium hired a lobbyist quickly after forming.[291]

As Jennifer Herd, a health policy analyst in the Chicago Department of Public Health and who had been at the department since 1998, explained in a 2013 joint interview with Kendall Stagg, the original purpose of the coalition was arguing for adequate funding, not tobacco control issues:

> Northern Illinois Public Health Consortium did not start around tobacco control at all. In the state of Illinois, we have this Local Health Protection Grant and the Local Health Protection Grant is a grant that provides general resources to certified local health departments across the state of Illinois ... We decided to collaborate and form an organization called the Northern Illinois Public Health Consortium to argue for increased funding for the Local Health Protection Grant.

> And then in addition to Local Health Protection Grant, it moved into other priority areas that the local health departments all shared in common ... [in the first few years] a lot of it was tobacco control.[290]

As Michael Isaacson of the Kane County Health Department in a 2013 interview described further details of the consortium's work:

> We quickly started working with our colleagues ... in northeastern Illinois, on coordinating our efforts to make sure that we were all working together and sharing lessons learned as we went on. ... [We] still maintain that relationship with others in the region, where we come together – we've done joint media buys or common messaging around trying to promote smoking cessation, as well as coordinating education [efforts]...[292]

Local health departments were also key in using the Engaging Youth for Positive Change curriculum, developed by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign's Center for Prevention Research and Development developed in 2003, to promote knowledge of government among high school and middle school students and to have these students advocate for local smokefree policy changes.[293] Students frequently advocated for local clean indoor air ordinances before the Smoke Free Illinois Act passed in 2007, and since then often focused on outdoor smokefree policies in park districts or for local licensing of tobacco retailers.

Conclusion

The tobacco control coalition for the state, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, has been done principally by four major organizations: the state chapters of the American Lung Association, American Heart Association, and American Cancer Society, as well as the Respiratory Health Association of Chicago. The coalition was loosely organized, as of 2014 was not incorporated as an organization, and consists of member organizations that work on tobacco issues both in a coordinated fashion as well as independently. These organizations, however loosely organized as a coalition, did have the important quality of having dedicated staff focusing on tobacco is a priority and also lobbying, and had built up a tobacco control infrastructure due to the professionalizing financial resources of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation's 1994-2004 SmokeLess States program. As a result health advocates of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco were well poised during the decade of the 2000s to succeed in creating many policy changes and to build on such results during the 2010s.

Chapter 4: Smokefree Air

- In the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, municipalities located mostly in northern Illinois passed clean indoor air ordinances, most frequently for restaurants.
- In 1989, Tobacco Institute staff and its Illinois lobbying team drafted indoor air legislation that included preempting almost all local governments from regulating smoking, got this legislation added to an already-introduced clean indoor air bill, and successfully supported its passage.
- Between 1989 in 2005, almost all local smokefree activity in Illinois was frozen because only 21 municipalities with clean indoor air ordinances already on the books could continue to regulate smoking during this period.
- Local authority to regulate smoking was restored in legislation in 2005 for municipalities; in 2006, to allow smokefree laws in unincorporated areas in counties where municipalities had already passed smokefree ordinances, such legislation passed for counties.
- After local governments regained the authority to regulate smoking, 36 clean indoor air ordinances passed in Illinois during 2006, the most of any one state that year; new smokefree ordinances in 2005-2007 included Chicago, Springfield, Bloomington, Normal, Champaign, Urbana, Carbondale, and Naperville.
- These ordinances passed due to the efforts of local smokefree air coalitions with assistance from the member organizations of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, which sought to encourage this surge of local activity on the way to preparing for a statewide smokefree law.

Setting the Stage for a State Smokefree Air Law

Illinois' path to a statewide comprehensive smokefree workplace law was a bumpy one, but on January 1, 2008, the Smoke Free Illinois Act went into effect, mandating 100% smokefree workplaces, including restaurants, bars, casinos, and private clubs.

Compared with many other states, Illinois enacted a strong statewide law relatively late. By the time the Smoke Free Illinois Act came into force, 23 other states had already enacted laws mandating comprehensive smokefree policies for offices, restaurants, and bars, including Ohio and Minnesota in the Midwest.

Yet, when the Smoke Free Illinois Act passed in 2007, Illinois became a leader in state smokefree policy. No state in the Midwest had required smokefree casinos before, and only one other state, Colorado, had passed such a law. Illinois' and Colorado's laws took effect the same day, at the start of 2008, meaning that both states forged new ground in requiring smokefree air.

The path to Illinois' state law involved four stages.

First, in 1989, a period of state preemption, or the taking away of local authority to set policy, of regulating smoking, began. This period continued through 2005. Blocking local governments from passing laws about smoking had been a nationwide tobacco industry strategy of preemption, and a priority of tobacco companies and tobacco industry lobbyists.[294-297]

Industries often support preemption when believing such industries will benefit from the removal of local authority to regulate a particular policy arena.[298] Blocking local authority shifted most tobacco policymaking away from the local level, where tobacco companies were weaker relative to public health and community groups, and to the state level, where tobacco lobbyists had relatively more power.[294, 299] Even more, once included in state law, preemption clauses for smoking are associated with lower support for smokefree laws among people who smoke.[299] Efforts by tobacco companies to have state preemption provisions started in the 1980s, with clauses preempting the local regulation of smoking coming into force in state laws starting in the mid-1980s.[300] These efforts by the tobacco industry led to 31 state governments passing laws that prevented local governments from some sort of tobacco control lawmaking on their own.[296]

Local clean indoor air ordinances within in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s often only covered partial types of hospitality venues, but the ones adopted in the 2000s increasingly required restaurants, bars, and other indoor workplaces to be smokefree.[301]

When Illinois lawmakers instituted preemption, state law provided only that indoor areas, including restaurants and offices, should have smoking and nonsmoking sections, or choose voluntarily to be entirely nonsmoking. By stripping local governments of the authority to enact stronger clean indoor air ordinances, Illinois' state law became the ceiling for how strong local smokefree standards could become. Health advocates in the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco were deeply split on the bill that would bring preemption, but most advocates decided that the substantive changes in smokefree policy were the best that could be achieved at the time, and so supported the bill despite opposing the part of the bill that instituted preemption.

Second, for the 16 years following 1989, health advocates in Illinois attempted to repeal preemption. Health advocates originally found it difficult to explain the problems of preemption to lawmakers and to local health departments and elected officials. By shifting to talking about the problems of preemption in terms of favoring "local control" for communities, health advocates enlarged the coalition in favor of restoring local authority to combine lawmakers who favored local smokefree laws, and lawmakers who preferred local and limited government. In 2005, lawmakers dismantled preemption, thereby allowing local regulations of smoking.

Third, starting in 2005, local communities across the state took advantage of the restoration of authority to regulate smoking. Health advocates aimed to foster local activity not only as an end in itself, but also to build support for a state law. In communities throughout Illinois, public health advocates worked to build support for the idea of smokefree workplaces in a way that demonstrated to legislators and to the broader public that laws mandating smokefree environments had desirable results, and carefully chose the cities in central Illinois, the capital and college cities, which would build momentum for a state law. Advocates also attempted to get as much local activity as possible bubbling in the Chicago area, where a larger proportion of people in many local communities, compared with other parts of Illinois, would favor smokefree ordinances; smokefree advocacy activity in larger, politically influential cities were also part of the strategy to build support for a state law.

These efforts led to legislators being able to pass a strong statewide law, to be detailed in Chapter 5, that provided smokefree environments broadly, without becoming riddled with

exemptions. Once passed, health advocates worked to defend the law from rollbacks, and to implement the law in a way that ensured compliance and enforcement. In the case of other smokefree laws outside of Illinois, between the passage of state smokefree laws and the time of implementation, the tobacco industry also attempted to reverse the law in the time before implementation;[302] efforts to chip away at or repeal the law also occurred in Illinois.

In opposing smokefree laws and local ordinances across the United States, common tobacco industry efforts to oppose such legislation included lobbying with messages about positions about choice, asserting negative economic impacts, asserting difficulty of enforcement, and proposing to use ventilation systems instead.[303] Opponents, who were often the lobbyists who worked for tobacco companies, also used these lines of arguments in Illinois.

Health advocates, to achieve smokefree policy goals, relied on persistent attempts to peel back the preemptive over a span of 16 years, capitalized on key legislative supporters in positions of political power, and made efforts to cultivate or strengthen local smokefree movements.

Early Attempts at Clean Indoor Air Laws Through 1989

Local Smoking Ordinances Until 1989

From the mid 1970s, when the first local clean indoor air ordinances emerged in Illinois, through 1989, when state law changed to preempt almost all such ordinances, health advocates, coordinating with each other as part of the Illinois Interagency Council on Smoking and Disease attempted at the state and local levels to carve out areas to be designated as nonsmoking areas, starting from tightly controlled areas such as elevators, and moving toward broader areas accessible to the public including restaurants.

Health advocates sought to promote local laws in the 1970s and 1980s, but these attempts met with few successes due to the efforts of tobacco industry strategists and lobbyists. In 1977, Chicago considered a clean indoor air ordinance, introduced by Alderman Martin Oberman, that proposed to require nonsmoking sections in at least 50 percent in all public places and places of employment.[304-305] The Tobacco Institute mobilized forcefully against this proposal. A November 1977 memo from Larry Horist, an area manager in the Tobacco Institute, to Roger Mozingo, noted, "In view of the scope of the proposed ordinance, the size of the community and the strong anti-smoking sentiment of the Chicago media, it was decided to make a major effort in opposing this measure."[305] The Tobacco Institute brought together the Illinois Manufacturers Association, Illinois Retail Merchants Association, Greater Chicago Hotel and Motel Association, Chicago and Illinois Restaurant Association, Evangelical Hospital Association, Chicago Convention and Tourism Bureau, and

Health advocates attempted at the state and local levels to carve out areas to be designated as nonsmoking areas.

Illinois Association of Realtors to oppose the proposed ordinance publicly. After lining up these organizations to oppose it, Horist, the Tobacco Institute area manager, concluded in his 1977 memo, "when such hearings [for the proposed ordinance] are scheduled, we will be in an excellent position to carry the day with an unprecedented display of support."[305]

In 1977, Downers Grove (DuPage County) passed an ordinance to require nonsmoking sections in restaurants, but left the size up to each restaurant. In the face of general noncompliance by restaurant owners in Downers Grove, in April 1979, the Downers Grove Village Council proposed an ordinance to require a specific percentage of restaurant areas to be nonsmoking sections. James Tierney acted to delay the vote on the April 1979 proposal by mobilizing restaurant owners: the restaurant owners proposed to the city council to delay voting on the April 1979 proposal, until restaurants could comply with the 1977 ordinance that had left the size of smoking sections up to each restaurant owner. The village council agreed to the delay. The Tobacco Action Network mobilized the local chamber of commerce and restaurant owners against it, held a petition drive, and challenged the proposed ordinance.[306] In June, the council held a new hearing and passed an ordinance requiring restaurants that seat 20 people or more to have at least 10% of the space inside be a nonsmoking section, with signs posted at the entrance and on each table about that area being a nonsmoking section.[307]

Highland Park (Cook County) passed an ordinance to require nonsmoking sections in restaurants.[306] The Tobacco Action Network did not become aware of the ordinance in time to mobilize as effectively against it, as in Downers Grove, but did help a local distributor to craft testimony against the ordinance.[306] The Highland Park City Council passed the ordinance by a vote of 4-3.

In 1979, Calumet City considered but did not pass a clean indoor air ordinance: the ordinance was similar to the Highland Park attempted ordinance.[308] The proposed measure by Ald. Marge Lundy sought to require restaurants with room for at least 100 patrons to establish nonsmoking areas, and to require smokefree environments in additional indoor spaces such as cafeterias.[309-310]

James Tierney, Illinois state director of the Tobacco Action Network, tapped the Chicago and Illinois Restaurant Association to mobilize local restaurant owners to write to their city council members, and to attend the city council meeting in opposition to the proposed ordinance. In a July 1979 vote, the city council voted to reject the proposed ordinance, with only Ald. Lundy voting in favor of the proposed ordinance. Afterward, in the conclusions of a September 1979 memo from Tierney to the state's Tobacco Action Network Advisory Committee, Tierney wrote, "I am extremely concerned that the Calumet City proposal was copied from the Highland Park ordinance."[309]

In Peoria, in 1985, a local resident proposed that the City Council create an ordinance to mandate smokefree grocery stores. Grocery store managers spoke in opposition, and the city Air Quality Panel and Construction Commission buried the proposed ordinance.

Local clean indoor air ordinance attempts' greatest development during the 1980s occurred when Chicago adopted its Clean Indoor Air Ordinance in 1988. The ordinance initially

proposed to require 50% of restaurants' areas to be nonsmoking, but after negotiations between the Illinois Restaurant Association and the American Cancer Society in Illinois, agreed to a lower limit.[311] The full Chicago City Council approved the ordinance in May 1988.[235]

At the state level, advocates attempted clean air bills throughout the mid-1980s, without success. Instead, Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco members sought to show legislators the popularity of local smokefree laws and the positive effects of these laws, and local health department staff and local advocates worked to show businessowners and local elected officials these positive effects.

As in other states, where local clean indoor air ordinances within in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s often only covered partial types of hospitality venues, but the ones adopted in the 2000s increasingly required restaurants, bars, and other indoor workplaces to be smokefree, [301] in Illinois through the 1980s local ordinances also had narrow coverage. Many cities passed local clean indoor air ordinances through 1989, including ordinances about restaurants (Table 13).

State Legislation Until 1989

In 1978, House Bill 168 by Rep. Ron Greisheimer (R-Waukegan) proposed to prohibit smoking in elevators, buses, hospital rooms, and museums.[324] The Tobacco Institute coordinated public mobilization against it and the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors lobbied against it. In June, the bill passed the House and then the Senate.

House Bill 168 came to the desk of Gov. James Thompson to sign. Thompson was a Republican who served as governor for fourteen years from 1977 to 1991, the Tobacco Institute worked to get Gov. Thompson to veto the bill. Tobacco Institute Senior Vice President Jack Kelly wrote to senior executives at R.J. Reynolds, Philip Morris, Liggett, and other tobacco companies attempting to get the executives at these companies to mobilize company employees in Illinois to write the governor's office asking him to veto the bill.[325] The Tobacco Action Network had already been set up nationwide in 1977, but was not used regularly in Illinois to mobilize employees to bolster the appearance of opposition to tobacco control policies until 1981,[51] which appears to have been why Kelly wrote the executives to mobilize local opposition to this legislation. Jack Kelly's request went to these executives in a memo as one of "[t]wo important legislative situations" in Illinois that "prompt this request for member company assistance."[325]

Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors executive director Bud Kelley sent the governor a packet of materials arguing against House Bill 168, arguing foremost that the "proposed law is really a duplicate of local ordinances;"[326] in addition, the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors requested and had a meeting with Gov. Thompson.[326-327] Thompson vetoed the bill, and in his veto message argued first that the bill duplicated existing local laws covering such indoor venues and that "state government should not duplicate local government in this fashion."[328] In November, Rep. Greisheimer led a failed attempt to override Gov. Thompson's veto requiring three-fifths of the House to do so; the bill did not receive three-fifths support.[329]

Table 13: Clean Indoor Air Ordinances for Restaurants and Additional Public Venues Between 1977 and 1994

Community	Year Passed	Provisions
Downers Grove	9/6/1977	restaurant nonsmoking sections, no size specified
Oak Forest	1/11/1978	smokefree hospitals and city-owned buses, but there were no such hospitals or buses in the city at the time
Downers Grove	6/4/1979	restaurant nonsmoking sections 20%, for restaurants larger than 20 seats
Highland Park	1979	restaurant nonsmoking sections
Crystal Lake	12/1982	restaurant nonsmoking sections 35%; nonsmoking theaters; repealed for restaurants 6/1983; reinstated but reduced to 20% in 9/1983
Bollingbrook	6/16/1983	smokefree aquatic center
Skokie	9/8/1987	restaurant nonsmoking sections, no size specified, for businesses with 10 or more employees
Bloomington	3/14/1988	smokefree grocery stores
Chicago	5/25/1988	restaurant nonsmoking sections; plane, train, and bus depots nonsmoking sections 50%
Evanston	4/12/1988	restaurant nonsmoking sections 20%, for restaurants of 40 seats or more
Hoffman Estates	5/2/1988	restaurant nonsmoking sections for restaurants of 40 seats or more
Rockford	7/19/1988	restaurant nonsmoking sections 50%, exceptions for ventilation systems
Arlington Heights	1/23/1989	restaurant nonsmoking sections; for businesses with 9 or more employees
Elgin	6/14/1989	restaurant nonsmoking sections 50%; workplace lobbies 50%; for restaurants of 40 seats or more
Oak Park	3/31/1989	restaurant nonsmoking sections; for businesses with 10 or more employees
Schaumburg	8/22/1989	nonsmoking sections in theaters, libraries, healthcare facilities and their waiting areas
Chicago	5/19/1993	restaurant nonsmoking sections 30%; signs required to show at least 30% or at least 50%
Wilmette	10/11/1994	restaurant nonsmoking sections, by demand; exemptions for "hardship"

Note: Excludes ordinances about solely about prohibiting smoking in city hall meetings and in government buildings.
Sources: Tobacco Institute legislative summaries, 1977-1994[235, 237-238, 240, 304, 308, 312-323]

During Illinois' 1979-1980 legislative session, the Tobacco Institute blocked a proposed bill similar to the bill vetoed in 1978: a statewide Public Smoking Act (House Bill 1517), seeking to prohibit smoking in hospital rooms, elevators, theaters, libraries, museums, and buses, with exceptions for designated smoking areas. The Tobacco Institute considered the 1980 bill, to be one of the "smoking restriction bills which caused the most concern" during the year, as it was legislation in one of four states proposing such strong standards for indoor air for that year.[313] The Tobacco Institute used the Tobacco Action Network to mobilize tobacco industry employees in Illinois against the bill.[330] using arguments similar to those used against the

legislation from 1978 such as being duplicative of many local ordinances.[331] The bill made it past a second reading, but the House did not vote on the bill.[330]

The 1981 effort for a Public Smoking Act came as House Bill 29 by Robert Pechous (D-Berwyn).[314] This bill, like the bills from 1978 and 1979, proposed to prohibit smoking in hospital rooms, elevators, theaters, libraries, museums, and buses. The Tobacco Action Network mobilized members against it, asking members to write their representatives,[332] and the State Activities division encouraged individuals to file comments against the bill at the General Assembly.[333] The House Committee on Health and Family Services voted to bury the bill, by a vote of 8 to 5.[314]

Amidst growing support in many communities, throughout the mid-1980s, legislators committed to public health continued to introduce broad statewide smoking bills. None of these bills passed. Up until the late 1980s, advocates for state clean indoor air policies had not gained a political footing against tobacco companies nationwide, with progress confined to only a few states.[334] In 1983, Sen. Patrick Welch (D-Peru) and Sen. Frank Savickas (D-Chicago) proposed an Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act, Senate Bill 625,[317] that would have prohibited smoking in hospital rooms, elevators, theaters, libraries, museums, concert halls, buses, nursing homes, and public areas in local government buildings.[335]

From 1984 to 1988, Rep. Robert Terzich (D-Chicago) began efforts to pass a clean indoor air law that covered restaurants; Rep. Terzich's effort ultimately stretched through 1988, meeting almost with success but beat back just barely by concerted efforts from the Tobacco Institute. In 1984, House Bill 2929 by Terzich sought to prohibit smoking in restaurants and public areas in state and local government buildings. The House Registration and Regulation Committee killed it on a vote of 8 to 5; Terzich made a motion on the House floor for a vote to get the bill moved to another committee, and the House voted against this motion.[317]

Throughout the mid-1980s, legislators committed to public health continued to introduce broad statewide smoking bills. None of these bills passed.

In 1985, the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors, through its president Bud Kelley and its lobbyist Charles Schrader, contacted state legislators about the proposed Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act even before Rep. Terzich, the legislative sponsor of the bill, had the chance to contact legislators. Kelley and Schrader contacted the legislators who had received contributions from the distributors' association or the Tobacco Institute, and spread opposition to the bill before the sponsor contacted such legislators to ask for support.[336] In 1986, Terzich tried again with a clean indoor air bill, and the bill lost, gaining only 53 votes of the required 60.[337]

The December 1986 U.S. Surgeon General report, *The Health Effects of Involuntary Smoking*,[338] focusing on diseases among nonsmokers caused by secondhand smoke, resulted in

more attention to the issue of secondhand smoke in 1987 nationwide, and a consequent increase in clean indoor air legislation in state capitols in 1987.[339] The major bills introduced in 1987 in Illinois on clean indoor air included House Bill 154 by Rep. John Matijevich (D-North Chicago), which aimed to restrict smoking in restaurants. Matijevich's bill was co-sponsored by Rep. John Dunn (D-Decatur, in central Illinois; $200 in tobacco industry contributions), a legislator who would figure centrally in Illinois tobacco politics in 1989 for his role in sponsoring the Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act of that year, as well as afterwards in his efforts to promote tobacco control policies stronger than that act. The House Energy, Environment & Natural Resources Committee defeated the bill.[320]

Also in 1987, Sen. Ralph Dunn (R-Du Quoin, in southern Illinois) introduced Senate Bill 139, which included some of smoking, along with state preemption of local governments' ability to regulate smoking: preemption is an legal arrangement favored by tobacco companies for its ability to freeze tobacco policymaking at the local level, and this concept would resurface in the tobacco industry's reshaping in 1989 of the bill that would become the Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act. Sen. Ralph Dunn's bill in 1987 did not make it out of the Senate Executive Committee.

A bill that attracted somewhat more attention in the Illinois Senate was Senate Bill 374 by Sen. Bob Kustra (R-Des Plaines), which sought restrictions on smoking in restaurants, workplaces, and other indoor places.[320] To counter the bill, the State Activities Division lobbied against it.

Tom Duffy, Ward Johnson, Bud Kelley, and Chuck Schrader all worked against Terzich's clean indoor air bill.

Of the clean indoor air bills introduced in Illinois in 1987, the one that received the most legislative attention was Rep. Terzich's attempt for a clean indoor act that year. House Bill 20 was the same as Terzich's 1986 bill: it aimed to limit smoking to designated areas of restaurants, hospitals, retail stores, offices, and theaters.[337] Terzich introduced the bill in January. Terzich was the chair of the House Executive Committee. The Tobacco Institute announced publicly, in comments for a *Chicago Tribune* article about Terzich's introduction of the bill, that it would lobby strongly against the bill.[337]

The tobacco industry's lobbyists for Illinois, Tom Duffy, Ward Johnson, Bud Kelley, and Chuck Schrader all worked against Terzich's clean indoor air bill, including lobbying legislators on the House Executive Committee and tracking these legislators' potential votes on the bill.[340] The bill was defeated in committee that first time, and as Tobacco Institute State Activities Division regional vice president Bill Trisler wrote in a March 1987 memo to Duffy, Johnson, Kelley, and Schrader, "We [at the Tobacco Institute] are totally delighted for your ability to 'vote count' and for the tremendous defeat, especially in Terzich's own committee."[340]

Anticipating Terzich would ask the House Executive Committee to reconsider the bill, which is allowed in House committees, allowing the sponsor of a bill two opportunities to bring up a bill for a committee vote if desired,[341], the Tobacco Institute created a plan of action to

defeat the bill: lobbying of each member of the House Executive Committee, requesting that outside organizations including the Illinois Manufacturers Association and the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce also lobby legislators as well as mobilize members to write letters, and activate the Tobacco Action Network to write letters to state representatives and newspaper editors and to continue similar efforts if the committee passed the bill to the whole House.[342]

A memo from Tobacco Institute State Activities Division regional vice president Bill Trisler to lobbyist Bud Kelley, written on May 11, 1987, just four days after the bill passed out of the committee, underscores the special focus of the State Activities Division on defeating House Bill 20. Trisler said of the bill, "This is extremely detrimental to our industry ... It is by the wishes of Roger Mozingo, George Minshew and myself that you continue your direct lobbying efforts to defeat [House Bill 20 and Sen. Kustra's Senate Bill 374] on 3rd reading."[343]

Rep. Terzich attempted to have the House Executive Committee reconsider the bill in May 1987, and succeeded only narrowly; to explain why, as the chair of the committee, he could only get his legislation out of the committee after a bruising effort, Terzich pointed to the influence of tobacco industry lobbying as the reason.[339] Among the bills that the Tobacco Institute fought in the mid-1980s, Terzich's bill in 1987 was a close call for the tobacco industry: with 60 votes needed to pass, the bill only received a vote of 58-51. [320]

Rep. Terzich tried again in 1988, with House Bill 4195; the House Executive Committee voted to keep the bill in committee, and even though Terzich attempted to get the House to vote to discharge the bill from the House Executive Committee, not enough House members voted to take the bill out of the House Executive Committee.

By 1989, newer legislators entered the Illinois House in the late 1980s compared with those in the early 1980s,[339] and the public in general gave wider attention to secondhand smoke throughout the late 1980s. These changes in the environment led several bills to pass that took focused aim at specific indoor environments. House Bill 1768 (Public Act 86-0367) by Rep. Gordon Ropp (R-Bloomington) prohibited smoking in elevators, effective January 1, 1990.[237] House Bill 2447 (Public Act 86-0821) by Rep. Penny Pullen (R-Park Ridge, in Cook County) prohibited smoking at public schools, with exceptions for athletic events and designated staff smoking areas.[237]

State Preemption: Denying Local Authority to Regulate Smoking, 1989 to 2005

Preemption on clean indoor air, or the removal by state govenment of local governments' authority to enact clean indoor air ordinances, became a central focus of Tobacco Institute's legislative strategy to avoid clean indoor air laws in states throughout the United States. To thwart local ordinances in Illinois, the Tobacco Institute in October 1988 developed a Comprehensive Public Smoking Plan specifically for Illinois for 1989, promoting state preemption of local ordinances and enshrining smoking in indoor places as long as such venues had ventilation systems. State Activities Division Vice President Bill Trisler laid out in a November 17, 1988 memo to State Activities Division Northern Sector Vice President Paul Emrick, a "Comprehensive Public Smoking Plan for the State of Illinois"[116] involving an October 1988 meeting with top State Activities Division leadership including George Minshew,

Paul Emrick, Walter Woodson; regional directors Bill Trisler and Bob Pruett; and the major Illinois lobbyists for the Tobacco Institute, Bud Kelley, Ward Johnson, Tom Duffy, and Charles Schrader. The meeting centered, according to the memo, on the following goals:

> 1) To assist our efforts to minimize the number and frequency of local smoking restriction ordinances
> 2) To kill Terzich-type legislation (ban of smoking in public places, workplaces, etc.)
> 3) To promote clean indoor air standards i.e. ventilation standards
> 4) To protect [smokers'] rights[116]

The memo summarized the steps that the Illinois lobbyists would take on these efforts, after drafting legislation promoting ventilation as an alternative to clean indoor air legislation, "we will be able to write a plan of action that allies, such as labor, manufacturers, retailers, hotel/motel association, restaurateurs and others would be willing to participate and/or assist us for the passage of IAQ [Indoor Air Quality] legislation."[116]

The Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act of 1989 With Preemption

In 1989, the Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act became law. The passage of the law followed a path from introduction of public-health-favored legislation and opposition by the tobacco industry, to an amendment in the Illinois Senate that introduced a clause preempting local authority to regulate smoking, leading to the amended law being favored by tobacco companies and that split Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco members, followed by a reluctant acceptance of the law by most of the health coalition.

Efforts by tobacco companies to have state preemption provisions started in the early 1980s,[344] with results in law in the mid-1980s.[300] By the late 2000s, the major national public health advocacy organizations working on tobacco control, such as the American Cancer Society, American Heart Association, American Lung Association, and the Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, agreed to oppose preemption provisions in smokefree laws.[344]

In hindsight, health advocates' consensus nationwide was that preemption clauses should be avoided so much that it is worth defeating a bill that includes preemption rather than accepting immediate progress at the expense of the ability to continue local level clean indoor air advocacy. It was not until over a decade later that the experience of many states attempting to repeal laws, including Illinois, led to the consensus among health groups about avoiding preemption clauses. In the 1980s, health advocates, in Illinois as in elsewhere, often saw the path to clean indoor air as one that required gradualism and compromises as necessary for real, practical public health changes in state laws.[266]

As Introduced: A Strong Bill Without Preemption, Opposed by Tobacco Interests

The year 1989 saw several bills proposing clean indoor air requirements: House Bill 1695 came as one of several bills in 1989, alongside bills by Sen. Bob Kustra (R-Des Plaines) and Rep. Robert Terzich (D-Chicago), which each sought to require restaurants to establish non-

smoking areas.[345] A timeline of the bills introduced shows the major events in the pathway toward the 1989 Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act (Figure 13).

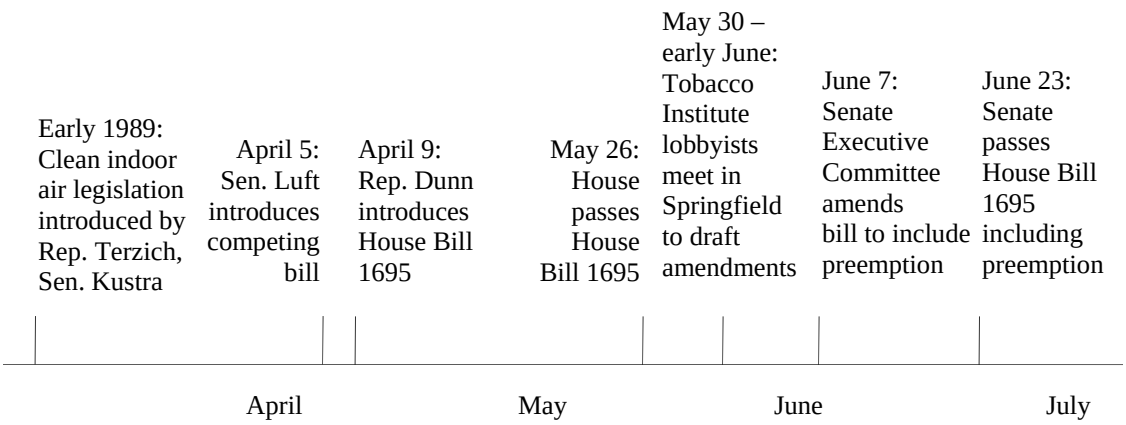


Figure 13: Timeline of Events for the 1989 Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act

In contrast with these bills, tobacco industry lobbyists supported a competing, much weaker indoor air bill, Senate Bill 527, sponsored by Sen. Richard Luft (D-Pekin), the Assistant Majority Leader in the Senate. Luft introduced his bill on April 5, 1989. This bill only mandated smokefree theaters, concert halls, and buses, venues that most local ordinances in Illinois already covered.[345-346] Rather than having any requirement for restaurants, it contained vague language only saying that restaurants with over 70 people may have any standards that the owners wanted, and did not set any standards for smaller restaurants. Luft's bill set penalties as a petty offense.[347]

With all these bills about clean indoor air seeming to get nowhere in the House, Rep. John Dunn (D-Decatur), an attorney who served in the Illinois House from 1975 to 1995, and who had introduced the attempt at a clean indoor air bill in 1987,[348] decided to give a clean indoor air bill a try. To put together a bill, Dunn consulted with the major health groups to get their input.[349] Dunn introduced his bill on April 9, 1989.

As introduced, House Bill 1695 limited smoking in workplaces, restaurants, and other public places by requiring that smoking be limited to specifically designated smoking areas inside these venues.[350] Penalties were set at a petty offense, and enforcement was left to personally affected individuals who would have to use courts to pursue repeated violations; these aspects of the bill did not change over the course of the bill. The proposed bill also would have allowed state agencies, local officials, and school boards to create smoking areas on the public places under control, by stating that they "may" have smoking areas so long as they did not conflict with existing laws, ordinances, or state department rules.[350]

Most important to the bill as introduced, House Bill 1695 expressly ensured the ability of local governments to enact clean indoor air ordinances as long as such ordinances were equal to or stronger than state law.[350] Under the bill as originally introduced, state law would be clear that statewide indoor clean air requirements would be the floor, not the ceiling, for what local governments could enact.

While the Illinois House considered House Bill 1695, the Illinois Interagency Council for a Tobacco-Free Society favored it while tobacco industry lobbyists opposed it. In January 1989, Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco member organizations joined Bernard Turnock, director of the Illinois Department of Public Health, in calling publicly for state legislators to pass the bill.[351] House Bill 1695, as introduced, sailed through the Illinois House in May 1989 on a vote of 76 to 13.[352-353]

Amendments by the Tobacco Institute to Include Preemption

When House Bill 1695 went from the House over to the Senate, in early June 1989, it faced a Senate Executive Committee that included Assistant Majority Leader Luft, who had sponsored the competing weak legislation, as well as Senate Minority Leader Philip.[354]

As Rep. Dunn recalled in a 2014 interview, the tobacco industry knew it could kill any clean indoor air bill in Illinois,[349] which it had been doing during each of the years of the mid-1980s that Rep. Terzich tried to pass a statewide clean indoor air law. Tobacco industry interests demanded during the 1980s that clean indoor air bills have preemption, or would work to defeat such bills:

> Tobacco was so powerful and had so much control over members [of the General Assembly], directly or indirectly, that nothing would pass unless they let it happen. And so, to enact anything, they required the legislation include preemption ... The dilemma was, pass the bill with that in it, or pass nothing. ... If we didn't tolerate that, they would kill it.[349]

The week after the Illinois House passed House Bill 1695 ... Trisler and Pruett met with the Tobacco Institute lobbyists for Illinois and drafted amendments to the bill.

In June 1989, the week after the Illinois House passed House Bill 1695 and forwarded it to the Illinois Senate, State Activities Division Vice President Bill Trisler and regional director Bob Pruett went to Springfield. Trisler and Pruett met with the Tobacco Institute lobbyists for Illinois and drafted amendments to the bill. From there, Trisler and Pruett met Rep. Dunn and with the sponsor of the bill in the Senate, Sen. Bob Kustra, according to a memo by Pruett about the meeting, "for their acceptance of the amendments. Fortunately, they accepted everything we offered."[355] After that, the Tobacco Institute started lobbying efforts of the members of the Senate Executive Committee.[355]

The amendments that the Tobacco Institute lobbyists drafted for a law with preemption were sponsored by Senate President Philip Rock.[356] Trisler and Pruett noted that the Senate Executive Committee accepted these same amendments by a vote of 20-0.[355] These amendments altered the bill dramatically.[357-358]

The amended bill preempted local authority to regulate smoking except for those that had already passed a local ordinance. Under the terms of this preemption section, only 21 communities of Illinois' nearly 1200 municipalities would be able to continue to regulate smoking.[359] The remaining municipalities in Illinois would be forbidden from enacting such ordinances. Thus, for all but a handful of communities, the state law would become the ceiling for how strong local clean indoor ordinances could be. Of these exempted communities, Champaign and Urbana are in central Illinois; the others are in northern Illinois (Table 14).

Table 14: Illinois Communities Exempted From Preemption of Clean Indoor Air Ordinances, 1998-2005

Exempted Community	Location
Arlington Heights	Cook County
Champaign	Champaign County
Chicago	Cook County
DeKalb	DeKalb County
Des Plaines	Cook County
Downers Grove	DuPage County
Elgin	Kane County
Elmhurst	DuPage County
Evanston	Cook County
Glenview	Cook County
Highland Park	Lake County
Hoffman Estates	Cook County
Joliet	Will County
Northbrook	Cook County
Oak Park	Cook County
Orland Park	Cook County
Park Ridge	Cook County
Schaumburg	Cook County
Skokie	Cook County
Urbana	Champaign County
Wilmette	Cook County

Source: Smoke Free Illinois coalition[359]

In addition, rather than stating that local officials, state agencies, and school boards may designate smoking areas on the public properties under their control, the amended bill mandated that agencies "shall" designate smoking areas.[358] The amended bill also permitted smoking without a nonsmoking area in government-controlled venues for smaller than 50 people.[358]

After the bill was amended, in late June 1989 Senators Bob Kustra and Arthur Berman, strong supporters of clean indoor air laws, withdrew as sponsors of the bill, leaving Senate Minority Leader James "Pate" Philip (R-Wood Dale) as the sole sponsor.[360]

Sen. Luft's competing legislation was the weakest of all bills; Rep. Dunn's bill, as amended and finally passed, was weaker than his original bill in that it had the language preempting local clean indoor air ordinances (Table 15).

Table 15: The Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act As Introduced and As Passed, Versus A Weaker Competing Bill

Legislation:	Competing Legislation, Senate Bill 527 by Luft[347]	House Bill 1695, as introduced by Dunn	House Bill 1695, as amended and passed[361]
Covers venues addressed by many local laws (libraries, museums, theaters, concert halls, auditoriums,public transportation, elevators)	Prohibits smoking: mentions these venue types by name	Prohibits smoking, unless with designated smoking sections; all publicly accessible indoor areas covered, with venue types listed only as examples	Same as introduced
Additional venues	No other areas mentioned.	Also covers: restaurants offices retail stores hospitals	Same as introduced
Penalty	Petty offense	Petty offense	Petty offense
Enforcement	Not mentioned	Through circuit courts	Through circuit courts
Local governments' authority	Not mentioned	Can pass local ordinances as long as they are equal to or stronger than state law	Preempted – no local authority, except for communities with clean indoor air ordinances before October 1, 1989

Once the preemption clause became part of the 1989 bill, tobacco industry lobbyists switched from pushing the competing, much weaker smoking bill sponsored by Sen. Luft.[345-346] to strongly supporting the Indoor Clean Air Act and its stripping of local powers to regulate smoking.[63, 362]

A June 12, 1989 memo, five days after the Senate Executive Committee's amendments, from State Activities Division regional Vice President Bill Trisler and regional director Bob Pruett to State Activities Division Northern Sector Vice President Paul Emrick, stated, "We are convinced that this is the most pro-active piece of legislation we could pass in the State of Illinois on behalf of the industry."[363]

Lobbying efforts by the Tobacco Institute intensified. The Tobacco Institute called for a phone bank to target the key legislators responsible for House Bill 1695 to keep it moving forward.[356] A memo, written June 16 from Trisler and Pruett to R. J. Reynolds Regional Director of State Governmental Relations Henry Stokes, commented:

> We have been able to amend HB-1695 into a [smokers'] rights bill. This bill is ready for second reading in the Illinois Senate. We are experiencing opposition to this bill from the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce and the Illinois Manufacturers Association. We are [soliciting] the support of labor and the health community who have agreed to support these amendments. ... We would like a phone bank instituted immediately to target the following: [Representative John Dunn, Senator Bob Kustra, Minority Leader of the Senate Senator Pate Philip, and Senate President Philip Rock].[356]

The Tobacco Action Network mobilized its members to call members of the Senate.[161] Larry Suffredin worked to have R. J. Reynolds mobilize its phone contact list, and Jeff Whipple worked to do the same for Philip Morris' contact list.[161] In addition, the Tobacco Institute mobilized labor and health groups to continue to express public support for the bill.[356]

Preemption Divides the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco

The preemption clause, once in the bill, divided the political coalitions and legislators who favored restricting smoking in workplaces, forcing a choice between rejecting the bill and its preemption section as precisely the kind of tactic that the tobacco industry attempted to employ state by state, or accepting the gains that the bill would provide. The majority of the Illinois Interagency Council on Smoking and Disease decided that the bill was the best that health advocates could achieve at the moment. The American Cancer Society in Illinois, the American Heart Association's Midwest Affiliate, and the Illinois State Medical Society favored the amended bill, with these organizations and legislative supporters arguing that the bill would at least establish some standards immediately and noted that too much work had gone into it to throw the whole bill away.[362, 364-367] Some members opposed the bill on the grounds that the preemption clause itself was a clear reason to oppose the bill.[62] The majority of the coalition in favor accepted the act, even though they did not like the preemption clause, believing that at this point in the late 1980s that cities in central and southern Illinois would be unlikely to enact local ordinances anyway.[266]

The Illinois House rejected the Illinois Senate's amendments to the bill, including the section preempting local clean indoor air ordinances. This behavior was in line with the House, the chamber of the General Assembly that had passed the bill as introduced without preemption, being more supportive of clean indoor air laws than was the Senate at the time.[349]

In line with the tobacco industry's courting of labor groups and using such groups to spearhead opposition to tobacco control legislation, tobacco interests convinced some organized labor groups to support the bill, and health advocates who wanted to oppose the bill came too late to present effective opposition to the amended bill.[62]

The bill went to a conference committee to resolve the difference between the House and Senate, but this committee did not agree on a solution by the end of the 1989 spring legislative session.[368] In November 1989, the conference committee resolved these differences by keeping in the preemption section.[369] Health advocates were already divided on the issue of preemption, from the time that it appeared as amended in the Senate. Since the coalition was split but the majority was in favor, health advocates opposed to preemption did present an opposition that was not early enough to keep preemption out of the legislation.[266]

A November 1989 Philip Morris white paper about House Bill 1695 characterized the legislation, "The bill is not a loss for the industry. It is a compromise." It also specified, "The bill is a compromise between the Illinois health industry and the tobacco interests."[370]

In early December, it became time for Thompson to consider whether to sign the bill. Thompson's aides contacted groups such as the Illinois Retail Merchants Association and health

groups to determine their positions.[371] Those who favored the bill, including Charles Westfall, the chair of the Illinois Interagency Council for a Tobacco-Free Society, fought heavily for it.[367] Sen. Bob Kustra, a supporter of clean indoor air laws, asked Thompson to veto the preemption clause.[371]

Tobacco Institute lobbying efforts kicked into high gear for to get the governor to sign the bill. Tobacco Institute lobbyist John O'Connell worked to get labor leaders to write a letter to Gov. Thompson in support of it.[99] Tobacco Institute lobbyist Tom Lyons and R.J. Reynolds lobbyist Larry Suffredin worked with Cook & Whittier, a lobbying firm, to get "a doctor writing a letter to the governor asking for his signature to this bill."[99] Finally, in an interesting twist of tobacco interests attempting to persuade health advocates on an issue, the Tobacco Institute and other tobacco industry lobbyists attempted to persuade many of the health groups to write a letter to Gov. Thompson asking him to sign the bill.[371] Governor James Thompson (R) signed the bill on January 9, 1990 as Public Act 86-1018, effective July 1, 1990.

Effect of Preemption in the Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act

When the Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act took effect, only 21 of Illinois' more than 1200 municipalities had clean indoor air ordinances by October 1, 1989.[372] Only these local units of government, located almost entirely in northern Illinois, especially Cook County and surrounding counties, continued to have the authority to make further changes to municipal clean indoor air ordinances.[366, 373]

The Illinois Clean Indoor Act chilled tobacco policymaking at the local level. The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco continued in the 1990s to make enacting legislation the primary focus of the coalition.[266] Among the handful of municipalities that retained the power to regulate smoking due to the exemptions for local governments that had already had a clean indoor air ordinance in place, still fewer continued to consider ordinances.

Only 21 of Illinois' more than 1200 municipalities had clean indoor air ordinances by October 1, 1989.

One of the few local ordinances was 1993 in Chicago, mandating restaurants to declare themselves, with signage in front, either a restaurant with 30% or more nonsmoking. or 50% or more of the restaurant. It also prohibited smoking in arcades and "underground pedestrian walkway systems."[240]

To lobby for the ordinance, health advocates went to speak with the members of the Chicago City Council at the council meetings. Such lobbying came in the face of a situation where tobacco lobbyists routinely had more access to City Council members than did health advocates: as Janet Williams, who was then at the American Lung Association of Metropolitan Chicago (now the Respiratory Health Association), recalled in a 2013 interview, during the time many aldermen smoked and oftentimes would let lobbyists from Philip Morris and R.J. Reynolds

into the back chamber where the city council members would discuss issues, yet while tobacco industry lobbyists often were let into the back chambers, health advocates routinely were not.[257]

With so few local governments in Illinois allowed even to consider clean indoor air ordinances during the period of state preemption, tobacco industry organizations, allies, and front groups were able to mobilize effectively to squash proposed local clean indoor air ordinances.

Arlington Heights (in Cook County, northwest of Chicago) in 1997 was a major focus for tobacco industry interests. That year, the village board considered a restaurant that would require smokefree indoor public places including restaurants and bars. Jack Fahey, a local doctor, was the advocate pushing for an Arlington Heights ordinance. The Cook County Department of Public Health had staff work in support of the ordinance, talking to businessowners and local church members. The champion of the proposed ordinance on the Arlington Heights village board was Steve Daday; Daday was also supported by trustee Tom Stengren.[291]

The Illinois Restaurant Association opposed it,[192] as did the National Smokers Alliance. The vice president of the National Smokers Alliance, Gary Auxier, figured centrally in the opposition to the proposed Arlington Heights ordinance; Auxier had also served as a vice president to Philip Morris' public relations firm Burson-Marsteller.[374]

The National Smokers Alliance bought advertising space in restaurant industry newsletters, and mobilized restaurant owners to speak at Arlington Heights City Council meetings.[375] Auxier wrote to the *Arlington Heights Post* in opposition to the ordinance, and also responded to critiques of what he wrote.[376] The president of the National Smokers Alliance, Tom Humber, reported in a June 1997 letter to Philip Morris' Vice President of Federal Government Affairs, David Nicoli, that this activity convinced the mayor of Arlington Heights to oppose the proposed ordinance, leading to its defeat.[377]

In 2002, Chicago considered a proposed ordinance to prohibit smoking in restaurants. The Illinois Licensed Beverage Association's director Steve Riedl, opposed the proposed ordinance, asserting that negative economic effects would result, and argued that ventilation could solve the problem of secondhand smoke and that restaurants were already solving the problem by private means in this way.[378] The Chicago City Council did not pass the ordinance.

In 2003, the village of Wheeling proposed an ordinance requiring smokefree indoor workplaces, restaurants, and other public places, based on model ordinance language drafted by Americans for Nonsmokers' Rights, a national nonprofit organization dedicated to advancing smokefree air.[229] The Illinois Restaurant mobilized against this ordinance,[379] arguing it would hurt business. Local restaurant owners also opposed it and lobbied village board members.[380] The proposal ended without coming to a vote, under this intense opposition.[380]

In addition, cities considered policies that covered types of indoor places not preempted by state law: Pinckneyville, in southern Illinois about 80 miles from the Illinois-Missouri-Kentucky border, in 2002 prohibited smoking in city-owned buildings.[381] This policy covered city-owned buildings only, so was a city government policy, not an ordinance.[382] The city

commissioners had the city attorney report on the requirements of the Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act, considered and then rejected the idea of designated smoking areas within the buildings, preferring instead to adopt a smokefree policy for all city-owned buildings.[383]

Stripping local governments of their authority to regulate smoking had a real impact on cities. City council members in Abingdon, a city of 3,000 in central Illinois located 50 miles west of Peoria, in 2003 considered adopting a local clean indoor air ordinance; the council discussed it at length over multiple meetings only to find out that state law prevented the council from enacting any ordinance.[384] In contrast, that same year, Skokie, which retained the authority to regulate smoking, enacted an ordinance requiring restaurants and bars to be smokefree starting in 2004 unless these establishments provided separate ventilation to the outside.[385]

Smokefree Local Ordinance in Wilmette

In 2003, Wilmette, a high-income community of approximately 27,000 residents which was exempted from state preemption, passed an ordinance prohibiting smoking in restaurants and private clubs.[386] Diana Hackbarth, a member of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, and Joel Africk of the American Lung Association of Metropolitan Chicago, both lived in Wilmette and organized efforts in favor of it.[256] Hackbarth had been on the village board of health, pushing for a smokefree ordinance, and had run for the president of the board of health with such an ordinance as an aim. She became the chair and together with Africk and several other supporters, mounted a campaign over several years.

After Wilmette's board adopted its smokefree ordinance, health advocates and Steve Riedl, the head of the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, engaged in a war of words about the ordinance. The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco's Janet Williams had written in the regional *Daily Herald* newspaper to congratulate leaders in nearby Wilmette for adopting the ordinance.[387] Riedl, in response, wrote a letter to the editor in the *Chicago Sun-Times*, listed as the featured letter for the day it appeared. The primary focus of Riedl's letter was attempting to create doubt about the health claims of Williams' letter to the editor, asserting, "I have yet to find any hard documentation showing actual cases where secondhand smoke is medically listed as the primary cause of a person contracting lung cancer or heart disease."[388] Consequently, the heads of the American Cancer Society in Illinois, American Lung Association of Metropolitan Chicago, and American Heart Association's Greater Midwest Affiliate penned a joint letter to the editor refuting Riedl's remarks.[389]

Fostering local clean indoor air ordinances in the remaining communities that could do so was an integral part of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco's plans to peel back preemption. In addition to establishing clean indoor air standards for these communities, health advocates wanted decisionmakers to see that cities wanted to be smokefree and that those that had the power to do so would often want to use this power.

The communities that continued to have the power to regulate smoking continued to pass ordinances occasionally. Highland Park, in Lake County, in 2004 began to consider an ordinance prohibiting smoking in indoor workplaces and restaurants. Despite opposition from the Illinois Restaurant Association, including having executive director Colleen McShane testify

at a city council meeting, five of the seven votes on the city council, including the mayor, were so strongly in favor of smokefree restaurant ordinance that the city council passed the ordinance in April 2005.[390-392] Wilmette was the first city to pass a smokefree ordinance, followed by an ordinance in nearby Evanston and one in Skokie taking effect in 2004; Highland Park passed one in 2005.

After the Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act: Attempting to Remove Preemption, 1989-2005

Between 1989 and 2005, health advocates worked to repeal preemption. For the next 16 years, health advocates tried to restore local authority. While state law continued to bar local governments from regulating smoking, health advocates also aimed to strengthen state laws about smoking.

Advocates attempted to reinstate local powers right away: the Illinois Interagency Council for a Tobacco-Free Society, as a coalition, had supported the Illinois Clean Indoor Act despite the preemption section, but supported legislative efforts afterward to remove preemption.

Health advocates' difficulties in repealing preemption stemmed in part from the technical nature of the discussion.

From 1989 through 1994, legislators introduced bills seeking to restore local authority to regulate smoking, but these bills all failed. In 1989, House Bill 1823 by Rep. Gordon Ropp (R-Normal) aimed to restore local authority, prohibit smoking in elevators, and limit smoking in restaurants and other publicly accessible places.[321] In 1990, House Bill 3892 by Rep. Robert Terzich (D-Chicago) sought to restore local authority.[321] Also in 1990, Senate Bill 159 by Sen. Bob Kustra (R-Des Plaines), aimed to restore local authority, as well as to strengthen smoking standards for workplaces and restaurants.[321] In 1990, Senate Bill 44, introduced by Sen. Margaret Smith (D-Chicago; $800 in contributions), sought to allow local regulation of smoking for health care facilities only; the bill passed the Senate, but in the House did not come out of a committee.[321] In 1994, House Bill 1149 by Rep. Dunn sought to restore local authority, but was confined to the House Energy & Environmental Committee, which did not vote on the bill.[393]

From 1993 through 2003, a key factor leading to health advocates' lack of success in overturning preemption was the position as Senate President of James "Pate" Philip (R-Wood Dale). In 1993, Republicans took control of the Illinois Senate, and Sen. Philip became Senate President. Philip was crucial in quashing bills in the Senate attempting to overturn preemption.

Health advocates' difficulties in repealing preemption stemmed in part from the technical nature of the discussion, trying to promote a law about who could make laws. Kathy Drea, the American Lung Association advocate, recalled in a 2013 interview that through the time period of attempting to repeal preemption, in the 1990s and 2000s, the concept of 'preemption' was difficult to explain to local elected officials, local health authorities, and state legislators whom she sought as supporters of bills to repeal preemption:

> When we were talking about this reverse preemption bill, you have to take a few minutes to explain it to people. It's really difficult to get that grassroots engaged in something that's so difficult to explain to them. And same with the legislators. But, I think we had worked on it for such a long time.[394]

Annie Tegen, who worked for American Lung Association of Metropolitan Chicago from 2000 to 2002 and who from 2003 to 2013 worked at the national smokefree advocacy organization Americans for Nonsmokers' Rights as well as that organization's foundation, recalled in a 2013 interview the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco's difficulties in trying to restore local authority, and how the lessons of these difficulties have affected advocates' tactics for smokefree policymaking nationwide:

> ICAT [the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco] didn't have a lot of power back then ... we chipped away at [preemption] and we worked really hard to ... keep them [legislators] on our side and keep them fighting for us ... [John Dunn] would testify in front of committees in Springfield and say, "Listen, I'm the one that passed this [preemptive law] ... we're left with it and we've got to change it or nothing's ever going to get any better." And he repeated that over and over ... But what we found out is that ... they [legislators] thought, "Okay, the fight's over." ...
>
> At ANR [Americans for Nonsmokers' Rights] we kind of learned our lesson. We realized that ... now at this point [in 2013], incremental progress is not necessarily going to make it easier for us in the future ... If the only thing you have to pass is in bars and casinos, that's going be a tougher fight than going whole hog and doing it all at once.[395]

Meanwhile, advocates continued efforts to expand the coverage of state laws. Attempted legislation to change state standards included House Bill 120 by Robert Terzich (D-Chicago) in 1990, which sought to mandate no-smoking areas in workplaces and restaurants.

The Tobacco Action Network activated opposition to House Bill 120 by giving tobacco industry employees the contact information of the state representative for the area in which such employees lived, and noted at the end of the letter, "We are asking you to write or call not on our behalf, but rather to express your own person views regarding this matter. Accordingly, please use your personal stationery or plain paper, and write or call outside of business hours and at your own expense."[52] The bill passed the House but died in the Senate Executive Committee.[321]

Despite tobacco industry efforts to defeat indoor smoking legislation in Illinois, other bills passed to expand the scope of areas protected from secondhand smoke. In 1993, Senate Bill 1540 (Public Act 88-0095) by Mary Lou Cowlishaw (R-Naperville) prohibited smoking in daycares.[240] In 1995, Senate Bill 717 by John Dunn (D-Decatur) passed the Senate by a vote of 55-0 and the House by a vote of 66-34, prohibiting smoking at schools.[396]

By the 2001-2002 legislative session, health advocates and legislators committed to advancing public health legislation had seized on the term of "local control" to explain what health groups sought to achieve in their efforts in repealing preemption. House Bill 2548,

introduced by Jack McGuire (D-Moline), passed the House of Representatives on a 73-42 vote.[397] In the Illinois Senate, Sen. Christine Radogno (R-La Grange; $60,200 in contributions) sponsored the bill. Radogno cast the issue of in terms of "local control". The chief co-sponsors for the bill were Dave Sullivan (R-Mount Prospect; $1,400 in contributions), Kathleen Parker (R-Northfield; $4,550 in contributions), Barack Obama (D-Chicago; $500 in contributions), and Lisa Madigan (D-Chicago; $1,550 in contributions). Given that in the 2001-2002 legislative session, the Senate President continued to be Pate Philip, the bill died in the Senate Rules Committee. Although the effort to repeal preemption continued to stall, at least legislators and advocates had begun to use the phrasing of "local control" that eventually convinced legislators, by 2005, to restore local authority to regulate smoking.

Efforts to repeal preemption continued during the 2003-2004 legislative session. The House of Representatives considered two bills that sought to repeal preemption.[398-399] House Bill 2197 by Rep. Jack McGuire (D-Joliet; $1,750 in contributions) twice failed to get enough votes in the House State Government Administration Committee,[400] and House Bill 3996 by Rep. Carolyn Krause (D-Mt. Prospect; $800 in contributions) came to a House vote in 2004 but narrowly failed to receive enough votes to pass.[401]

On the other hand, other factors did help the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco to promote awareness of the issue of preemption. After the 1998 Master Settlement Agreement, through the early 2000s, the state had appropriated enough of the funds that it had received from the settlement toward tobacco control, that local health departments usually had a staff member working specifically on the issue of tobacco use.[394] Advocates could pinpoint these local health department tobacco staff as the initial people to contact about the problems created by preemption, in communities throughout the state.[394]

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco had worked on the issue of removing preemption for such a long time that state legislators and local health department leaders had come, over the early 2000s, to understand what was at issue when local authorities lacked the power to regulate smoking.

In sum, the experience of Illinois in its period of state preemption demonstrates how the tobacco industry sought to preempt local ordinances. It also shows that the introduction of preemption in the 1989 Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act produced a split in health advocates' coalition on the matter of whether to accept the 1989 bill. It further shows that local policymaking on smoking restrictions became almost frozen as a result of the 1989 law.

Repealing Preemption: 2005

Finally, in 2005, advocates succeeded in restoring local authority to regulate smoking. The path to the removal of preemption required health advocates overcoming the difficulties of explaining what preemption entailed, and then later to frame the issue in terms of "local control," a move that increased legislative support for removing preemption by combining legislators who wanted local clean indoor air ordinances with legislators who wanted increased powers for local governments.

Origins of the Bill to Repeal Preemption

Legislators favorable to public health advocates' efforts engaged in a strategy of introducing identical legislation in the House and Senate simultaneously. Rep. Karen Yarbrough (D-Broadview; $2,500 in contributions) representing portions of western Cook County from 2001 to 2013, and Sen. John Cullerton (D-Chicago; $28,550 in contributions), introduced identical legislation to remove preemption, one in the House and one in the Senate. The bills gave municipalities, both home rule and non-home rule, the power to regulate smoking. The bills did not spell out such power for counties, which were not on health advocates' mind at the time;[276] this oversight would be corrected in subsequent legislation in 2006.

Health advocates' efforts to mobilize community support involved the use of physicians and patients to lobby the governor's office.

Health Advocates' Strategy

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco's strategy, in supporting the bills, involved keeping a close watch for those legislators who could be convinced.[394] Advocates in the coalition engaged in lobbying legislators and mobilizing residents in districts. Advocates also met with newspaper editorial boards across the state, attempting to turn out favorable editorials.[276]

Local public health departments contributed strongly to the overall effort. The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco contacted the staff members at local health departments dedicated to tobacco control. These individuals in each health department served as local points of contact for advocates to get someone in each community to support the bill and to begin to educate others in the community.[394]

The Illinois Municipal League, the organization representing city and village governments within Illinois, also publicly supported the bill.[402] The existence of 21 municipalities of the approximately 1200 municipalities in Illinois that continued to have the authority to regulate smoking in public places meant that advocates could point to this setup as something that some cities were afforded, yet the vast majority of others, were not.

Health advocates' efforts to mobilize community support involved the use of physicians and patients to lobby the governor's office for both the reverse preemption bill in 2005, as well as in 2007 for the Smoke Free Illinois Act. "We had a lot of our physicians and a lot of our patients contact him both times," Drea commented.[185] These efforts started even before the passage in the Illinois General Assembly.[276]

As Drea, the American Lung Association advocate, described in a 2013 interview, in addition to the standard practice of sending letters:

> We also encouraged our volunteers to contact the governor's office ... The governor has 60 days to sign a bill after the legislature passes it ... And we did a lot of press trying to reach him, too – it's Governor Blagojevich ... He really wasn't sure what he was going to do, or at least that's what he told the press, about the reverse preemption bill. ... we really used our volunteers to contact his office to ask him, and to let him know how important it was that that bill be passed, that he sign it. We had a lot of our physicians and a lot of patients contact him ... [185]

Opposition to the Bill

Opponents of the bill included the Illinois Retail Merchants Association, Illinois Restaurant Association, Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, and other organizations of stores and distributors.[197] These were the same organizations, allied in positions with the tobacco industry, that routinely opposed tobacco control policies in Illinois.

Steve Riedl of the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association was a key opponent of the bill. Riedl opposed the bill as it was in the House Environmental Health Committee,[403] and opposed it after the House Environmental Health Committee passed it to the wider House.[404] Steve Riedl used the same arguments that the tobacco industry frequently used in opposing clean indoor air laws. First, while the bill was still being heard in the House Environmental Health Committee, Riedl argued that the marketplace could influence whether restaurants and bars would have nonsmoking policies.[403] Then, after the bill passed both houses and was awaiting consideration by Gov. Blagojevich, Riedl argued that the law would bring negative economic effects to restaurants and bars.[404]

Legislative Dynamics

House Bill 672, the bill that passed, was introduced on January 31. The House Environmental Health Committee amended the bill to include findings about the health impact of secondhand smoke, and passed it forward to the wider House on February 17; the House passed House Bill 672 on April 13. Senate Bill 254, introduced by Sen. Cullerton on February 3, passed the Senate Health & Human Services Committee on March 2, and passed the full Senate on April 11;[405] by mid-April, House Bill 672 had passed both the House and Senate, so there was no need to act further on Senate Bill 254.

House Bill 672 attracted strong legislative attention. Four representatives signed on as chief co-sponsors: Representatives Carolyn Krause (R-Mount Prospect), Julie Hamos (D-Evanston), Elizabeth Coulson (R-Glenview), and Karen May (D-Highland Park). Eventually 35 of the Illinois House's 118 members signed on as House co-sponsors.[406]

House Bill 672 failed the first time it was heard by the House Environmental Health Committee February 9, 2005 by vote of 4-3 with five yes votes needed to pass. But since General Assembly rules allowed representatives to call for votes on bills twice in a committee, on February 17, 2005, Rep. Yarbrough brought back the bill to the same committee, which passed it on a vote of 5-3.

The House Environmental Health Committee amended the bill to include stronger language condemning the health effects of cigarette smoking. Interest in the potential effects of the bill emerged: on February 23, 2005, Reps. William Black (R-Danville; $8,600 in contributions) and Patrick Verschoore (D-Milan; $12,250 in contributions) requested legislative research notes which are letters produced by state agencies that explain the projected effect of the bill on state governmental structure, processes, or finances. Rep. Black, who eventually voted in favor of the bill, and Rep. Verschoore, who eventually voted to abstain, requested legislative notes on how the bill would affect issues of city lawmaking powers and state government mandates, as well as how the bill would affect the state finances and budget. These notes, returned from the governor's budget office and the state Department of Commerce, replied that the bill would affect home rule authority, but "does not create a State mandate under the State Mandates Act," and "will have no impact on the State's budget."[407-409] Because these legislative notes did not find any adverse or unexpected effects resulting from the bill, they ceased to be an issue and therefore opponents could not seize on these notes to attempt to slow down the legislation.

Advocates' Framing of the Issue: Focusing on "Local Control"

Health advocates overcame preemption by framing the repeal of preemption as local control, thereby creating a coalition of organizations and lawmakers who wanted local laws, plus those who favored limited government and local government. Health advocates' messages centered on the concept of "local control": not the sort of local-only control by which local governments would establish rules without any state standards, but rather, giving local governments the authority to adopt clean indoor air ordinances as long as they enacted standards stronger than the state law. Illinois was an early state to repeal preemption.

On April 13, 2005, the Illinois House debated House Bill 672 on the floor. In addition to chief sponsor Rep. Karen Yarbrough, chief co-sponsors Representatives Carolyn Krause and Julie Hamos spoke in favor of the bill, in addition to others. Their arguments in favor focused on giving local governments a choice. As Yarbrough declared on the House floor when introducing the bill for debate, "[The preemptive phrase] 'shall not' comin' out of Springfield is never popular."[197] Legislative supporters also couched the bill in terms of moving the existing law from preemption to "limitation" of local powers, which meant in reality the establishment of a floor for how strict the laws could be. House Bill 672 passed the House on April 13 on a vote of 62-48, with six representatives abstaining.

Health advocates' community organization did pay off at influencing specific legislators: some legislators voted in favor of the bill specifically because of high levels of feedback from constituents. Rep. William Black, the representative who requested the fiscal and other evaluations of the bill, remarked publicly that he had received many calls from his constituents. As Drea of the American Lung Association recalls, Black voted for the bill, but ended up saying that his vote was just as a representative of his constituents, declaring that the people have asked him for it, so he would vote for it.[394]

Moving the Reverse Preemption Bill to the Senate

Senator John Cullerton (D-Chicago), a state legislator from 1979, a state senator from 1991, later Senate President from 2009, and as of 2014 remaining Senate President, sponsored House Bill 672. Cullerton had a long history of supporting public health measures on tobacco, including during his days in the Illinois House as well as in the Illinois Senate; upon becoming Senate President, Cullerton also became instrumental in protecting smokefree laws from attempts to roll back the laws' protections.[406]

A major reason for the success of the 2005 to restore local authority was its backing by Sen. John Cullerton as the Senate sponsor of the bill. Cullerton was known for decades in the General Assembly as one of the legislators to get the most bills passed each year; his abilities in negotiating and working with his colleagues were reflected in his 2009 ascent to become Senate President.

House Bill 672, sponsored in the Senate by Sen. Cullerton, attracted a broad swath of supporters in the Senate. Senator Christine Radogno (R-Lemont, in southwest Cook County), a state senator from 1997, the Senate Minority Leader since 2009, as of 2014 remaining Senate Minority Leader, and a strong supporter of smokefree laws, became a Senate co-sponsor, along with Jacqueline Collins (D-Chicago; zero dollars in contributions), Martin Sandoval (D-Cicero; $7,000 in contributions), and Louis Viverito (D-Burbank; $12,750 in contributions). On May 5, the Senate Health and Human Services Committee voted to forward the bill to the full Senate.

On May 11, Sen. Kirk Dillard (R-Westmont, in DuPage County; $38,550), a member of the Illinois Senate since 1994, proposed a floor amendment seeking to prevent cities from regulating smoking for establishments with beverage licenses. Dillard had been a recipient of tobacco industry campaign contributions during each election cycle since at least the 1995-1996 election cycle. The Senate Rules Committee buried the proposed amendment without bringing it up for a vote.

On May 17, when the Senate debated House Bill 672, proponents' arguments centered, as proponents in the House had argued, on local choice. When Cullerton spoke in favor of the bill, he noted that the law was "designed to return local control back to these municipalities. If they don't wish to pass any laws, that's totally up to them."[410] The Senate passed the bill on a vote of 35-16, with three abstentions.

After House Bill 672 passed both houses of the General Assembly, media outlets largely reacted positively. Resulting from the meetings that health advocates had with newspapers around the state,[276] newspapers in the capital Springfield and in the city of Bloomington included editorials after it passed both houses, voicing support for the ability of cities, pending the governor's signature, to consider laws about smoking in their communities. A May 19 editorial in Springfield's *State Journal-Register* predicted that a sweeping local smokefree ordinance may have a low chance of passing in Springfield, but declaring that this state legislation was "long overdue" and argued that Springfield's residents and local leaders should "have the debate" and consider how harmful smoking is to employees of restaurants.[411] A May 25 editorial in

Bloomington's *The Pantagraph* argued that communities in Illinois "should begin discussing the issue as soon as the bill is signed."[412]

Comparing the 2005 law with previous attempts to revive local authority during the 2001-2002 and 2003-2004 legislative sessions, proponents' messages in 2005 differed from those employed in earlier years. For many years after the original Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act, advocates made many attempts to repeal preemption, but the bills always languished in committees. The 2005 effort also reflected a change in framing of the issue: from promising positive effects of the bill, to decrying the negative aspects of the current situation. Established theorizing in policy studies demonstrates that individuals are more likely to support proposed changes when such changes are framed in terms of potentially averting negative situations, rather than potentially leading to improvements.[413]

During the 2001-2002 and 2003-2004 legislative sessions, proponents of local authority attempted to argue for repealing preemption by detailing the benefits that local control would bring. Yet, in 2001, when proponents focused on the positives of local choice, opponents merely countered that local authority to regulate smoking was not worth the intrusion on personal behavior or private business decisions;[397] the bill passed the Illinois House but did not come to a vote in the Illinois Senate. In 2003, proponents again promised potential benefits, but the bill fell one short vote of passing the House.

In contrast, in 2005, supporters focused on the heavy drawbacks of state-only control rather than the potential benefits of allowing local rulemaking. In 2005, the new arguments for "local control" that focused on the negatives of state-only control, convinced some legislators who had been originally not been inclined to support the bill (Table 16).

This new focus on the negatives of preemption played a role in convincing Rep. William Black (R-Danville, in central Illinois bordering Indiana) to support House Bill 672. Rep. Black in 2001 had opposed legislation to restore local authority, when the sponsor of that bill, Rep. Jack McGuire (D-Moline), characterized the legislation during floor debate, amid Rep. Black's clarifying questions, as a bill that "allows local government to do what they want to do."[397] In contrast, by 2005, Black supported the restoration of local authority, and his reasons for were all cast in terms of the negatives of preemption. Black declared in floor debate before the April 13 House vote on House Bill 672 that allowing local governments to pass laws means that any negative effects of clean indoor air ordinances, and any potential political pressure from residents in local communities for such effects, would be such that "You aren't gonna be able to blame the state anymore" and would only have mayors and other local government heads to blame.[197]

The phrasing of "local control" also won over Sen. George Shadid (D-Pekin, in central Illinois south of Peoria), who in supporting House Bill 672 during floor debate before the May 17 Senate vote, declared that the state government was "always sending down things to them [mayors] and I'm not so sure that we're smarter than they are locally."[410]

Table 16: Shift in Messaging From the Positives of Local Control to the Negatives of Preemption

Attempt to Dismantle Preemption	Legislative Supporters' Arguments	Legislative Opponents' Arguments	Outcome
2001 House Bill 2548 (Rep. Jack McGuire)	Positives of local control: "What we're trying to do here is allow the other cities and town in the State of Illinois to do what is best for their area." (McGuire)[397]	Personal choice: "At some point we need to address the basic issue that is, will tobacco remain a legal and lawful product or will we outlaw it?" (Rep. Bill Black)[397] Business choice: "Even though we have devolved ... power from the State government to the local government, we will have, by doing so ... Local government would then be able to usurp all the rights of the private owner of property and taxpayer" (Rep. John Turner) [397]	House: Passed, 73-42 Senate: No vote
2003 House Bill 3996 (Rep. Carolyn Krause)	Positives of local control: "It is discretionary, but it would return the authority back to the local governments" (Krause); "let our local residents determine for themselves [...] what's best for their own community" (Rep. Sidney Mathias); "allow municipalities to do that in the name of public health" (Rep. Julie Hamos)[401]	Business choice "The people, this is a public restaurant, but it's my private business." (Rep. Mary Flowers) Perceived business damage: "They [the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association] claim that the passage of a smoking ban would cause a 25 percent average annual loss in tax revenue" (Rep. Steve Davis, then reading tobacco industry-sponsored findings)[401]	House: Failed, one vote short of 60 needed to pass, 59-52
2005 House Bill 672 (Rep. Karen Yarborough)	**Negatives of state preemption: "'Shall not' comin' out of Springfield is never popular" (Yarbrough)** ***Switch from no to yes***: **Negatives of state preemption: "You aren't gonna be able to blame the state anymore", it will be local government mayors (Rep. William Black)**[197] Other states allow local choice (Rep. Julie Hamos)	Consumer choice: "It oughta be a choice." (Rep. Terry Parke)[197]	**House: Passed, 62-48-6**
2005 House Bill 672 (when in the Senate) (Sen. John Cullerton)	Local control: "it is designed to return local control back to these municipalities. If they don't wish to pass any laws, that's totally up to them." (Sen. Cullerton) ***Switch from no to yes***: **Negatives of state preemption**: **"We're always sending down things to them [local mayors] and I'm not so sure that we're smarter than they are locally."[410] (Sen. George Shadid)**	Perceived business damage (Sens. Kirk Dillard, Adeline Geo-Karis, Todd Sieben, William Haine) Consumer choice (Sens. Dave Syverson, William Haine) Business rights (Syverson)	**Senate: Passed, 35-16-3**

Arriving At the Governor's Desk

House Bill 672 reached the governor, Gov. Rod Blagojevich (D; in office from 2003 until his removal from office in 2009 after he was convicted of trying to sell his power to appoint the successor to the U.S. Senate seat then held by newly-elected President Barack Obama), on June 15.[414] Gov. Blagojevich started initially seemed to lean toward signing the bill soon after the bill was passed, then had a period of publicly expressed hesitancy about the bill; after a period of lobbying by health advocates in support of the bill in response to his hesitancy, Blagojevich finally signed it. Blagojevich originally declared that he intended to sign the bill.

Blagojevich declared that he was going back and forth on signing the bill to restore local authority, declaring that he had worries about its economic impacts.

Lobbying of the governor's office formed part of Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco's strategy. Advocates in the coalition contacted Gov. Blagojevich about the law before it had passed the General Assembly.[185] After the bill passed both houses, American Cancer Society in Illinois board president Emilio Barrera talked with Blagojevich on July 6 to get an assurance from Blagojevich that the bill would be signed, and the American Lung Association in Illinois' staff asked Blagojevich's staff for assessments of Blagojevich's leanings toward the bill.[414]

Health advocates sought to convince Gov. Blagojevich to sign the bill. To achieve this outcome, Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco member organizations mobilized the public to write letters to elected officials. Coalition members also penned letters to newspaper editors. In June, Mark Peysakhovich the American Heart Association's Midwest branch penned an editorial to the Crystal Lake's *Northwest Herald*, arguing that "protecting the public's health is one of the primary roles of government" and comparing it to other occupational safety and health standards.[415] Blagojevich declared as early as mid-June 2005 that he would sign the bill.[416-417]

Between May 2005, when the bill passed both chambers of the Illinois General Assembly, and July 2005, Steve Riedl of the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association argued over and over again that the economic effects on bars and restaurants would be negative.[416-418]

In a public reversal, on July 11, 2005,[414] Blagojevich declared that he was going back and forth on signing the bill to restore local authority, declaring that he had worries about its economic impacts. The kinds of concerns that Blagojevich expressed when signaling a hesitancy to sign the bill were all economic; such economic arguments were precisely those highlighted by third-party allies of the tobacco industry, including the arguments raised by the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association. Advocates did not expect this turn of events: this wavering by the governor caught health advocates off guard.[185] As Drea recalled in a 2013 interview, "We read about it in the newspaper just like everybody else."[185]

In response, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco sent a letter to Blagojevich asking him to sign the bill.[394] The American Lung Association in Illinois and the American Heart Association's Midwest Affiliate continued to focus on the purpose of local control and to point publicly to the efforts to kill the bill by tobacco industry lobbyists and the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association.[419] Newspaper editorial boards around the state also called on Blagojevich to sign the bill: in late July, Springfield's *State Journal-Register* clarified that House Bill 672 "is not a smoking ban. It is a bill giving local communities local control," and in August, Bloomington's *Pantagraph* argued for smoking regulation powers to be "adapted to community needs and desires."[420-421]

These efforts helped to convince Blagojevich to support the bill, and Blagojevich signed it into law on August 10 as Public Act 94-0517, effective January 1, 2006.

Local authority to regulate smoking, a power that the 1989 Clean Indoor Air Act had shut off against the interests of public health advocates and against the will of that very bill's House sponsor, had been restored to Illinois' local governments. The experience of Illinois during the campaign to bring back local authority suggests that the key message for restoring authority is a pitch for "local control" with arguments that focus on the negatives of state preemption, rather than asserting the positives of bringing back local authority.

Smokefree State Capitol Building: Policy by the Secretary of State

As a preview to the surge of local clean indoor air ordinances, a smokefree policy was adopted for the state capitol building, an ornate building with a gleaming silver dome in downtown Springfield, and with an elaborately decorated inside, both in the public dome area as well as in the wings containing the Illinois House and Illinois Senate chambers. The building, operated by the state government, in 2005 fell under the purview of the Secretary of State, Jesse White.[274]

In April 2005, national and state activities focused attention on the issue of health effects of tobacco. In April 2005, longtime ABC television network nightly news anchor Peter Jennings announced that he had lung cancer;[422] his disclosure caused a stir among people paying attention to news and politics. Also, the American Lung Association's annual State of Tobacco Control reports for each state were released and awarded Illinois a F grade for smokefree air. Emil Jones, the President of the Senate, made Senate committee and hearing rooms smokefree.

Mark Peysakhovich, the American Heart Association advocate, talked with Secretary of State White and convinced White to make a commitment to have a smokefree capitol building. Peysakhovich argued to White that schoolchildren from around Illinois who visited the state capitol then would have lunch in the capitol cafeteria, and should not have to breathe secondhand smoke. Secretary of State White agreed.[274]

After several months, however, the Secretary of State's office had not yet declared a smokefree policy for the state capitol building. Peysakhovich recalled in a 2014 interview working on a draft of a press release describing how Secretary of State White had been

committed to the smokefree policy for the state capitol building, but that the office of the Secretary of State had not yet acted on this commitment.[274]

When the Secretary of State's office learned that such a draft was being prepared, soon thereafter, according to the 2014 interview of Peysakhovich, the Secretary of State's office moved on the issue. The Secretary of State's office declared a smokefree policy for the state capitol building.[274]

Surge of Local Clean Indoor Air Ordinances: 2005-2007

Crafting a Statewide Strategy to Encourage Local Smokefree Ordinances

Even before preemption was repealed, health advocates formed a strategy of encouraging local ordinances to build momentum for a statewide smokefree law. The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco seized on any opportunity they saw that already existed, or any opportunity that could be created by the coalition's efforts.[274] The coalition worked together to identify champions for the cities where advocates wanted to encourage ordinances.[423]

Between when both houses of the Illinois General Assembly passed the bill restoring local authority to regulate smoking, and when the governor signed the bill, health advocates crafted a strategy of seeking local ordinances specifically in areas that were crucial for creating support for a statewide law. The state capital Springfield, for health advocates, was necessary, since advocates knew of the experiences of other states in general.[261, 276] The idea behind the capital Springfield was so that state legislators could see the benefits of smokefree restaurants and bars.

University cities were also an integral part of advocates' plan. The idea behind university cities was so that students would experience smokefree indoor environments and return to communities throughout Illinois to spread awareness of how smokefree laws worked.[276] Among these university cities, advocates focused on supporting the cities that appeared the most amenable to passage of local smokefree ordinances.

Advocates also helped to foster successes in communities in the Chicago area where public opinion leaned strongly toward enacting smokefree laws. But, advocates recognized that if local activity were limited only to the Chicago area, there would not necessarily have been enough geographical spread to demonstrate to state legislators that there was enough support statewide for a state smokefree law.

According to this strategy, health advocates' efforts to foster local laws followed a geographic division of labor between the Chicago area and other areas of the state. The major health groups were already geographically located in a way that facilitated such a division of labor. The American Lung Association in Illinois and American Cancer Society in Illinois were based in Springfield, and helped to foster local ordinances in Springfield and in central Illinois' university cities. The American Heart Association's Midwest Affiliate and the Respiratory Health Association, both based in Chicago, supported local smokefree coalitions' efforts to enact ordinances in the Chicago area, mostly in Cook County and Lake County, immediately to the

north of Cook County. Beyond the Chicago area, the member organizations of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco sought to encourage local smokefree advocacy in two geographic areas: firstly, in the capital Springfield, as well as in many college cities, located mostly in central Illinois and rooted in a combination of local activism and support from public health advocates in the state.

Capacity building efforts were largely paid for by the American Lung Association in Illinois, which beyond the efforts of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, supported efforts of the local smokefree coalitions through a grant from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. Kathy Drea, the American Lung Association advocate, applied for in 2004 and won $138,900 that year for 2004-2005, and won a grant of an equivalent amount for 2005-2006.[424-425] specifically for supporting local coalitions. By the time of the 2005 grant, the American Lung Association in Illinois already knew to focus on ordinances in Springfield, Champaign, and Urbana:[425] Springfield because it was the state capital and had an alderman already preparing to introduce a smokefree ordinance, and the other cities as university cities with good prospects for success. These grants provided funds for local coalitions, including yard signs in cities throughout Illinois.[276] In particular, these yard signs were noted, by the head of the Naperville smokefree coalition, as being particularly popular during in the Naperville effort.[426]

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco sought to encourage local smokefree advocacy in two geographic areas: firstly, in the capital Springfield, as well as in many college cities, located mostly in central Illinois.

Of these ordinances, which took many forms in terms of which types of venues would be made smokefree, the most notable efforts sought to make restaurants, bars, and other indoor workplaces 100% smokefree, with few exceptions. By the time preemption was reversed, health advocates' goal was not merely to have cities establish clean indoor air ordinances, such as those requiring nonsmoking sections, but rather smokefree ordinances, which would mandate that indoor spaces would be entirely clear of cigarette smoke. The drafts of smokefree ordinances generally proposed smokefree protections for a wide variety of indoor venues, including indoor workplaces, restaurants, and bars. Advocates tried to avoid having any exceptions in ordinances, such as those excluding bars, instead preferring to push for all indoor publicly accessible areas to be smokefree.

In certain cases, such as the university cities where two cities formed a common urban area, as well as in many Chicago-area cities, joint collaboration in policy formation occurred frequently among these cities, on topics beyond clean indoor air ordinances. Consequently, these cities pursued ordinances with the idea that they would only adopt ordinances if the others did, and to make them similar. This joint-city collaboration was not explicitly encouraged by the

Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, nor did the health advocates oppose this inter-city collaboration.[423]

Local health departments throughout Illinois provided a second source of support for the cultivation of local smokefree ordinances worked with the local smokefree coalitions that developed, often participating as members of the coalitions, engaging in educational activities and helping local health advocates assess which cities would be most fruitful places to attempt smokefree ordinances.

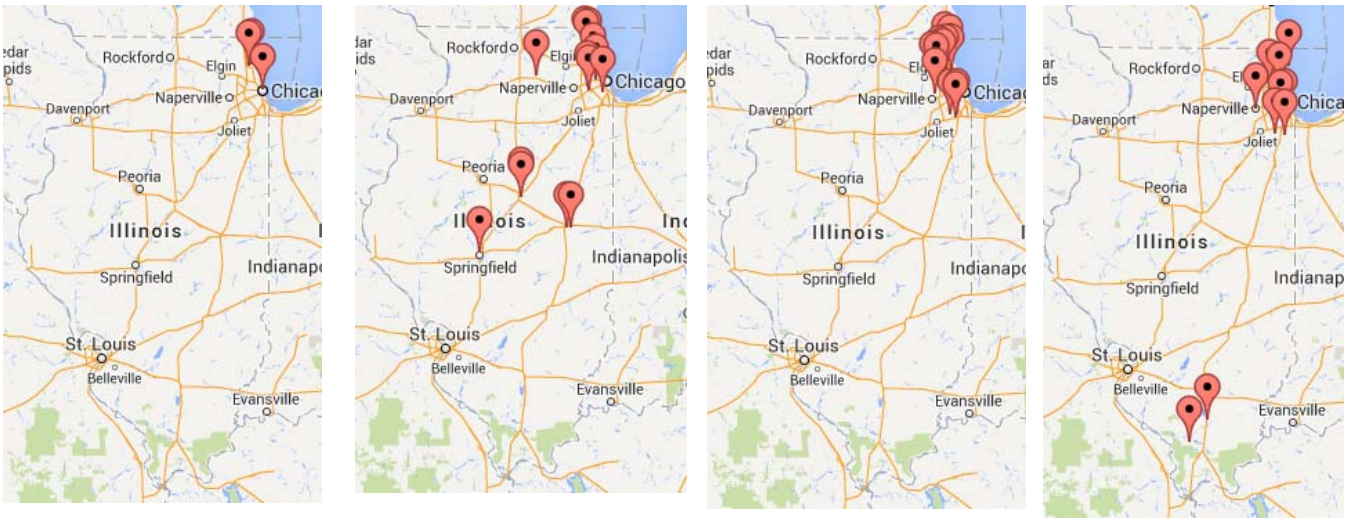
In northern Illinois, the Lake County Health Department served as one of the most active local health departments to encourage local governments to adopt smoking ordinances, providing coordination of information and background information about smoking. The Lake County Health Department aimed for a positive and educational way of convincing local governments and picking communities beforehand that would make a good location to encourage smokefree ordinances. By late 2005, the Lake County Health Department deeply involved itself in cooperating with the county government and local advocacy groups.[427] It presented a resolution to the Lake County Board expressing support for the idea of communities in Lake County to adopt smokefree ordinances, which the board approved on a 14-9 vote in May 2006.[428] The county health department also organized a gathering in August 2006 with mayors from within Lake County as well as representatives of health organizations. At the gathering, Mark Peysakhovich, the Senior Director of Government Relations at the American Heart Association's chapter in Illinois, and then the Senior Director of Advocacy at the American Heart Association, declared, "Having a smoking section in a restaurant is like having a peeing section in a swimming pool [...] It's about that effective."[429]

Even municipalities with a small population could have an important impact when passing a smokefree ordinance. Bedford Park , located in Cook County along Chicago's southwestern edge, passed an ordinance in 2006, driven by the local mayor.[291] As April Bailey, who started at the American Lung Association in Illinois specifically to work on the proliferation of local smokefree ordinances and to track local ordinance progress, recalled in a 2014 interview, while she was keeping track in 2005-2007 of the populations of cities that had adopted local ordinances:

> Bedford Park ... 536 was their population when they went smokefree ... they don't have a lot of residents, but they are a huge business district. So the votes of the community is businesses. So while it didn't have a huge impact on the number of residents, the number of workers and visitors to that community was outstanding, because it was pretty much all just business parks -- offices, establishments like that. It was a unique one to be a tiny population but [have a] huge impact.[430]

In this surge of local ordinances, the experience of Illinois demonstrates what it means when public health advocates claim that 'smoking is a non-partisan issue': while some cities such as Chicago passed ordinances where all Democrats voted to support and Republicans opposed, in Springfield and Sangamon County, all Republicans voted in favor and all the opponents were Democrats.

Health advocates did not expect that communities throughout Illinois would adopt ordinances in such a quick surge. In 2006, supporters of smokefree environments in Illinois passed 36 local ordinances, a record for any state in any one year.[20] Most of the central Illinois activity occurred in the first half of 2006; activity in northern Illinois occurred throughout 2005-2007 (Figure 14).



2005 Jan.-June 2006 July-Dec. 2006 2007

Figure 14: Map of Local Smokefree Ordinances by Time Period, 2005-2007

First to Use the New Power: Deerfield

On December 19, 2005, Deerfield, a village of 18,000 in Lake County, 30 miles north of Chicago, became the first community to take advantage of being newly allowed to regulate smoking. Public activity calling for an ordinance surfaced as soon as August 15, 2005, five days after Gov. Blagojevich signed into law the bill that restored local authority to regulate smoking. The Deerfield Smoke Free Air Ordinance required smokefree indoor workplaces, restaurants, bars, open air dining areas, and places within 25 feet of a public entrance.[431] The ordinance was effective March 1, 2006, and thus after the January 1, 2006 date when all municipalities could begin again to regulate smoking. Notably, in Deerfield, the board passed its comprehensive smokefree ordinance with little controversy.

Origins of Deerfield's Ordinance

The village was the first in Illinois because the resident who created the coalition in favor of the ordinance had been well prepared to do so from even before preemption had been lifted, had received informational support from the Lake County Health Department beforehand, and carried out these activities in a geographical area of the Chicago metropolitan area that had favorable public opinion on a smokefree laws.

The forces pushing for the ordinance were local citizens acting with support from the county smokefree coalition. On August 15, a Deerfield resident named Margie Stone called on the village board to think about banning smoking in restaurants; she and her husband, Earl Stone,

created a "Smoke Free Deerfield" organization.[432] The Lake County Health Department provided education and technical assistance in support of the ordinance.[433] The county health department's Tobacco-Free Lake County program also coordinated a coalition called Partners for a Tobacco-Free Lake County, and the Stone couple joined that coalition.[433] In this sense, the Lake County Health Department was out ahead compared with other local health departments in already helping to provide information and coordinating functions. Lake County became fertile ground for local clean indoor air ordinances not just because public opinion more strongly supported it, but because the county health department helped to provide an organizational infrastructure for such local ordinance attempts.

Since Deerfield was the first formerly preempted community to act, doing so soon after the not formerly preempted city Highland Park, and was a small community, Deerfield was able to pull off an ordinance off without tobacco industry interests mobilizing against it.[433]. In Illinois, municipalities take the title of either "cities", "towns", or "villages"; regardless of the formal name, one of the only major differences is that village boards are usually elected at-large rather than by specific districts. For being a village of 18,000, even at-large elected officials are relatively close to the people in the community, and this arrangement facilitated the activists' efforts.

Unlike the many later cities that would attempt to pass smoking bans, there was not a concerted fight between public health advocates and tobacco industry or other opposition to the Deerfield ordinance, because neither the tobacco industry interests, nor the Illinois Restaurant Association, nor the local chamber of commerce, were opposed to the ordinance. At its most strident, opposition to the ordinance was voiced only by a few bar owners,[434] while on the side of the coalition were local advocates who had kept a watch on nearby cities that had passed ordinances while not been preempted even before 2005, along with support from a countywide tobacco-free coalition and conducting these activities in an environment where the county health department had already publicly called for all municipalities to pass laws. From the public call for an ordinance by a local resident to the announcement of a proposed ordinance, only three months elapsed.

Lake County became fertile ground for local clean indoor air ordinances ... the health department helped to provide an organizational infrastructure.

Advocates in Deerfield also pointed to the experiences of neighboring Wilmette and Highland Park, which as communities never subject to state preemption, had passed smokefree restaurant ordinances. Using these examples, advocates argued that a smokefree ordinance could work.[432] Among these, Douglas Graham, the president-elect of the American Lung Association of Metropolitan Chicago (later the Respiratory Health Association) was a Deerfield resident, and Graham pointed to the experience of Wilmette.[434]

Proposal and Adoption of the Ordinance

The Deerfield village board announced its proposed ordinance on November 21. Smoke Free Deerfield encouraged public support for an ordinance. Margie Stone and Earl Stone distributed brochures at the local train station and farmers' market.[432] At the November 21 meeting announcing the proposed ordinance, Village Manager Bob Franz noted that there were already 177 postcards in favor of the ordinance.[435]

Little opposition from business organizations surfaced, unlike in neighboring Highland Park, which, as a community that the Illinois Clean Indoor Act had exempted from state preemption, had enacted its smokefree restaurant and workplace ordinance in April 2005. In Deerfield, little opposition from restaurant associations occurred, not even from the Illinois Restaurant Association. The local Deerfield-Bannockburn-Riverwoods Chamber of Commerce, had few negative comments from business.[436] As the executive director of the chamber, Vicki Case, expressed for an Arlington Heights *Daily Herald* article, "Honestly, we haven't had any negative input."[435]

When the board met on December 5, it modified the proposed ordinance to reduce the fine for first offenses from $100 to $25;[437] fines for subsequent offenses ranged from $50 to $500.[431] One village council member proposed to reduce the radius outside public entrances where smoking was prohibited, to 10 feet, but the village board kept the radius at 25 feet.[437] Reducing the fine was the only change made to the ordinance.

On December 19, the village board passed the new Deerfield Smoke Free Air Ordinance by a unanimous vote. The ordinance maintained its original feature of a 25 feet cushion around entrances. One bar owner came to the meeting for a late plea for an exemption, fearing that it would hurt businesses like his, but mayor Steve Harris said that he wanted to see the law passed before considering any exemptions.[434, 438] The ordinance made indoor workplace, restaurants, and bars in Deerfield smokefree effective March 1, 2006.

First to Set of a Wave of Adoptions

Alongside Deerfield, additional communities in northern Illinois that, in 2005 and 2006, used their newly awarded power to enact smoking ordinances, included Buffalo Grove, Lake Forest, Libertyville, Lincolnshire, Lindenhurst, and Vernon Hills, all in Lake County;[439-445] Northbrook, Palatine, and Rolling Meadows, in northern Cook County;[446-449] Orland Park, Tinley Park, and Oak Forest in southern Cook County;[450-452] and Hinsdale and Wheaton, in DuPage County.[453-454] Additional northern Illinois cities had ordinances in place by the end of 2006, even though they had been authorized to regulate smoking during the period of state preemption: Arlington Heights, Chicago, Highland Park, Hoffman Estates, Oak Park, Schaumburg, Skokie, and Wilmette.[373, 439, 455-460] The early surge of communities were located in Lake County, because the work of the Lake County Health Department in providing information for local efforts, alongside with the county tobacco-free coalition providing support that local advocates could use. The Cook County Department of Public Health also worked to encourage smokefree ordinances the communities within Cook County; for many of these local ordinances, Sean McDermott of the Cook County Department of Public Health and Matt Maloney of the American Lung Association of Metropolitan Chicago supported the efforts including testifying at city council and village board meetings.[291]

An ordinance in Springfield would expose legislators from around the state to smokefree environments, easing the path to a future statewide law.

The wave of local activity in northern Illinois continued into 2007. The organizational and informational efforts for supporting proposed ordinances in the Chicago area, made by the American Heart Association's Midwest Affiliate and the American Lung Association of Metropolitan Chicago, which in 2007 renamed itself as the Respiratory Health Association of Metropolitan Chicago, had taken full force. Local activity in 2007 occurred in Mt. Prospect, Morton Grove, and Wheeling in northern Cook County,[461-463], Evergreen Park, Oak Lawn, and Park Forest in southern Cook County;[464-465] and Frankfort, in Will County.[466]

Deerfield's experience as the first community to take advantage of newly restored authority demonstrates that cities will take advantage quickly of newly restored local powers. Moreover, in a community with a relatively small population and high levels of education, this process can go smoothly, with little opposition.

State Capital: Springfield

Advocates' Quest for Smokefree Ordinances Around the State

In addition to the numerous ordinances passed in northern Illinois communities such as Deerfield, in central Illinois local clean indoor air ordinances also proliferated. Spring 2006 saw a marked increase in local activity throughout Illinois. The increase in activity occurred at precisely this time because local advocates who had long wished to make local smoking ordinances began to organize after the 2005 repeal of preemption, and because the four major organizations operating under the aegis of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco began to focus supportive efforts on the cities that seemed the most promising to enact and the most useful for building future support for a statewide law. Central Illinois formed the core of local activity, starting in Springfield, the state capital and a city of 110,000 residents: on January 17, 2006, the Springfield city council passed an ordinance banning smoking in restaurants and bars. The ordinance in Springfield was followed by many college and university cities in central Illinois. The statewide strategy of going for Springfield and the college cities meant that Springfield was next to go, and fortunately for the statewide health advocates, Springfield already had an alderman, Bruce Strom, who was very interested in the issue before even the statewide advocates turned toward the issue.

An ordinance in Springfield formed a central aim of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco's strategy. According to a 2013 interview of Matt Maloney of the Respiratory Health Association, advocates knew of the experience of other states, in general without specifically having a specific state in mind, that had passed ordinances on the way to a state law. Advocates knew that the enacting a smokefree law in the state capital formed part of health advocates'

successful strategies. An ordinance in Springfield would expose legislators from around the state to smokefree environments, easing the path to a future statewide law. Kathy Drea, the American Lung Association advocate, recalled in a 2013 interview that the Springfield ordinance gave great momentum to the later statewide smokefree law; a smoking ordinance in Springfield allowed politicians to see how smokefree laws worked, and helped to mollify concerns of undecided legislators.[394]

Origins of the Springfield Smokefree Effort

Health advocates believed that the path to a statewide law would first require getting a smokefree ordinance passed in the state capitol, and Alderman Bruce Strom, representing a southwestern portion of Springfield,[467] already was interested in the idea and ended up contacting state-level health advocates before the advocates had to go looking for a champion on the city council. Strom came up with the idea for an ordinance and contacted Drea of the American Lung Association in Illinois about his interest in pushing for a smokefree ordinance in Springfield. Strom contacted Drea after the bill repealing preemption, House Bill 672, had passed both houses of the state legislature but had not yet been signed by the governor. As Drea recalled in a 2013 interview, Strom called Drea in May 2005, and mentioned that he wanted to try to pass a local ordinance in Springfield. Drea noted that the bill had not even been signed into law yet, and asked Strom if he was sure that he wanted to attempt it.[394]

In the event that the bill restoring local authority, House Bill 672, did become law, an ordinance could be passed that could take effect soon after state law permitted. Drea and Strom began to work on organization a smokefree coalition. The Smoke-Free Springfield Coalition formed specifically to pass the ordinance, and this formed even before Gov. Blagojevich signed the bill to restore local authority.[394] This coalition, in operation as early as July 2005, formed by coordination among local businesses, groups, and government agencies in favor of a smokefree ordinance, grew to approximately 50 businesses and groups.[468-469]

The key players on the coalition included the American Lung Association in Illinois, the American Cancer Society in Illinois, and the American Heart Association's Midwest Affiliate;[470] These groups also included some governmental organizations, such as the board of the Springfield School District.[469] A key member of the coalition outside the health groups included restaurant owner Michael Higgins, owner of an upscale restaurant a few blocks from the state capital. In addition, two hospitals in Springfield were some of the biggest in central Illinois. These two major hospitals in Springfield were on the local smokefree coalition, called Smoke-Free Springfield, and mobilized support for the ordinance, getting physicians to donate to the coalition and encouraging other physicians to do the same.[394] The local health department did not take a lead role in this coalition.[470]

Drea, based in Springfield, used her expertise in promoting local smoking ordinances in the communities that had not been preempted, to propel the Springfield ordinance ahead. In addition to Drea, Kelly Thompson of the American Heart Association also helped to propagate favorable messaging for Springfield's proposed ordinance.[468]

Opposition included the major opponent to a smokefree ordinance,the head of the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, Steve Riedl.

Proposing an Ordinance in Springfield

After House Bill 672, repealing preemption, was signed into law on August 10, advocates' grassroots efforts steamed ahead. Advocates began a drive to get community members to sign on in support, established a letter and postcard campaign to city council members, wrote letters to the editor, met with the editorial board of Springfield's *State-Journal Register*.[470] Advertising by the coalition included newspaper ads,[470] as well as radio and television advertisements.[276]

Kathy Drea was prepared to use the American Lung Association's grants to promote smoke free communities, which she had won from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, to commission polls for cities demonstrating local support. Strom insisted on such a poll for Springfield.[471] Although polls in many other communities had already demonstrated widespread support for smoke-free ordinances, getting a local poll was necessary for the effort in Springfield. As Strom recounted in a 2013 interview:

> The survey of the Springfield community ... was an important part of making the argument to our elected officials of passing this ordinance, and it wasn't easy either, even after that, but without it, I think it might have given a little more leverage to the other side ... to argue against doing it, saying "You know, there's nothing that in our community that indicates that we have to do this," and, and of course the opponents to it were speaking very loudly.[471]

Initial prospects for the ordinance seemed favorable. Leading up to the October 20, 2005 first public city council forum about the ordinance, at least six of the ten aldermen on Springfield's city council appeared to lean in favor of an ordinance. The six in favor included five Republicans, including Strom, and one Democrat. Mayor Tim Davlin (2003-2010; d. 2010), a Democrat, also favored the measure. Of those neutral or opposed, all four were Democrats: one supported smokefree restaurants but not bars, one took a neutral stand, one leaned against Strom's ordinance; and one opposed it strongly.[472] These Democrats represented areas in poorer areas of Springfield, in the eastern, northern, and northwestern parts of the city, on the other side of Springfield from Strom's southwestern district. Steve Riedl, head of the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, lobbied aldermen and spoke against Springfield's ordinance.[470]

At the October 20 meeting, more speakers favored an ordinance than opposed it.[473] Advertising by the campaign to get people involved and interested in the issue consisted of newspaper advertising and some local television advertising.[470]

At the second public hearing on October 27, more opposition surfaced, in line with widespread practices by the tobacco industry of mobilizing third parties, including beverage associations nationwide, to oppose public health policies on tobacco. Supporters of a smokefree ordinance argued that the secondhand smoke health concerns should outweigh economic concerns, but opponents argued that secondhand smoke had not been proven to be dangerous.

Riedl, the beverage association director, threatened a lawsuit over the ordinance if it covered bars.[474]

Worries among businesses about potential economic effects, however, slowed the ordinance. Alderman Frank Edwards, a Republican originally leaning in favor of the ordinance,[472] began to worry about the economic effects.[475] At the November 14 city council meeting, the Greater Springfield Chamber of Commerce urged a "compromise" on a smokefree ordinance that would address the "potential adverse impact" on businesses.[476] The chamber did not propose a specific compromise, however; instead it presented its urge for a compromise based on the responses of its membership, with a majority favoring some ordinance but a majority also opposing a blanket ban on all indoor areas.[476]

Without Ald. Edwards' support, four Republicans and one Democrat would be in favor of the ordinance, not enough for the six votes needed. At this meeting, Strom declared that he did not have the votes to pass the ordinance, asked the Springfield City Council's Public Affairs Committee to delay sending it to the wider council, and suggested having a smokefree requirement phased in over time, starting with indoor workplaces and restaurants, and then later extending to bars.[475]

Bolstering Advocates' Positions in Springfield

In the weeks after this standoff during November 2005, two events bolstered supporters' prospects. First, several Springfield hospitals announced an extension of their smoking bans, to include even outdoor areas of their hospitals.[477-478] The chief executive officers of the two hospitals were very involved with the coalition.

Supporters of the smokefree ordinance also exposed ties and communication between the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, the restaurant group opposing the ordinance, and tobacco company Philip Morris.[183] The Illinois Licensed Beverage Association acknowledged its ties and communication with tobacco companies and that it received one percent or less of its annual budget from tobacco companies, but denied that tobacco companies had sent extra money to the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association through its national parent organization.[183, 479] This uncovering of ties between the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association and Philip Morris was, however, just one aspect of the entire campaign; Kathy Drea in a 2014 interview did not recall this one aspect of the campaign particularly notably.[276]

Throughout November 2005, political opponents of Strom put in many amendments to water down the ordinance. Although Springfield City Council races are officially nonpartisan, the party affiliation of aldermen and candidates are generally well-known, and these amendments came from the Democratic aldermen. Strom, in a 2013 interview, surmised that many Democrats were opposed to Strom's ordinance because it was widely suspected that Strom would aim to run for mayor soon.[471] Ald. Frank Kunz proposed to allow smoking at establishments that require patrons to be over 18,[480] a standard tobacco industry fallback position. Ald. Chuck Redpath proposed to allow smoking in places with liquor licenses that have less than 10 percent of receipts coming from food sales, bowling alleys, fraternal clubs and bingo halls,[480] another standard industry fallback position.

Tabling of Strom's Original Ordinance

Strom's original ordinance for Springfield did not pass. On December 6, the Springfield City Council voted to keep in exceptions for bars, bar areas of restaurants, private clubs, banquet rooms, stage performances, home businesses, and tobacco stores.[481] Strom, along with the health advocates in the coalition, remained strongly opposed.

In November 2005, the Greater Springfield Chamber of Commerce took steps toward ... backing a smokefree ordinance.

The vote to keep in the exceptions deadlocked on a tie, with mayor Tim Davlin, who was also a Democrat, casting the tiebreaking vote to keep in the exceptions. The result would have been a weakened, non-comprehensive ordinance. Strom, along with the local smokefree coalition, opposed a watering down of the ordinance. Consequently, after the vote to keep the proposed ordinance filled with exceptions, Strom asked for the proposed ordinance to be tabled.[481]

The tabling of the proposed ordinance represented a defeat for advocates' attempts to pass Strom's version of a local smokefree law. In the wake of the tabling of the ordinance, Strom mentioned in the *Illinois Times* local weekly newspaper that he believed that the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association had stirred up unnecessary concern among restaurant owners about the economic effects of a smoking ordinance.[482]

Reinvigorating Springfield's Coalition

The tabling of the ordinance invigorated the smokefree coalition. As Drea recalled in the 2013 interview, the day after the Springfield City Council tabled the proposed ordinance, December 7, 2005, the *Springfield Journal-Register* ran a front-page story about it entitled "Smoking ban tabled".[481] According to Drea, this initial setback, and the front-page article covering the setback, was one of the major things that helped the campaign the most:

> ... the next day the mayor's office and ... the city council, they were absolutely bombarded with phone calls from people. And they were people that had not called them before. It was not necessarily those key people that were in the coalition. It was everybody else.[394]

According to Drea, many people in Springfield who had previously sat on the sidelines thinking that an ordinance would pass, saw that it would not pass without more effort, and became more active in promoting a change to go smokefree.[394] This revitalization was important because the mayor, Davlin, was a broad reader of public opinion before charting a course of political action.

In November 2005, the Greater Springfield Chamber of Commerce took steps toward determining whether it would support a local smokefree ordinance, and ended up backing a smokefree ordinance. The Greater Springfield Chamber of Commerce surveyed its membership and used the results at its November 28 board meeting.[483] Greater Springfield Chamber of Commerce government relations director Joshua Collins, relying on board meeting minutes and from his recollection of the time period, described in a 2013 interview the process behind the determination:

> They had around 60 percent of their membership wanted the chamber to support the smoking ban. ... The board supported the ordinance for the smoking ban. ... Health care is a big sector of our employment base here in town. Government and health care are one and two. I think that had a strong component since there's so much health care industry in town, and the health care community was a strong advocate of this.[484]

Davlin Pushing for an Ordinance with a Ventilation Exemption

After the tabling of the original ordinance, introduced by Strom and amended by the rest of the city council to have many exceptions, Mayor Davlin introduced an alternative ordinance. This ordinance would permit businesses to allow smoking in if they were to install filtration systems approved by the federal Environmental Protection Agency, another standard industry position. Davlin argued that this requirement would outlaw smoking in "99 percent" of workplaces. Since the ventilation strategy was a long-used tobacco industry tactic to forestall smokefree ordinances, public health advocates opposed such attempts. Kathy Drea, the American Lung Association advocate, aware of this alternative proposal, noted that the mayor's office did not organize a meeting with the Smoke Free Springfield advocates before proposing the ventilation ordinance.[485]

Strom and health advocates continued to press for an ordinance without exceptions, rather than accept Davlin's proposed version. On December 22, Strom and members from the Smoke-Free Springfield Coalition met with Davlin, seeking to get the mayor to remove the ventilation exemption, which Strom had called a "really large loophole."[485-486] Davlin originally refused to make changes.[486]

Strom and the Smoke-Free Springfield coalition pushed on. On January 4, 2006, Strom proposed a smoking ordinance similar to what he had originally proposed, with the difference that bars would receive a phase-in period.[487] of six to nine months, depending on the type of establishment. In addition, Strom's new plan differed from Davlin's plan in that it did not allow a ventilation exemption.

Advocating for and Passing a Complete Smokefree Ordinance

In the weeks leading up to the Springfield City Council vote on the ordinance, advocates kept working on media advocacy efforts, convincing the Springfield newspaper, the *State Journal-Register*, to write editorials supporting the ordinance, and the newspaper did produce multiple editorials in favor.[276] In addition, forces beyond the efforts of the local smokefree coalition went to work at pushing for an ordinance. In addition, the political cartoonist for

Springfield's *State Journal-Register*, Chris Britt, created cartoons mercilessly making fun of the idea of Davlin's proposed ventilation exception.[276, 488]

On January 17, 2006, the Springfield City Council voted on the ordinance: Mayor Davlin decided to remove the ventilation exemption, making it almost exactly like Strom's initial and revised proposals.[489] It is likely that electoral considerations played a role in Davlin's decision to remove the ventilation exemption: in advance of the mayoral election pending for 2007, Strom was seen as a candidate who would run against Davlin. Davlin decided to make the change without telling the coalition beforehand.[489] The ordinance mandated smokefree indoor workplaces including restaurants, bars, private clubs, and bowling alleys. The council approved the smoking ordinance by a 6-4 vote, effective September 17, 2006. The editorial board of the Springfield's *State Journal-Register* characterized the vote as a victory for grassroots activism and citizen engagement in doing difficult work.[468, 489]

Political Party and Council Support for Springfield's Ordinance

Springfield's smokefree ordinance passed with a unique partisan composition, with all Republicans in favor and almost all Democrats opposed. This unique council vote composition had in part to do with broader partisan and electoral politics taking place in Springfield. The four members who voted against the ordinance, Frank McNeil, Frank Kunz, Chuck Redpath, and Tom Selinger, had leaned against it in the beginning.[489] These four aldermen as a group likely had been paying attention to concerns voiced by bar owner constituents.

Of the six votes in favor of the final ordinance, five came from staunch supporters, four Republicans and one Democrat, as well as one vote from a Republican who had been supportive but had worried about economic effects. The Illinois Licensed Beverage Association cast its opposition to the law in terms of these business impacts. In response to this opposition, the mayor, a Democrat who acts separately from the Springfield City Council, introduced a separate smoking ordinance that did not cover all restaurants and bars by allowing a ventilation exemption. Under advocacy from Strom, the Smoke-Free Springfield Coalition, and American Lung Association and American Heart Association advocates, the mayor removed this exemption.

Permitting Counties to Regulate Smoking: Sangamon County

The debate over the Springfield ordinance resulted in both Springfield restaurant owners as well as Davlin, the mayor of Springfield, arguing for counties to be given the power to regulate smoking.[490] Davlin believed that counties should be able to enact clean indoor air ordinances so that areas with establishments just inside and just outside municipal boundaries could be covered by similar ordinances. In this case, Davlin argued that the county that contains Springfield, Sangamon County, should enact a clean indoor air ordinance.[490]

Origins of Allowing County Ordinances

The law repealing preemption, House Bill 672 from 2005, had applied only to municipalities, meaning the cities such as Springfield could pass a smoking ordinance but

Sangamon County could not. Health advocates had not thought about the county issue until after it passed, but recognized after it passed that something should have been done about counties.[276] After the Springfield ordinance passed, Sangamon County became the next focus of the Springfield coalition, with Strom and Drea approached the board to pass a smokefree ordinance.[276] Also, in December 2005, officials in Lake County declared a desire to have counties be allowed to enact such ordinances.[491] Davlin approached Sen. John Cullerton (D-Chicago) to propose legislation to provide a fix to this issue.

On January 18, 2006, the day after the Springfield city council vote, Sen. John Cullerton (D-Chicago) introduced Senate Bill 2400, a bill that would allow counties to regulate smoking, and announced this legislation along with Davlin. The bill allowed non-home rule counties to enact clean indoor air ordinances that covered only unincorporated parts of the county. Meanwhile, Cook County, the only home rule county in Illinois by virtue of its directly elected county board president, had already been been permitted, as a home rule unit of government, to regulate smoking.

The Greater Springfield Chamber of Commerce favored Senate Bill 2400. The Chamber advocated a level playing field for businesses in counties where municipalities had created smoking ordinances.[492] Sen. Cullerton presented the bill to the Senate as cleanup legislation that simply allowed counties to do what municipalities had been allowed to do in regulating smoking.[493] The bill faced little opposition: the Senate passed it on February 28 by a vote of 45-10, and then with Rep. Karen Yarbrough sponsoring it in the House, the House passed it on March 30 by a vote of 89-24. Signed into law on June 26, it became Public Act 94-0917, effective on September 17, 2006.[494]

Advocating for and Introducing Sangamon County's Ordinance

The local smokefree coalition approached the Sangamon County Board to convince the board to draft an ordinance.[276] By summer 2006, Springfield's ordinance had passed and the state had already passed the law allowing county smokefree ordinances. A committee of Sangamon County Board members formed specifically to draft an ordinance and passed it forward to the full board in August 2006. As drafted, the proposed ordinance was slightly stronger than the Springfield ordinance in that it proposed to prohibit smoking in a 10-foot perimeter of publicly accessible buildings.[495] The board amended the resolution to make the 10-foot rule apply only to main entrances, a provision still stronger than Springfield's ordinance.[496]

Just before the August 8 public County Board meeting when the board would vote on the ordinance, county board members had a standard meeting beforehand. To demonstrate the benefits of the ordinance, County Board President Andy Van Meter, who favored the ordinance and did not smoke, lit up a cigarette inside, to underscore just what employees in smoke-filled indoor areas had to deal with daily.[276] The board then at the meeting passed its ordinance, on a vote of 16-13, prohibiting smoking in restaurants, bars, and within 10 feet of main entrances to publicly accessible buildings.[497]

Republican and Democratic Support for Sangamon County's Ordinance

The Sangamon County Board support for the ordinance, like Springfield, was an example within Illinois of a Republican-dominated government bodies voting in favor for smokefree ordinances. At the time, the Sangamon County Board had 25 Republicans and four Democrats;[498] of the board's 25 Republicans, 13 voted in favor of the resolution and 12 voted against it. Of the board's four Democrats, three voted in favor and one voted against it.[497-498]

The Sangamon County measure took effect on September 17, the day that the state law allowing counties to have such a provision came into effect, and set to make the Sangamon County resolution to go into effect on the same day as the Springfield city ordinance.

The experiences of Springfield and Sangamon County demonstrate that smokefree policymaking in a state capital can occur quickly. Advocates' statewide strategy included focusing on Springfield as a city to push early for a smokefree ordinance. Because it took only about half a year, it even seemed to surprise Drea and Strom with how quickly the ordinance passed.[471] A strong champion of an ordinance on the city council, backed by expertise from the American Lung Association's experience in advocacy, helped an ordinance to pass quickly, even if the original attempt to pass an ordinance did not succeed.

College Cities: Normal, Bloomington, and McLean County

On May 1, 2006, the Normal City Council passed an ordinance prohibiting smoking in indoor workplaces, restaurants, bars, and parks. The next week, on May 8, the Bloomington City Council passed an ordinance mandating smokefree indoor workplaces, restaurants and bars, with the only difference between the Normal and Bloomington ordinance being that the Bloomington ordinance allowed smoking to continue in parks.[499]

State Advocates Pushing for College City Ordinances

In pursuing a strategy based on college cities, health advocates knew that these college cities had lower smoking rates and higher education levels on average, and aimed to tap students in the area as volunteers for the local efforts.[394]

Many college cities passed statewide clean indoor air ordinances, starting with the cities of Normal and Bloomington. The origins of the campaign in Normal and Bloomington started from local efforts, which health advocates the then helped to support. Normal, at the time a city of about 50,000 and home to Illinois State University, and Bloomington, then a city of about 70,000 and home to another major university, Illinois Wesleyan University, were adjacent cities constituting a single urbanized area, located 70 miles northeast of Springfield. Bloomington leaders were often more business-oriented than those in Normal.

Origins of a Twin-City Strategy

The Smoke Free Bloomington-Normal coalition formed in November 2005, to coordinate advocacy in both cities. This coalition came about through a first meeting at the McLean County Health Department, the department in charge of health for the county surrounding Bloomington and Normal. The health department set up the initial meeting and continued to be part of the

coalition.[500] The participating groups used the occasion of the annual Great American Smokeout, the third Thursday in November, to have the meeting.[500] The coalition included the American Heart Association, the American Lung Association of Illinois-Iowa, and the McLean County Health Department.[501]

The Normal City Council held its first public meeting about the issue on January 17, 2006. Supporters and opponents packed this meeting; supporters argued about health and opponents argued about individual rights and business impacts.[501]

The Bloomington City Council and Normal City Council held a joint work session on January 30.[502] They also held a joint public meeting at the Normal Theater on February 6, where the Illinois Heart and Lung Associates, a local multi-physician practice, spoke in favor, business owners voiced their concerns, and the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association spoke in opposition.[502]

From the start of the policy formation process in both cities, the city councils of Normal and Bloomington had joint work sessions and joint public forums to discuss proposed rules; Normal city council members and Bloomington aldermen made efforts to craft similar standards; both cities, located in the same urban area, had a tradition of coordinating efforts on other issues.

Advocating for Ordinances in Bloomington and Normal

Grassroots activities in Bloomington and Normal, as in many of the local ordinance campaigns, included engaging in petition drives. These petition drives occurred in cities throughout the state where the American Lung Association in Illinois was helping to support local activities. As Drea recounted in the 2013 interview, these petition drives, used to build public support for the bill, gave a key lesson:

> Sometimes you feel like, 'Oh, that person ... They probably are not going to sign my petition.' ... I very quickly learned that you cannot make a judgment by that. Even if they've got a pack of cigarettes in their pocket ... and you can obviously see it, or they're obviously smoking. You still have to ask them to sign your petition because it's amazing how many of them will. And will talk to you about it. Even if they're a smoker or whatever they still might be 100 percent in favor of these laws.[394]

Media Efforts by Advocates

Media efforts by health advocacy groups in local efforts throughout the state, with Bloomington and Normal as an early case, included the use of print advertisements featuring local faces. These were paid for by the American Lung Association in Illinois, specifically from the grants from 2004-2006 that the American Lung Association in Illinois had won from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation for community organizing within the state.[424-425]

The use of local faces in Bloomington and Normal was replicated in other local campaigns. As Drea recounted in the 2013 interview, for Bloomington one of the most effective ads used the face of a local established doctor, John Krueger, who had delivered many babies in

the Bloomington-Normal area.[394] Krueger was also the head of the Smoke-Free Bloomington-Normal Coalition, and had called for a all indoor places of public accommodation to be smokefree, without exceptions.[503] As the newspaper ad showed his face, the tagline quoted him as declaring, "I've been dedicated to improving public health for 33 years. Our city councils can improve public health in just one night." (Figure 15)[394]

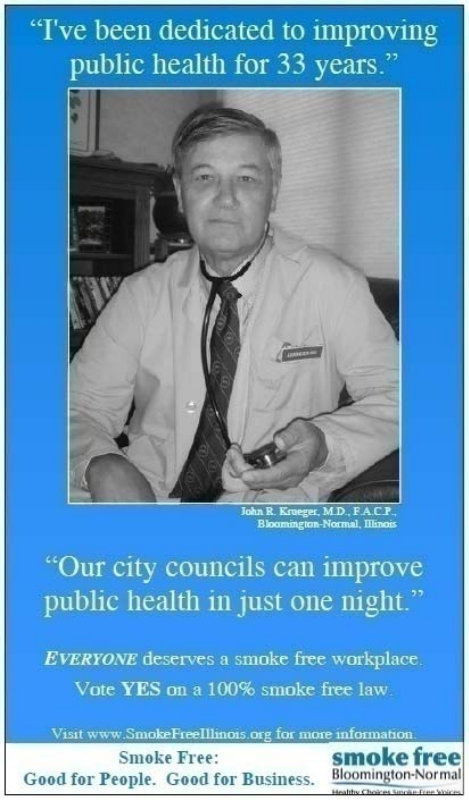


Figure 15: Advertisement Used in the Bloomington-Normal Campaign
Source: American Lung Association in Illinois[394]

Support from the McLean County Local Chamber of Commerce

Alliance-building efforts were eased by the fact that after the ordinance drafting process started, the local chamber of commerce favored Bloomington and Normal's proposed smokefree ordinances. Bloomington and Normal are both contained within McLean County, and in early April, the McLean County Chamber of Commerce recommended that cities in the county pass smokefree laws, arguing that businesses and members of the community should focus on positives rather than negatives of smoking regulation.

The McLean Chamber of Commerce announced this position after surveying its membership and determining strong support for a smokefree ordinance among chamber members in the county: 66 percent supported a broad smokefree law, and 80 percent supported a smokefree law for worker areas.[504]

Bar Owner Opposition in Bloomington

Opposition to the ordinance in Bloomington came primarily from the Downtown Bar Owners' Association in Bloomington,[505] which is an organization that had existed long before the ordinance effort. During the first few months of 2006, Mayor Steve Stockton solicited ideas widely from the community.[506] During this time, the leadership of the Downtown Bar Owners' Association met with bar owners from throughout Bloomington, attempting to corral opposition to the ordinance.

The local bar owners' association spoke at city council meetings and attempted to propose alternatives to the proposed ordinance. In late February, three dozen Bloomington restaurant and bar owners voiced their concerns and drafted a proposal for an ordinance with exceptions for a walled off ventilated room;[506] this proposal joined the ranks of several ordinance proposals being considered.

The local chamber of commerce favored Bloomington and Normal's proposed smokefree ordinances.

Fuel for supporters' arguments included a poll by Illinois Wesleyan University students, released in early March, suggesting that 56 percent of Bloomington voters favored a "total ban," suggesting a smokefree ordinance regardless of venues and 25 percent more favored a "partial ban," while only 14 percent opposed a ban at all.

Ordinance in Normal

On April 3, the Normal City Council held an open forum about the proposed ordinance.[507] Of Normal's seven-member council, councilmembers Adam Nielsen and Jason Chambers supported an ordinance strongly,[502] and Parker Lawlis later seemed keen to press ahead with a vote. Nielsen, after reviewing public input on the idea of an ordinance, took the lead in pressing for an ordinance.[508] Normal mayor Chris Koos supported the idea of a smokefree ordinance, with only limited exceptions for hotel rooms, tobacco shops, and assisted living facilities.[508] Jeff Fritzen remained undecided, despite recognizing the benefit to health.[502]

On May 2, the Normal City Council voted 7 to 0 in favor of its ordinance, backed by councilmembers Jason Chambers, Cheryl Gaines, and Sonja Reece. Jeff Fritzen tried an amendment to allow smoking in restaurants after the kitchen closed. Fritzen had wanted to give bar owners the opportunity to smoke while closing down the bars for the day. Still, the council voted against the bill 5-2.[509] In explaining their support for the ordinance without an exception, Jason Chambers explained that the issue was employee health, so that it didn't matter whether the kitchen was closed; Sonja Reece, declared that she had been swayed by the strong support among businesses, as demonstrated in a poll by the McLean County Chamber of Commerce that 80 percent of the businesses in the chamber supported prohibiting smoking in worker areas.[509]

Shifting to Bloomington

After the ordinance passed in Normal, activity shifted to Bloomington. Leading up to a May 8 Bloomington City Council Meeting, the Bloomington City Council had prepared several options to consider on how to differ from the Normal City Council's ordinance, including proposing to allow smoking in restaurants after 9:00 in the evening, or in bars and clubs with a tavern liquor license.[510]

Ahead of this meeting, for a Bloomington *Pantagraph* article covering the potential ordinances, the president of the Downtown Bar Owners' Association, Jan Lancaster, asserted that businesses would be affected negatively whatever form an ordinance took, but pressed for these exemptions to be included. In contrast, the American Lung Association's Kathy Drea remained focused on explaining the harmful role of cigarette smoke, regardless of the venue type.[510]

At the May 8 Bloomington City Council meeting, the clean indoor air ordinance passed, involving a 4-4 vote with mayor Steve Stockton breaking the tie in favor of the measure.[499] Among Bloomington's nine aldermen, Kevin Huette, who had initially been undecided,[511] strongly backed the ordinance;[502] Skip Crawford and Mike Matejka, who initially favored some sort of compromise ordinance,[512] also ended up voting in favor,[499] as did John Hanson, who joined the Bloomington City Council in April to fill a vacancy and who remained undecided until late.[499, 512] Karen Schmidt, who initially declared that "Socially, we're really evolving into a no-smoking environment,"[502] voted against the final ordinance: Schmidt's vote against the ordinance occurred after attempting but not succeeding in amending the ordinance to continue allowing smoking in taverns.[499] Allen Gibson, Steven Purcell, and Jim Finnegan also voted against it.[512] Mayor Steve Stockton broke the 4-4 tie vote. The smokefree coalition continued to meet with members and continued to mail postcards from local residents in support of an ordinance.[470]

Bloomington's ordinance closely matched that of Normal: excluding smoking from restaurants and bars. As the only substantive difference between Normal and Bloomington's ordinances, Bloomington continued to permit smoking in outdoor places of assembly.

McLean County: Extending Geographically to the Whole County

Extending the coverage of local smoking ordinances geographically from the cities of Normal and Bloomington, McLean County officials worked to enact a smokefree ordinance. The McLean County Administrator had taken steps in June 2006 to weigh the legal and public opinion aspects of a county ordinance when the law allowing counties to enact clean indoor air ordinances had become law.[513]

The Smoke Free Bloomington-Normal coalition had pushed for a smokefree law for all indoor public places, including bars, in the unincorporated areas of McLean County. The McLean County Board originally considered a proposed ordinance that was modeled on Bloomington's ordinance, to have smokefree indoor public places including workplaces, restaurants, and bars.[514]

The McLean County Board originally considered a proposed ordinance to have smokefree indoor public places including workplaces, restaurants, and bars.[515] Yet, after the board's Finance Finance Committee heard testimony at four hearings, there was opposition from the owners of several of the six bars in the unincorporated areas of the county,[515] out of a total of approximately 270 businesses total in the unincorporated part of the county.[514] With some board members favoring a comprehensive smokefree ordinance, some favoring one that excluded bars, and one board member not wanting any ordinance, the Finance Committee proposed an ordinance that would not require bars to be smokefree. On November 21, 2006, the full board voted 14-4 to approve an ordinance that covered restaurants, but not bars, effective January 1, 2007.[515]

The experiences of Bloomington and Normal demonstrate that adjoining cities' efforts at coordination can make the process more complicated but that such coordination can lead to similar standards within the same urban area.

Next College Cities: Champaign and Urbana

Champaign and Urbana, adjoining cities forming a single urbanized area located 100 miles east of Springfield, adopted smokefree ordinances shortly after Normal and Bloomington, in spring 2006. Champaign at the time was a city of about 80,000, and Urbana had a population of about 40,000. These cities served as home to the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, with the cities' common border passing through the middle of the university campus. Smokefree advocacy in Champaign and Urbana closely tracked that of Normal and Bloomington. Advocates found it easier to pass an ordinance in Urbana but relatively difficult to do so in Champaign, whose city leaders were more business-oriented than those in Urbana.

Since Champaign and Urbana were major university cities, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco in its plans to spur local activity identified Champaign and Urbana as favorable places to advocate for smokefree ordinances.

The effort in Champaign had most of the opposition came from the city council members themselves; the smokefree advocacy effort in Champaign was an effort to take a city council that had largely not been interested in a smokefree ordinance, in 2005, and gradually to push council members toward supporting a strong ordinance and prevent previous supporters from moving against the ordinance. After Champaign passed its ordinance, the effort in Urbana was almost a foregone conclusion since a strong majority of the city council members in Urbana had expressed support for an ordinance but would only do so after Champaign had passed its ordinance. The leader of the smokefree coalition, Scott Hays, was a political scientist and researcher who had years of experience studying the adoption of smokefree laws, and received the strong support of Kathy Drea and the American Lung Association in Illinois.

Origins of Champaign and Urbana's Ordinances

Both Champaign and Urbana had local clean indoor air ordinances before the 1989 Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act, so had been exempted from state preemption. Efforts to have

Champaign and Urbana enact smokefree restaurant laws came as far back as 2003; under these cities' exemptions from state preemption, Champaign and Urbana still had the authority to regulate smoking. In that year, the Champaign County Tobacco Prevention Coalition, a longstanding coalition that included the Champaign-Urbana Public Health District, called for both cities to pass smokefree ordinances for all publicly accessible indoor areas.[516]

Creating an Alliance

Scott Hays, a researcher at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, had been commissioned by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation to do a study of smokefree laws in the United States. Hays, who by 2005 had extensive experience researching the municipal adoption of clean indoor air ordinances,[517] presented at an Illinois Department of Public Health meeting about his findings, where some staff from the Champaign-Urbana Public Health District were in attendance. One of the main conclusions of Hays' study was finding a strong likelihood of smokefree ordinance adoption in communities with higher levels of education higher income levels, and concentrations of professional jobs, such as Champaign and Urbana. As a result this study, Hays also had the opportunity to learn the processes, strategies, and tactics of smokefree ordinance adoption in cities around the country. According to Hays in a 2013 interview, these local health department members approached Hays and invited him to speak at a Champaign County Tobacco Prevention Coalition meeting.[518]

The Champaign County Tobacco Prevention Coalition at first did not want to push for smokefree ordinances, believing, according to Hays in the 2013 interview, that it was too controversial. But Hays convinced the Champaign County Tobacco Prevention Coalition to push for a smokefree ordinance. Yet because the Champaign County Tobacco Prevention Coalition also included staff from the Champaign-Urbana Public Health District, the local health department did not want its staff involved in focusing on a smokefree ordinance, so an organization separate from the Champaign County Tobacco Prevention Coalition had to be created.[518]

The Champaign-Urbana Smoke Free Alliance was created in 2003 for the specific purpose of fostering smokefree ordinances in these two cities.[470]

The coalition for Champaign and Urbana was a small coalition of mostly university-based researchers. This group was small but very organized, and this level of organization seemed to have benefitted the campaign's prospects for success.[518] The American Lung Association in Illinois, through Kathy Drea, was heavily involved, and the local health department was involved but in a constricted way, consistent with its function as a public agency. Kathy Drea was not a member of the coalition but provided advice.[518]

Advocating for an Ordinance and Inherent Challenges

The group was small but highly organized: it compiled a "Clean Indoor Air Local Information and Research Studies" binder, organized into facts about secondhand smoke, level of local support, the results of the restaurant and bar owners' survey, economic impacts of smokefree ordinances, how ventilation of indoor venues could not clear the smoke, and

information on how many other cities across the United States had enacted smokefree laws.[519] The C-U Smokefree Alliance prepared these binders for city council members. The Champaign-Urbana Smoke Free Alliance did not identify a specific legislative sponsor beforehand, in part because a past candidate for Champaign City Council, Matt Varble, who had run on a platform of introducing smokefree ordinance, had not been elected. Varble instead worked closely on the campaign as part of the Champaign-Urbana Smoke Free Alliance.[518] The alliance gave these informational binders to the members of the Champaign and Urbana city councils and met with council members to determine their potential support for an ordinance.

Advocates did not originally intend to have the city councils of Champaign and Urbana have to work in tandem on the law, but the way the cities exist, adjacent to each other in the same urbanized area and coordinating policies on many issues, led the city elected leaders to demand some sort of coordination. Urbana city council members, according to Hays, said that they would consider a law but remained unwilling to act first, instead only being willing if Champaign also had one.[518] Hays, in a 2013 interview, described the challenges involved in mounting a smoke-free ordinance effort in Champaign and Urbana. These posed challenges for local advocates far more than from direct tobacco industry influence:

> The first and primary source of opposition here was the elected body themselves, when you've got a two-city situation, like we did here and like they did in Bloomington-Normal -- because it's really a bi-city area -- we knew that we couldn't do one city without the other... We went to Urbana -- they seemed to be interested and supportive of smoke free, but they said, "We're just not going to do this unless Champaign does it."
>
> The interesting thing that I found here is that without being organized opposition, there was enough opposition on city council, enough opposition on the local newspaper -- the local newspaper editorially, absolutely opposed in everything they wrote, everything about smokefree, never supportive of anything, which was a big problem.
>
> So in terms of organized opposition, they didn't need it. Because they had the newspaper, and they had the opposition of Champaign Council, which was leading to Urbana also not being supportive -- so we were flanked, almost, on all sides.[518]

To bolster the case for a smokefree ordinance, Hays worked with Drea, the American Lung Association advocate, to fund studies useful for the effort in Champaign and Urbana. The American Lung Association in Illinois funded a survey conducted by the polling firm Fako & Associates about public opinion on a smokefree ordinance.[518] Specific to bar owners, the American Lung Association in Illinois helped to fund the Center for Prevention, Research, and Development at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, where Hays worked, to survey restaurant and bar owners' opinions on smokefree ordinances for Champaign and Urbana,[520] as well as to conduct local air quality studies at restaurants and bars in Champaign and Urbana.[518]

The Champaign City Council initially was more reluctant to pass an ordinance. The Champaign-Urbana Smoke Free Alliance had difficulty, in May 2005, in convincing even the required five of the eight Champaign City Council members to agree to a study session about the

issue.[521] The mayor of Champaign, Jerry Schweighart, told Hays that not enough support existed on the council for any smokefree ordinance.[518]

Advocates mounted an aggressive campaign to advocate for a smokefree ordinance in Champaign, developing a postcard strategy that with the help of Kathy Drea, local advocates would then replicate throughout Illinois. The Champaign-Urbana Smoke Free Alliance brought a postcard writing campaign to Champaign that lasted throughout the time the Champaign and Urbana city councils considered their ordinances, calling on council members to pass a smokefree ordinance, without specifying what that ordinance was.

Postcard Campaign: A Model for Other Cities

Although postcards had been used in other smokefree ordinance efforts, such as in Springfield, the Champaign-Urbana effort was a novel approach that improved the effectiveness of the postcard tactic. As Kathy Drea recounted in a 2013 interview, advocates encouraged people to sign postcards with personal reasons for supporting a smokefree Champaign:

> This was all Scott Hays' idea. In Champaign-Urbana, we did a postcard campaign that we ended up copying in every city that we did. We would stand at all different kinds of festivals and we would buy a booth spot at different festivals and we had these postcards. And we just had the bare minimum printed on these postcards. ... We would have people put their entire return address, so that we could look up later who their city council member was, because many of them did not know who their city council members were.
>
> On the other side, we had the beginning of a sentence: 'I support Smoke Free Champaign because...' and then we let them write whatever they wanted, in their own handwriting, right there on the clipboard at this festival. And the things that people said, they were amazing. We kept all that. We recorded all of the things that people said.
>
> Then we would go back and find out who their city council members was for sure, from their address, and we would hand address those postcards to those city council members at their home address. So we would have piles for each city council member, but we would only send [about] five out to each city council member a day. And we had different people addressing them so that it all looked like they were different handwriting. We used different kinds of stamps on them. We didn't want them to look alike. We wanted them to look all different.[394]

This tactic appeared to work well; according to Drea at later Champaign City Council meetings, council members frequently held up stacks of the cards, declaring that they supported an ordinance and it was because of receiving all this mail about it:

> Those city council members would come to city council and they would hold up these huge stacks of postcards. And say, 'I'm voting for this because of this. I received all of these postcards in support of this.' And the postcards would be all different colors ... We tried to make them as different as possible from each other.[394]

Stalling in Champaign

The Champaign City Council considered an ordinance for smokefree indoor workplaces, restaurants, and bars failed in a 5-4 vote in September 2005.[522] The Champaign-Urbana Smokefree Alliance had pushed for this ordinance to pass, but city council members were in three camps: those favoring a smokefree ordinance for all indoor public venues, those favoring a restaurant-only ordinance, and those opposing an ordinance. The city council members who favored some kind of ordinance would not agree on a single ordinance, so the proposed ordinance failed.

Advocates continued to press for some sort of ordinance. In February 2006, Champaign's mayor Schweighart, who had smoked much of his life,[523] underwent surgery for lung cancer.[524] Hays and the other members of the local smokefree coalition assumed at that point that Schweighart would change his mind after the surgery and embrace the idea of a smokefree ordinance, but instead Schweighart continued to be resolutely against an ordinance.

Local advocates attempted continually to convince Schweighart, to no avail. Schweighart's insistence appears not to be due to direct political pressures, for he won reelection for mayor unopposed in 2003 and again was unopposed in 2007; instead Schweighart simply remained hostile to the idea of an ordinance. Scott Hays, the smokefree coalition president, recalled in a 2013 interview that when the members of the coalition would approach Schweighart with evidence about the effects of smokefree ordinances, for example from U.S. Surgeon General reports, Schweighart nonetheless remained steadfast in his opposition to a smokefree ordinance and would assert that the coalition was presenting him with only selective evidence.[518]

A reversal in support on the city council by Kathy Ennen, a nurse, surprised health advocates. For the September 2005 vote, Ennen had been in the camp favoring a smokefree ordinance for all indoor public venues, and had voted for the proposed ordinance in September 2005. Yet between then and May 2006, when the council took up the issue again, Ennen had changed from supporting an ordinance to considering opposing the ordinance, apparently based on being contacted by many of her constituents opposing the ordinance, with those in support and those opposing it contacting Ennen in equal proportions.[523] Strong opponents also included council member Michael La Due, a tobacco store manager,[525] including arguments focused on business owners' rights and customers' ability to choose where to go. No organized opposition formed publicly to oppose the Champaign effort.[470]

Passing an Ordinance in Champaign

The smokefree ordinance that passed in Champaign was introduced by council member Giraldo Rosales, and prohibited smoking in workplaces, restaurants, bars, and other indoor public places.[470] The members of the city council who opposed could not be changed, especially LaDue.[525] Champaign-Urbana Smoke Free Alliance continued to mobilize local residents to contact city council members, through existing efforts as well as by a newspaper editorial by Hays in Champaign's *News-Gazette*.[525] The Champaign-Urbana Smoke Free Alliance did not know how the Champaign City Council would vote.[470] On May 16, 2006, the Champaign City Council voted 5-4, after debate on both sides but no amendments.

Focusing on Urbana

The week after Champaign passed its ordinance, the Urbana City Council, acting on its public declarations to pursue a smokefree ordinance if Champaign enacted one, formed a committee of the whole and gave approval to a draft ordinance that would mandate smokefree indoor workplaces, restaurants, and bars, on May 22. By this meeting, five of the seven council members had publicly supported a smokefree workplace, restaurant, and bar ordinance, and one extra had voiced support for some kind of smokefree ordinance,[526] making the outcome of the final vote almost certain.

Opposition to the law came late: Illinois Licensed Beverage Association head Steve Riedl held a June 4 press conference asserting negative economic effects for the bar industry.[527] Urbana passed its ordinance on June 5, by a vote of 6-1.

No amendments were made to the Urbana ordinance during the process of passing and signing the ordinance. The effective dates were set to be January 1, 2007 for indoor workplaces and restaurants, and August 1, 2007 for bars. Mayor Laurel Prussing, who had wanted to amend the bill to make January 1 the effective date for all establishments, decided that she was going to sign the bill without a change.[528]

Attempt Afterward to Peel Back the Champaign Ordinance

Champaign and Urbana therefore had smokefree ordinances. But, the Champaign ordinance did receive a setback after being passed. After the spring 2007 Champaign City Council elections, Mayor Schweighart continued to oppose the ordinance.

Schweighart was steadfastly against the smokefree ordinance before it passed, and when it passed he worked to get Champaign City Council members to repeal it.[528-529] Schweighart moved forcefully behind the campaign of Karen Foster, who opposed the smokefree ordinance, as a candidate for Champaign City Council. If Foster won and replaced Giraldo Rosales, the incumbent to strongly backed the ordinance, then the composition of the city council would turn 5-4 against the ordinance.

The Champaign-Urbana Smoke Free Alliance, seeing the Champaign ordinance under threat, made the ordinance an issue in the spring 2007 Champaign City Council elections.

The Champaign-Urbana Smoke Free Alliance, seeing the Champaign ordinance under threat, made the ordinance an issue in the spring 2007 Champaign City Council elections, held at-large with the top six vote-getters in a February 27 primary advancing to the April 17 election, and with the three top vote-getters in the April election winning a seat. After hearing that opponents of the ordinance wanted to get an

anti-ordinance majority on the city council, Scott Hays and the Champaign-Urbana Smoke Free Alliance decided to elevate the smokefree ordinance as an issue in the elections. Hays and the Champaign-Urbana Smoke Free Alliance mobilized in support of the city councilmembers who had supported the smokefree ordinance.

Health advocates launched an effort for the Champaign City Council not to repeal the ordinance, resulting in many letters by local residents opposed to overturning the ordinance. Two weeks before the election, the Champaign-Urbana Smoke Free Alliance declared that candidates should sign a pledge of upholding the ordinance, or be presumed to want to repeal or scale back the ordinance.[530] A week before the election, the Champaign-Urbana Smoke Free Alliance endorsed four of the nine candidates, including incumbents Tom Bruno and Giraldo Rosales.[531] The ordinance remained one of many issues in the primary election and final election.[532-533] The April election brought on Karen Foster, an opponent of the ordinance, while incumbent Giraldo Rosales, who had introduced the ordinance and continued to support it without any changes, lost his seat on the Champaign City Council.[533] With this change of one seat, the Champaign City Council had a new majority that was opposed to the ordinance rather than continuing to back it.

In May 2007, as soon as Foster joined the city council, replacing Rosales and securing a 5-4 majority against the smokefree ordinance, Schweighart introduced an effort to peel back the ordinance into city council business. Yet, the new Champaign City Council, with its new majority opposed to the ordinance, voted on May 15, 2007 to amend, not to repeal, the ordinance,[534] which had already taken effect. The amendment removed the smokefree requirement for bars by exempting establishments operating under most liquor licenses.[535-536] Between the May 2007 opening up of an exemption for bars and the beginning of the statewide Smoke Free Illinois Act in January 2008, a handful of the approximately thirty bars in the city applied for smoking permits.

The experiences of Champaign and Urbana show that some adjoining cities' efforts at coordination can become much more complicated when the environment in one city is notably more resistant to an ordinance. In the case of Champaign, it also demonstrates how vulnerable some local ordinances can be to having portions rolled back.

Advocacy in Southern Illinois in a College City: Carbondale, 2006-2007

Local activity flourished in central Illinois' college towns, but health advocates also pushed for local smokefree ordinances in relatively rural and agrarian southern Illinois. Unlike in northern and central Illinois, where many cities enacted smokefree ordinances due to strongly favorable public opinion and the efforts of the Chicago-area state public health groups, in southern Illinois, fewer cities considered local clean indoor air ordinances during the end of 2005 when the bill restoring local authority had become law and was simply waiting to go into effect.[537] By 2006, several cities in southern Illinois began to consider smoking ordinances, including Edwardsville (near St. Louis, Missouri) and Murphysboro;[538] smokefree coalitions also formed in Perry County and Williamson County.[539]

In Carbondale, home of Southern Illinois University, advocates leveraged the local college environment to organize for a smoking ordinance. Smokefree advocates failed in a first attempt, which came to a vote in November 2006, but tried again in spring 2007 and succeeded. On April 3, 2007, Carbondale passed an ordinance requiring smokefree indoor workplaces, restaurants, and bars.[540]

Origins of a Coalition

The Smoke-Free Carbondale coalition grew out of an organization created in the 1990s to combat cardiovascular disease in the county, called the Healthy Living Action Team. The Healthy Living Action Team encouraged restaurant and bar owners to adopt smokefree policies voluntarily, and surveyed restaurant and bar owners to assess their opinions on going smokefree.[541] The Jackson County Health Department, part of the Healthy Living Action Team, carried out a smokefree restaurant recognition program in 2000 and smokefree bar nights in 2003 and 2004 as a local initiative.[541]

Out of these efforts, in May 2006, the Healthy Living Action Team spun off the Smoke-Free Carbondale coalition, specifically to coordinate the effort of passing a smokefree ordinance in Carbondale.

Smoke-Free Carbondale included the local staff of the American Heart Association and American Cancer Society, as well as the Jackson County Health Department community members and other interested individuals. The Southern Illinois University chapter of Colleges Against Cancer, a college-based organization run by the American Cancer Society, also supported the smokefree movement.

Angie Bailey, director of health education for the Jackson County Health Department and a member of the coalition,[542] asked Mary Pohlmann, a retired physician who was on the Jackson County Board of Health, to lead the coalition. At a July 13, 2006 press conference, the Smoke-Free Carbondale coalition held a press conference announcing its formation.[541]

Advocating for an Ordinance

Bailey's staff, using funds from a grant from the Illinois Department of Public Health to promote smokefree environments, ran full-page local newspaper advertisements in support of smokefree environments. Bailey explained the tactics of the coalition in a 2013 interview:

> All of the coalition members gathered signatures on petitions ... ran advertisements in local media ...wrote letters to the editor. [Smoke Free Carbondale coalition members] went to different community groups and gave presentations on the benefits of going smokefree ... [and to] local businesses ... Our initial goal was to gather 2,000 signatures and 30 business endorsements. Some of them were from the Physicians Association or Heart, Cancer, Lung [associations], the hospital organization ...
>
> But there were also certain restaurants who had been smokefree for years. So we got them on board. ... We went to fairs and citywide events. We walked neighborhoods. We

> created a newsletter supporting smokefree. We did bus signs that were displayed on our college, [Southern Illinois University] Carbondale buses. ... [On health,] what we really did was [show that] the city was letting its citizens down by not being smokefree.[541]

Smoke Free Carbondale received funding from the Jackson County Health Department, American Lung Association in Illinois, and the American Cancer Society in Illinois.[543] The American Lung Association in Illinois enlisted its regular polling agency, Fako & Associates, to carry out a poll in Carbondale of public attitudes to a smokefree ordinance.[543]

To build public support, the coalition held a November 16 rally at the Southern Illinois University ballroom.[544] Through this event, the coalition gathered more members and press coverage.[543]

Pohlmann explained in a 2013 interview the tactics for trying to convince a majority on the Carbondale City Council to pass an ordinance:

> This is a seven-person city council. And we had Sheila Simon, and Corinne McDaniel, and Joel Frizler who were in our court, but we had to make sure that they understood what kind of ordinance we were looking for.
>
> Then the three others we campaigned very hard. We met with them ... explained it all. And still there was a lot of resistance ... they recognized that if they were going to be reelected they needed to go vote, but they also felt like, maybe their constituency, that they particularly thought they represented, like business in the case of Lance Jack, that maybe they weren't in favor of a smokefree ordinance ... We met with all four of what we felt were non-supporters and tried to convince them our way.[545]

There was one misstep along the way in communicating with council members, however. As Pohlmann commented in the 2013 interview:

> The tactics maybe weren't always the best. We thought that in the case of Steven Haynes, who is African American, that perhaps if we pointed out that smoking related illness is more prevalent among African Americans, that he would then see that it would be very important for him to support this. But instead he took offense and felt like we were ... saying that he only represented the African American community.[545]

In any case, advocates in Carbondale continued to press for a local ordinance.

Opposition from the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association

Steve Riedl, executive director of the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, opposed the coalition in Carbondale.[539] Bar owners also spoke against it, mostly with similar arguments about how it would affect business, but there were not large numbers of bar owners.[545] These bar owners did not want the ordinance to apply to bars.[545]

On November 21, the Carbondale City Council voted on a proposed smokefree ordinance including indoor workplaces, restaurants, and bars. This ordinance failed: three council members voted in favor, while three voted against, including the mayor; council member Haynes abstained.[546]

Restarting the Effort

The coalition responded to the failure of the measure by trying again. According to newspaper coverage of Carbondale City Council meeting on the proposed ordinance, Angie Bailey, speaking as a coalition member, observed that support for an ordinance at the meeting outnumbered the opposition by "at least three to two."[542] The failure of the ordinance in November also led coalition head Pohlmann, as a result, to run for Carbondale's city council in April 2007 elections.[547] Joe Moore, a member of the coalition and then also a student at Southern Illinois University, also ran for city council in part to support a smokefree ordinance.[545] Moore did not win a seat in the 2007 election, but Pohlmann did; by then, the council had already passed a smokefree ordinance.[548]

Steve Riedl opposed the coalition in Carbondale ... Bar owners also spoke against it ... but there were not large numbers of bar owners.

The coalition participated in professionalizing activities such as participating in a symposium for public officials and health professionals in February 2007 in Whittington, 40 miles north of Carbondale. The symposium was sponsored by the Center for Prevention Research and Development at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Participants included the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, representatives from some of the statewide public health organizations, and local public officials. Members of the Smoke-Free Carbondale Coalition, such as Angie Bailey, representing the Jackson County Health Department, participated in the conference with an eye on learning how similar communities enacted smokefree ordinances.[549]

Passing the Ordinance

The Smoke-Free Carbondale coalition made councilmember Lance Jack one of its main targets to convince to support an ordinance.[541] Jack moved from opposing an ordinance in November to supporting one in April, serving as the main force behind a new proposed ordinance. He declared that his thoughts had evolved from November to April through his discussions with people in the course of his re-election campaign, and described the new bill as a compromise.[550] The ordinance Jack proposed required smokefree restaurants and most bars except those with "fraternal organization" liquor licenses, with an effective date of January 1, 2008 for restaurants and July 1, 2008 for bars.[551]

The "fraternal organization" exception constituted a compromise that did remove the blanket coverage of indoor places, but the exception of this venue was narrow. This compromise helped Jack in the April 17 city council elections, which occurred two weeks after the smoking ordinance vote. In the elections, Pohlmann gained one of the three seats to the council in the election, winning 1,722 or the second-most votes, ahead of Jack, who clinched a third seat with 1,633 votes, by a lead of only 30 votes.[548]

On April 3, 2007, the Carbondale City Council passed Jack's ordinance prohibiting smoking in restaurants and in most bars, with the exception of establishments operating under "fraternal organization" liquor licenses. The ordinance did not cover other indoor workplaces or casinos. Yes votes came from Lance Jack Sheila Simon, Corene McDaniel, and Chris Wissman. No votes came from Mayor Brad Cole and from Joel Fritzler. Abstaining was Steven Haynes.[552] The exemption for "fraternal organization" bars led Simon to declare that the ordinance was "far from perfect, but it will protect some workers."[550]

The city of Benton in southern Illinois passed a smokefree ordinance in December 2007,[553] by a vote of 5 to 0.[554] This ordinance mirrored the Smoke Free Illinois Act in requiring smokefree restaurants and bars, with no casinos in the city, and within 15 feet of building entrances and windows; it also had the same effective date as the state smokefree law.[553] Elected officials in many cities originally believed that, by passing ordinances that mirrored or were stronger than the upcoming statewide law, the cities could keep all of the money for any fine issued rather than submitting half to the Illinois Department of Public Health, as would have to occur if the fines were issued as an enforcement of the Smoke Free Illinois Act. In practice, the number of citations issued would be relatively low.

Beyond the college cities of Carbondale, Normal, Bloomington, Champaign, and Urbana, advocates attempted local smoking ordinances in DeKalb, the home of Northern Illinois University. In these college towns, populations with a ready demand for local smokefree laws enabled advocates to convince restaurant owners that restaurant business would benefit from smokefree ordinances, and also helped local coalitions refute the arguments that opponents attempted to introduce into local debates. The experience of Carbondale confirms health advocates' strategies in rural or small-town areas of drawing on a university population: in southern Illinois, a mostly rural area, health advocates succeeded in passing a local ordinance.

Difficulties in Bigger Cities: Chicago

In contrast with the straightforward path of Deerfield and in college cities such as Urbana and Normal, larger cities often saw more concerted opposition. Larger communities' efforts come to the attention of organized statewide or national groups opposed to local smoking ordinances more easily, and the elected officials in smaller cities are closer to other residents, so the paths to smokefree laws in larger cities became longer and more prone to setbacks.

The path to a smokefree ordinance in Chicago, the third largest city in the United States with a population of 2.8 million, keeps up the city's reputation for colorful politics. Many adjectives have been used to describe the Chicago City Council, a large body of 50 members and, in the 2000s, overwhelmingly or entirely comprised of Democrats: such characterizations

include a reputation for general subservience to the mayor and serving as a "rubberstamping" body.[555-556] Since Chicago already had clean indoor air ordinances on the books before the 1989 Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act, the city was able to consider further clean indoor air ordinances even before the 2005 bill that restored local authority. In Chicago's 2005 smokefree effort, Mayor Richard M. Daley started out skeptical of an ordinance, but eventually supported the ordinance, and strongly so. Yet despite Daley's eventual support of the ordinance, the Chicago City Council's consideration of the 2005 smokefree ordinance was anything but merely procedural.

On December 8, 2005, the Chicago City Council passed an ordinance requiring smokefree workplaces, restaurants, and bars. Chicago's smokefree law had taken place before even Deerfield, but the 1989 Illinois Clean Indoor Act had exempted Chicago from preemption, so the 2005 restoration of local authority did not give Chicago leaders any extra power that they did not already have. The implementation period, only taking effect for all bars by July 1, 2008, was a compromise between aldermen who wanted a quicker phase-in and those who had wanted a longer phase-in or an exemption for bars and restaurant bar areas.[557]

Opposition to Chicago's 2002 ordinance included ... talks between the Illinois Restaurant Association and the Chicago City Council, as well as public opposition from the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association.

Earlier Attempts at Clean Indoor Air Ordinances in Chicago

Proposals to restrict smoking in restaurants and other indoor areas had been introduced in the Chicago City Council in the years before the successful 2005 effort, promoted by one of two aldermen, both longtime promoters of policies to reduce smoking. Alderman Edward Burke, a long-time proponent over the course of his long tenure on the Chicago City Council of public health policies on tobacco including clean indoor air ordinances and tobacco taxes, served on the Chicago City Council since 1969, and as of 2014 continued to be on the city council. Alderman Edward Smith, also a long-time proponent of public health policies on tobacco, served on the Chicago City Council from 1983 to 2010.

Ald. Burke sponsored a broad set of proposals in 2000 that included prohibiting smoking in restaurants and many bar areas, as well as outdoor stadiums.[199, 558] The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco conducted a survey on restaurant patrons' attitudes toward a smokefree restaurants and also expressed public support for the ordinance.[559] The Illinois Restaurant Association opposed it by asserting that the economic effects for restaurants would be negative. Mayor Daley also opposed it, declaring it "unenforceable".[199]

Alds. Smith and Burke together proposed in 2002 to mandate smokefree workplaces, restaurants, and restaurant bar areas. The Illinois Restaurant Association opposed this

ordinance.[560] Opposition to such attempts came largely from the key standard allies of tobacco industry positions of this time: the Illinois Restaurant Association as well as the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association. Activities by this opposition to Chicago's 2002 ordinance included a series of three sets of talks between the Illinois Restaurant Association and the Chicago City Council,[561] as well as public opposition from the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, whose executive director, Steve Riedl, wrote articles against the ordinance.[378] Riedl also publicly represented the Illinois Hospitality and Commerce Coalition on Indoor Air Quality,[562] the organization created by Philip Morris' *Options* program to oppose smokefree ordinances and to promote the use of ventilation systems as an alternative to such ordinances. Riedl spoke against the proposed Chicago ordinance in his capacity representing the "indoor air quality" coalition.[562]

In 2003, Alds. Smith and Burke, working with the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, introduced an ordinance to prohibit smoking in restaurants larger than 35 seats, bars, and outdoor stadiums, modeled on a 1995 ordinance in New York.[563-564] The coalition framed the ordinance as an employee health issue.[564] To counter advocates' messages, the Illinois Restaurant Association asserted negative economic effects.[563]

The United Neighborhood Organization, a prominent Latino advocacy and charter school group in Chicago, threw its support behind the effort.[565] The head of the group, Juan Rangel, framed the proposed ordinance as an occupational health issue, arguing that Latinos employed in waitstaff and dishwashing do not have the option to leave places that are filled with smoke. To counter such advocacy, the Illinois Restaurant Association argued that businesses would lose money and that consequently employees would lose their jobs.[565] Mayor Richard M. Daley opposed the ordinance,[563] and it did not pass.

Passing an Ordinance in Chicago in 2005

Health advocates worked with Ald. Smith again in 2005 to press for a smokefree restaurant and bar ordinance, and this time, it succeeded. On June 29, 2005, Ald. Smith proposed a smokefree ordinance covering indoor places including workplaces, restaurants, and bars. Smith received strong support from Alderman Edward Burke.[566] To push this ordinance forward, the American Cancer Society in Illinois and the American Lung Association of Metropolitan Chicago launched the Smoke-Free Chicago coalition.[567]

Alderman Burton Natarus ended up being the main opponent on the council of smokefree ordinance encompassing all indoor public venues, and only in the end accepted an ordinance, but with a delayed implementation date. On July 28, Ald. Natarus suggested a plan, which he billed as a "compromise," under which businesses could retain smoking if they applied for a permit and submitted to ventilation regulation. Ald. Smith opposed the proposed change, calling such permits a "license to kill."[568] Advocates let Ald. Smith know that the only thing that they would compromise on was the implementation date.[569]

Piling on board Smith's plan, on September 15, 2005, health advocates presented the Chicago City Council with a poll by Fako & Associates, the polling firm that had supplied the polling results for the other American Lung Association-aided local efforts, that reported that 75

percent of voters viewed secondhand smoke as a serious threat to their health, and that 60 percent of voters favored a broad smokefree law including all restaurants and bars in Chicago.[570] Smoke-Free Chicago, led by the American Cancer Society in Illinois, also supported the efforts through lobbying during this time.[557]

On September 28, Smoke-Free Chicago delivered 3,000 letters in support of the ordinance. Still, Mayor Daley, who started the process skeptical and neutral to the idea of an ordinance, argued that restaurants had already taken many steps to reduce secondhand smoke, and pressed for a "compromise" solution.[571]

Restaurant Opposition and Restaurant Support

Chefs and Owners United for Good Health, or COUGH, came out in support of Chicago's proposed ordinance.

The Illinois Restaurant Association, the main organizational opposition to the proposed ordinance, presented standard "compromise" positions that would still allow smoking in many indoor venues, and which were advanced in cities across the United States by the tobacco industry. On September 30 the restaurant association's director, Colleen McShane, announced this opposition,[198] arguing that smoking licenses ought to be allowed instead.[198] McShane's proposal for a compromise consisted of smoking licenses for which establishments could apply, whose fees would be set at a rate of $250 for every $500,000 in annual sales-tax revenue, and would pay for city smoking cessation programs.[198]

Health advocates engaged in a strategy of mobilizing both health groups as well as businesses, primarily restaurants but also some hospitals, as well as businesses in the community including engineering firms and marketing firms.[569] Some restaurant owners supported the legislation strongly: Larry Levy, a powerful owner of multiple high-end restaurants in Chicago and a friend of Daley, spoke out in favor of the ordinance.[572] In early October, a coalition of Chicago restaurant owners, calling themselves Chefs and Owners United for Good Health, or COUGH, came out in support of Chicago's proposed ordinance.[201] The health groups helped restaurant owners to organize the group: beginning with discussions between several restaurant owners who had approached the American Lung Association of Metropolitan Chicago about the need to have a level playing field between restaurants without bar areas and restaurants that had bar areas, meaning that restaurants would support a comprehensive ordinance that did not include exceptions for bars. As Matt Maloney of the Respiratory Health Association recalled in a 2013 interview about the creation of this coalition of restaurant owners:

> As the issue was being debated, there was some discussion of the smokefree ordinance including an exemption or allowing smoking in bars but not in restaurants. So, if you own a restaurant with a bar in it, would smoking be allowed there? So, some restaurant owners were concerned that there would not be a level playing field for all restaurants.

> And they approached us and we told them about the [Smoke Free Chicago] movement and this campaign. And they said all right, they would work with their colleagues in the restaurant industry to really demonstrate that they want a level playing field. So, [it] started out with three restaurant owners and it blossomed into restaurants that had several hundred million dollars in annual sales. It was an economic argument that couldn't be ignored by City Hall.[569]

Chefs and Owners United for Good Health aimed to provide statements that would serve as counterpoints to the Illinois Restaurant Association's attempt to speak for restaurant owners.

To get the aldermen to support the original strong ordinance, health advocates focused on lobbying aldermen, clarifying advocates' position that there was only room for a complete smokefree policy that covered everybody, using themes of needing to protect all people at work.[569] On October 24, Alderman Pat O'Connor (40th ward, in northern Chicago), the unofficial floor leader for Mayor Daley, declared that 26 votes out of 50 aldermen needed for the original strong ordinance to pass could be counted on.[573]

Advocates Avoiding a "Compromise"

In the days before the Chicago City Council's Health Committee passed the bill to the general city council, Mayor Daley continued to want a compromise between the two proposed ordinances.[574] Consequently, Ald. Burke attempted to block a vote, giving the time that was needed to see what sort of compromise could be made on the legislation between Smith's original strong ordinance and Natarus' ventilation position.[273, 574] Burke had decades of experience on the Chicago City Council, and this attempt at forging some agreement between even aldermen on opposing sides of an issue was in line with his political style on the council.[423] The American Cancer Society in Illinois paid for an intensive advertising campaign.[273] On October 27, the Health Committee passed forward the bill proposing smokefree indoor workplaces, restaurants, bars, and other indoor places, and with a phase-in implementation date that allowed the bar areas of restaurants one extra year to comply.[273]

The Illinois Restaurant Association continued to oppose this proposed ordinance and instead called for the council to pass an ordinance that would allow "smoking licenses" for bars and any walled-off bar areas of restaurants, as well as the lounge areas of bowling alleys.[273] Compromise talks occurred over the next month.

Passing the Ordinance

Health advocates were willing only to compromise on the implementation date for the ordinance, not with the substance of smokefree protections.[569] On November 28, the compromise negotiations fell apart and Ald. Natarus, the opponent of the ordinance, requested a postponement on the vote. Discussions became so heated that on November 29, the talks broke down completely, with Ald. Patrick O'Connor, a supporter of the strong ordinance, shouting at Natarus.[575] In the last days leading up to the vote, Daley came around to supporting only a strong version of the bill, rather than a weaker "compromise" bill.[557]

On December 8, 2005, the council voted 46 to 1 to approve the ordinance, with an effective date of January 16, 2006.[557] The 46 aldermen who voted in favor included Natarus, the champion who had pushed the competing ventilation bill. The one vote against the ordinance came from Brian Doherty, at the time the only Republican on the city council.[557] The strong vote in favor resulted from the intensive effort that health advocates made to mobilize the public to pressure city council members.[569]

The one compromise that advocates were willing to make, the implementation date for bars, was extended until July 1, 2008, two and a half years later. This was such a long implementation date but one that allowed a city ordinance to be passed. By 2008, a statewide smokefree law for all indoor places, including bars, would go into effect, six months earlier than the Chicago ordinance.

The experience of Chicago demonstrates that large cities can be the focus of heavy opposition from state-level organizations that oppose the adoption of local smokefree ordinances. At the same time, it also shows the unique contribution of Chefs and Owners United for Good Health, serving as an organized group of restaurant owners, to demonstrate that the Illinois Restaurant Association, in opposing the ordinance, only spoke for a portion of restaurant owners, and that in fact many other restaurant owners were calling for smokefree restaurants.

Cook County: "Opting Out" by Cities Helping the Case for a Statewide Law

Cook County, the second most populous county in the United States with 5 million people and including big-city Chicago and small-village Deerfield, also moved to regulate smoking.

Origins

The impetus for this county ordinance was the the office of Board Commissioner Mike Quigley. Quigley approached the Cook County Department of Public Health to support the ordinance. Sean McDermott, director of policy development at the Cook County Department of Public Health, played a key role in supporting the ordinance.[274]

Commissioner Quigley introduced the ordinance at the county board.[576] Health advocates worked to promote this by submitting comments in support of the ordinance.[423] Most important, Board President John Stroger supported the plan, resulting in almost assured support by the remainder of the board.[576]

Passing the Ordinance

Opposition to the ordinance did not appear to be very strong at the March 15, 2006, council meeting, the day of the vote.[576] Some county commissioners did seek to amend the bill to delay the implementation date or exempt private clubs and to allow smoking rooms in senior citizen complexes. One commissioner, Elizabeth Gorman, also proposed exemptions for establishments that installed ventilation systems.[576] Gorman's proposal was not included in the ordinance, and the ordinance's preamble language specifically mentioned that the American

Society of Heating, Refrigerating, and Air Conditioning Engineers' ventilation standards recommended entirely smokefree environments, since no ventilation equipment existed that could remove carcinogens from secondhand smoke.[577]

The Cook County Clean Indoor Air Ordinance, passed on March 15, 2006 by a 13-3 vote, prohibited smoking in workplaces, restaurants, bars, other recreational venues such as bowling alleys and bingo halls, nursing homes, and within 15 feet of entrances to public buildings.[578] This ordinance was stronger than the 2005 ordinance passed in Chicago.[578-579]

Home Rule County with Home Rule Cities: Chances for Cities to Opt Out

Unusually for most county smokefree ordinances across the United States, the Cook County ordinance covered both unincorporated areas of the county as well as all incorporated cities and villages that did not have their own smoking ordinances. In Illinois, "home rule" municipalities are a specific form of local government, a type of municipality that has more powers than "non-home rule" local governments. Municipal governments can have home rule after reaching a population threshold of 25,000 residents, or by voting to become a home rule municipality even if the population is under 25,000.

In addition, counties are also allowed to have home rule, but in 2006 only one county had home rule: Cook County, because it had a separately elected county executive, the president of the Cook County Board. By having this elected board president, Cook County fulfilled the state constitutional requirements to have home rule. But because many municipalities within Cook County also had home rule, policy arenas over which Cook County received authority by virtue of having home rule status must allow the home rule municipalities within the County to opt out of County ordinances on those policies.

The Cook County ordinance allowed cities to "opt out" of the ordinance.

As a consequence of these home rule arrangements in overlapping jurisdictions, the county and some municipalities in the county, the Cook County ordinance allowed cities to "opt out" of the ordinance: cities that did not wish to be covered by the new county regulations could excuse themselves from the Cook County ordinance if they passed their own ordinances, even if those municipal ordinances set less stringent standards than the new Cook County ordinance.[576] Originally intended to take effect in May 2006,[576] the county law came into effect March 15, 2007.

From the time that the county ordinance passed to the time that it went into effect, several Cook County cities opted out of the county standards by passing their own ordinances. These ordinances frequently had no smokefree coverage of restaurants and bars, but instead specifically allowed smoking in these venues: as long as the municipality had an ordinance on the books, even one that specifically allowed smoking, it would become exempt from the county ordinance.

On February 19, the city of Flossmoor passed its own ordinance, explicitly allowing smoking in restaurants and bars.[580] On February 20, the city of Chicago Heights also passed an ordinance; on the same day, the city of Matteson passed one as well. On February 26, the village of Justice passed its own ordinance allowing smoking in restaurants and bars. Then, on March 8, so did the city of Elmwood Park, allowing smoking in restaurants and bars with liquor licenses.[581-584] To the knowledge of health advocates, such opting out appeared not to be sustained directly by tobacco industry interests.[569]

Although there was negative press coverage associated with the passage by these cities of weaker ordinances to opt out of Cook County's stronger standards, health advocates noted that this actually helped strengthen the argument in 2007 for a statewide law: this allowed health advocates to argue that the "opting out" was precisely why there needed to be a statewide law.[569] According to a 2014 interview of Sean McDermott, the Cook County health department policy director, this did bolster the argument for a "level playing field" argument.[291]

As a contrasting model, the Lake County Board, the governing body of Lake County which is located north of Cook County, passed its own ordinance in May 2007 applying only to unincorporated areas.[585] Incorporated communities in the county did not receive smokefree coverage through Lake County's ordinance, but cities also did not end up passing any opt-out ordinances to stir up negative news coverage against smoking standards.

Promoting the Statewide Effort Amid a Countercycle: Naperville, 2004-2007

Naperville, a city of 140,000 located 30 miles west of Chicago, experienced a two-year effort by local advocates that, despite taking a long time from start to finish, sustained support for a statewide law. Naperville, a large and politically influential city in Illinois with a downtown filled with restaurants, was not an initial target of state public health advocates in which to promote a smokefree ordinance effort. It was, however, a large city, and became an important effort later in the process of a statewide smokefree law to demonstrate continued interest in smokefree laws. City leaders did not pass an ordinance until 2007. Naperville businessowners, worried about potential economic losses, sought input to the process in a way that slowed the process. This was similar to the a typical strategy that tobacco companies used working for third parties to slow down or stop these ordinances.

Origins

Naperville started in 2004 as a local coalition of people, independently of efforts by the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco; the statewide tobacco coalition then later jumped on to help. According to a 2013 interview of Tony Andrews, a lawyer and the eventual head of Smoke-Free Naperville, the coalition formed in the fall of 2004, with a small group of individuals having informal conversations: one of the eventual early coalition members had attended a conference about women with lung cancer who had never smoked.[426] As Andrews described the Naperville smokefree campaign in a 2014 electronic communication, the effort consisted of:

> A handful of concerned citizens, with the support of a few health organizations, [who] worked tirelessly for years to foster and demonstrate the overwhelming public support for

this cause, which persuaded the city council to eventually come around, followed by the local business community.[586]

Advocates had preliminary meetings with each member of the Naperville City Council. By June 2005, Smoke-Free Naperville attempted to convince members of the Naperville City Council, with two members from the group at a time going to meet with each councilmember.[426] Andrews then addressed the Naperville City Council at a meeting leading up to an official city council meeting.[426]

Naperville residents often already used yard signs ... the community easily took up the yard signs supporting a smokefree ordinance.

The members of the Naperville City Council initially rebuffed Smoke-Free Naperville.[587] The mayor, George Pradel, did not seem particularly interested at first, and told the organizers that not enough councilmembers would vote in favor of a smokefree ordinance.[426] Council members Darlene Senger and Mary Ellingson showed the most early interest. One of the city council members agreed to sponsor an ordinance if Smoke-Free Naperville presented 2,000 signatures in favor of it, which would demonstrate that broad support existed in the community for an ordinance.[426] This meeting was the impetus for Smoke-Free Naperville's petition drive.

Advocating for an Ordinance

In response to the council member's request to have a petition, in April 2006, Smoke-Free Naperville began a petition drive of residents in an attempt to convince the council that enough people in the city cared about the issue. As Andrews recalled in a 2013 interview, collection of the signatures went smoothly.[426] In particular, over Memorial Day weekend in 2006, coalition members collected signatures by standing in city parks. By then, the petition drive, physically visible in Naperville, had attracted enough attention so that the movement "had already collected enough momentum in town for it to be the talk of the town."[426] In the 2013 interview, Andrews estimated that approximately 95 percent of the people who the group contacted during the signature drive favored a smokefree ordinance.[426]

By June 13, Andrews announced that Smoke-Free Naperville had the 2,000 signatures that the city council member had requested for their petition; yet as of that part of June, the city council continued not to have any plans to consider a smokefree ordinance.[588] On June 19, Joni Hirsch Blackman, a journalist for the *Naperville Sun* newspaper who did not join the Smoke-Free Naperville coalition but who took an interest in the smokefree issue,[589] published an column in the *Naperville Sun* decrying the lack of interest from the city council, directly exhorting readers to sign the petition that Smoke-Free Naperville, at that point only numbering eight volunteers, had been circulating.[587] The signature drive continued.

Prospects for an ordinance improved when Smoke-Free Naperville presented its signatures. On July 18, Andrews addressed the Naperville City Council once again and

presented his argument for considering a local ordinance, along with what the coalition described as more than 2,750 signatures collected by Smoke-Free Naperville. At this point, council member Richard Furstenau, who had not shown strong interest in the idea of a smokefree ordinance until this point, took a stand to become a strong supporter of an ordinance, although at that point he said that he favored an exemption for bars, so that only workplaces, restaurants, and other indoor places would be smokefree.[590] Furstenau, like Doug Krause, regularly read public opinion to determine a course of action. The City Council voted to order city staff to prepare a report about ordinances by August.[590] Over the next year, through when it passed in April 2007, city council meetings would result in the city council ordering city staff to make changes to this proposed ordinance, as the process of crafting the ordinance went on.

By late July 2006, Mayor George Pradel, began to argue forcefully for it, discussing the idea of a coordinated effort with other cities in DuPage County and with the county government.[591] City leaders scheduled these discussions for August through October.

The American Lung Association in Illinois had seen as a result of these activities that Naperville would be an appropriate place to push for a smokefree ordinance, and furnished $1,000 for yard signs that showed support for a smokefree Naperville.[426] Since Naperville residents often already used yard signs, especially parents who sought to show support for children participating on particular school sports teams, members of the community easily took up the yard signs supporting a smokefree ordinance. These signs, according to Andrews, had a large impact because council members could see that so many people in Naperville supported smokefree indoor places. In addition to support from the American Lung Association in Illinois, Chris Hensley, the regional vice president of the American Cancer Society in Illinois, who gave advice to Smoke-Free Naperville, understood the political process and helped to guide the efforts of Smoke-Free Naperville. Additional outside support came from the DuPage County Health Department, which helped to furnish data for use in advocating the coalition's position, and provided contacts. Further support came from Edward Hospital oncologists who talked to the Naperville City Council about secondhand smoke.[426] This hospital was a major employer and political presence in the community.

Debating an Ordinance

In early August 2006, Naperville city staff collected sample ordinances for smokefree indoor workplaces and restaurants, based on similar ordinances in cities in Illinois. On August 15, council members solicited feedback from community members, and then prepared for a September 13 town hall-style discussion on the idea of a smokefree ordinance.[592]

Coordinated opposition to the idea of an ordinance emerged during late 2006. The Naperville Restaurant Association opposed a smokefree ordinance in Naperville and framed it as an economic issue, asserting that the economic effects would be negative.[593] The Downtown Naperville Alliance, an organization existing since 2001 to support downtown merchants and property owners, headed by restaurant owner Jim Bergeron, also opposed it. The Naperville Chamber of Commerce was an opponent as well, through when an ordinance passed in April 2007.[426]

The Illinois Licensed Beverage Association opposed it but played a minor role publicly: its head, Steve Riedl, submitted information to the city council in September 2006 asserting negative economic effects from smokefree ordinances.[594] Its role against the ordinance in Naperville, however, was largely not as publicly involved as the local business groups. At the September 13 meeting, the major arguments included health arguments by those in favor, and arguments asserting potential economic loss by those against. Stephen Dirks, CEO of the Illinois division of the American Cancer Society, focused on the inhalation of secondhand smoke by nonsmokers and by employees; in contrast, Rick Sweeney of the Naperville Restaurant Association argued that it would jeopardize small businesses. The Illinois Restaurant Association also handed the city council information about their studies.[595]

Opposition Slowing the Process

Opponents attempted to slow the process by calling for a compromise. As the Naperville City Council seemed to be wrapping up its consideration of the issue, on October 9 the Naperville Area Chamber of Commerce, through its president Mike Skarr, called for an opportunity to form a task force to consult on the issue; several restaurant owners called for any smokefree legislation to be done on a statewide basis.[596-597] Richard Furstenau, the council member who had become a strong supporter of an ordinance, declared at an October 9 legislative committee meeting that the process toward passing the ordinance would not be slowed.[596] Andrews, the Smoke-Free Naperville president, considered the chamber's request for a task force curious, given that public discussion had occurred for months: Andrews surmised publicly that the chamber may simply have aimed to slow down the passage of the ordinance.[596]

On November 6, the city council meeting on the ordinance became lengthy, and the council then postponed its vote until November 21.[598] On November 21, the city council ordered that an ordinance be drafted, requiring smokefree bars and restaurants, with exemptions for stage plays, nursing homes, retail tobacco stores, and private clubs not open to the public.[599] The Naperville City Council prepared several draft ordinances over the next year, with some of these draft ordinances weaker than the ordinance that eventually passed in 2007. Councilmembers scheduled another consideration of the ordinance for December 19 and planned a final vote for January 16, 2007.[599-600] The vote eventually would occur until April 2007.

From late 2006 to early 2007, many Naperville restaurant owners who initially opposed the city's proposed local ordinance came to favor a bill that would create the Smoke Free Illinois Act, a statewide smokefree law covering workplaces, restaurants, bars, and casinos, and which was being sponsored in the Illinois General Assembly by previous strong supporters of clean indoor air legislation. As Andrews recalled in the 2013 interview, restaurant owners who had been worried about economic effects apparently reasoned that if a local smokefree ordinance did have negative economic effects, a statewide smokefree law would insulate Naperville restaurants from these effects since the rules would be in place for the entire state.

Restaurant owners in Naperville then shifted from opposing an ordinance inside the city to supporting a statewide smokefree law, and then lobbied the Illinois General Assembly in favor of such a state law. Consequently, a group of restaurant owners arranged for a group of approximately 50 people, mostly restaurant owners but also liquor store owners and some city

council members, to all take a bus to go to Springfield in 2007 to press their case for a statewide law.[426] As Andrews recalled, that change as a "significant shift, a watershed moment" for the local movement, and the local movement even heard from the American Cancer Society in Illinois about how the switch in support by Naperville's restaurant owners had a large impact in bolstering the chances for a statewide law.[426]

Many Naperville restaurant owners who initially opposed the city's proposed local ordinance came to favor a bill that would create the Smoke Free Illinois Act.

Fighting Against a Countercurrent of Local Failures Elsewhere

By January 2007, statewide smokefree legislation had already been introduced in the Illinois Senate, but even this move did not turn the tide in favor of advocates in Naperville as other nearby cities came to reject smokefree ordinances or repeal existing recently passed ordinances. In Orland Park, Oak Forest, and Tinley Park, 30 miles southeast of Naperville, smokefree ordinances had passed in October and November 2006,[601] but in early 2007 these communities temporarily repealed the ordinances, apparently as a response to complaints about customer levels during football playoffs.[602] As Andrews recalls, this caused the local movement in Naperville to lose some momentum. During this time, the local movement also some perceived loss of progress on the issue in the state legislature.

Several cities nearby Naperville had already considered smoking ordinances and had voted on the matter. The cities of St. Charles, Geneva, and Batavia, in Kane County, 15 miles northwest of Naperville, considered a regional approach by which each of the cities' proposed ordinances would take effect only if the other cities passed ordinances. Although St. Charles passed an ordinance, Batavia and Geneva did not.[603-605] The Geneva City Council tied in its vote and the mayor broke the vote by going against the ordinance.[606] As part of an integrated strategy throughout the state, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco attempted to encourage local smokefree ordinances and any part of the state that was willing to consider such ordinances, but activities in these three cities were not closely integrated with health advocates' efforts.[276] These efforts were short-lived, and only at the end of 2007, when by this time the Naperville effort was entering its third year. Still, advocates attempted again at the February 20 Naperville City Council meeting to get a vote on the ordinance.[607]

St. Patrick's Day 2007 and Pointing to the Irish National Smokefree Law

St. Patrick's Day in 2007 presented Smoke-Free Naperville organizers an opportunity to make what they saw then as a final push for the ordinance. In March 2004, Ireland became the first country in the world to pass a law prohibiting smoking in all indoor workplaces, including restaurants and bars. Expecting the vote to come soon in the city council, Smoke-Free Naperville members latched onto the holiday to explain that Ireland had a smokefree nationwide law in place.[608] Organizers participated in the St. Patrick's Day parade, sponsored by an area

Irish American civic organization, in a city where Irish Americans form 18% of the population, somewhat above Illinois' state average of 13%.[609-610] In the parade, Smoke-Free Naperville's banner read, "Ireland did it, so can we," and carried a tagline, "Thank you for supporting smoke-free Naperville!"[611] As Andrews recalled in the 2013 interview, St. Patrick's Day was a "big day" for the movement, and showed a "groundswell of support."[426]

Mirroring the Upcoming State Law

Despite these efforts, on March 20, the Naperville City Council tabled the proposed ordinance indefinitely.[612] Discussion started with opposition from councilmember Kenn Miller, noting nearby cities that had voted against smokefree ordinances or had reconsidered the ones they had passed; consequently, discussion turned to which types of venues would be fair to include or exclude in a smokefree ordinance. Then, council member Grant Wehrli, who had supported the movement up until that point, voted against the ordinance that day, instead backing a change to allow smoking at restaurant patio areas and outdoor events. At that point, Doug Krause decided to table the ordinance.[613] This move appeared to surprise both Smoke-Free Naperville supporters as well as opponents of an ordinance.[612] As Andrews recalled in the 2013 interview, "We were devastated that day" and could not understand how it could not have passed. Yet, as Andrews remarked in the interview, he did not realize then that when Krause tabled the proposed ordinance, Krause had actually been saving it, allowing the issue to be considered more readily again later.

On April 18, the day after local elections, the Naperville City Council brought up the issue again and voted on it. The ordinance used the state's language since statewide smokefree legislation had already passed in the Illinois Senate, even though the statewide bill had not yet passed the House. The Naperville law, as passed, also picked its effective date to match that of the state law, January 1, 2008.[614]

The experience of Naperville establishing a local ordinance in a highly visible, politically influential city, built support for the proposed state legislation. The passage of the ordinance in Naperville gave new energy to the efforts to pass the Smoke Free Illinois Act in the Illinois House, since at the time, state representative district lines resulted in having a number of Illinois House members representing the Naperville area. In addition, the restaurant owners who moved from opposing a local ordinance to lobbying actively for a state law demonstrates the appeal of "level playing field" considerations.

Conclusion

Many local ordinances passed between August 2005, when local authority to issue clean indoor air ordinances was restored, and December 2007, the last month before the Smoke Free Illinois Act went into effect (Table 17). With this wellspring of local support, health advocates' local strategy in preparing for a statewide law was more than fulfilled. This strong local activity set the stage for a push for a statewide smokefree law.

Table 17: Local Clean Indoor Air Laws Passed in Illinois, August 2005-December 2007

Community	Date Passed	Date Effective	Notable Provisions or Post-Passage Events
Highland Park	4/25/2005	6/1/2005	
Evanston			
Chicago	12/8/2005	1/16/2006	
Deerfield	12/19/2005	3/1/2006	
Springfield	1/17/2006	9/17/2006	
DeKalb	2/27/2006	5/29/2006	
Park Ridge	3/6/2006	May 2006	
Cook County	3/15/2006		City opt-out provision; many cities opted out
Burr Ridge	4/10/2006	7/8/2006	
Buffalo Grove	4/17/2006	10/1/2006	Bowling alleys not covered
Hinsdale	4/25/2006	7/1/2006	
Normal	5/1/2006	1/1/2007	Coverage includes parks
Bloomington	5/8/2006	1/1/2007	
Lincolnshire	5/8/2006	8/1/2006	Bars not covered
Vernon Hills	5/16/2006	10/1/2006	
Champaign	5/16/2006		Exceptions introduced May 13, 2007
Urbana	6/5/2006		
Oak Park	6/5/2006	7/1/2006	
Lindenhurst	6/26/2006	11/16/2006	
Sangamon County	8/8/2006	9/17/2006	
Lake Forest	8/14/2006	9/1/2006	
Libertyville	8/22/2006	10/1/2006	Covers public parks and near open air dining
Rolling Meadows	8/22/2006	1/2/2007	
Schaumburg	9/12/2006	1/2/2007	
Hoffman Estates	9/25/2006	1/2/2007	
Wheaton	10/2/2006	1/2/2007	Covers many parks; bowling alleys not covered
Orland Park	10/2/2006	1/2/2007	Restaurants with outdoor seating not covered
Northbrook	10/10/2006	1/1/2007	Covers restaurants, bars, most parks
Tinley Park	10/17/2006	1/2/2007	
Oak Forest	10/28/2006	1/2/2007	
Arlington Heights	11/6/2006	1/2/2007	
Palatine	11/13/2006	1/2/2007	
McLean County	11/21/2006	1/1/2007	Bars not covered
Wheeling	12/4/2006	3/1/2007	Bars not covered, restaurant bars not covered
Mt. Prospect	1/2/2007	3/15/2007	
Morton Grove	2/12/2007	7/31/2007	Bars not covered
Park Forest	2/12/2007	3/1/2007	Some bars not covered
Oak Lawn	2/27/2007	1/1/2008	Bars not covered
Evergreen Park	3/5/2007	3/5/2007	Covers parks, not bars; in response to county law
Carbondale	4/3/2007		Fraternal organizations not covered
Naperville	4/18/2007	1/1/2008	
Lake County	5/8/2007		
Frankfort	12/3/2007	1/1/2008	
Benton	12/10/2007	1/1/2008	

Chapter 5: The Smoke Free Illinois Act, A Statewide Law for 2008

- The Smoke Free Illinois Act passed in 2007 and went into effect in 2008, covering indoor workplaces and all hospitality venues, including restaurants, bars, casinos, and private clubs.
- The Smoke Free Illinois Act managed to cover indoor venues such as casinos because its Senate sponsor and an additional key supporter were in positions of legislative leadership and took a stand against the introduction of any amendments that might weaken the law.
- Tobacco industry campaign contributions increased during late 2007 and early 2008 over similar months in earlier years, with $90,758 in contributions in January 2008 alone, in an unsuccessful effort to roll back the Smoke Free Illinois Act.
- Implementing rules for the Smoke Free Illinois Act were prohibited in 2008 by the Illinois General Assembly's Joint Committee on Administrative Rules, due in part to tensions about rulemaking between Gov. Rod Blagojevich and the Illinois General Assembly, with uneven enforcement of the law occurring afterwards.
- In 2013, the Illinois Department of Public Health began working again on developing the implementing rules for the Smoke Free Illinois Act.
- Comprehensive statewide smokefree laws covering all hospitality venues can be passed and sustained against legislative challenges, even where neighboring states have not yet passed smokefree laws – provided that there are strong legislative champions coupled with advocacy efforts that can both lobby and leverage local coalitions to convince legislators.

The Smoke Free Illinois Act (Public Act 95-0017; Senate Bill 500) became law on July 23, 2007, and took effect on January 1, 2008. The state law mandated smokefree publicly accessible indoor venues, including indoor workplaces, restaurants, bars, casinos, private clubs, offices, museums, libraries, theaters, and enclosed shopping centers.[615] The bill established penalities of at least $100 for a first offense, and $250 for owners of establishments allowing violations. Implementation was the responsibility of the Illinois Department of Public Health.

Many aspects of the strategy, timing, and post-passage developments with the Smoke Free Illinois Act are striking: No amendments were added to the bill due to a strong stand by members of the Senate leadership who were sponsoring the bill. Coverage of casinos was an issue in the bill, and the Senate backers of the bill were determined to pass a bill that kept coverage of casinos.

Attempts to roll back the law, especially on casinos, came soon after the General Assembly passed the bill and before the governor had signed it into law (Figure 16). Health advocates and legislators supporting public health rebuffed these efforts. Issues of enforcement and implementation in 2008 stemmed from tensions about rulemaking between the Illinois General Assembly and the governor at the time, Rod Blagojevich (D; 2003-2009). In 2013, the Illinois Department of Public Health was afforded the opportunity to develop and submit new implementing rules.

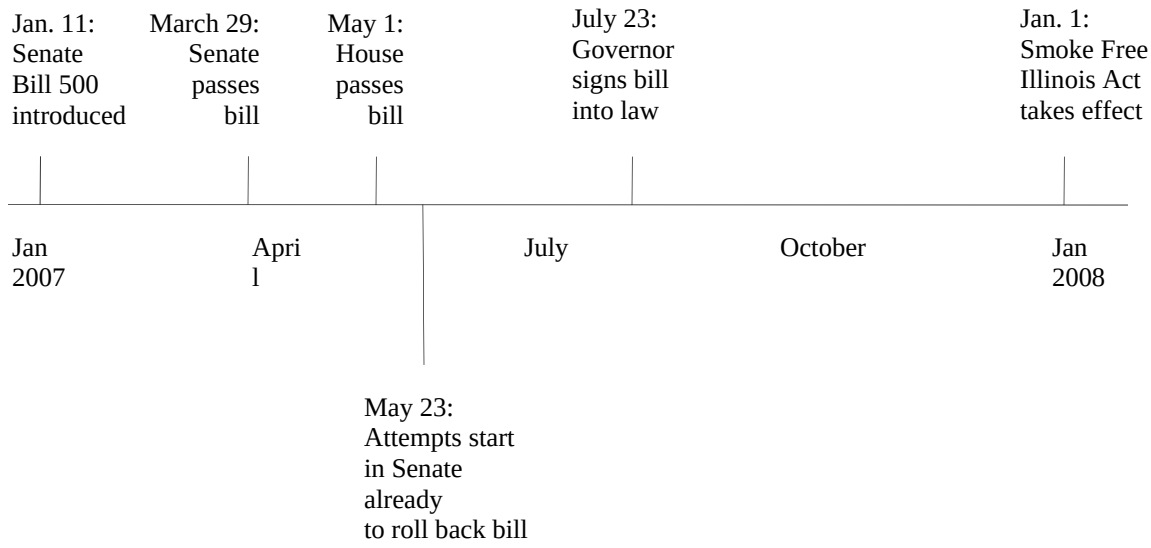


Figure 16: Timeline of Events for Passing the Smoke Free Illinois Act

Antecedents of the Bill: Effect of the Surge of Local Ordinances

The push for a smokefree law had antecedents in all the local ordinance activity, coming from the standard local-to-state ground game of the health advocates that had focused on Springfield and the university cities in central and southern Illinois, alongside the heavy Chicago-area ordinance activity. Public health advocates' strategies centered around Smoke-Free Illinois, a coalition of over 400 organizations. The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco started the Smoke-Free Illinois coalition in the fall of 2006.

Both the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco as well as Sen. Cullerton and other legislators committed to public health recognized where to go from the surge of local smokefree laws. The surge of new local laws provided a policy environment in which health advocates had specific concrete examples to provide to questioning individuals, to argue that overall impacts on business would be either neutral or positive. Springfield's 2005 ordinance gave great momentum to the statewide law because legislators could actually see for themselves that a smokefree law improved public health without the negative effects decried by opponents of smokefree laws.[394] The passage of laws in college and university cities as well as in northern Illinois also increased legislators' support.

Chicago-area activity also increased support. Matt Maloney, the director of health policy at the Respiratory Health Association, based in Chicago, and active as part of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco in promoting local ordinances and the Smoke Free Illinois Act, noted that after Cook County passed its law, some representatives representing districts in the Chicago area ended up changing their minds to support a statewide smokefree law.[569]

Crafting and Introducing the Bill

Sen. John Cullerton (D-Chicago), a strong supporter of public health policies dealing with tobacco issues, and in 2007 the Majority Caucus Whip, was the originator the bill. Sen. Cullerton met with John Dunn, the state representative who had sponsored the 1989 Illinois Clean Indoor Act, as well as with Kathy Drea of the American Lung Association and a few other individuals deeply committed to clean indoor air policy in Illinois. As John Dunn, who continued to work to shape state clean indoor air policy after he retired from the Illinois House in 1995, described in a 2014 interview, Cullerton declared that he thought it was time to advance a bill to strengthen the state law on clean indoor air.[349] In November 2006, Dunn and Drea met to prepare the concepts of what an effective bill would look like; legislative staff then transformed these concepts into the text of the bill.[349]

Sen. Cullerton introduced Senate Bill 500 on January 11, 2007.[616] In addition, Mattie Hunter (D-Chicago), Christine Radogno (R-Lemont), and Jeffrey Schoenberg (D-Evanston), all strong supporters of public health legislation on tobacco, signed on as chief co-sponsors. Hunter, Radogno, and Schoenberg were all on the Senate Public Health Committee, although the bill did not go through this committee. The Senate Executive Committee, the committee consisting of many members of Senate leadership and a committee designed either to pass a bill or kill a bill, considered Senate Bill 500; during this time, Sen. Terry Link (D-Lake Bluff, in Lake County) took over sponsorship of the bill. Sen. Link was a member of the Illinois Senate from 1997 and in 2007 was the Majority Caucus Chair.

Both Sens. Cullerton and Link were in the Senate leadership, worked closely with each other, and were committed to public health legislation on tobacco. Both senators worked to marshal support for the bill in the Senate. Of the 59-member Illinois Senate, in the end, 18 senators signed on as sponsors, which is many for one piece of legislation given that most bills only attract a handful of co-sponsors and frequently none at all. Cullerton served as the Majority Caucus Whip during the 2007-2008 legislative session. News coverage focused on testimony at the Senate Executive Committee hearing included cancer survivors who had never smoked.[617-619]

To move the bill forward, the American Heart Association's Midwest Affiliate mobilized its member cardiologists, a prestigious occupational group, to make calls in favor of the statewide law.[394] The Illinois Academy of Family Physicians also enlisted its physicians to write letters in support of the bill and to testify and write opinion pieces in newspapers.[267] The Senate Executive Committee forwarded the bill to the Senate on an 8-5 vote on March 7, 2007.

According to a 2013 interview with Sen. Link, one benefit of having Link sponsor the bill was because Link was on the Senate leadership; he was the Majority Caucus Chair. The Senate President at the time, Emil Jones, Jr. (D-Chicago), was a heavy smoker, and although in the Senate Executive Committee Jones voted no on the legislation, he refrained from attempting to get others on the Executive Committee to vote against it. According to Sen. Link in a 2013 interview, although Jones disagreed with the bill personally, as the Senate Majority Leader he gave the smokefree legislation, sponsored by Link, who was also in a position of Senate leadership as the Majority Caucus Chair, a fair airing.[620]

On March 29, the full Senate passed the bill, on a vote of 34-23 with one abstention, thereby allowing it to be sent to the Illinois House.[616] Rep. Karen Yarbrough (D-Broadview), the representative who authored the 2005 law to repeal preemption and restore local authority to enact smoking ordinances, sponsored Senate Bill 500 when it passed the Senate and arrived for consideration in the Illinois House.

In the House, the bill attracted as chief co-sponsors Rep. Annazette Collins (D-Chicago; $5,250 in tobacco industry contributions), the sponsor of an attempted bill in 2005 that sought to make bars smokefree; Rep. Karen May (D-Highwood, in Lake County; zero dollars in contributions), the chair of the Environmental Health Committee; Rep. Barbara Flynn Currie (D-Chicago; $9,100 in contributions), the House Majority Leader since 1997; and Rep. Carolyn Krause (R-Mount Prospect, in Cook County; $800 in contributions). These legislators all had track records of supporting public health legislation on tobacco issues.

The House Environmental Health Committee, chaired by Rep. May, passed the bill on to the full House on a 10-2 vote. On May 1, 2007, the day of the vote, Rep. Renée Kosel (R-Mokena, in Will County; $4,750 in contributions), the House Assistant Republican Leader, proposed an amendment to allow bars to allow smoking if under ten percent of the revenues from the establishment came from food sales.[621] This amendment, however, never made it out of a committee, much less into the bill. Drea, the American Lung Association advocate, in a 2014 interview did not recall the amendment gaining much traction.[276] The House passed Senate Bill 500 on a vote of 73-42 with one abstention.[616]

Although Jones disagreed with the bill personally, as the Senate Majority Leader he gave the smokefree legislation, sponsored by Link, a fair airing.

Reaction by the Tobacco Industry

Direct Campaign Contributions

Tobacco industry contributions in Illinois increased in January 2007 compared with the January of other years past. Of the tobacco industry contributions analyzed for this report, every contribution made between 2001 and 2008 had a date of receipt of contribution associated with it; several made in 2000 and before had missing dates, while the contribution records from the National Institute on Money in Politics for campaign contributions made in 2009 and later did not have dates associated with them. January is on average a light month for contributions, with most tobacco industry campaign contributions coming in September, October, and November of even-numbered years. But, in January 2007, these contributions ticked upward, driven primarily by a $20,000 contribution from Philip Morris, as it had done throughout the previous years but in different months, to Senate President Emil Jones, Jr. Tobacco industry contributions would spike even higher the year after, for January 2008, the month after the law would take effect (Table 18).

Table 18: Tobacco Industry Campaign Contributions in Illinois During January of Each Year, 2001-2008

Month	Tobacco Industry Contributions
January 2001	$1,500
January 2002	2,800
January 2003	0
January 2004	23,500
January 2005	4,500
January 2006	2,000
January 2007	26,575
January 2008	90,758

Source: Data from National Institute on Money in State Politics[226]

Third Party Opposition to the Bill

Sustained, organized opposition to the Smoke Free Illinois Act came from the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, which had lobbied in 2005 to prevent the restoration of local control, as well as the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors.[619, 622] The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, a union representing guards at state prisons, also opposed the bill. In mid-March, the union asserted that smokefree prisons would have negative effects, arguing that prisoners would become more violent against guards[623] and discussing the possibility of prices increasing if cigarettes were prohibited.[624]

On March 22, the day of the second reading of the bill in the Senate, which is the notification in the Senate that a committee had recommended it be voted on by the Senate, the head of the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, Steve Riedl, organized a rally in Springfield on March 22 against the law. This rally brought together businesspeople who argued that they had been adversely affected by local laws in their communities.[622] Riedl also mobilized bar owners around the state to come to Springfield to testify against the bill.[185]

The Chicago Hospitality Association, an organization established in December 2005,[625] but which appeared commonly in standard news articles only during 2007, publicly opposed the bill.[208] Notably, during this time, the Illinois Restaurant Association did not publicly oppose it.[208]

The Illinois Casino Gaming Association's director, Tom Swoik did not make public statements against the Smoke Free Illinois Act until after both houses passed the bill. Its director, Tom Swoik, began to assert starting in May 2007 that there would be losses to casinos as a result of the law.[626]

Strategy for Passing the Smoke Free Illinois Act

The Smoke Free Illinois Act had several advantages in strategy over past attempts at a smokefree law. Illinois' smokefree law passed because the wave of local ordinances maintained support for state action, and health advocates had a clear strategy to build off the local smokefree ordinances.

Advocates, including the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco and its member organizations, also had updated tactics to pass many local ordinances and then return for a state

law. Advocates' efforts for a statewide law focused on lobbying legislators directly and mobilizing residents in undecided legislators' districts, rather than mobilizing the public first.

Many businesses switched from opposing smoke-free ordinances in local communities, to supporting a statewide smokefree act, thinking that a statewide law would ensure a "level playing field" for businesses throughout the state. These changes occurred without the prompting of health advocates. Also, by 2007 the Illinois Restaurant Association had changed presidents: it was no longer Colleen McShane, who in much of her 14 years as head of the association had worked with the Tobacco Institute, including opposing smokefree restaurant ordinances throughout the 2000s.

Advocates mobilized a variety of messengers including experts, lobbyists, and bringing in members of the public to testify at the capitol. The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco did not focus specifically on alliance-building efforts with grassroots organizations, preferring instead a strategy of lobbying directly.

Advocates also mobilized medical practitioners to lobby in favor of the Smoke Free Illinois Act. As Kathy Drea recalled in a 2013 interview:

> Mark Peysakhovich, from the [American] Heart Association, and all of the cardiologists from all over the state that really made those contacts, often, with their patients, who are legislators, they really pushed them hard. ... [the American] Heart Association has a good handle on their cardiologists throughout the state.[185]

The Illinois Academy of Family Physicians also mobilized its members, as part of the integrated Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco's efforts. As Gordana Krkic, the deputy executive vice president of external affairs for the Illinois Academy of Family Physicians, recalled in a 2014 interview:

> Within the [Illinois Academy of Family Physicians] we found that there were several family physicians that were champions on the issues of smokefree. And so, we used them as the 'first responders' ... We'd go to them and ask if they were willing and able to either show up at a press conference, lend their name and support of an op-ed piece or letter to the editor, come to Springfield and testify before the General Assembly.
>
> So, there were a handful of physicians that did that. And then, when we organized lobbying days for the Academy in general, issues that were important to us, those physicians would come and lobby specifically on the tobacco legislation.[267]

Local support also existed, notably, the local coalitions that had emerged to support local ordinances, especially in northern and central Illinois. Local ordinances frequently created a constituency of businessowners who wanted to see existing local rules apply statewide, as demonstrated by the Springfield and Naperville businessowners' activities. After local ordinances there gained steam, local businessowners supported a statewide law.

Media outlets largely supported the bill and published editorials in favor of the bill throughout 2007, contributing to a positive environment for the passage of the bill. Health advocates went to editorial boards all around the state attempting to convince editorial board to write in support of the statewide bill.[276]

Springfield's *State Journal-Register* editorial board, strongly in favor of such legislation, penned a January 14 editorial focusing on secondhand smoke and also economic effects, and echoing Cullerton's argument that leveling the playing field among businesses in the state would actually be good for business.[617] The *Chicago Tribune* published an editorial in favor of the statewide law on January 18, 2007, and continued to support the passage of the law throughout the spring.[627-628] Other newspaper editorials in support included the *Chicago Sun-Times* group of newspapers later that spring, on March 28[629] and Bloomington's *The Pantagraph* on May 3.[630] The *News-Gazette* in Champaign, however, came out against the statewide bill, with rationale that the 2005 bill reversing preemption bill, which the *News-Gazette* editorial board had supported, was supposed to give communities a choice and that the Smoke Free Illinois Act seemed to be taking this choice away; it also argued for businessowners' choice and patrons' choice.[631] In legislative debate, concerns about the seeming taking away of communities' choice on smokefree issues were raised by several legislators who did vote for local authority specifically out of a commitment to local government.

Throughout this period, the *State Journal-Register* editorial board continued to pressure legislators to vote in favor of the bill. On March 16, the *State Journal-Register* applied pressure on state Sen. Larry Bomke (R-Springfield) to vote for it, citing the wellspring of local laws as a sign of increased political support for a statewide smokefree law.[632]

Local Support

The effort to pass local smoke-free ordinances was calibrated to continue until reaching a threshold that elected officials and the broader public could not ignore. According to a 2014 interview of April Bailey, the program manager at American Lung Association in Illinois' Chicago office, an internal yardstick at the American Lung Association in Illinois was to have 50% of the population covered by local smokefree ordinances before advocates knew there was a realistic chance of passing a state law.[430] Once there were a lot of cities, advocates could point to widespread local support throughout the state.[430]

Many local health departments mobilized to support the law. The Cook County Department of Public Health met with legislators representing areas in the county outside Chicago. In addition, the Northern Illinois Public Health Consortium, through its lobbyist who was supported by the local health departments in the area, lobbied in favor of the bill, and presented a "witness slip" when the bill was being heard in committee, being on record as supporting the legislation.[291]

Local governments that passed smokefree ordinances did work to make the case for a statewide law, and aimed this case at state legislators. This happened with little need for prodding from health advocates. This support centered both on health grounds and on the grounds that to the extent that economic impacts existed, the playing field should be level

statewide. On February 5, the Orland Park city council passed a resolution supporting the bill;[633] on April 10, the DuPage County Board did the same.[634] These developments were merely local governments making public statements expressing support for the law, without the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco pressing for local governments to take such stands.[276]

Getting The Bill Through the Senate: No Amendments Allowed

Passing the Smoke Free Illinois Act came as a result of firm support from committed legislators. Kathy Drea credited the support of active, committed sponsors in the General Assembly. As Drea recounted in the 2013 interview, Sen. John Cullerton, Sen. Terry Link, and Rep. Karen Yarbrough actively sought out votes and were "unbelievable sponsors."[394] Cullerton, Link, and Yarbrough also helped to identify legislators who would be good prospects for health advocates. Early in the legislative process, if a legislator had mentioned that they hadn't heard much about the bill, then Cullerton, Link, and Yarbrough would tell Drea, who would mobilize constituents in that area, using standard mobilization practices of the American Lung Association in Illinois, to contact their legislators.

Illinois' law passed with broad coverage, including restaurants, bars, and casinos, because the legislative sponsors of the Smoke Free Illinois Act refused to accept others' attempts to introduce amendments to the bill. Senate Bill 500 made it through the Senate without any amendments. According to the interview of Kathy Drea, this was an important legislative move: a no-amendment tactic was part of backers' strategy to keep the bill broad in its smokefree coverage. The bill passed intact without carving out exceptions because of the work by Senators Link and Cullerton to keep it that way, taking the position that if any issues with the bill needed to be addressed, these changes would be done afterward in later bills.[394]

Coverage of casinos represented the most dramatic of steps to reduce exposure to secondhand smoke in Illinois. The Illinois Casino Gaming Association did not take public stances about the bill until after the bill ended up passing the House and Senate. It is likely that there was no apparent need to take a stance: it appeared to surprise both supporters and opponents of the Smoke Free Illinois Act that it passed. Sens. Cullerton and Link were determined to keep coverage broad, including casinos, even as other legislators wanted to leave casinos out. As Senate President Cullerton recalled in a 2013 interview:

> ... the casino guys [senators in favor of gaming maintenance and expansion in Illinois] ... wanted to do a deal. We were two votes short, we thought, and the casino guys said, "Well, if you exclude casinos, we'll vote for the bill." ... and we said no. No exemptions.[635]

As high ranking members of the Illinois Senate leadership in the majority caucus, Cullerton and Link could take that position and have it be respected.

Link and Cullerton considered, but did not include, an amendment to delay the smokefree implementation date for casinos. Health groups resisted such a delay in the implementation. Along with Colorado, Illinois became the first state to have a law in effect mandating smokefree casinos, with smokefree laws for casinos in both states taking effect on January 1, 2008. During

the legislative process in the Senate, to get the votes required, Link and Cullerton considered an amendment that would keep casinos covered but postpone the implementation date for casinos for three years.

On March 23, Link introduced an amendment, which he did not call for a vote, to give casinos a delay in time to implement their portion of the smokefree bill. The bill would still mandate smokefree casinos, but, in a bid to gain potential support from casino-supporting senators, the amendment proposed to allow casinos, then mostly on riverboats along Illinois' state borders, three years to comply. The proposed amendment passed the Senate Executive Committee on March 28 by a 10-0 vote. Cullerton and Link billed this amendment as a strategic move to marshal more votes in favor of the bill, by picking up some wavering votes for those concerned about casino revenues.[636]

Legislative sponsors of the Smoke Free Illinois Act refused to accept others' attempts to introduce amendments to the bill.

But, Link did not call for the amendment to be voted on by the full Senate. According to both Sen. Link and Kathy Drea in the 2013 interviews, by asking each legislator individually if they would change their vote if the bill did not include coverage of casinos, no difference resulted in the outcome.[394] It turned out that the introduction of the amendment, held out as a possibility to placate casino-supporting senators, did not end up supporting the cause. As Link recalled in a 2013 interview, Link went to other Senate members to determine a roll call for if there were a casino exemption, and zero responses switched from opposing it to favoring it with such an exemption:

> I was talking to a lot of [Illinois Senate] members. We were trying to figure out if we had to change the exemption for the casinos, which we did not want to do ... I was working the Senate quite heavily and trying to see ... and I was getting zero response basically in favor of this.[620]

Sen. Link's roll call showed that only 27 senators could be counted on as sure to vote in support of the bill, while 30 were needed. It was for this reason that Link floated the proposed amendment to leave out the smokefree casino requirement. Yet Link's own measuring of support among his fellow senators showed that even if the bill were amended to leave out casinos, only 27 senators would support the bill! Link met with the health organization advocates involved in late March and delivered this news.[620]

Sen. Link took a calculated risk. Link knew that legislators normally only call a bill for a vote when at least 30 votes, enough to pass, have been lined up in favor. Sen. Link guessed that some senators might vote in favor of the bill as originally introduced, without the amendment delaying the implementation date for casinos, if they thought Link had 30 votes already lined up. On March 29, Link went to the Senate floor and called for a vote by the Illinois Senate on Senate

Bill 500 without first calling for a vote in the Senate to incorporate the casino delaying amendment into the bill. Link asked for a vote on Senate Bill 500, without the amendment. Link debated hard in favor of it, and at the end, thanked Emil Jones, Jr., who was not there for the vote, out sick for the day. The Senate passed the bill with 34 votes.[637]

Getting the Bill Through the House: More Lobbying

In contrast with the Senate, where Sens. Link and Cullerton blocked even the introduction of amendments by others, in the House, one amendment did get introduced; Rep. Yarbrough was not in the House leadership, so could not get away with the same demand of not introducing amendments. House Amendment 1, introduced from the floor by Rep. Renée Kosel (R-Mokena), was introduced on May 1. Consistent with policy positions the tobacco industry accepted, the amendment proposed to remove the smokefree requirement for casinos, private clubs, and bars that had less than 10% of its revenue coming from food. The House passed Senate Bill 500 before the proposed amendment left the House Rules Committee.[616] Kathy Drea, in a 2014 interview, did not remember this amendment being a threat to Senate Bill 500.[276] In part, the bill had already passed the Senate intact and Kosel was in the minority party in the House.

Once it had passed the Senate and gone to the House, Link and Cullerton still kept up efforts to ensure legislative support for the bill. Link and Cullerton went to the House, observing the House floor debate, and began making lots of phone calls. According to Sen. Link in the 2013 interview, he made phone calls to whoever could be in a position to convince wavering legislators about the Smoke Free Illinois Act, including pastors in legislators' districts. As an extreme example, Link even told one legislator that he didn't want to have to call that legislator's spouse, whom Link knew to be in favor of the bill, to get the legislator to vote for it; in the end that legislator did vote for it.[620] Combined with the early activities by Kathy Drea in getting legislators on board early, these efforts by Sens. Cullerton and Link were how House members got convinced to vote late in the process.

Rep. Yarbrough, the House sponsor, also made the push for smokefree laws a particular priority: not just one issue of many, but one of the top issues of her career. As Yarbrough recounted during the 2013 interview, "I was determined. My legislative [priorities] were public health, public safety, and social justice. ... the two pieces of legislation I was most proud of is Smoke Free Illinois and abolishing the death penalty."[638] Rep. Yarbrough also advanced other tobacco control legislation, including prohibiting displays on counters of cigarettes, which are detailed in the chapter on youth smoking prevention.

Messages About Employees and Secondhand Smoke

Health advocates focused on employees and secondhand smoke, rather than on patrons and of firsthand smoke (Table 19).

Table 19: Health Advocates' Messages Being Most Effective on Employees' Health and Secondhand Smoke

	Secondhand Smoke	Firsthand Smoke
Employees' Health	**Supporters** tended to argue that workers need to be protected by secondhand smoke, as an occupational health and safety issue, and thus ought to apply to restaurants, bars, and casinos. Example: Senator John Cullerton and the Smoke Free Illinois Act Opponents ceded the issue of whether a clean indoor air law is legal, but attempt to focus debate about economic effects, and assert that economic effects will be negative Example: Tobacco industry lobbyist Harry Kelley	**Opponents** tended to argue that businesses have the right to regulate themselves. Example: Champaign mayor Jerry Schweighart
Patrons' Health	**Opponents** tended to argue that patrons who don't like smoke have the choice to go somewhere else. Example: Champaign tobacco store owner Michael La Due	**Opponents** tended to argue that even if it may cause them harm, people have the right to conduct their own activities. Example: Not a point of discussion

From the introduction of Senate Bill 500 in January, Sen. Cullerton focused on the dangers of secondhand smoke.[619] This focus appeared to be successful against the messages of opponents of past attempts: already at the outset, Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors lobbyist Harry Kelley painted it as a business issue and asserted that business would be lost.[619] Arguments made in the debates on the Senate and House floor, right before the passage by each chamber, centered on these common themes.

Supporters cast the issue in terms of health and focused on the problem of secondhand smoke. Janet Williams, speaking for the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco at the Senate Executive Committee's January 11, 2007 hearing, declared, "No one should have to sacrifice their health for a paycheck."[639]

In his presentation of the bill before the Senate floor debate, Sen. Link focused on deaths from secondhand smoke, on the regulatory benefits to businesses of having a level playing field throughout the state, and on the benefits to taxpayers from not having to spend as much state money on health care related to smoking.[640] Other supporters in the Senate also focused on the health consequences of the bill: Sen. Mattie Hunter (D-Chicago; $2,500 in contributions) noted that tobacco companies heavily target African Americans, and that consequently a strong message needed to be sent about not compromising the health of African Americans as a community. Sen. Dan Cronin (R-Lombard, in DuPage County; $600 in contributions) described the bill as a health and safety matter because cigarette smoke harms others:

> Well, it's about basic responsibility, responsibility of the individual. You know, you can do your own thing, but not harm your neighbor. ... This bill, this policy recognizes that the conduct of one does have an impact and an adverse impact on the health of another. Thereby, I believe that it is an appropriate role of government.[640]

Additional supporters in the Senate focused on the health consequences of the vote. Sen. Edward Maloney (D-Chicago; $5,000 in contributions) cast it as a public health matter that people in the future would consider "noncontroversial and commonsense"; Sen. Cullerton noted that an eight-hour shift in a hospitality venue is the equivalent of smoking 16 cigarettes, and remarked that in nearby states, the Minnesota Senate just passed a smokefree bill and the governor of Wisconsin also had spoken in favor of having a smokefree law. Sen. Jacqueline Collins (D-Chicago) spoke for the health of blue-collar workers.

In the House, supporters echoed Senate supporters' focus on health and secondhand smoke. Presenting the bill before the House, Rep. Yarbrough declared, "Smokers have a right to smoke ... But what they should not have a right to do is force others to breathe their smoke and so, we regulate."[641] Also, similar to Sen. Cronin's remarks in the Senate, Rep. Yarbrough continued, "I think that most of us believe that government has a right to speak up and step in when the actions of one person harms another. We do it here every day." In floor debate, Rep. Paul Froehlich (D-Schaumburg, in Cook County northwest of Chicago; $3,850 in contributions) and House Majority Leader Barbara Flynn Currie painted the bill as a routine public health matter. Rep. Currie also asserted that the law would benefit businesses and especially employees.

Opponents of the bill in the Senate argued that economic effects would be negative, or stated that they worried that such effects might be negative. Sen. Mike Jacobs (D-Moline; $16,250 in contributions) representing an area across the Mississippi River from Davenport, Iowa, made a "border business" argument, opposing the bill out of concern about jobs for areas along the river. Sen. Chris Lauzen (R-Aurora, in Kane County; $10,500 in contributions) made the standard industry "freedom" argument, talking in terms of personal freedom, about the existence of many harmful behaviors and calling the law a government overreach.

In the House, Rep. William Black (R-Danville) made another standard industry argument, the "consumer decision" argument, focusing on consumers, rather than employees, declaring that the marketplace should decide the issue. Rep. Dave Winters (R-Rockford; $4,050 in contributions) argued that border-area establishments would be harmed.

Legislative supporters worked to calm worries about potential economic effects when Sen. David Koehler (D-Pekin, in central Illinois south of Peoria; zero dollars in contributions), who had been on the fence, declared in Senate floor debate about the bill that he supported the bill's positive health effects but worried about whether any negative economic effects would result. Koehler argued that an economic study ought to be carried out later. In response to Sen. Koehler, Sen. Link promised that he would support such a study, surmised that the bill would have a positive economic effect, and said that he "would be happy to work" on it with Koehler;[640] Koehler voted yes on the bill.[637] The Smoke Free Illinois Act did not require such an after-the-fact study, and the General Assembly did not later order an economic study. Nevertheless, this sensitivity to economic concerns appeared to be sufficient to address concerns about the bill.

Anticipating Objections About Previous "Local Control" Arguments

Some discontent came from legislators who had been won over by the argument during the debate on the repeal of preemption in 2005, about the need for "local control" over policymaking. The sentiment among these legislators appeared to be that although statewide smokefree bill did not take away local control in law, setting a strong statewide standard served as taking away local control in practice, at least for regulating indoor smoking.

In fact, of course, the effects of the bill were not to take away local control in law, but rather, by providing a higher floor for municipal standards did shift for practical purposes what cities could regulate, from indoor and outdoor places to just outdoor places: cities could continue to regulate smoking outdoors, such as the distance from building entrances or in outdoor public places.

Health advocates recognized, before Senate Bill 500 was introduced, that some legislators would perceive a statewide law as removing local control: "That was something we knew was going to happen. It was only a year" between restoring local control and beginning to work on a statewide law, and that a statewide law would inevitably be interpreted that way.[394] Given that the state law would establish the floor for indoor areas, local authority would remain but for legislating smoking in outdoor areas, but this point was not made by health advocates who were really focusing on the main benefits of the bill, smokefree indoor areas.

Senators Dale Righter (R-Mattoon, in eastern Illinois; $19,500 in contributions) and Linda Holmes (D-Plainfield, in Will County; $3,000 in contributions) echoed this sentiment, as did Rep. Mike Bost (R-Carbondale; $8,250 in contributions). Both Righter and Bost had voted to restore local authority to regulate smoking,[642-643] and Holmes had only recently joined the Senate. Bost, who reminded the House that he had voted to restore local authority, which health advocates had cast as "local control" in 2005, declared:

> ... [T]hree years ago we voted for local control on this issue. ... I voted for that bill. But I also told them [health advocates] at the time that they were lobbying me on that issue, I said, "whatever you do don't come back in a couple of years and say, now, 'all of a sudden I want it statewide' when you just told me that it's because you believe in local control ..."[641]

These legislators had largely supported the concept of local control, but would not vote for the Smoke Free Illinois Act (Table 20). The "local control" discourse that health advocates used to win over legislators' support for ending preemption, despite being successful in 2005, therefore had some negative consequences in attempting to pass the statewide smokefree law.

Non-Systematic Factors: A Pro-Tobacco Lobbyist's Cocaine Scandal

One factor specific to the experience of Illinois that additionally likely reduced opposition to the Smoke Free Illinois Act among Illinois House members, after the bill had already passed the Senate, was a personal circumstance surrounding one of the main lobbyists opposing the bill, Illinois Licensed Beverage Association Executive Director Steve Riedl. Riedl,

of course, had represented not just the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, but also the "indoor air quality" coalition that Philip Morris' *Options* program had set up earlier in the 2000s.

While Riedl served as director of the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, the beverage association opposed smokefree legislation. Riedl had spoken consistently against local smoking ordinances throughout the state and was also a lobbying force against the Smoke Free Illinois Act. The website of the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association in 2007 featured opposition to "smoking bans" as a central element of its homepage, and included the corporate logos of Philip Morris and R.J. Reynolds under the tagline, "Please support our corporate partners" (Figure 17). Tobacco company logos, along with other graphics opposing smokefree laws, were taken down from the beverage association's homepage over the following years; as of 2014, the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association' homepage did not include such logos.

Figure 17: Website of the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, 2007, Featuring Philip Morris and R.J. Reynolds Logos, and 2011, Without These Logos
Source: Internet Archive Wayback Machine[646-647]

Table 20: Legislators Raising Issues About Local Control Versus a Statewide Smokefree Law, 2007

	Attempt to Restore Local Authority (2003, House Bill 3996)[644]	Restoring Local Authority (2005, House Bill 672)[642-643]	Smoke Free Illinois Act (2007, Senate Bill 500)[637, 645]
Sen. Dale Righter (R-Mattoon)	Senate did not vote on this bill	Yes	No
Sen. Linda Holmes (D-Plainfield)	Senate did not vote on this bill	Not in Illinois General Assembly	No
Rep. Mike Bost (R-Carbondale)	Yes	Yes	No

On March 31, 2007, two days after the Illinois Senate passed the Smoke Free Illinois Act, and with the Illinois House preparing to consider the legislation, Springfield police responded to a call from a woman, reporting a man being unconscious in a hotel room. Law enforcement officers found Riedl nonresponsive on a bed with cocaine in his hotel room. Riedl claimed that no one else had been staying in the room, and denied knowing about the cocaine; eventually no criminal charges came against Riedl.[648-649]

Before these events, according to Drea of the Lung Association, Riedl "was a respected lobbyist and people listened to him."[185] Riedl's public credibility waned in the wake of these personal events. Riedl had been a major lobbying force against the Smoke Free Illinois Act. Riedl's presence at the state capitol dropped off dramatically in months after his cocaine scandal, including the months between the Senate passing the Smoke Free Illinois Act and the House passing it. Riedl stopped serving as the executive director of the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association, and in the years following his scandal, the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association did not publicly oppose public health legislation on tobacco. Thus, non-systematic factors, in this case specific to the experience of Illinois, also likely bolstered support for the Smoke Free Illinois Act.

Scope of the Smoke Free Illinois Act

The Smoke Free Illinois Act presented a broad change from the situation that had existed just three years before. As late as the beginning of 2005, statewide law allowed smoking areas in any restaurant or other place of public accommodation, and only a handful of cities could pass any stronger clean indoor air ordinances. The Smoke Free Illinois Act, which made the process from introduction in the General Assembly to becoming law without having any amendments attached to it, established that from 2008 onward, smokefree environments would be guaranteed in offices, libraries, theaters, restaurants, bars, and casinos. The few indoor areas not covered included tobacco retail stores, up to 25% of hotel and motel rooms, home-based businesses not open to the public, and common smoking rooms in long-term care facilities.[5] The Smoke Free Illinois Act was a dramatic change from the law that it replaced, the 1989 Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act (Table 21).

The law explicitly spelled out local authority for regulating smoking. Illinois has two different classes of local government authority: one with more expansive powers for most large cities and for Cook County (the only county with a directly elected head), called "home rule" municipalities and counties; and another with fewer powers, for smaller cities and all of Illinois' other counties, which are referred to as "non-home rule" units of government. The Smoke Free Illinois Act gave authority to regulate smoking to all these types of governments, stating:

> Any home rule unit of government, any non-home rule municipality, or any non-home rule county within the unincorporated territory of the county may regulate smoking in public places, but that regulation must be no less restrictive than this Act.[5]

Since former Rep. John Dunn and Kathy Drea, the American Lung Association advocate, had cooperated on putting together the concepts in the bill, this explicit anti-preemption language came from them.

The passage of the statewide law eliminated the possibility for debates, at the local level, over indoor smoking issues in workplaces, restaurants, bars, casinos, and other indoor venues. Once health advocates had centered on a message about smoking as a matter of occupational safety for employees, they had found the way to explain why bars and casinos should also be free from smoking. This line of argument also made irrelevant the debates in local ordinance efforts about what percentage of revenue coming from food should merit being exempted from the law.

Signs rolled out to designate buildings as smokefree, and many of these signs included language that directly pointed to the act. A common sign, distributed by the state health department, county health departments, and health advocates, read: "No Smoking Indoors or Within 15 Feet of Entrance, Pursuant to the Smoke-Free Illinois Act 95-0017" along with the red and black "no-smoking" symbol.

Enforcement of smokefree environments, according to the act, became the responsibility of the Illinois Department of Public Health, state-certified local health departments, and local law enforcement agencies. The Smoke Free Illinois Act authorized the Illinois Department of Public Health to submit implementing rules and have them approved by the General Assembly.[5]

Smoke Free Illinois Act Gets to the Governor's Desk

After the Senate and House passed the bill, Gov. Rod Blagojevich took a long time to sign the bill. After both houses of the Illinois General Assembly pass a bill, there are 30 days to get it posted the governor, who then has 60 days to sign the bill, for a total maximum 90 days. Also, in part, health advocates wanted a public signing of the bill, and setting up the logistics for this public signing took some effort and time.

Activities by health advocates to get Gov. Blagojevich to sign the bill into law involved encouraging volunteers, included physicians and patients, to send letters to the governor. The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco also held many press events.[185] Smokefree coverage of indoor areas statewide, having passed both houses, arrived at the governor's desk. Blagojevich signed the bill after over 80 days had elapsed after being passed by both houses. On July 23, 2007, Gov. Blagojevich signed the bill into law, effective January 1, 2008.

Tobacco Industry Campaign Contributions Against the Smoke Free Illinois Act

In late 2007 and early 2008, to press for weakening of the Smoke Free Illinois Act, Altria and other tobacco companies poured money into the February 5, 2008, primary election at a higher rate than in years past.[650] Tobacco companies ramped up contributions to legislators across Illinois, not just to leadership but across the Illinois General Assembly, across political parties and regions of the state. Tobacco companies spent more on campaign contributions in Illinois in December 2007 ($87,250) and January 2008 ($90,758) than any month since election-year November 2004 ($108,450), which had been the November of a presidential election year. The January 2008 total was over three times the amount donated in January 2007.[226]

Table 21: Moving From the Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act to the Smoke Free Illinois Act

	Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act (1989)[361]	Smoke Free Illinois Act (2007)[5]
Effective	July 1, 1990	January 1, 2008
Smoking Areas	Local governments and school districts may designate smoking areas indoors	No indoor smoking areas
Smokefree Areas	"No person shall smoke in a public place except in that portion of a public place which may be established and posted under Section 5 [local governments and school district-defined structures] as a smoking area."	Public places and places of employment, including: Restaurants, bars, casinos
Indoor Workplaces	Does not apply to factories, warehouses, and "similar places of work not usually frequented by the general public."	Smokefree
Restaurants, Bars, Casinos	Smoking areas permitted	Smokefree
Additional Enclosed Spaces	Smoking areas permitted	Smokefree: Student dormitories Vehicles owned or used by the state Exceptions, not smokefree: retail tobacco stores, private and semi-private rooms in nursing homes, designated hotel/motel rooms up to 25%
Smokefree Outdoors	No provisions	Within 15 feet of entrances to public places or places of employment: "No person shall smoke in a public place or in any place of employment or within 15 feet of any entrance to a public place or place of employment."
State Preemption of Local Laws	Preempted	Local laws allowed
Enforcement and Implementation	"The Department, a local board of health, or any individual personally affected by repeated violations may institute, in a circuit court, an action to enjoin violations of this Act."	"The Department, State-certified local public health departments, and local law enforcement agencies shall enforce the provisions of this Act and may assess fines" Illinois Department of Public Health "shall adopt rules necessary for the administration of this Act."
Appeals	No provisions listed	No provisions listed
Signage	No provisions	Required
Penalties	Petty offense	Individuals: $100 to $250 for offenses Businesses: Minimum $250 first Minimum $500 for subsequent offenses Amended in 2009 to $100 for individuals and $250 for businesses.

Tobacco industry strategists even publicly took credit to this increase in contributions, with one lobbyist declaring for a 2008 *Chicago Tribune* article, "we spend the whipping boy for a number of [legislative] sessions now ... so we decided this year that we are going to participate in the process more heavily."[650] Given that legislators had already launched bills to peel back parts of the Smoke Free Illinois Act by creating exemptions for venues such as casinos, these contributions likely reflected an attempt to build support for such legislation or to spur legislators to file more bills attempting to peel back the smokefree law.

Shoring Up Support for the Smoke Free Illinois Act

According to the 2013 interview of Matt Maloney, the Respiratory Health Association policy director, advocates recognized that attempts to roll back the legislation could begin right away, so the coalition made efforts to shore up the legislators' support for the Smoke Free Illinois Act, thanking each legislator by running a full-page newspaper advertisement in the *Chicago Tribune* thanking the legislators who had voted for the act and listing them by name, and presenting each legislator with a plaque.[423, 569]

Encouraging public compliance was necessary for the act to function as intended. One early adopter that gained media attention was the stadium of the Chicago Bears football team. To keep the same policy on smoking throughout its 2007-2008 season, it established a smokefree policy starting in August 2007.[651]

The member organizations of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco made public compliance efforts. The American Lung Association of Illinois published materials on its Smoke Free Illinois website (www.smokefreeillinois.org), providing background information, signs that people could print out and then use to tell others about the law, and informational paystub inserts that employers could include with paychecks starting in the months before the act went into effect. In January 2008, the month that the Smoke Free Illinois Act came into effect, the American Lung Association's Smoke Free Illinois site received visits from over 20,000 unique visitors.[652] The Respiratory Health Association of Metropolitan Chicago, which just the year before had changed its name from the American Lung Association of Metropolitan Chicago, and the Chicago Department of Public Health formed a temporary coalition called Chicago Second Wind, distributing kits to help people quit smoking.[653]

Implementation: The 2008 Prohibition of Implementing Rules

Implementation of the Smoke Free Illinois Act became a casualty of tensions between the executive branch and Gov. Rod Blagojevich, and the legislative branch consisting of the General Assembly, about which branch of government had rulemaking authority. The Illinois Department of Public Health proposed implementing rules, but the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules, which is the state legislative committee in charge of approving state agencies' proposed rules, rejected the Illinois Department of Public Health's rules in 2008; as of early 2014, these rules still were not in place.

Compliance with the law became generally good throughout Illinois. Leading up to the law and soon after the law went into effect, many local health departments helped to promote the

law to get compliance. But several areas had notably lower rates of compliance with the law. Compliance was the best in northern Illinois and in larger cities and counties; enforcement often lagged in smaller cities with state's attorneys often unwilling to enforce the state law in the absence of clear adopted implementing rules. Without approved implementing rules, enforcement remained unclear and proceeded on a county by county basis, depending in large part on the states' attorneys in each county.

Tension Between the Governor and General Assembly

From the start of his second term in 2007, Blagojevich and the Illinois General Assembly had persistent tensions, including on Blagojevich's attempts to expand state health insurance coverage, proposing to pay for this expansion with a business tax increase that the Democratic-controlled legislature rejected. As part of these tensions with the General Assembly, Blagojevich repeatedly called special sessions of the legislature: while the 39 Illinois state governors preceding Blagojevich had called 89 special sessions total, Blagojevich called 16 special sessions during the summer of 2007 alone.[654] In addition, Gov. Blagojevich and House Speaker Michael Madigan frequently clashed both personally and politically.[655]

In 2007, Blagojevich and the Illinois General Assembly had persistent tensions.

Throughout 2007, Blagojevich attempted to increase health coverage in a piecemeal fashion by pushing for expansions of health coverage for young adults and for families. In late 2007, Blagojevich directed the Illinois Department of Healthcare and Family Services to introduce emergency rules that almost tripled the income level for eligibility for a state-subsidized health coverage program called FamilyCare. In November 2007, Blagojevich directed the Illinois Department of Healthcare and Family Services, the agency responsible for state-subsidized health insurance, to introduce emergency administrative rules that more than doubled the income level for eligibility for FamilyCare, raising the income level for eligibility from $38,000 per year for a family of four to almost $83,000 per year.

State law since 1977 required that state agencies' rules must be filed with and approved by the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules, a body of the Illinois General Assembly made up of six members from the Illinois Senate and six members from the Illinois House.[656] The Joint Committee on Administrative Rules rejected Blagojevich's FamilyCare rules as an improper expansion to do through emergency rulemaking.

In response to this rejection of rules, Blagojevich's office declared that the decisions of the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules were "merely advisory."[657] Blagojevich continued to direct the Illinois Department of Healthcare and Family Services to make the expansions. Many of these expansions faced litigation by business groups that opposed the expansion.[654]

Preparation of Implementing Rules

The Smoke Free Illinois Act authorized the Illinois Department of Public Health to develop rules to implement and enforce the law, explaining administrative details of the law. As Sen. Link reflected in a 2013 interview:

> We basically left it up to JCAR to do [approve] the rules, which is in some sense is the right way and some sense maybe it wasn't the right way. But what we did by that is hopefully in their implementation and foresight, they could see some of these things [issues of due process] and do it.[620]

Submission of Proposed Rules

The Smoke Free Illinois Act authorized the Illinois Department of Public Health, the state health department, to develop administrative rules for administering the smokefree law. In October 2007, three months after the act being signed into law, the Illinois Department of Public Health submitted proposed implementing rules to the legislature's Joint Committee on Administrative Rules. The proposed rules established signage requirements, including a minimum size for "no smoking" signs; enforcement responsibilities, covering both individuals smoking indoors and the proprietors of places where smoking occurred; and procedures for filing and investigating complaints about smoking. It also specified that the date, time, duration, and any history of past violations must be listed on notices of violations for owners of establishments. Such factors determined the amount of the fine, which the original law set as a range but left up to enforcing agencies.[658]

The Illinois Department of Public Health submitted its proposed rules to the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules. The department's proposed rules appeared in the October 5, 2007 version of the *Illinois Register*, the official compilation of proposed rules issued by state governmental agencies.[658] The rules filed in non-emergency circumstances require agencies to allow at least 45 days for public comments and to hold public hearings about the rules; then, agencies must file these rules with the committee, which reviews the proposed rules within 45 additional days.[656] With this timeframe, given the October 2007 submission of proposed rules, the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules would decide whether to approve these rules around December 2007 or January 2008.

Blagojevich's Directions That Agencies Take a Hard Line on Rulemaking

On January 8, 2008, less than two weeks after rejection of the FamilyCare rules, the Committee held a regular meeting to consider the Smoke Free Illinois Act rules. During this time period of tensions between Gov. Blagojevich and the Illinois General Assembly, the governor had directed state agencies not to agree to the demands of the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules. As Tom Schafer in a 2014 interview described this period:

> [Blagojevich's administration] was a change, and the governor was saying, "No, they're only advisory." ... the idea as far as the rules were concerned is that we were not to negotiate with them [the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules]. We were not to agree to change the rules at all.[659]

This was the first meeting of the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules after the rejection of the FamilyCare rules. Blagojevich's stance that the governor controlled rulemaking, not the Illinois General Assembly, provoked responses from the Illinois General Assembly and the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules.

At the meeting, Joint Committee on Administrative Rules members seized on the rules' lack of language about how to appeal citations, and demanded a reworking of the rules to include an appeals process.[660] As for the creation of the rules, the department had not included such language because legal counsel in the department recommended a rulemaking approach that involved staying within the boundaries of what the law itself discussed.[288] Yet, in line with Blagojevich's directions to agencies, the department's representatives refused to agree.

The Joint Committee on Administrative Rules can take one of four actions on proposed rules: allowing the rules without objections, recommending changes that must be made within 90 days; objecting to the rules, which allows state agencies the option of withdrawing the rules and proposing rules again at another time; or prohibiting rulemaking on that matter, including proposing new rules on that subject in the future.[656] In 2012, the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules accepted 94% of proposed rules without filing any recommendations, objections, or prohibitions.[661]

On January 25, 2008, the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules ordered a prohibition on the state department's proposed rules.[662] In prohibiting these rules on a 9-1 vote, the committee's official response stated:

> [I]t contains no process by which an accused violator can argue that no violation occurred, appeal a finding of a violation, or appeal the amount of the imposed fine. An alleged violator's only options are to pay the fine or challenge enforcement action through the circuit court. Lack of due process threatens the public interest and welfare.[662]

The Joint Committee on Administrative Rules therefore seized on the lack of language in the proposed rules about an appeals process, during a time when Governor Blagojevich directed agencies not to agree to the committee's demands. In 2008, the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules prohibited or suspended rules ten times, the most of any single year.[663] In contrast, between 1981 and 2007 the committee had only done so 45 times total, an average of about 1.7 times a year.[656]

Continued Legislative Scrutiny of State Agencies' Rules in 2008

The Joint Committee on Administrative Rules' scrutiny of rules was not limited to the Smoke Free Illinois Act, but also extended to other agencies under the control of the governor. In January 2008, the committee also prohibited an additional set of rules by the Illinois

Department of Healthcare and Family Services about the FamilyCare program. In the first months of 2008, the committee also objected to or prohibited many other proposed rules,[660, 664] and continued to give scrutiny to the Illinois Department of Public Health's rules that year.[659] Of the 19 rules proposed by the Illinois Department of Public Health in 2008, the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules prohibited the proposed Smoke Free Illinois Act rules, objected to one other set of rules and gave a recommendation to another, not issuing any formal objection to any of the other 16 sets of rules. In the overall trajectory of rulemaking evaluations during 2008, the first meeting of 2008, immediately after the December 2007 FamilyCare prohibition, appears to have been when state agency rules were scrutinized the most intensely. Given the prohibition on filing rules for the Smoke Free Illinois Act, the Illinois Department of Public Health planned to rely on state courts to process citations.[665]

Cleanup Legislation Supported by the Sponsors

Often with large consequential bills, subsequent legislation is often passed to clear up any issues that arise. While the Smoke Free Illinois Act was going through the General Assembly in 2007, three issues came up with the act that health advocates recognized they would want to support. Of course, the Smoke Free Illinois Act became law with no amendments introduced during the legislative process. Health advocates and the legislative sponsors said that to keep the bill intact no changes would be made to the bill before passing, but these issues would be fixed later.[394] Sens. Link and Cullerton worked in 2008 and 2009 to pass cleanup bills to the original law: bills that addressed minor issues with the original Smoke Free Illinois Act.

Laboratory Research, Veterans' Long-Term Hospitals, and Appeals

Sens. Link and Cullerton sponsored similar bills to address outstanding issues with the Smoke Free Illinois Act; eventually Link and Cullerton decided to focus on Cullerton's bill, since by that time he was President of the Senate. Sen. Link took over sponsorship of a shell bill that he amended to become a cleanup bill, Senate Bill 2707. Link introduced his bill to be similar to Cullerton's except that it added language on the appeals process. Link's was similar to Cullerton's except that it added material on appeals.[666-667] Once Link introduced his bill, actions to both bills largely mirrored each other (Figure 18). The bill that Cullerton introduced, Senate Bill 2757 (Public Act 95-1029), eventually became law.

Senate Bill 2757 allowed smoking for laboratory research purposes, allowed smoking in specific separately ventilated rooms in long-term care facilities for veterans, and clarified the appeals process. It specified the required information that would be put on smoking citations: the name of the offense and law broken, nature of the violation, date, location, name of the enforcing agency with its address and phone number for appeal hearings, name of the recipient of the citation, fine amount and location to pay, time period to act, and a signature of the person issuing the citation. Senate Bill 2757 also clarified the fine, changing the fines from ranges or minimum amounts to specific amounts. These new specific amounts were at the bottom of the ranges originally established. Instead of ranges, such as a minimum of $100 for individuals, the bill changed these for individuals to be $100 for the first time and $250 afterwards. For business owners, fines became $250 the first time, $500 the second time, and $2,500 for subsequent citations within the next year.[668]

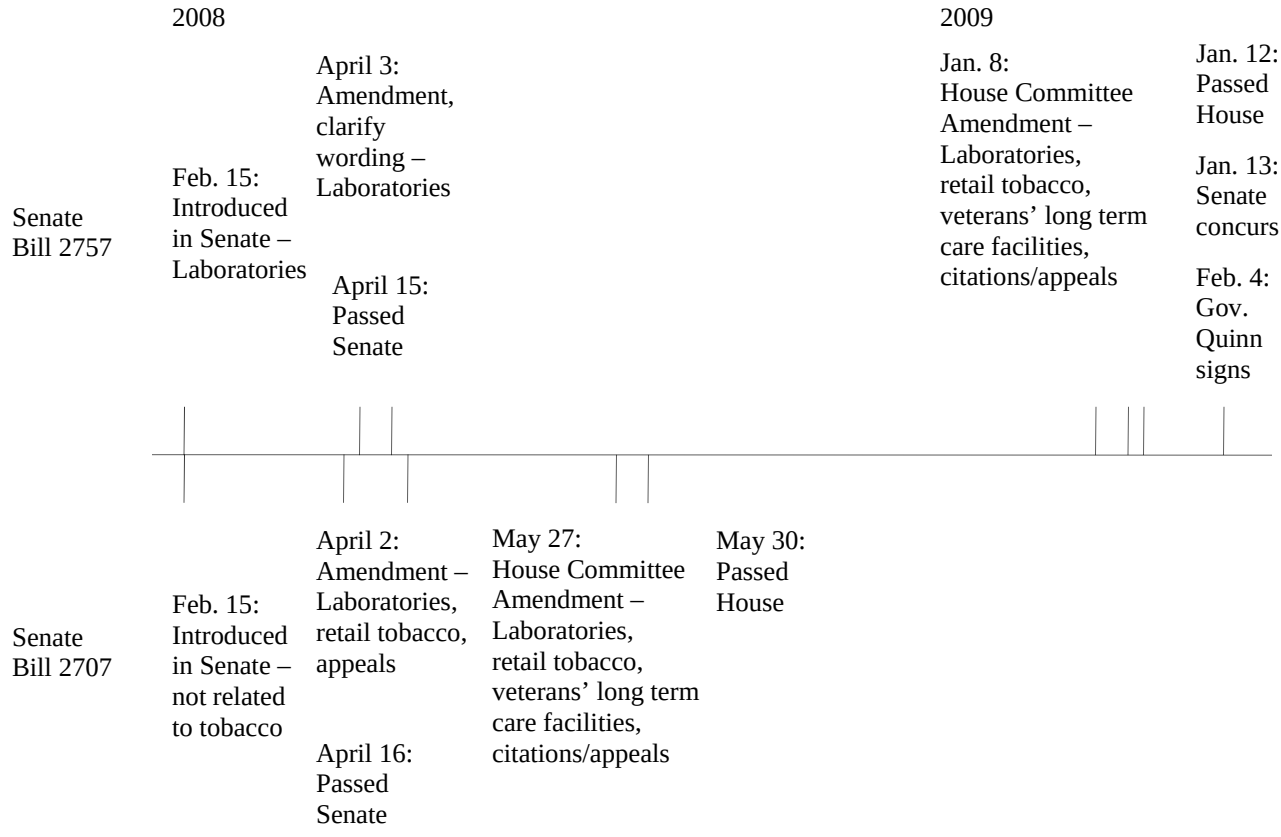


Figure 18: Timeline of Events for the Cleanup Bill to the Smoke Free Illinois Act

Blagojevich Removed But the Illinois General Assembly Still Asserting Rulemaking Authority

In late January 2009, the Illinois General Assembly impeached and removed Blagojevich for his attempts to sell newly elected President Barack Obama's U.S. Senate seat. The state's lieutenant governor, Pat Quinn, replaced Blagojevich as governor at the end of January 2009.

The Illinois General Assembly, with tensions with Blagojevich over rulemaking still fresh, continued to make amendments to legislation whether it was related to smoking or not, to demonstrate to the governor that the legislature had final authority over rulemaking. House Speaker Michael Madigan directed that legislation in the House be given language about such authority.[659] These proposed cleanup bills would pass the Senate and then be sent to the House, where the House Environmental Health Committee would add amendments that asserted the legislature's powers about rulemaking. For example, for Senate Bill 2757, the House Environmental Health Committee amended Cullerton's cleanup bill in January 2009 with language asserting the legislature's authority to approve rules even though it was already the case in Illinois law:

> Rulemaking authority to implement this amendatory Act of the 95th General Assembly, if any, is conditioned on the rules being adopted in accordance with all provisions of the Illinois Administrative Procedure Act and all rules and procedures of the Joint Committee

on Administrative Rules; any purported rule not so adopted, for whatever reason, is unauthorized.[669]

Rep. Yarbrough sponsored the bill in the House, and the House Environmental Health Committee put in an amendment to clarify the rules on what must be included in citations for smoking in indoor places; the House passed the amended bill. The Senate concurred with the House amendment on January 12, 2009. Gov. Quinn signed Senate Bill 2757 into law on February 4, 2009, as the first bill he signed upon becoming governor.

Native American Religious Ceremonies and Continued Fighting Over Rules

Even with the removal of Gov. Blagojevich, the Illinois General Assembly continued to assert its authority over rulemaking. The same language asserting the legislature's powers in Senate Bill 2757 also appeared in further cleanup legislation. A bill was introduced in February 2009 and passed in April 2009, that allowed smoking as part of religious ceremonies for federally recognized Native American groups.

In Illinois, matters relating to tobacco and Native Americans deal only with religious ceremonies. Such matters do not deal with casinos: as of 2013, Native American communities in Illinois, unlike in many other states, operated no casinos.[670] Many Native American groups throughout North America used tobacco for religious, non-habitual, non-commercial use,[671] and the earliest use in the present-day eastern United States occurred near the confluence of the Illinois River and Mississippi River.[672]

Senate Bill 1685, passed in 2009, permitted tobacco use in Native American religious ceremonies as long as it conformed with the federal American Indian Religious Freedom Act. The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco and the legislators who had sponsored Senate Bill 500 all favored this legislation. Larry Cooper, the head of the Standing Bear Council, an organization representing some Native American communities in the states of Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri, approached Sen. John Sullivan (D-Quincy, in western Illinois; $13,500 in contributions) about the law's restriction of Native American religious practices.[673]

Sen. Sullivan sponsored the bill to deal with the issue, and had Senate co-sponsors Sen. Donne Trotter (D-Chicago) and Sen. Dale Righter (R-Mattoon); all three, incidentally, had voted no on the Smoke Free Illinois Act.[637] The bill originally stated that it was about religious ceremonies. Health advocates did not object to the bill,[394]and the bill passed the Senate on a vote of 53-0. In the House, Rep. Joseph Lyons (D-Chicago; $7,450 in contributions) sponsored the bill, and Rep. Richard Myers (R-Macomb, in western Illinois; $8,750 in contributions) and Rep. Yarbrough served as co-sponsors.

The House Environmental Health Committee clarified the language to make it much more specific, about Native American religious ceremonies; health advocates had asked for this clarifying House amendment. The House passed the bill on a vote of 105-0, with one abstention, and the Senate concurred with the House amendment.[674]

Yet the same "conditioned on ... the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules" rulemaking language that the House had added to Cullerton's January 2009 cleanup bill was also in the House amendment to Senate Bill 1685. Newly installed Gov. Quinn vetoed the language about legislative rulemaking powers in this bill, arguing that it was a vestige of the battles with Blagojevich.[675] Gov. Quinn argued that he had worked to heal the rift between the executive and legislative branches about who had rulemaking authority. Gov. Quinn stated that he supported the rest of the legislation.[675] The Illinois General Assembly overwhelmingly overrode Quinn's veto, the Senate by a vote of 57-0, and the House by a vote of 113-1, making Senate Bill 1685 law as Public Act 96-0797.[674]

Meanwhile, even as the legislators on the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules continued to support smokefree legislation, with all 12 members having voted for the January 2009 cleanup legislation, and with 11 of the 12 voting for the April 2009 cleanup legislation, in 2009, the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules continued to order prohibitions or suspensions on agencies' rules, doing so more times in 2009 than for any other year before 2007.[661]

Staying Smokefree: Keeping Casinos Covered

The tobacco industry has attempted to convince casino associations across the United States to align with its policy positions opposing smokefree environments, by creating tobacco company-sponsored studies that claim negative economic effects of smokefree environments.[213]

Attempts to roll back portions of the Illinois Smoke Free Act started almost immediately, another standard tobacco industry strategy.[676-679] Most of the efforts to change the law centered on casinos. The Illinois Casino Gaming Association presented continued opposition to the law's requirement of smokefree casinos, starting in 2008 and including the continued attempts to remove the smokefree casino requirement through 2012.

Attempts to roll back portions of the Illinois Smoke Free Act started almost immediately.

The Smoke Free Illinois Act had passed the Senate on March 29 and the House on May 1, and yet even the week that the governor signed it into law on May 23, legislators, many linked with casino interests, already began attempts to roll it back. Health advocates' tasks therefore turned to assuring good implementation of the law, as well as keeping it on the books, rebuffing at least 15 bills between 2007 and 2012 that sought to diminish the scope of the law, especially attempts to roll back coverage of casinos.

After the attempts in 2007 to roll back parts of the Smoke Free Illinois Act, political debate for casinos and smoking carried back and forth arguments about the cause of casino revenue declines that occurred in Illinois since January 2008. As early as May 2, 2007, the day after the Illinois House passed the Smoke Free Illinois Act, Tom Swoik, the head of the Illinois Casino Gaming Association, opposed the legislation, declaring that it would cause casino

revenue to decline drastically.[626] Swoik continued to argue from 2007 to at least 2011 that the Smoke Free Illinois Act was a cause of reduced revenues for casinos.[626, 680-682]

In 2008, The Illinois Casino Gaming Association's director, Tom Swoik, asserted correctly, based on monthly gaming industry revenue numbers, that there was a decline in casino revenues from the initial months of 2008 onward through the rest of 2008, and argued that these lowered revenues stemmed from the smokefree law. Health advocates, in contrast, tried to explain this using a large number of different arguments, at first from the cold winter of 2007-2008, to the weak economy throughout 2008 and into the early 2010s. The American Lung Association was active in commissioning polls attempting to demonstrate these links.

With each attempt to peel back parts of the Smoke Free Illinois Act, health advocates engaged in a full mobilization of standard efforts, including mobilizing mailing lists in key legislators' districts, earned media, opinion pieces, and direct lobbying[274, 276]

In the Senate, in 2009 Terry Link became the chair of the Senate Gaming Committee, a committee which existed in previous General Assembly sessions as a subcommittee of the Senate Executive Committee or as a separate committee. The Senate Gaming Committee was created anew in 2009. At that point, Link told other senators that he would block any bill in the Gaming Committee that would try to put exceptions in for casinos.[620] As chair of the Senate Gaming Committee, Link's position would be followed:

> What we did is every time we would have a piece of legislation for gaming, it would bring [the issue of smoking exemptions for casinos] up. I said, "I'll kill the bill before I will allow that to happen. It's as simple as that. So if it accidentally gets in the bill from the House or something like that, I'll kill the bill, and that'll be the end of it."[620]

Many bills attempted to peel back portions of the Smoke Free Illinois Act, over the period 2007-2012 (Figure 19). None of these challenges to the Smoke Free Illinois Act passed the Illinois General Assembly.

Casino Bills Before the Smoke Free Illinois Act Took Effect: 2007

The first attempt to roll back smokefree coverage of casinos started the same month that the House passed Senate Bill 500 and sent it to the governor's desk. The bill was signed by the House on May 1, and the attempts started on May 23.

These first attempts began as proposed amendments to a "shell bill", Senate Bill 890. Every January, both the Illinois House and Illinois Senate set filing deadlines for bills, and these deadlines are usually in February;[683-684] shell bills, which are frequently used and documented in standard procedure in the Illinois General Assembly,[685] are placeholder pieces of legislation with little content, that legislators can then amend to propose legislation toward the end of a session, after the deadline for filing bills has passed.

The Senate Bill 890 shell bill, introduced in February by Sen. Ira Silverstein (D-Chicago; $7,500 in contributions),[686] a supporter of the Smoke Free Illinois Act, saw a series of proposed

amendments between May 23 and 28. Senators who had voted against the bill, Sens. James Clayborne, Jr. (D-East St. Louis; $32,750 in contributions), Mike Jacobs (D-Moline; $16,250 in contributions), and Dale Righter (R-Mattoon; $19,500 in contributions), introduced a series of six different amendments.[686] These amendments included proposals to allow smoking in casinos within specific range of the state borders for up to five years, as well as to allow smoking in "traditional adult venues where a person must be at least 18 years old to enter" as well as in veterans' clubs.[687]

The Senate Executive Committee received all of these amendments and only approved one to be sent to the full Senate: Senate Amendment 5, by Sen. Clayborne, which would permit smoking in casinos for five years. Sen. Silverstein, the author of the shell bill, had supported the Smoke Free Illinois Act, so at this point Silverstein removed himself from being the sponsor of the bill.[686]

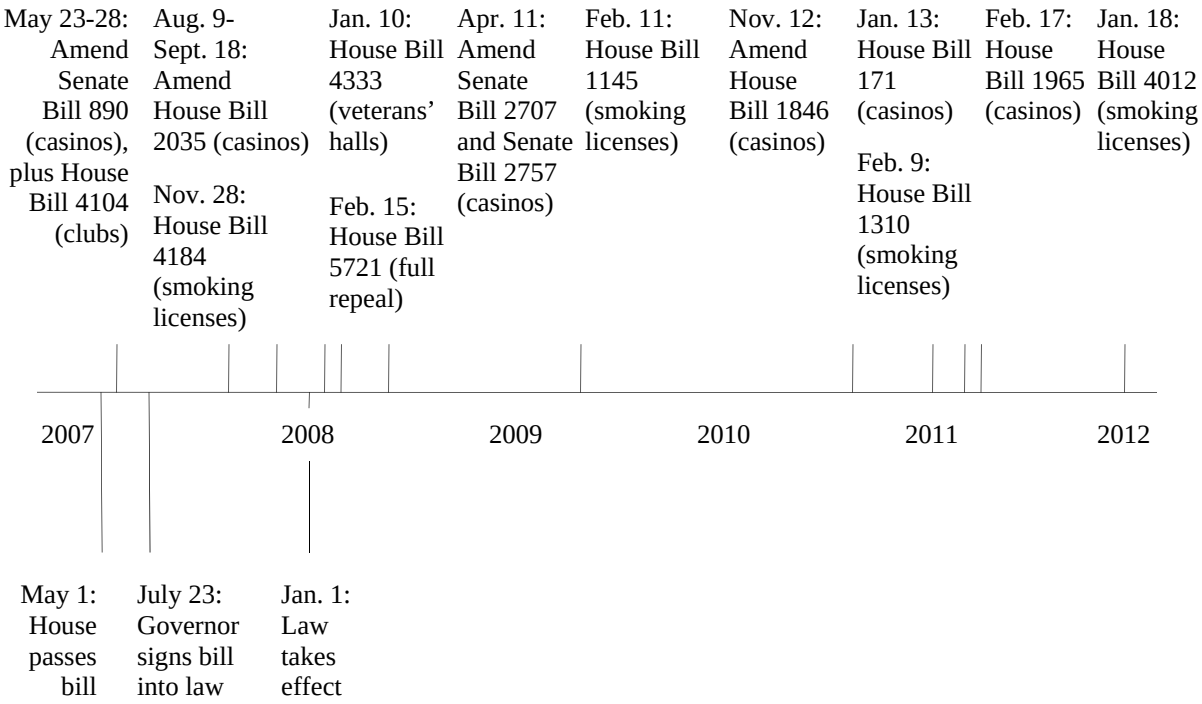


Figure 19: Timeline of Events for Introduction of Legislation to Roll Back Parts of the Smoke Free Illinois Act

This amendment to allow smoking in casinos for five years, however, did not become part of the bill; it failed in a June 1 vote in the Senate, by a vote of 26-31,[688] Advocates worked very hard to defeat this amendment, using the regular repertoire of advocacy techniques, and the final bill never came to a vote in the Senate. Those voting in favor of the failed amendment to permit smoking in casinos had not been uniformly opposed to regulating smoking: in fact, of the 26 who voted in favor of the failed amendment, nine had voted for the Smoke Free Illinois Act just two months before: Senators James DeLeo (D-Chicago), William Delgado (D-Chicago), Debbie Halvorson (D-Chicago Heights), Rickey Hendon (D-Chicago), Kimberly Lightford (D-Westchester, in Cook County), James Meeks (D-Calumet City, in Cook County), John Millner (R-Bloomingdale, in DuPage County), Michael Noland (D-Elgin, in Kane County), and Kwame Raoul (D-Chicago).[637, 689] All these senators represented Chicago-area districts.

The same day that the first of the Senate amendments to Senate Bill 890 were introduced, Rep. William Black (R-Danville) introduced House Bill 4104, which aimed to allow smoking in private clubs that existed before 2008 and in which three-fifths of its members approved smoking.[690-691] The House Environmental Health Committee voted against this bill. In part much of this attempted rollback legislation happened so soon after the Smoke Free Illinois Act passed because opponents to it were stunned that it passed, just as it had pleasantly surprised advocates that it had passed. Opponents of a statewide smokefree law, having been surprised by the passage of such a law, sought legislation to peel back the Smoke Free Illinois Act. Health advocates worked tirelessly to defeat each bill or amendment to peel back parts of the Smoke Free Illinois Act.

House Bill 4184, introduced by Rep. Harry "Randy" Ramey (D-West Chicago; $3,250 in contributions) on November 28, 2007, aimed to permit smoking in riverboat casinos for up to five years if the closest other state to the casino allowed smoking in casinos. The bill also sought to permit smoking in a list of other types of establishments including bars with low food sales,[680, 692] through the sale of smoking licenses that local communities could choose whether or not to permit.[693] The Illinois Casino Gaming Association sought to roll back coverage of casinos, contending that the drop in business among Illinois casinos in January 2008 came not only from bad weather, but from the smokefree law.[680]

Rep. Ramey's bill, however, struggled to get support within the House Environmental Health Committee.[693] The Illinois Casino Gaming Association argued that casino revenues had dropped from the year before; the American Cancer Society kept up its focus on workplace health.[694] The House Environmental Health Committee rejected it.[694]

The issue of smoking in casinos also became intertwined with larger debates about whether to expand casino gambling in Illinois. Throughout the late 2000s gaming interests in Illinois advocated for an expansion of casino gambling in Illinois, including new casinos in the Chicago area. Independent of the debate surrounding the Smoke Free Illinois Act, the Illinois House passed House Bill 2035 by Rep. Chapin Rose (R-Charleston; $7,500 in contributions) in 2007, which at the time of being passed by the House was a bill dealing with transportation funding.[695] Passed by the House and sent to the Senate, a proposed amendment by Sen. Rickey Hendon (D-Chicago; $11,050 in contributions) sought to make the bill into one expanding the number of casinos in Illinois. The city of Chicago wanted to introduce up to three casinos to pay for school construction, while in the rest of the state there were nine casinos total and the number of casino licenses the state could give out was capped at 10, so the bill expanded the number of total casino licenses.[696] Casino expansion in Illinois would be used to pay for other construction for schools around the state.[697]

State representatives from around the southern portion of the Chicago area, with a large African American community, were banking on the casino expansion to provide jobs for the area; this was during the late 2000s recession, when concerns about unemployment were key among legislators' priorities.[257]

Many legislators representing that area believed that maintaining the smokefree requirement for casinos would jeopardize gaming in Illinois and possibilities for gaming expansion.[257] These arguments were the assertions of the Illinois Casino Gaming Association and its executive director Tom Swoik.

Senators who voted against Smoke Free Illinois Act introduced amendments to House Bill 2035 in attempts to remove the requirement for smokefree casinos. Two senators played a key role in modifying the legislation: Sen. James Clayborne (D-East St. Louis), who wanted to peel it back, and Sen. Hendon (D-Chicago), the sponsor of the bill. Clayborme tried to get Hendon to support a rollback of coverage for casinos.

When the Senate considered House Bill 2035, Senate Amendment 2 to that bill, introduced by Sen. Clayborne on August 9, just two weeks after Gov. Blagojevich had signed the Smoke Free Illinois Act into law, sought to amend the Smoke Free Illinois Act to permit smoking in riverboat casinos for up to five years if the closest other state to that casino allowed smoking in casinos. The Senate Executive Committee voted 7-1 to send it to the full Senate, but the Senate did not make the amendment part of the bill.[695]

The Senate did not adopt Senate Amendment 2, but did adopt another amendment to peel back smokefree casino requirements, Senate Amendment 8, by Sen. Hendon.[695] On September 18, the Senate Executive Committee passed forward its version of the casino expansion bill including a rollback of coverage, and the Senate incorporated Senate Amendment 8 into the bill.

Hendon, the Senate sponsor, however, then pulled back from what Clayborne wanted in the bill. After Senate Amendment 8 was folded into the bill, Hendon introduced Senate Amendment 9, to modify the casino expansion bill again to keep smokefree coverage of casinos intact. The Senate voted 47-7 to fold Senate Amendment 9 into House Bill 2035.[698-699] Clayborne had supported the version of the bill with the provision rolling back coverage of casinos, and demanded an explanation from Hendon for what happened.[698] The Senate eventually passed the bill without rolling back smokefree casino coverage; the House eventually did not approve the amendments that the Senate had added to House Bill 2035, and the casino expansion did not become law.

Recognizing before such bills were introduced that there was a potential for legislative attempts to permit smoking in casinos, and then after seeing these potentials turn into action bills to permit smoking in casinos, public health advocates worked to head off such attempts. In August 2007, after the introduction of bills threatening to roll back smokefree coverage of casinos, the American Lung Association in Illinois conducted a study of air quality in a casino in East St. Louis. The study, released in September 2007, found poor air quality, and that the percentage of casino patrons who smoked stood at about the same as the percentage in Illinois' population at large.[700]

The air quality study on casinos in Illinois reflected similar findings in Nevada, the state most known for casino gambling: a 1988 survey in Reno, conducted by the Reno-Sparks Convention and Visitors Authority found that poor air quality was one of casino patrons' major dissatisfactions;[701] this survey encouraged health advocates in Nevada to strengthen Nevada's clean indoor air law.[701] In 2008, after Illinois advocates' 2007 survey, a survey across Nevada's major urban areas showed that casino patrons' smoking rates were close to the general population.[702] These studies were inspired in part by knowledge of existing casino air quality studies in other states, according to Drea, the American Lung Association advocate; the existing knowledge of casino air qualities studies was just in general, that advocates in other states, although not specifically in Nevada, had done it.[276]

In September 2007, a casino in Aurora attempted to prepare for the entrance of the law into force, including promising to comply with the law by building outdoor, non-enclosed structures separate from the casino where people could smoke.[703]

Withstanding a Barrage of Rollback Attempts: 2008

Legislative attempts to allow smoking in casinos continued to come largely from legislators interested in supporting casinos, and in districts with casinos. Health advocates' work to combat the barrage of rollback attempts introduced by legislators involved standard lobbying, with special effort: Drea knew that such rollback attempts threatened the comprehensive coverage of the law. Strategies included lobbying of each person in the General Assembly, as well as mobilizing residents in districts with key legislators whom advocates wanted to vote to protect the state smokefree law.[276] Health advocates would used these strategies not only in 2008, but as well as all the following years, through 2012, when proposed legislation attempted to reintroduce smoking in casinos.

Senators who opposed the Smoke Free Illinois act continued, after it took effect, to roll back coverage for casinos in 2008. The tobacco industry did not speak publicly against the law after it went into effect, but casino interests spoke early and frequently against the new statewide smokefree law.

The percentage of casino patrons who smoked stood at about the same as the percentage in Illinois' population.

On April 11, 2008, Senate Republican Leader Frank Watson (R-Greenville, in south central Illinois; $185,871 in contributions) proposed amendments to both cleanup bills that were being considered in the Senate: both Sen. Cullerton's Senate Bill 2757, as well as Sen. Link's Senate Bill 2707. These amendments sought to permit smoking on riverboat casinos within five miles of the state border if the neighboring state closest to the casinos permitted smoking in casinos, and to allow casinos to do so for up to five years. During this time, Illinois only had casinos on riverboats, but the Illinois General Assembly had also considered legislation to introduce gambling in land-based venues. Sen. Watson argued that

the smokefree law had been the cause of a decline in Illinois casino revenues from the beginning of the year. Sen. Link, in opposing Watson's amendment, declared, "It's the economy. It's not the smoking [law]."[704] The Senate Executive Committee allowed both of these amendments to be presented to the full Senate, in line with both Link and Watson's positions of leadership within the Senate. Sen. Link prevailed: the Senate rejected Sen. Watson's approach by a vote of 15 to 35, and approved Link's version, by a vote of 35 to 16. Link's approach prevailed over Watson's because Link represented the Democratic majority while Watson was the Republican leader.[620]

Illinois House members also launched challenges to the coverage of the Smoke Free Illinois Act, introducing legislation in 2008 to diminish coverage of the law in various venues. These efforts included House Bill 4333 by Rep. Mike Boland (D-Moline; $5,200 in contributions) to permit smoking in veterans' halls. The House Environmental Health Committee voted against the bill.

House Bill 5721 proposed to repeal the entire Smoke Free Illinois Act. In introducing the bill, Rep. Shane Cultra (R-Onarga, in eastern Illinois; $2,000 in contributions) argued that the law was "too intrusive" and asserted that economic impacts would be negative.[705] No one else in the House co-sponsored the bill; the Environmental Health Committee rejected this bill on a 3 to 11 vote.[706]

The Smoke Free Illinois Act thus withstood three sets of attempts within its first year to roll back coverage of specific venues, particularly casinos. Some of these attempts received a more serious look by fellow legislators than other legislation. Still, the smokefree requirement for casinos remained a key contested topic.

Continued But Fewer Casino Rollback Attempts: 2009-2010

The 2009-2010 legislative session brought fewer attempts to roll back coverage. Legislative leadership changed to include legislators more protective of the Smoke Free Illinois Act: namely, Sen. Cullerton in his role as Senate President. Cullerton had also served on the Senate Executive Committee subcommittee that heard tobacco legislation during the 2005-2006 legislative session, and backed the 2005 bill to reverse preemption and restore local authority. Cullerton played a key role in ensuring that bills in the Senate to reduce the scope of the act would not make it through.

In 2009, Sen. John Cullerton, the original sponsor of the Smoke Free Illinois Act, became Senate President.

From 2009 onward, in line with Cullerton's rise to Senate President in 2009, all major attempts to roll back smokefree coverage were introduced in the House, not in the Senate. This was a change from 2007 and 2008, when many state senators had introduced bills to roll back parts of the Smoke Free Illinois Act.

Also, from 2009, in the House, given the defeat of legislation throughout 2008 attempting to roll back parts of the Smoke Free Illinois Act, state representatives who wished to remove smokefree coverage for casinos began to concede that reducing the scope of the act seemed unlikely.[707] As Rep. Cultra, for a Decatur *Herald & Review* article, expressed, "It's a prerogative of the speaker to which committee the legislation goes. When he's not favorable, nothing happens."[707]

Many attempts still occurred in the House to roll back coverage of casinos, introduced by state representatives concerned about the decline in casino revenues. House Bill 1145, sponsored by Rep. Harry Ramey (R-West Chicago), proposed to allow smoking licenses for bars and casinos. The House Environmental Health Committee, chaired by Rep. Karen May (D-Highland Park), a chief co-sponsor of the Smoke Free Illinois Act, and with Smoke Free Illinois Act House sponsor Rep. Karen Yarbrough (D-Maywood) also on the committee, voted down House Bill 1145 on a 4-9 vote.[707] Health advocates' main message during this time was to give the Smoke Free Illinois Act time, to give it a chance, that it was too early to make changes that would weaken the law. Health advocates also depended on Sens. Cullerton and Link to maintain the stand that they had taken opposing any opening up of exceptions to the law.

House Amendment 1 to House Bill 1846, an amendment introduced by Rep. Daniel Burke (D-Chicago; $41,550 in contributions), the chair of the House Executive Committee and a representative who had voted in favor of the Smoke Free Illinois Act in 2007, sought to roll back coverage of casinos as long as neighboring states did not have laws on their books mandating smokefree coverage of casinos. House Bill 1846 did not include a limit on how long casinos could continue to have indoor smoking. The bill started as a shell bill; after Rep. Burke introduced his amendment to the bill, the House Executive Committee, chaired by Burke, voted 10-1 to send the amendment to the House, and the House made the amendment part of the bill.

The House never voted on the amended House Bill 1846, however.[708] The bill stalled at least in part due to concerted opposition from public health organizations and newspapers around the state. When the amendment became part of the bill, the editorial board of Springfield's *State Journal-Register* wrote against it, arguing, "Illinois did casinos favor two decades ago in changing its laws to allow them to operate here ... We don't think it's too much to ask that casinos return the favor by operating under our public health laws."[709] Bloomington's *Pantagraph* remarked, in opposing it, concluded, "[P]ermitting smoking in a workplace stacks the odds against employees exposed to that smoke. And in today's economy there is an even stronger argument against saying those who don't want to be exposed to smoke should just find another job."[710]

Legislators attempted other ways to improve casino revenues without diminishing smokefree coverage. Senate Bill 2164 by Sen. James Clayborne (D-East St. Louis) and House Bill 2522 by Rep. Patrick Verschoore (D-Rock Island) proposed allowing casinos to distribute drinks for free at casinos, to try to increase casino revenues. The Illinois Casino Gaming Association also did not favor the bills, arguing that the smokefree law constrained casino revenues and that was what needed to be fixed.[681] These bills remained buried in committees in their respective chambers.[711-712]

Signs of Staying Power Amid a Barrage of Rollback Attempts: 2011-2012

The 2011-2012 legislative session saw a return of legislative challenges to the smokefree casino requirement, with a new crop of bills attempting to weaken the law. This push happened after a 2009-2010 session when legislators hoping to allow smoking in casinos had become dispirited and filed fewer bills challenging the Smoke Free Illinois Act than in 2007-2008.

Tobacco industry interests, alongside legislators who wanted to roll back parts of the law, took advantage of a period of absences that year by the health groups' most forceful lobbyist in Springfield. As Kathy Drea, the American Lung Association advocate and the major lobbyist in Springfield pushing to protect smokefree indoor areas, had a prolonged family medical emergency, and for periods of time throughout 2011 could not be at the capitol. According to a 2013 interview of Drea, legislators did not know where she was, but did know that she was not at the capitol.[394]

In 2011-2012, the House bills that sought to open exceptions to the smokefree law went through the House Executive Committee; this procedural change marked a departure from the past. With the House bills before 2010 proposing to remove smokefree requirements for indoor venues, whether sponsored by Reps. Black, Ramey, Boland, or Cultra, all had gone to the House Environmental Health Committee. Starting with 2010's House Bill 1846, which had been sponsored by Burke, such bills began going through the House Executive Committee.

The shift to the House Executive Committee was likely due to the fact that it is up to the choice of the House Speaker to assign bills. As American Cancer Society advocate Heather Eagleton noted in a 2013 interview, bills routinely go to the House Executive Committee with the intention of to be passed forward.[713]

House Bill 1965: A Surprise Challenge

House Bill 1965, introduced in 2011, came the closest of all bills to rolling back coverage of casinos since the Smoke Free Illinois Act passed. Rep. Daniel Burke (D-Chicago) sponsored House Bill 1965, which proposed allowing smoking in casinos if the closest other state to that casino allowed smoking in casinos, with no limit on how long casinos could continue to permit smoking.

Health advocates worked against the bill by testifying in committee hearings, and lobbied to try to get legislators to vote against it.[713] Still, the House Executive Committee sent it to the House on a 10-1 vote. Heather Eagleton, the American Cancer Society advocate, mentioned in a 2013 interview that Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco members even met with Burke to try to get him not to move the bill to the wider House for a vote, but Burke still planned to push forward with the bill:

> We met with him [Burke], and he was adamant about it ... he felt strongly that it was harmful for businesses in his area ... And so, we met with him of course and said ... "We'd appreciate it if you wouldn't move the bill." And he said, "Thank you for coming

to see me, but no thank you." We agreed to disagree, and then we just kept working from our perspective on why we felt the [Smoke Free Illinois Act] had to be protected.[713]

Representatives largely supported this bill as a favor to Burke. After all, Senate President John Cullerton told House members that if any legislation came over from the House threatening the Smoke Free Illinois Act, Sens. Cullerton and Link would kill those bills in the Senate.[394]

According to 2013 interviews of some of the major public health advocates, many representatives voted for the bill as a favor to Burke, knowing that the bill would not come to a vote in the Senate.[394, 569] On March 29, the bill passed the Illinois House, on a vote of 62 to 52.[714] Of the 47 state representatives who voted in favor of the Smoke Free Illinois Act in 2007 and who remained in the House for the 2011-2012 legislative session, 23 voted for House Bill 1965.

After House Bill 1965 passed the House, Sen. Martin Sandoval (D-Cicero; $7000 in contributions) sponsored it in the Senate. Sandoval was a member of the Senate Gaming Committee, had a racetrack located in his district, located in Arlington Heights.

The bill was practically dead on arrival in the Senate, due to Sens. Cullerton and Link, as well as Drea's return toward the end of the 2011 legislative session, bringing health advocates' lobbying abilities back up to full strength at the state capitol. Nevertheless, health advocates worked hard to defeat this bill. These efforts were focused within the state capitol, at lobbying legislators. The effort to stop House Bill 1965 did not largely involved public activities and media outreach.[276]

House Bill 1965, introduced in 2011, came the closest of all bills to rolling back coverage of casinos.

Even when the American Lung Association in Illinois released the results of a poll that it commissioned, carried out by researchers at the University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, about the attitudes and behaviors of Illinois gamblers, the purpose was to influence legislators. This poll was released the same day that the Senate Executive Committee was going to vote on passing forward House Bill 1965 to the full Senate. The American Lung Association in Illinois used the results of this poll to argue for continued smokefree coverage of casinos, arguing that economic factors had been a large cause behind reduced casino visits.[715-716]

As Senate President Cullerton had made clear from his time starting out as Senate President starting in 2009, the Senate Executive Committee would bury bills attempting to peel back smokefree coverage of casinos. When the bill went to the Senate Executive Committee, it faced a committee with Cullerton as well as members who were appointed by him, including Smoke Free Illinois Act chief co-sponsors Sen. Christine Radogno (R-Lemont) and Sen. Jeffrey Schoenberg (D-Evanston). The bill remained buried in the Senate Executive Committee: Sen.

Sandoval did not call it up for a vote.[635] Smokefree coverage of casinos remained in the force of law.

Further Attempts in 2011-2012

The Illinois Casino Gaming Association and its head Tom Swoik during the time immediately after the passage of the Smoke Free Illinois Act had predicted drastic declines in revenues. Such assertions of drastic decline mirrored the figures that the tobacco industry had spent time trying to circulate among casino interests throughout the country.[213] Yet even as late as 2011, Swoik continued to declare that the Smoke Free Illinois Act was causing casino revenue to decline.

Some signs pointing to improved prospects for the maintenance of coverage for casinos can be seen. The casino industry pushed, at least in part, a further barrage of attempts during the 2011-2012 legislative session to roll back coverage of casinos. These attempts as in the past, did not yield any scaling back of the Smoke Free Illinois Act.

In January 2011, Rep. André Thapedi (D-Chicago; $24,000 in contributions) sponsored House Bill 171, which sought to allow casinos and any future horse track-based gambling areas to have designated gaming rooms with smoking, separately ventilated from the rest of the casino, and with only employees who had signed a waiver opting in to working in smoking rooms being allowed to staff such rooms: this was a standard tobacco industry fallback position. The House Executive Committee passed forward the bill on a vote of 10-1 to the House.

Thapedi declared it a measure to regain lost casino revenues,[717] and promoted the bill at least in part on the urging of the casino industry, which was concerned about its declining revenues.[718]

On April 8, 2011, the bill came up for House floor debate. Thapedi also highlighted how, compared with Burke's sweeping House Bill 1965, his bill was "far more narrowly crafted" and made sure to include legislative research notes about the fiscal impact, and also reminded legislators about how the state needed revenue. Some representatives who in floor debate spoke in favor of the bill even expressed a desire for carveouts not just for gambling areas but for other venues. In contrast, the legislators opposed to it focused most on health effects. As part of the House floor debate, Rep. Karen May (D-Highwood), a chief co-sponsor of the Smoke Free Illinois Act, declared, "I do think that it is going to increase health care costs. I do also believe that while employees have a choice ... if they say they don't want to work there and there is a staffing problem, there may be pressure to say that they want to work there."[718]

Rep. Karen Yarbrough (D-Broadview), the House sponsor of the Smoke Free Illinois Act and now the House Assistant Majority Leader, declared, "We passed a comprehensive bill ... in this state; it was a good bill ... this is about workplace safety. I urge a 'no' vote. And Mr. Speaker ... if this gets the requisite number of votes, I'd like a verification [of the vote count]."[718] After Rep. David Reis (R-Olney; $2,500 in contributions), who had voted no on the Smoke Free Illinois Act, noted that many representatives were out of the House chamber working at budget appropriations meetings and would continue to be out of the chamber frequently over the next

week, Thapedi declared that, seeing the absence of many of the legislators and the existing request for a vote verification, he would take the bill out of the record.[718]

Throughout the next week of the legislative session, as representatives continued to be out on the budget appropriations meetings, Thapedi kept the House Bill 171 from coming up for a vote, by the standard procedure of taking it out of the legislative record every time it became due for consideration. The bill failed to meet the deadline for a vote on the bill; the bill returned, under Illinois House rules, to the House Rules Committee, where it died with the end of the session.[719]

House Bill 1310 by Rep. Anthony DeLuca (D-Chicago Heights; $5,000 in contributions) sought to allow liquor control boards to issue smoking licenses, also a tobacco industry tactic, permitting smoking in bars and casinos with these licenses. House Bill 1310, which Rep. DeLuca introduced in February 2011, would give all county liquor control boards the authority to offer smoking licenses. Chief co-sponsors of House Bill 1310 included Rep. Ramey as well as Rep. Daniel Burke. The House Executive Committee voted to send it to the wider House.

To defeat this bill, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco testified in committees and used its standard advocacy efforts. As Heather Eagleton, the American Cancer Society advocate, remarked in the 2013 interview, "We knew even if it did pass the House, we have such strong allies in the Senate and in the governor's office that we knew it wouldn't really go anywhere, but still we didn't want to send that message [that we weren't going to fight it ourselves]. We wanted to soundly defeat it in the House so we didn't have to keep going through this process year after year of trying to defeat bills."[713]

During the period that health advocates presented opposition to House Bill 1310, DeLuca filed a bill with a modified proposal, House Bill 4012, in January 2012. House Bill 4012 sought to allow local governments to decide whether or not to permit local liquor control boards to issue licenses. This bill, however, remained in the Rules Committee and did not even get sent to the Executive Committee.[720]

The House voted on House Bill 1310 in February 2012, defeating it resoundingly with 30 votes in favor and 82 against.[721]. Health advocates recognized this killing of the bill on the floor of the House as a huge success: the legislative chamber that had passed forward to the Senate the casino smoking bill by Burke in 2010, by 2012 was forcefully against reintroducing smoking in bars and casinos. As Heather Eagleton continued in the 2013 interview, "Once that [the defeat of the House Bill 1310] happened, the opposition pretty much stopped ... which we were thankful for."[713] This sound defeat of the bill, out on the House floor, rather than in committee, demonstrated the breadth of legislative support for maintaining the Smoke Free Illinois Act as it existed.[713]

The many attempts to peel back parts of the Smoke Free Illinois Act dwarfs the number of modifications that actually occurred, with the support of the original sponsors, after the original passage of the law (Tables 22 and 23).

Table 22: Changes Supported by the Sponsors of the Smoke Free Illinois Act, 2008-2009

Year	Bill	Chief Sponsor	Aimed to allow smoking for:
2008	Senate Bill 2707* as passed but not signed	Senate: Terry Link (D-Lake Bluff) House: Karen Yarbrough (D-Broadview)	Laboratory research about smoking
2008	Senate Bill 2757*	Senate: John Cullerton (D-Chicago) House: Karen Yarbrough (D-Broadview)	Laboratory research about smoking Long-term care veterans' hospitals
2009	Senate Bill 1685*	Senate: John Sullivan (D-Quincy) House: Joseph Lyons (D-Chicago)	Native American religious ceremonies

* = bills voted "yes" by the Senate and House chief sponsors of the Smoke Free Illinois Act.

Table 23: Failed Attempts Aiming to Reduce the Scope of the Smoke Free Illinois Act, 2007-2012

Year	Bill or Amendment	Chief Sponsor	Aimed to allow smoking for:
2007	Senate Amendment 1 to Senate Bill 890	James Clayborne (D-East St. Louis)	Casinos within 10 miles of the state border, up to 5 years, if the neighboring state allows smoking in casinos
2007	Senate Amendment 2 to Senate Bill 890	James Clayborne (D-East St. Louis)	Riverboat casinos within 5 miles of the state border, up to 5 years, if the neighboring state allows smoking in casinos
2007	Senate Amendment 3 to Senate Bill 890	Dale Righter (R-Mattoon)	Veterans' clubs
2007	Senate Amendment 4 to Senate Bill 890	Dale Righter (R-Mattoon)	Traditional adult venues where a person must be at least 18 years old to enter
2007	Senate Amendment 5 to Senate Bill 890	James Clayborne (D-East St. Louis)	Casinos for 5 years
2007	Senate Amendment 6 to Senate Bill 890	Mike Jacobs (D- Moline)	Riverboat casinos within 5 miles of the state border, up to 5 years, if the neighboring state allows smoking in casinos
2007	House Bill 4104	William Black (R-Danville)	Private clubs
2007	Senate Amendment 2 to House Bill 2035	James Clayborne (D-East St. Louis);	Riverboat casinos up to 5 years if the closest other state to that casino allows smoking in casinos
2007	Senate Amendment 8 to House Bill 2035	Rickey Hendon (D-Chicago)	Riverboat casinos within 5 miles of the state border, up to 5 years, if the neighboring state allows smoking in casinos
2007	House Bill 4184	Randy Ramey (R-West Chicago)	Smoking licenses for bars and casinos, plus riverboat casinos up to 5 years if the closest other state to that casino allows smoking in casinos
2008	Amendments 2 and 4 to Senate Bill 2707	Frank Watson (R-Greenville)	Riverboat casinos up to 5 years if the closest other state to that casino allows smoking in casinos
2008	Amendment 2 to Senate Bill 2757	Frank Watson (R-Greenville)	Riverboat casinos up to 5 years if the closest other state to that casino allows smoking in casinos
2008	House Bill 4333	Mike Boland (D-Moline)	Veterans' halls and clubs
2008	House Bill 5721	Shane Cultra (R-Onarga)	Repeal of the entire Smoke Free Illinois Act
2009	House Bill 1145	Randy Ramey (R-West Chicago)	Smoking licenses for bars and casinos
2010	Amendment 1 to House Bill 1846	Daniel Burke (D-Chicago)	Casinos if the closest other state to that casino allows smoking in casinos (no 5 year limit)
2011	House Bill 171	André Thapedi (D-Chicago)	Smoking rooms within casinos
2011	House Bill 1310	Anthony DeLuca (D-Chicago Heights)	Smoking licenses for bars and casinos
2011	House Bill 1965	House: Daniel Burke (D-Chicago) Senate: Martin Sandoval (D-Cicero)	Casinos if the closest other state to that casino allows smoking in casinos (no 5 year limit)
2012	House Bill 4012	Anthony DeLuca (D-Chicago Heights)	Smoking licenses for bars and casinos

Settling Into a Pattern of Difficulty on Implementing Rules

The prohibition order induced an environment for miscommunication among advocates, Joint Committee on Administrative Rules staff, and the staff at the Illinois Department of Public Health: all this for years, even without the tobacco industry spending extra money to unseat the act, as it had attempted during late 2007 and early 2008.

A prohibition on rulemaking is normally used by the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules when the proposed rules threaten the public interest: Blagojevich's FamilyCare rules that dramatically changed the eligibility income level for subsidized health coverage, without having legislation to do so, counted, according to the members of the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules, as a reason for issuing such a prohibition.

The 2008 prohibition order set up an environment for miscommunication between health advocates and the legislative sponsors of the act, on one side, and the state health department, on the other side. To the health advocates and to the legislative sponsors of the Smoke Free Illinois Act, it made sense that the rules should be need to be written; after all, the act authorized the Illinois Department of Public Health to write the rules. It was a source of frustration that the state health department did not seem to act again to write enforcement rules. During this time, between 2008 and 2012, public health advocates in the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, including the American Lung Association in Illinois, American Heart Association's Midwest Affiliate, American Cancer Society in Illinois, and the Respiratory Health Association, wrote regularly to the Illinois Department of Public Health urging the department to propose new rules, as did Sen. Link, Sen. Cullerton, and Rep. Yarbrough.

To staff at the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules, whose job it was to ensure the development of state agency rules in accordance with the state constitution, it made sense that once a prohibition had been ordered by the member legislators, state agencies would not be allowed to proceed on rulemaking. According to established procedures of the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules, a prohibition meant that further attempts at rulemaking were not allowed. According to Sen. Link, this was an interpretation of older staff for the Committee.[620]

Finally, to staff at the Illinois Department of Public Health, it made sense that a prohibition order by the committee, along with committee staff who would back up the prohibition, meant that the department was not allowed to draft smokefree rules. The prohibition order was still in force, and the interpretation of staff at the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules at the time meant that any proposed smokefree rules would be rejected on those grounds.[659]

High Compliance But Pockets of Reduced Compliance

Smokefree laws are usually self-enforcing and self-regulating, so even with difficulty with the rules, however, the majority of areas complied quickly with the law. They do, however, work better when there is an implementation educational campaign and enforcement efforts directed against any high profile violators.[302] Enforcement of the Smoke Free Illinois Act without approved enforcement rules varied by county. In many counties, the state's attorneys for

each county made a commitment to represent the state in cases where individuals appealed citations to the state's circuit courts. Local law enforcement in those counties usually actively issued citations for smoking indoors.

At one end of the enforcement spectrum, an example of active, dedicated enforcement of the Smoke Free Illinois Act could be found in the efforts of the state's attorney for Will County. Cindy Jackson, the program manager for tobacco and additional health programs for the Will County Health Department recalled in a 2013 interview about the state's attorney at the time:

> When our state went smoke free I worked with our state's attorney that was assigned to the health department on every decision that was made. He helped me to learn the act, to decipher the act. He sent out information, educational memos to all law enforcement agencies. And he was the one [who] worked with any case that originally, before the act was amended ... went to the judicial court system ... [and] would assist me with writing tickets, determining whether or not somebody was in compliance.[722]

In the 2013 interview, five years after the Smoke Free Illinois Act came into effect, Jackson also mentioned that the support from the Will County state's attorney's office is still good: "We still have great support from our state's attorney's office."[722]

As an additional example of high compliance, a situation of where counties achieved good compliance, correcting noncompliant behavior early and then maintaining good compliance, is exemplified by the experience of Kane County. The assistant director of community health at the Kane County Health Department, Michael Isaacson, described in a 2013 interview this pattern of good compliance:

> We have not had to write any citations over the past five years. We have had tremendous compliance as far as organizations are concerned. And where we have had complaints, we, through education, seem to have been able to address many of these things, whether it's a warehouse situation or an office building, things like that where people have come into compliance. And we've come out and done visits and alerted them that this is something that someone has complained about and letting them know that there is an enforcement arm and that they would be responsible if they didn't get into compliance.[292]

Reduced Compliance Mainly in Rural Counties

In other counties, mainly in rural areas, some local states' attorneys refused to represent the state for appealed cases, arguing that there was no clear basis for prosecuting alleged violators. In these cases, enforcement efforts withered. In some counties, judges declared the act unenforceable and decided not to hear cases about citations at all.[665, 668, 723] With no adopted implementing rules, and with some states' attorneys not willing to prosecute, it could not be established that people were actually breaking the law.

Health advocates attempted to change this situation by mobilizing residents and organizations in those areas against the several state's attorneys that refused to enforce the act. Sometimes these mobilization efforts worked, such as one case where such mobilization led a

state's attorney in a rural county near the St. Louis, Missouri metropolitan area to come to enforce the Smoke Free Illinois Act.[394]

Meanwhile, cities such as Galesburg in western Illinois passed ordinances to grant local police the authority to enforce the act.[724] Others, such as Taylor Springs in central Illinois, passed laws that even covered more venues than the state law.[725]

Compliance Rates

Individual compliance with smokefree laws usually depends on uniform enforcement by the state, minimal costs to comply, and high compliance by nearby establishments.[726] The resulting compliance rates were higher than in states with no smokefree laws, but lower than in states with uniform enforcement: the 2011 Illinois Adult Tobacco Survey found that in 2011, 9% of adults reported exposure to secondhand smoke in indoor workplaces in the seven days before being surveyed,[727] down from 14.2% in 2005 and 10.5% in 2007.[728-729] By comparison, the National Adult Tobacco Survey put workplace 7-day secondhand smoke exposure across the United States as a whole at 15.3% in 2009-2010. Illinois' rates compare with 14.9% in Wisconsin, 18% in Iowa, 22% in Indiana, and 30% in Kentucky.[11]

This figure suggests a generally high level of compliance by individuals and businesses throughout the state; these rates are similar to, if perhaps slightly lower than, the high rates of compliance in other states with smokefree laws for restaurants.[730] Of course, since health advocates often focus on rates of noncompliance, this figure also suggests that approximately one in 10 adults experienced some form of noncompliance during the course of that year.

Trying to Increase Compliance Rates

In response to some major noncompliance with the law, some media attention attempted to marshal support among the public for uniform enforcement of the law. The editorial board of Springfield's *State Journal-Register*, which had been on record as having supported the law, called strongly for uniform enforcement of the law.[731] So did the editorial board of Carbondale's *Southern Illinoisan*.[732]

In general, compliance by casinos was good: gaming areas as well as associated restaurants, shops, and lobby areas were all smokefree. Despite this, some advocates continued to point to where casinos should have done better. Some casinos complied fully with the law, prohibiting smoking, and building open-air areas with heating where people could smoke instead. Other casinos, however, built almost entirely enclosed smoking rooms, with four walls and a ceiling, but with features such as a several-inch hole in a ceiling, or a gap on a wall between the bottom of a wall and the

In 2011, 9% of adults reported exposure to secondhand smoke in indoor workplaces in the seven days before being surveyed.

floor.[733] The separate smoking areas set up by the casinos did not, however, have employees, gaming, or food and drink service.

By fall 2012, the advocacy organization Americans for Nonsmokers Rights had conducted a compliance check of Illinois casinos, searching for the degree to which casinos had complied with the law.[733] Of the casinos that had best complied with the letter and spirit of the law, keeping indoor areas smokefree, and posting conspicuous explanatory signs, included Harrah's Metropolis in southern Illinois, as well as Argosy Casino, in the city of Alton, part of the "Metro East" area near St. Louis, Missouri.[733]

Refocusing Legislative Attention on Rules: Peoria Beer Gardens, 2012

Changes in the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules' Staff Over Time

Staff at the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules, in accordance with their duties to uphold the decisions of its legislative members, maintained that there was a prohibition in place against rulemaking for the Smoke Free Illinois Act, as there would be for any law for which the committee had declared a prohibition on rulemaking. But Sen. Link suggested in the 2013 interview that changes in staff resulted in a change in how the prohibition order was seen. Schafer, reflecting in a 2014 interview, confirmed that Joint Committee on Administrative Rules staff viewpoints changed from being against any rules since there had been a prohibition; once the chair of the committee changed, there was a big difference in the attitude of the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules toward rulemaking for the Smoke Free Illinois Act.[659]

Smokefree Enforcement Sweep in Peoria

Enforcement of the Smoke Free Illinois Act continued in its patchwork county-by-county enforcement, through at least 2012. In March 2012, around the time of St. Patrick's Day-related festivities in the city of Peoria, the Peoria police and Peoria County Sheriff, conducted a sweep of smoking compliance, issuing over 30 citations to businesses for allowing smoking indoors.[734] The sweep was paid for by a grant to conduct enforcement efforts for the Smoke Free Illinois Act. Many of these citations revolved around smoking in beer gardens during St. Patrick's Day-related festivities.[394]

Many of these citations were for beer gardens with outdoor patio areas. Businessowners who had been ticketed, including those who supported the law and had thought they were complying, protested, raising smokefree enforcement to be a key political issue in Peoria through 2012.

Attempts to Deal With Definitions Through Legislation

The state senator for the area, Sen. David Koehler, took the lead on working to get the continued lack of implementing rules solved. In August 2012, Koehler assembled a "Beer Garden Task Force", a subcommittee of the Senate Labor Committee.[261, 735] Thus, the Senate Labor subcommittee was finally bring a degree of legislative focus on the issue of Smoke Free Illinois Act implementing rules.

Koehler also tried specifying through legislation some definitions about enclosed areas. On May 21, Koehler took up an amendment to a shell bill, Senate Bill 842 by Sen. Cullerton (D-Chicago), spelling out in legislation what could be defined as an enclosed space for the purposes of the law. These rules sought to define "permeable", referred to "enclosed" public spaces, and clarified definitions of what it meant for a space to be enclosed or not. Difficulties with this legislation arose, at least in part from the fact that building codes or other similar codes lacked guidelines for what it meant to be considered "permeable".[288] Senate Bill 842 failed to meet its deadline for a vote and returned to the Senate Assignments Committee, which buried the bill without voting on it.

In 2013, Senate Bill 53 attempted to clarify the rules in a similar manner to the previous session's Senate Bill 842. Sen. Koehler introduced Senate Bill 53, and Sen. Link took up the bill as its chief sponsor.[736] Koehler and Link mutually agreed to the switch.[276] The Senate Public Health Committee considered the bill, but during spring 2013 did not send the proposed legislation to the Senate. Heather Eagleton, the American Cancer Society advocate, recalled in a 2013 interview that health advocates met with Koehler and asked him to let things be done through administrative rules rather than through legislation, and Koehler agreed.[713]

Agreement to Allow Rulemaking on Definitions of Indoor Areas: 2013-2014

In April 2013, Sen. Link organized a meeting with Sen. Koehler, along with staff from the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules, staff from the Illinois Department of Public Health, and health advocates from the organizations on the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco. The purpose of the meeting was for all sides to agree to the steps needed to approve rules. By 2013, only three of the 12 original legislators of the 2008 Joint Committee on Administrative Rules were still members of the committee, and according to a 2013 interview with Link, the change in membership over these years resulted in a committee that was much more receptive to fixing the problems created by the old 2008 prohibition order.[620]

At the meeting, Illinois Department of Public Health staff noted that they were unable to move forward with rules because of the prohibition issued in 2008. Legislators, health department staff, and public health advocates then convinced the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules to interpret the prohibition in a way that still allowed the rules to move forward. Advocates accomplished this in part by talking with the Senate co-chair of the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules, Sen. Don Harmon (D-Oak Park; $31,500 in contributions),[713] who had not been on the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules during the time that the 2008 prohibition on rules was handed down.

The Illinois Department of Public Health then began to move toward crafting new rules. Staff at the state health department investigated the existing standards by other states with smokefree laws about defining outdoor spaces.[288] As of May 2014, implementing rules were not in place, but the health department had begun to work on these rules, to prepare them for submission to the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules.

Beyond the Smoke Free Illinois Act: Smokefree Local Parks and Multiunit Housing

Indoor public areas are not the only place with large gatherings of the public where secondhand smoke endangers people who do not directly use cigarettes. Outdoor spaces such as parks are also publicly accessible to large numbers of the public. Where local health departments took an active role, especially in the Chicago area where local health departments were more focused on creating infrastructure that allows community members to push for policy changes, counties saw even more smokefree activity on further public areas.

Parks

The Lake County Health Department, just like it was involved with smokefree indoor areas, was the health department in the early 2010s carrying out the most efforts to support an environment in which legislators and residents can advocate for smokefree parks. These efforts began in 2008, the year after the Smoke Free Illinois Act passed. In these efforts, the countywide youth group organized by the Lake County Health Department chose to focus on park districts as their focus of advocacy. The Lake County Health Department worked with park districts to develop smokefree policies. The Buffalo Grove Park District, in both Lake and Cook Counties, was the first park district to adopt a smokefree policy in Lake County. The Round Lake Area Park District, in northern Lake County was the first Park district to adopt a tobacco free policy, prohibiting not just smoking but also other tobacco products.

The Lake County Health Department coordinated a youth group, starting in the 2006-2007 school year, in which the department taught the youth tools about governmental structure, and then youth would do research about tobacco policy topics; then, youth did research about smokefree restaurants. Later on, the Lake County Health Department switched the youth program's focus to tobacco-free parks because the Smoke Free Illinois Act had already provided smokefree coverage of restaurants. The Vernon Hills Park District was the first park district in Lake County to adopt a smokefree policy as a consequence of the youth advocacy efforts.

According to a 2013 interview with Barbara de Nekker, who during those early years with park districts was the lead staff on the Lake County Health Department's Tobacco Free Lake County program, the park district ended up motivated not just by health considerations, but for environmental concerns:

> And so, for them [the Round Lake Area Park District], much more so than necessarily the health impact of outdoor tobacco use, I think they're much more concerned about the role modeling and the environment, which is something I actually heard from the Minnesota program first. And I found that resonated quite a bit. I saw that come back over and over again with the park districts that our youth had worked with, that that seemed to be an issue, environment and role modeling for the youth.[433]

In the following years, the "Grandwood Park" Park District, Waukegan Park District, and Gurnee Park District also adopted smokefree policies.[433] With Grandwood Park, the smallest park district in Lake County, consisting of a park and lake along with a trail and adjacent parts of

streams that feed in and out of the lake, park district staff contacted the Lake County Health Department to find out what could be done on a smokefree policy.[433]

Since Grandwood Park was such a small park district, de Nekker was reluctant to have the youth engagement group focus all year on a small park district, but then decided that the youth engagement group could focus on both the Grandwood Park and Waukegan park districts, with the Waukegan district being the largest park district in Lake County.[433] The youth engagement group worked on educating and advocating for smokefree and tobacco free policies in those park districts, and both districts adopted tobacco free policies in 2012, including electronic cigarettes, for most parts of their park districts. Grandwood Park's policy was comprehensive, with no exceptions; for the other districts, some portion was exempted, such as the golf courses in the Waukegan Park District. The Gurnee Park District followed suit soon thereafter with a policy similar to the other two in the sense that it also prohibited electronic cigarettes but also exempted portions of the district area.[433]

Multiunit Housing

Smokefree multiunit housing policies accelerated in many cities of the Chicago area, with efforts by local health departments to promote these policies in Lake County and Kane County.

Lake County's consideration of smokefree multiunit housing policies in 2011 made it among the earlier adopters in a nationwide trend. In 2005, only 15 public housing authorities nationwide had smokefree policies, and in 2009 this increased to 136 different public housing authorities. The Lake County Housing Authority, the fourth largest public housing authority in Illinois and one that covered public housing in the unincorporated areas of the county, enacted its smokefree multiunit housing policy in 2011. That year, of the approximately 3,300 public housing authorities in the United States, just 230 had enacted smokefree multiunit housing policies.

A resident in the Warren Manor housing center for seniors located in Gurnee, named Betty Smith, had contacted the office of state senator Michael Bond (D-Grayslake; $6,500 in contributions) about secondhand smoke coming from an adjacent apartment through the kitchen appliance ducts into her apartment.[433] Sen. Bond's office contacted the Lake County Health Department, which could not advocate directly for a policy change but gave Smith information so that she could do it herself.[433]

Sen. Bond set up a meeting with the Lake County Health Department, which came as an expert to provide information about the scientific research about secondhand smoke. The Lake County Health Department, collaborating with the Lake County Housing Authority, developed a survey and sent it to residents through residents' rent bills, about support for smokefree multiunit housing.[433] The survey showed support for a smokefree policy, and the Lake County Health Department presented these results to the housing authority board as well as to residents' meetings throughout the county. Lake County Housing Authority made many of its public housing buildings smokefree, effective May 2011, and had the remaining go smokefree effective May 2012.

The Kane County Health Department also worked with local housing authorities to implement smoke-free multiunit housing policies, by encouraging the local housing authorities operating inside the county to enact policies by each apartment building. The Kane County Health Department worked to encourage the local housing authorities operating inside the county to enact policies by each apartment building. Some of the larger communities in which housing authorities began to implement smoke-free multiunit housing policies were Aurora and Elgin.[292]

Conclusion

What Stands Out About Illinois' Smokefree Law

The Smoke Free Illinois Act marked a dramatic change in public health policy by reducing exposure to secondhand smoke across Illinois. The act moved Illinois from being a laggard to being a leader in tobacco control. The path to the law, first by restoring local governments' authority to pass clean indoor air ordinances, then cultivating a surge of cities and counties to pass their own laws, supported public health advocates' attempts at encouraging legislators to pass a statewide law. The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco coordinated lobbying efforts at the capitol and then worked in some ways to promote compliance by the general public.

What Stands Out in How The Law Passed

Illinois' coverage of workplaces, restaurants, bars, casinos, and other indoor areas was a feat by health advocates and by champions of public health in the Illinois General Assembly. Unlike in other states where the gaming lobbyists have kept casinos from being covered by smokefree laws, despite the efforts of the Illinois Casino Gambling Association to remove coverage in Illinois, casinos remain required to be smokefree in Illinois.

Notable for the experience of Illinois is the Senate sponsors' determined stand against amendments being introduced into the bill. This legislative approach prevented the possibility of amendments that would weaken the coverage of smokefree protections: the vote for the bill became a vote for complete indoor coverage, or a vote against it. This way, casinos remained included in the law, covering all hospitality venues. Over the next two years, legislators resolved narrowly-defined matters that arose over the legislation. Support from key legislative figures such as Sen. Link and Senate President Cullerton helped to keep the law intact, through these senators' opposition to any changes that would weaken smokefree protections.

What Illinois' Experience Confirms About How to Pursue a Statewide Law

The experience of Illinois shows that stripping local governments of their authority to regulate smoking, which had been a common strategy of tobacco industry lobbyists for many states, served the tobacco industry's goal of chilling smokefree policymaking. It confirms that those who speak out against smokefree laws, as in other contexts,[737] includes tobacco industry lobbyists, certain business associations, and some business owners. Illinois' experience also affirms the value of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco's strategy of promoting local laws in the capital and in college cities, as well as encouraging ordinances anywhere else local residents

and elected officials considered them, as a way toward to build support among both the public and among state legislators for a statewide law.

In the end, smokefree workplaces in Illinois underwent a dramatic clearing of the air from the late 1980s until the early 2010s. Starting with a patchwork of rules such as no smoking in elevators and nonsmoking sections in restaurants, health advocates eventually achieved a revival of a frozen policy environment, turning a trickle of local activity into a wave of smokefree ordinances in the mid 2000s. The Smoke Free Illinois Act took shape under the protection of committed and protective legislative champions. Then, the efforts of advocates and these legislators then protected the law from rollback attempts and worked to improve compliance and enforcement with the law to ensure smokefree workplaces throughout Illinois.

Chapter 6: Tobacco Taxes

- State cigarette tax increases in the 1980s and 1990s largely funded education, and shifted to funding health in the 2012 increase to $1.98.
- Between 1970 and 1993, cities and counties with "home rule" status could enact new cigarette taxes; tobacco industry-supported legislation in 1993 removed this power, leaving only Cook County, Chicago, Evanston, Cicero, and Rosemont, which already had cigarette taxes enacted, to maintain or change existing local cigarette tax rates.
- Chicago's cigarette tax of $1.18, as of 2014, combined with Cook County's $3 tax and Illinois' state cigarette tax, gave Chicago the highest combined state and local cigarette taxes in the United States.
- Tobacco industry interests used the 1993 law to invalidate a cigarette tax in the city of Berwyn; the Illinois Tobacco and Candy Distributors Association organized this effort and sought to have the Tobacco Institute pay for distributors association's expenses for this effort.
- Rosemont abolished its cigarette tax in 2011.
- State taxes on non-cigarette "other tobacco products" increased in 2012 from 18% to 36% of the wholesale price, after legislators searching for revenues to fund Illinois' state Medicaid program combined multiple proposals for increased tobacco taxes into one piece of legislation.
- For the 2012 state increase and 2013 Cook County increase, members of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco successfully countered "regressive tax" arguments against an increase by casting cigarette taxes as a "progressive" health measure.
- Tobacco control advocates in the decade of the 2000s and early 2010s increased tobacco taxes at the state level and several key local areas, but the public health impact of efforts to increase tobacco taxes, alongside local governments' ability to raise revenues without resorting to sales and property taxes, remained constrained by the 1993 tobacco industry-backed law.

Public health advocates promote taxes on cigarettes and other tobacco products as a way of reducing tobacco consumption: for every 10% increase in cigarette prices, cigarette consumption declines by between 2.5 and 5 percent, with increases having the greatest effect for low-income individuals, youth, and young adults.[21, 738-741] In addition to lowering cigarette consumption, increased cigarette taxes also make starting smoking less likely as well as make quitting smoking more likely.[739]

These efforts at reducing smoking through cigarette taxes would seem consistent with elected officials' search for sources of revenue that are commonly politically acceptable, because a smaller proportion of adults use tobacco products compared with those who would be affected by other tax or fee increases. Elected officials in Illinois faced strong incentives to fix budget holes without increasing income, property, or sales taxes, which apply more broadly.

Tobacco taxes in Illinois existed as of 2014 at multiple levels: both state level cigarette taxes as well as local cigarette taxes, and a state tax on other tobacco products than cigarettes. In addition to several cities having cigarette taxes, Cook County also had a county-level cigarette tax. Illinois established its first state-level cigarette tax in 1941, at two cents per pack,[742] twenty

years after neighboring Iowa imposed the first state cigarette tax at two cents per pack; by 1941, about half of states had established cigarette taxes. Illinois established its first state cigarette tax five years after a state cigarette tax was imposed in Kentucky, and two years after Wisconsin, but before Indiana had established a cigarette tax.[17]

Illinois enacted its first statewide tobacco tax in 1941, at 2 cents per pack of cigarettes; in 1947 it was raised to 3 cents, and in 1959 to 4 cents. The state reduced the tax to 3 cents in 1960 before returning it to 4 cents in 1961. In 1965, the General Assembly increased the tax to 7 cents per pack; in 1967, to 9 cents; and in 1969, to 12 cents. In the 1970s, as several local governments initiated cigarette taxes, state legislators did not pass any increases in the state-level cigarette tax. Between 1985 and 1997, an increase occurred every four years: in 1985, it became 20 cents per pack; in 1989, 30 cents; in 1993, 44 cents; and in 1997, 58 cents. In 2002, the tax increased by 40 cents, for a total of 98 cents. No further increases occurred for ten years, until 2012, when the tax increased by one dollar for a total of $1.98.[17]

Taxes on non-cigarette tobacco products in Illinois were computed as a percent of the wholesale price, rather than as a fixed amount per unit. Illinois' tax on non-cigarette tobacco products increased from 18% of the wholesale price from 36% in 2012.[17]

As in other states, tobacco companies opposed tobacco tax increases in Illinois, frequently by criticizing the programs to which such tax revenues are directed, and also as part of a broader opposition to taxes in general. Public health advocates, in supporting increased cigarette taxes, largely highlighted the health impact of smoking. In addition, legislators and advocates or opponents often cast cigarette taxes as a "sin tax" highlighting moral or religious considerations.

Like tax issues in other states in the 2000s and 2010s, support for tobacco tax increase attempts in Illinois became increasingly polarized along party lines. During tobacco tax discussions for 1993, and 1997, and 2002, the governor's office and at least one house of the General Assembly were controlled by Republicans, and who looked for politically palatable ways to solve state budget issues that avoided an increase in the state income tax. In contrast, tobacco tax discussions in Illinois for a failed attempt to increase the state cigarette tax in 2009-2010 and for an increase in 2012 took place while the governor's office and General Assembly were controlled by Democrats, and at the end of a decade in which a majority of state legislatures had increased polarization between parties.[743] As a result, state cigarette tax increases had relatively high support among Democrats and relatively low support among Republicans. Cigarette tax increase attempts were complicated further by policymakers' attention not only to health, sales, and state revenue considerations, but also to issues of how to spend the revenue generated from cigarette taxes.

Main Arguments in the Debates on Cigarette Taxes in Illinois

Whether at the Illinois State Capitol in Springfield, at Chicago City Hall, at the Cook County Building in downtown Chicago, or at the Evanston Civic Center, supporters and opponents of cigarette taxes in Illinois repeatedly argued about cigarette taxes using common arguments (Table 24).

Table 24: Arguments Used in Illinois in Favor and Against Cigarette Taxes

Position	Argument	Key Examples of Use
For	"Revenue raising"	Illinois 1989, 2012
	"Better than other taxes"	Illinois 2002; Cook County 2006; Evanston 1998
	"Health"	Cook County 2004, 2013
	"Long-term budget"	Illinois 2009-2010
Against	"Border business"	Illinois 2009-2010; Cook County 2004
	"Criminal smuggling"	Illinois 1993, 2009-2010
	"Less than expected"	Illinois 2009-2010; Evanston decrease 1988
	"Regressive tax"	Illinois 2009-2010, 2012; Cook County 2013
	"Dependence on cigarette taxes"	Illinois 2009-2010

Supporters, including both health advocates and the legislators who favored cigarette tax increases, often used a "revenue raising" argument in the face of urgent fiscal crises as a way of filling budget deficits. These arguments were used each time for cigarette tax increases, particularly during times of fiscal crisis such as in 1989, 2002, and 2012. "Better than other taxes" arguments also focused on the potential for revenue, arguing that cigarette taxes raised revenues while staving off other types of taxes, such as income or property taxes. The 2002 state cigarette tax increase, the 2006 Cook County increase, and the 1988 and 1998 Evanston increases used this type of argument. Elected officials used this argument frequently.

"Health" arguments also received heavy use by health advocates, arguing that the taxes were quite simply about improving public health by reducing tobacco consumption. Within Cook County, supporters used this argument in the context of the increases for 2004 and 2013. Both elected officials and health advocates used this argument regularly.

"Long term budget" arguments combined the two, arguing that cigarette tax increases resulted in reduced health problems and improved healthcare system savings, reducing future state spending on tobacco-related diseases. The 2009-2010 effort to increase the state cigarette tax included this argument.

Opponents,consisting of tobacco industry interests, business associations allied with the tobacco industry, and legislators who led the charge to oppose the taxes, used a series of arguments about differences in tax rates between Illinois and other states. Within the Midwest, Illinois as of 2014 was located with some neighboring states with higher state cigarette tax rates and others with much lower rates. By the 2012 state cigarette tax increase, which raised the state tax by $1 per pack for a total of $1.98 per pack, states to the north of Illinois had cigarette taxes of two dollars or more, including Wisconsin at $2.52 per pack. In contrast, to the south, Missouri had the lowest cigarette tax of any state, at 17 cents per pack.

Opponents often used "border business" arguments that increasing cigarette taxes would hurt retail sales in areas near the borders of jurisdictions with lower cigarette taxes because consumers would drive to lower-tax states to buy cigarettes. In the 2009-2010 state increase effort, and the 2004 Cook County increase, opponents used these arguments.

"Criminal smuggling" arguments also relied on the existence of differences in tobacco tax rates among contiguous states, with opponents arguing that higher taxes would increase smuggling of tobacco products from states with lower tobacco tax rates, particularly Missouri and Indiana. Such claims point to smuggling that does occur, yet in the aggregate, claims of the amount of smuggling can be exaggerated,[744] and tobacco industry interests have an incentive to overrepresent claims of smuggling.[745]

"Less than expected" arguments asserted that raising the tobacco tax results in a decrease in consumption, which means less revenue. Opponents used these arguments against supporters' "revenue raising" arguments in the state 2009-2010 attempt.

"Regressive tax" arguments involved opponents arguing that the taxes hurt the poor more than the rich; opponents of the 2009-2010 state tax increase attempt used this line of argument, as did opponents of the 2006 Cook County increase. By 2012, when Cook County approved an increase for 2013, supporters countered by characterizing cigarette taxes as a progressive health policy that kept the poor from having to pay more in smoking-related health care costs and from dying prematurely. Tobacco industry strategists invested sustained efforts in the 1980s and 1990s to characterize cigarette taxes as regressive and to convince labor organizations and advocates for the poor to support this line of thinking, including by giving contributions to such organizations.[746-747] Tobacco industry efforts in Illinois to cast cigarette taxes as regressive occurred developed in 1989, after the Tobacco Institute failed to stop the General Assembly from increasing the cigarette tax that year.

Finally, opponents also used "dependence on cigarette tax" arguments, focusing on what cigarette tax revenues were going to fund. According to this line of argument, state programs, such as education, ended up being dependent on smoking sales. The 1985, 1989, 1997, and 2002 state cigarette tax increases earmarked cigarette tax money to fund the public education system, leading the "dependence on cigarette tax" argument to emerge in the 2009-2010 state increase attempt.

State-Level Cigarette Tax

For the state cigarette tax increase attempts during which the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco was in existence, health groups engaged in standard advocacy practices of lobbying the decisionmakers and mobilizing membership lists to write elected officials.[274] Health groups, in addition, did a small amount of advertising: this advertising was largely by radio advertising in districts where legislators were on the fence, as well as in local newspapers in those areas. In smaller cities and in rural areas, such newspaper advertising was more accessible financially to health advocates. Near the Chicago area, of course, advertising was normally precluded by the high cost of advertising compared with the resources of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, especially in light of the lower funding available to the coalition after the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation's SmokeLess State program ended. Consequently, the coalition's attempts to get media attention consisted of "earned media" such as holding press conferences that media would then report, so the messages by health advocates could appear in news media.[274]

Most cigarette tax increases since the 1980s directed revenues from the increase to go to education; increases in 1993 and 2012 dedicated the revenues to pay for health programs (Table 25).

Table 25: Increases in the Illinois State-Level Cigarette Tax, 1985-2012

Year	Bill	Legislative Sponsor	State tax after the increase, per pack	Revenues directed to:	Increase effective:
1985	Senate Bill 730	Arthur Berman (D-Chicago)	20 cents	Education ($9 million per month to the Common School Fund)[748] and general fund	December 1, 1985
1989	House Bill 760	John Countryman (R-DeKalb)	30 cents	Higher education programs and construction[749]	July 1, 1989
1993	Senate Bill 677	John Maitland (R-Bloomington)	44 cents	Hospital Provider Fund	July 14, 1993
1997	House Bill 452	Lee Daniels (R-Elmhurst)	58 cents	Education (all into the Common School Fund)[748]	December 15, 1997
2002	Senate Amendment 1 to House Bill 539	James "Pate" Philip (R-Wood Dale)	98 cents	Education ($5 million per month to the School Infrastructure Fund)[750]	July 1, 2002
2012	Senate Bill 2194	Jeffrey Schoenberg (D-Evanston)	$1.98	Medicaid (50% Long-Term Care Provider Fund, 50% Healthcare Provider Relief Fund)	June 24, 2012

These increases included a period of steady increases from 1985 to 1997, happening to occur every four years even though sessions are every two years. These regular increases were driven by perennial needs for sources of revenue for the state budget.

Cigarette taxes for Illinois' fiscal year ending in 2011 made up 2.0% of state tax revenue.[751] As of 2013, Illinois' cigarette tax of $1.98 put Illinois at 16th among states.[752] Among Illinois' neighbors in the Midwest, Wisconsin ($2.52) and Michigan ($2.00) had higher state-level cigarette taxes, and Iowa ($1.36), Indiana (99.5 cents), and Missouri (17 cents) had lower.[22]

As a comparison of Illinois' state cigarette taxes in comparative perspective within the Midwest, the state among Illinois' neighbors with the highest state cigarette tax as of 2013, was Wisconsin, at $2.52 per pack. Missouri, the state among Illinois' neighbors with the lowest state cigarette tax, and the state with the lowest state cigarette tax rate in the United States as of 2013, had a state cigarette tax rate of 17 cents per pack (Figure 20).

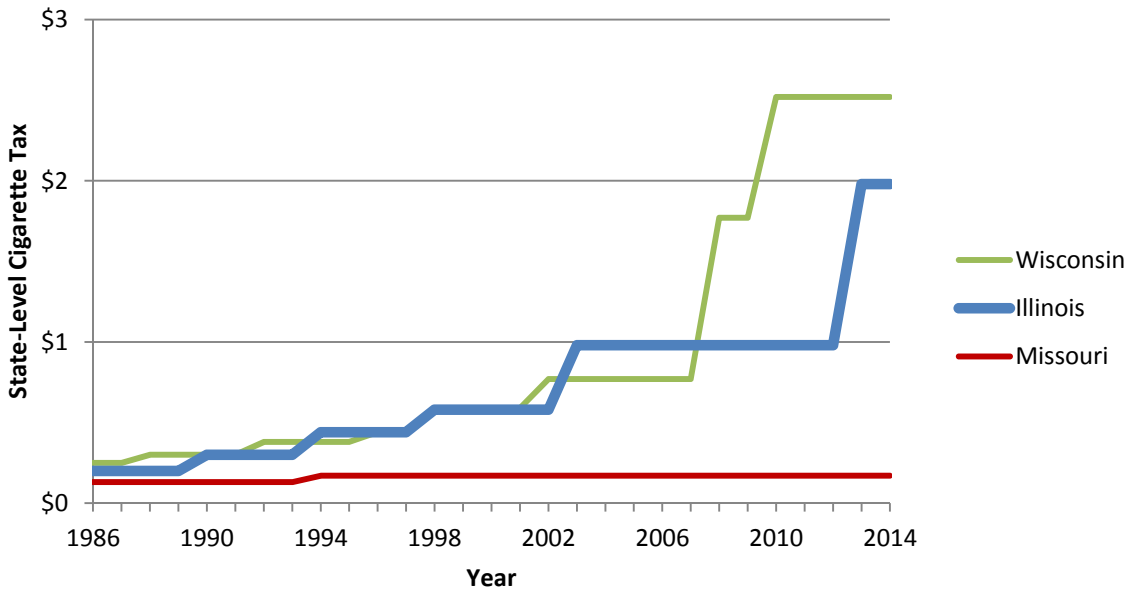


Figure 20: State-Level Cigarette Tax in Illinois, Wisconsin (Highest Neighbor), and Missouri (Lowest), 1986-2014
Source: Tax Burden on Tobacco 2013,[17] Campaign for Tobacco Free Kids 2012[22]

Education Funding: The Increase in 1985

In 1985, the General Assembly increased the cigarette tax by 8 cents per pack, to a total of 20 cents per pack.

Origins of the Increase

The driving force behind the cigarette tax increase was state legislators. Central to the 1985-1986 legislative session was a large education reform package. Also, the federal cigarette excise tax had set to drop by 8 cents per pack, from 16 cents to 8 cents per pack. Like 16 other state legislatures, the General Assembly proposed an increase in 1985 equivalent to the planned reduction in the federal tax.[753] The drop in the federal cigarette tax plus the need to fund education led legislature legislators to include the cigarette tax increase as a key component of funding the educational reform.

Senate Bill 730 (Public Act 84-0126), a multifaceted education reform bill, formed a major piece of the state's education package that year. In addition to wide-reaching organizational and instructional curriculum changes for the state's public school districts, the 1985 educational reform package included new funds for a state pre-kindergarten program aimed at children at high risk of academic problems, new mathematics and science equipment, a new academy for math and science, an elementary grades reading improvement program, grants for arts programs, and programs on drug and alcohol abuse.

To pay for the 1985 education expansion, the state imposed two new taxes: a new five percent tax on interstate message transmissions, and an increase of 8 cents to the state cigarette tax.[754-755] Sen. Arthur Berman (D-Chicago; $900 in tobacco industry contributions) sponsored

the bill in the Senate, and Rep. John Cullerton (D-Chicago), who served in the Illinois House from 1979 to 1991, when he moved to the Illinois Senate, sponsored the bill in the House.

The cigarette tax was more controversial than the phone call tax.[756] Legislative analysis projected the cigarette tax increase to raise $160 million in its first year, which the bill directed to the General Fund.[754] State increases in the appropriations for education increased by $377 million, from $2.2 billion in fiscal year 1985 to $2.6 billion in fiscal year 1986, paid for by the cigarette tax increase and the interstate messages tax.[756] The bill directed $100 million of this revenue to pay for implementing the educational reforms specified by Senate Bill 730 and by other bills in the education reform package.[754]

Advocating for the 1985 Increase

Health groups played an auxiliary role, supporting the increase once it had been planned. Health advocates' efforts in support of the tax included Chicago Lung Association Executive Director John Kirkwood penning a letter to the editor in the *Chicago Tribune*, focusing on the bill's effect on teenage smoking and lauding the *Chicago Tribune* editorial board's support for the increase.[757]

Opposition to the 1985 Increase

The Tobacco Institute mobilized its full lobbying team, including Bud Kelley, Chuck Schrader, Tom Duffy, and Ward Johnson, to lobby against the proposed tax increase.[758] These lobbyists focused especially on the leadership in both the House and Senate.[758]

As part of Tobacco Institute strategies for defeating cigarette tax increases throughout the country, the Tobacco Institute attempted to build coalitions among Latino organizations in states with large Latino populations. As Issues Manager Jeff Ross recalled about 1985 in a December 9, 1988 memo to Susan Stuntz, then the Tobacco Institute Director of Issues Management:

To pay for the 1985 education expansion, the state imposed two new taxes.

> As you recall, when I first got involved in this project three years ago, we targeted four states. They included: Texas, Illinois, California, and New York. In 1987, we targeted a new state, Minnesota, in an effort to develop relationship with state excise tax coalitions. In some states, like California, we have established contacts with the major groups. In other states, we have not been as fortunate. ... Our continued assistance to these groups in 1988 was to demonstrate our general support of the Hispanic community even though we were not asking them to take on specific projects. This is very important--the Hispanic community is very sensitive to charges that the tobacco industry is buying Hispanic support.[759]

The Illinois Retail Merchants' Association opposed Senate Bill 730, arguing that because there was no grace period, merchants would have to pay for the tax increase on existing inventory purchased before the effective date of the bill. Illinois Retail Merchants' Association President David Vite declared that opposition would subside if merchants received a grace period on the increase.[753]

Passing the 1985 Increase

As part of the educational reform bill, the cigarette tax increase's fate depended on whether the General Assembly could agree on the rest of the bill. Although the bill underwent an amendment on matters unrelated to cigarette taxes, namely property taxes, and although this amendment forced the bill to a conference committee,[754, 760] the conference committee kept the tobacco tax provisions intact, and the cigarette tax increase took effect August 1, 1985.

Filling Budget Holes: Budget Crises and the Increase in 1989

Origins of the Increase: Budget Crisis

The 1989 state cigarette tax increase occurred against the backdrop of a state budget deficit for Illinois, in line with worsening state budget situations throughout the late 1980s.[761] Legislators considered cigarette taxes as one of many types of tax increases to help close the deficit.[762] The driving force of the bill was Governor James Thompson, a Republican serving in office from 1977 to 1991 and the longest serving governor in Illinois history. Gov. Thompson had tried for three years to get an increase in the state income tax, but House Speaker Michael Madigan had always opposed such income tax increases.[654] The cigarette tax proposal was carried publicly by Gov. Thompson, as one of his key budget priorities.[763]

A conference committee report to House Bill 760 by John Countryman (R-DeKalb) increased the tax by 10 cents per pack, for a total of 30 cents per pack.

Gov. Thompson called in his February 1 State of the State address for an increase in the cigarette tax by 18 cents, to a total of 38 cents. Thompson cast a cigarette tax increase as a possible alternative to increasing the income tax, which he had also proposed, as one of several tax increases that Thompson wanted passed that year as ways to increase funding for education and scientific programs.[764] In 1989, Minnesota's cigarette tax of 38 cents ranked as the highest among states, and Illinois' proposed tax would have made Illinois' state-level tax tied with Minnesota.[765] Thompson claimed to have selected the cigarette tax as a source from revenue believing that cigarette taxes could be passed more easily than other types of taxes, such as those on income, property, or alcohol.[763]

The 1989 state cigarette tax increase occurred against the backdrop of a state budget deficit.

Health advocates in the Illinois Interagency Council for a Tobacco-Free Society focused that year primarily on the 1989 Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act, and paid more attention to the potential act than on the 1989 cigarette tax increase.[261, 766]

Tobacco Industry Opposition to the 1989 Increase

Tobacco industry interests tried to organize against the cigarette tax increase by helping to promote the idea of an income tax instead, but then was not able to control events in the wake of legislative maneuvering among the governor and legislative leadership. The Tobacco Institute organized a plan to lobby against the proposed cigarette tax increase: three weeks after Gov. Thompson's State of the State proposal, on February 23, 1989, representatives from the Tobacco Institute, Philip Morris, RJ Reynolds, and Illinois lobbyists Bud Kelley, Chuck Schrader, Ward Johnson, and Tom Duffy, held a strategy session in Chicago about it.[767] The strategy session focused on mobilizing the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, Illinois Retail Merchants Association, and the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors.[767] In a March 22, 1989 memo from Bill Trisler, the Tobacco Institute State Activities Division's Vice President for the region including Illinois, to Tobacco Institute Northern Sector Vice President Paul Emrick, Trisler also noted R.J. Reynolds' and Philip Morris' interest in coordinating opposition to the increase, including tapping the companies' mailing lists. Philip Morris also prepared a toll-free number for retailers to receive information about the proposed increase, and used its public relations company to place pieces in opposition in print media.[767]

In his March 1, 1989 address to the House of Representatives, Gov. Thompson argued that a budget including an increased cigarette tax would be able to fund education at a higher level than in the past:

> With the cigarette tax increase we will be able to meet that new high funding level for education, improve math and science instruction, help make college more affordable for all Illinoisans, strengthen job training, boost science and technology research efforts and mount a deadly serious attack on drug and alcohol abuse. But of course the bottom line to all of this is if you choose not to enact the cigarette tax increase we will have to reconsider 100 million dollars of the increased education funding, retreat in the war on drugs and greatly scale back our commitment to improving math and science literacy and to encouraging growth of high technology businesses.[768]

These initiatives were all contingent on getting the tobacco tax passed. Gov. Thompson directed Senate Minority Leader James "Pate" Philip to sponsor the bill for a cigarette tax increase; Pate had done so reluctantly, preferring to limit state spending rather than raise taxes.[765]

On April 14, Bob Pruett met with the Berwyn-based National Taxpayers United of Illinois to mobilize its members against the cigarette tax.[769] National Taxpayers United of Illinois organized April rallies in Chicago and Peoria against it, and sent information about it to Bill Trisler.

In the meantime, on April 24, Chicago elected as mayor Richard M. Daley, who had been friends with Madigan, then become strained through much of the 1980s after Madigan supported an opponent to Daley as Chicago mayor in 1979. Daley sought a way to fill the gap in the city's budget for the upcoming year.[770] By mid-May, David Wilhelm had contacted Daley's staff and sought to get Daley's staff on board with supporting an income tax increase: "On the Daley track, Wilhelm has briefed the Daley people on the CTJ [Citizens for Tax Justice] report he is preparing. They have urged him to get it done quickly ... they, too, would be looking toward an income tax, but they want to be sure of support first."[771]

In May, the firm Agenda Communications, presided by Christine Lapaille, sent the Tobacco Institute a strategy document for a new group. "Grassroots Public Relations Action Plan: Citizens for Tax Fairness" focused on finding small businesses to argue for the "border business" arguments against increased cigarette taxes.

On May 15, 1989, a Citizens for Tax Fairness organization announced itself, to oppose the cigarette tax increase. Its membership included many of the organizations that the Tobacco Institute sought to coordinate in presenting opposition to the tax: Philip Morris, the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors, the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, and the Illinois Retail Merchants Association.[772] The organization publicly acknowledged the membership of these organizations. The organization started a letter and telephone campaign targeting members of the General Assembly.

On May 17, 1989, the State Activities Division also directed Philip Morris lobbyist Jeff Whipple and R.J. Reynolds lobbyist Larry Suffredin to lobby legislators against the proposed cigarette tax increase.[162] The talking points prepared by the State Activities Division argued that a cigarette tax would not generate the revenue desired by Gov. Thompson.[773]

The same day, House Speaker Michael Madigan introduced and got passed in the House a temporary increase in the income tax, from a flat rate of 2.5% to a flat rate of 2.96%, with half the money going to cities and half going to school districts.[770] This had been a plan that Madigan's office later acknowledged had been crafted in mid-April and kept secret from other legislators and from the press until it was unleashed on the Illinois House on May 17.[770] This let Madigan repair his relationship with Richard M. Daley, newly elected as mayor of Chicago.[770]

Wilhelm and O'Connell worked throughout May 1989 to organize a coalition against the tax increase, convincing state-level labor unions to organize against the cigarette tax increase.[774] Wilhelm and O'Connell also introduced into media coverage of the proposed tax increase the concept of "tax fairness" which was supposed to mean avoiding taxes that fell disproportionately on poor residents of Illinois.[774]

On May 27, 1989, Citizens for Tax Fairness released the results of a poll it paid for, to demonstrate public support for Madigan's increase in the income tax.[775]

Legislative Response: Filling the Budget Versus Concerns of Too High a Cigarette Tax Increase

During June 1989, improvements in the state's budgetary outlook seemed to shift the debate on cigarette taxes away from being likely to pass. In June 1989, the Senate passed Madigan's bill to increase the state income tax and sent that bill to the governor, reducing the urgency for new funding if the governor were to sign the income tax increase.[765] Gov. Thompson signed the bill for a temporary increase for 1989; the increase later became permanent, in 1990, under newly elected Gov. Jim Edgar (R; 1991-1999). The 1989 increase in the state income tax increased the flat tax rate of 2.5% to a flat rate of 3%,[776] In addition, for 1989, existing state tax revenue intake came to be $200 million higher than expected for the year, reducing the pressure on legislators to look for additional revenue sources.[765]

The Tobacco Institute's lobbying team for Illinois was not as well-running as it could have been in 1989. One of the Tobacco Institute's paid legislative counsel, Thomas Duffy, did not perform work as expected by the Tobacco Institute during the year. In State Activities Regional Vice President Bill Trisler's 1989 evaluation of lobbyists in the Tobacco Institute division covering Illinois, Trisler wrote:

> During our tax mobilization for 1989, we realized that Tom was not producing for the defeat of the bills detrimental to our industry. In fact, Tom was absent from the state capitol in Springfield, Illinois numerous times throughout the session.[777]

Passing the 1989 Increase

The bill squeaked through in the final minutes before the state's June 30 deadline to approve a budget for the upcoming fiscal year. June 30, 1989 was the deadline day for passing budgetary legislation: this June 30 deadline was set from the Illinois' 1970 constitution, until it was changed to May 31 starting in 1995. As part of the budget making process, a conference committee report for House Bill 760, considered by the House on June 30, 1989, cut the proposed increase in the cigarette tax from the originally proposed 18-cent increase to a 10-cent increase. Many Illinois legislators had considered an 18-cent increase to be too much.[778] Attempting to fill a $340 million hole in the budget, in a marathon session, legislators approved a series of bills including increases to the income tax and increases in the gasoline tax.

Tobacco Institute strategists realized only afterward that the 1989 budget session on taxes was a logroll of House Speaker Madigan and Gov. Edgar's positions: Madigan supported a income tax that did not increase money for the state coffers. Thompson wanted the cigarette tax and other taxes such as gasoline. So, income taxes and cigarette taxes all had to be raised.[779]

Adding ten cents to the cigarette tax appeared to be palatable to more legislators. At about fifteen minutes to midnight on the evening of June 30, debates about the cigarette tax continued. Echoing how the governor had tied the revenue from the cigarette tax increase to support for education, Rep. John Matijevich (D-North Chicago), a member of the Illinois House from 1967 to 1993 and by the end of his career one of the most senior members of the House, made a plea to his fellow legislators. He focused on those who had claimed education to be their priority, but who had planned to vote against the cigarette tax increase, declaring:

> Now you tell me how you are going to fund education with nothing. You can't fund education with nothing. The dollars have to come from somewhere. Now, sure there's some growth in revenue, natural growth, but this isn't 18 cents a pack anymore, it's 10 cents a pack. Now if you want to go home and say you're going to fund education, that it's your first priority, you can't do it by voting 'no'.[749]

Others simply didn't want to vote on a cigarette tax along with an increased income tax and increased gas tax: Rep. John Dunn (D-Decatur), the representative who earlier in 1989 had sponsored the Illinois Clean Indoor Act, even as it ended up with a preemption clause, declared, "I voted for two taxes tonight and that's all I'm going to vote for. I vote 'no'".[749]

In the last seconds of House voting, Rep. Todd Sieben (R-Geneseo; $7,512 in contributions) and Rep. John "Jay" Ackerman (R-Morton), asked that their votes be changed to yes. With those votes, the bill reached the 60 votes in the House needed to pass. The Senate, after earlier having rejected the cigarette tax with 23 in favor, 21 against, 2 abstaining, took up the House-approved bill and voted in favor of it, 32 to 24.[780] The cigarette tax increase, establishing a total of 30 cents per pack, went into effect July 1, 1989.

Aftermath: Origins of Tobacco Institute Efforts in Illinois to Cast Cigarette Taxes as Regressive

Basic needs such as groceries are often exempt from taxes such as state sales taxes because a tax on such items is considered regressive: that is, the share of income that each poor person pays on such taxes is higher than the share of income that higher-income individuals pay. In the wake of the 1989 state cigarette tax increase, the Tobacco Institute sought to lobby African American and Latino legislators to align with Tobacco Institute positions, by casting cigarette taxes as a regressive tax. These efforts were in line with tobacco industry efforts to align African American leaders with tobacco industry positions throughout the United States.[781] The Tobacco Institute also attempted to convince advocates for the poor to oppose cigarette tax increases.

Governor Thompson remained unsatisfied with the low revenue brought in by a 10-cent rather than 18-cent increase in the tax, and in July 1989 pressed for the General Assembly to pass a bill to bring the cigarette tax to his desired level of 38 cents.[782]

In August 1989, in the wake of the 1989 vote to increase the cigarette tax, and in the shadow of Gov. Thompson's push for more cigarette tax increases, the Tobacco Industry Labor-Management Committee enlisted the efforts of David Wilhelm. Wilhelm was a major political campaign strategist for Illinois Democrats who later also managed Richard M. Daley's 1989 and 1991 mayoral campaigns, and served as a strategist for Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign;[783] he also served as the chair of the Democratic National Committee from 1993 to 1994.

In an August 16, 1989 memo by Wilhelm, as President of The Strategy Group, the Chicago-based political consulting firm that Wilhelm founded in 1989, to the Tobacco Industry Labor-Management Committee, Wilhelm observed:

> During the recently-concluded session of the General Assembly, foes of excise tax increases found virtually no support among minority legislators. The reasons: 1) the prevalent view was that any tax increase, no matter which tax was increased, would redound to the benefit of minority communities due to the desperate need for funds and 2) a general lack of awareness about the inherent regressivity of excise taxes ... This dynamic needs to be changed. The fact of the matter is that black and Hispanic legislators are important potential allies in an anti-excise tax coalition in Illinois. [784]

An August 22, 1989 memo from Tobacco Institute Director of Issues Management Martin Gleason, sent to State Activities Division Director of Legislative Support Walter Woodson, further explained David Wilhelm's proposals:

> Wilhelm proposes to build on the anti-tax sentiment that currently exists among white property owners in Chicago, and to demonstrate to Blacks and Hispanics why they, too, have a stake in the tax battles. ... The Labor Management Committee has the funds available to support this workshop as Wilhelm outlines. We are not in a position to commit to it, however, until we receive a go-ahead from Bill Trisler and whomever in State Activities headquarters needs to okay it.[785]

In October 1989, Wilhelm presented in Chicago at a Midwest conference of the Coalition on Human Needs, an organization dedicated to supporting public policies helping low-income individuals, including progressive taxation,[786] arguing that cigarette taxes were regressive.

In 1990, a cigarette tax bill, Senate Bill 1113, sought to increase the cigarette tax by 8 cents per pack for a total of 38 cents per pack, but did not pass.[321] Thompson left office in 1991 and was replaced by Gov. James Edgar (R; 1991-1999).

Debates Over Spending: The 1993 Increase

Tobacco Institute executives seemed to be continually concerned about defeating attempts to increase the Illinois statewide cigarette tax. As State Activities Division Regional Vice President Bill Trisler remarked in a 1991 memo to State Activities Division Northern Sector Vice President Patrick Donoho, in 1992 the Illinois legislature would likely be occupied with many other issues but "[o]f course, we are always going to have our guard up regarding excise tax."[210] These fears would come true: in 1993, Senate Republicans and House Democrats compromised to pass an increase of 14 cents per pack, for a total state-level cigarette tax of 44 cents per pack.

Origins of the 1993 Increase: Senate Republican Leadership

Senate President James "Pate" Philip (R-Wood Dale; $121,290 in contributions) was the driving force behind the increase. In 1993, Republicans had just taken over control of the Illinois Senate. Senate Republican leadership that year appeared to be searching for increases in revenue that could be found without raising other sorts of taxes. On May 19, Senate Republicans, including Senate President Philip, proposed this increase. Philip leaned on his Republican

caucus to approve these sorts of taxes, with all Senate Republicans supporting the budget plan despite the low-tax view of five first-term senators.[787]

In 1993, some legislation was introduced that did not pass; these bills were proposed by state senators who were Democrats, which in 1993 became the minority party in the Senate. Senate Bill 804 by Sen. Jesus Garcia (D-Chicago) proposed to increase the cigarette tax by $1 per pack, for a total of $1.30 per pack, but a subcommittee of the Senate Revenue Committee voted against it. The companion bill to Senate Bill 804 in the House, House Bill 1793 by Rep. Jan Schakowsky (D-Evanston), failed to House Revenue Committee voted on it 2-2, with one abstention, meaning that it failed to clear the committee.[240]

The American Cancer Society in Illinois and the American Lung Association of Metropolitan Chicago pressed for a cigarette tax increase of $1, which would raise $730 million extra that the state could use to pay for an unpopular tax on stays in nursing homes, and which elected officials were already trying to figure out how to remove the nursing home tax. Rep. John Dunn (D-Decatur), who in 1989 had sponsored the 1989 Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act, also supported a cigarette tax increase. Representatives of the American Cancer Society met with Gov. Jim Edgar (R; 1991-1999) as well as with other state legislators, although these earlier contacts did not generate much interest.[788]

On May 12, however, timing its proposal to be in the last few weeks of the spring legislative session, while the General Assembly debated the budget, the American Cancer Society and the Chicago Lung Association proposed that the General Assembly increase the state cigarette tax by 70 cents, for a total of $1 per pack. Interest in a cigarette tax increase picked up because it was seen as a potential way to end several unpopular taxes, including the nursing home stay tax and a hospital tax that was paying for Medicare.[789]

The Illinois Interagency Council on Smoking and Disease, the precursor organization to the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, was only lightly involved in the push for this increase.[261] Health advocates were not shaping the form that the cigarette tax would take.

Introducing an Increase: Senate Proposing a High Increase, House Proposing a Low Increase

The Senate, controlled by Republicans, passed a 25-cent increase in June.[790] Not all the General Assembly leadership had been on board in the beginning; Democratic leadership, including House Speaker Michael Madigan, initially seemed cool to an increase. In June, House Speaker Michael Madigan (D) proposed an 8-cent increase, which Sen. Philip opposed for being too low.[790]

Legislative leaders arrived at a compromise and put the cigarette tax increase into an amendment of Senate Bill 677, which had been introduced by Sen. John Maitland (R-Bloomington; $3,000 in contributions). The bill changed during the legislative session from a narrow bill, about authorizing funds for a nursing home grant program, into the Illinois General Assembly leaders' agreement that year on how to fund the state's Medicaid program. The cigarette tax increase formed just one part of the final bill. The bill also established a wholesale price tax of 20% on other tobacco products.

The Senate first passed the bill, then about nursing program funding, on April 22 by a vote of 56-0;[791] the House approved two amendments on May 19 relating to small state health programs,[792] and passed the amended bill on May 21 by a vote of 117-0. Yet on May 23, the Senate voted to refuse to concur with the House amendments, and on May 25, the House refused to recede from the amendments. The Conference Committee on Senate Bill 677 amended the bill to become the agreement on Medicaid funding among House Speaker Michael Madigan (D-Chicago), House Minority Leader Lee Daniels (R-Elmhurst), Senate President James "Pate" Philip (R-Wood Dale), Senate Minority Leader Emil Jones (D-Chicago), and Gov. Edgar.[793]

The Illinois Hospitals Association supported the 1993 cigarette tax increase ... it would help Illinois government pay its Medicaid bills and reduce smoking-related disease costs.

The amended legislation funded Medicaid by adjusting the formula for taxing hospital revenues, setting rates and licensing fees for nursing homes, eliminating the controversial daily tax on nursing home stays, increasing the cigarette tax by 14 cents, and setting a tax on "other tobacco products" at 20%, with the first $1.5 million raised each year to go to the General Fund and any additional amounts going to the state's Hospital Provider Fund.[793-794]

Advocating for the 1993 Increase

Health advocates made arguments in favor of the tax based on its potential to reduce smoking, with individual members of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco giving public support to Senate Bill 677. The Illinois Hospitals Association supported the 1993 cigarette tax increase; in a *Chicago Sun-Times* letter to the editor, its president, Kenneth Robbins, argued that although little of the money would go to hospitals, it would help Illinois government pay its Medicaid bills and reduce smoking-related disease costs in the future.[795] When the Illinois General Assembly seemed not to move forward on Senate Bill 677, the *Chicago Sun-Times* editorial board criticized the General Assembly toward the end of the spring session for not acting quickly enough to pass the cigarette tax. After the bill passed, in July 1993 the presidents of the American Heart Association of Metropolitan Chicago, American Lung Association of Metropolitan Chicago, and the Illinois division of the American Cancer Society penned a joint letter to the editor commending the newspaper's editorial board for its position.[796]

Opposition to the 1993 Increase

Opposition came from the Illinois Retail Merchants Association, with its president, David Vite, arguing in a June 29, 1993 letter in the *Chicago Sun-Times* that jobs depended on cigarette sales, and expounded a "border business" argument that also asserted that smuggling would

increase.[797] Philip Morris also became involved, attempting to mobilize consumers of its products to call legislators in opposing it.[143] The main obstacles to legislators' support for the bill included fears among legislators from border districts about smuggling, and desires among many African American and Latino legislators for more of the money from the proposed tax to go to help Chicago schools open on time for the fall.[798]

Passing the 1993 Increase

With a Republican, George Ryan, in the governor's office, negotiations between Senate Republican leadership and House Democratic leadership favored the Senate Republicans. The First Conference Committee Report on Senate Bill 677, debated in the Senate on July 12, provided that any extra revenues over the expected amount from the increase would go to the Hospital Provider Fund to help reduce the hospital tax rate for the fiscal year ending in 1995.[799] Senate floor debate on the bill focused heavily on border sales and jobs considerations among border legislators, but at least one senator, Sen. Adeline Geo-Karis (R-Zion; $1,200 in contributions), noted that her town bordered Wisconsin and she supported the bill because of how it could cut down on smoking. The Senate approved conference committee versions of the bill on a vote of 38-15, with 3 abstentions.[799] The House passed the legislation on July 12, by a vote of 72 to 42;[793] the cigarette tax became effective July 14, 1993.

School Funding and the 1997 Increase to 58 Cents

Origins: School Funding

In 1997, legislators increased the state-level cigarette tax by 14 cents per pack, to a total of 58 cents per pack.[800] For 1997 the General Assembly engaged in a broad effort to reform school funding. To pay for the many improvements and increases in school funding in the school reform package, the legislature increased the cigarette tax. Funding schools, rather than reducing cigarette smoking, was the primary motivation for the cigarette tax increase.[801]

House Bill 452 by Rep. Lee Daniels (R-Elmhurst; $181,830 in contributions) House Bill 452 started as a shell bill about education funding. After the House passed the bill, Senate Assistant Majority Leader Frank Watson (R-Greenville) sponsored the bill in the Senate and introduced Senate Amendment 3 to House Bill 452, turning the bill into the education funding and cigarette tax increase bill. On November 14, the Senate Rules Committee forwarded the bill to the Senate.

Advocating for the 1997 Increase

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco worked in the media to pen letters to the editor in newspapers, focusing on the health benefits of a cigarette tax even if health was not the main focus of the bill. Samuel Gidding, the chair of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco wrote a November 27, 1997 letter to the editor of the Chicago-area *Daily Herald*, emphasizing the effect of cigarette taxes in reducing youth smoking.[802] Tobacco industry interests argued against the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco's emphasis on cutting youth smoking.

Passing the 1997 Increase

Since the Illinois Constitution required that legislation passed after May 31 of each calendar year with an effective date any earlier than June 1 of the following year, must be passed by each house with a three-fifths vote rather than a majority vote, the Senate required 36 votes of its 59 members to pass the bill. The Senate approved the bill on November 14 by a vote of 43 to 15. In addition, although Sen. Barack Obama (D-Chicago) had been in the hallway at the time of the vote, Obama entered the Senate chamber after the vote and stated that he would have liked the record to reflect his intent to cast a 'yes' vote.[803] The House concurred with several Senate amendments on education issues, passing the bill by a vote of 83-31, with two abstentions, on December 2. Governor James Edgar signed the bill on December 4 (Public Act 90-0548), and the cigarette tax increase took effect on December 15, 1997.[804]

After the tax passed, in a December 15, 1997 *Daily Herald* article, Harry Kelley and Tobacco Institute spokesperson Tom Lauria insisted that an increase would not actually reduce youth smoking, but merely constituted a tax increase that would cause people to drive outside Illinois to buy cigarettes.[805]

Budget Deficits: Efforts Leading to the 2002 Increase to 98 Cents

On July 1, 2002, the state cigarette tax increased by 40 cents per pack, to a total of 98 cents per pack.

Origins: Budget Deficits

Severe budget deficits led to the 2002 cigarette tax increase. For the fiscal year ending in 2002, the Illinois state government ended a string of five years with budget surpluses, and instead faced its largest budget deficit in at least two decades.[806] Legislators passed a broad set of tax increases to address severe budget problems, of which the cigarette tax increase formed merely one part. In 2002 Illinois had a Republican governor, George Ryan, as well as a Republican controlled Senate. Republicans supported tobacco taxes as a politically palatable way of raising revenue for the state budget.

Public health organizations started in 2002 with a call to increase cigarette taxes, in coordination with a broad coalition of other groups created to increase the tax. The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco built support for the cigarette tax increase by putting together the Illinois Children's Initiative. This new children's coalition included other public health groups and labor groups.[185] This coalition was patterned after a similar "Children's Initiative" to raise tobacco taxes and use the revenues to pay for education and other programs for children, carried out in Maryland in 1998.[276, 807]

Advocating for the 2002 Increase

In April 2002, the Illinois Children's Initiative called for a 75-cent increase in the cigarette tax; the arguments that the coalition made were primarily health-based, even keeping kids from smoking, so this was clearly a public health-centered coalition.[808] Health advocates

spent lots of time having people sign resolutions to support a cigarette tax increase, and spent a lot of effort to get support at the local level.[185] Standard lobbying efforts also were done by the health groups, but this time supplemented by the efforts of the other organizations in the Illinois Children's Initiative.

The bill for the cigarette tax increase, House Bill 539, started as a bill unrelated to public health, passed by the House in that form in April with House Speaker Michael Madigan as the sponsor. In the Senate, Sen. James "Pate" Philip (R-Wood Dale) introduced Senate Amendment 1 to House Bill 539, transforming the bill into the broad legislation increasing various taxes.

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco built support for the cigarette tax increase by putting together the Illinois Children's Initiative.

Opposition to the 2002 Increase

Tobacco industry interests worked in late April and in May to activate retailers to oppose the legislation. An April 29, 2002 draft legislative update circulated among federal and state policy strategists within Philip Morris stated, "A mobilization will begin this week in Illinois in opposition to a proposed excise tax increase. The sales force will be distributing a flier to retailers asking them to contact [the legislature]."[809] The Illinois State Chamber of Commerce also opposed the proposal, using a "border business" argument.[810]

Introducing the 2002 Increase

Top elected officials in state government all differed on the size of what cigarette tax increase to have. Governor George Ryan, a Republican who held office from 1999 to 2003, presented a 50-cent cigarette tax increase in his May 2002 budget proposal for the fiscal year ending in 2003.[811] Senate Republican leaders in May had argued for a budget that included a 22-cent increase. After negotiations with the House Democratic leaders, Senate Republican leaders agreed to propose a 40-cent increase.[750]

In the Senate, Sen. Steven Rauschenberger (R-Elgin) sponsored House Bill 539. On May 31, Senate President James "Pate" Philip (R-Wood Dale) introduced Senate Amendment 1 from the floor, after filing it and having it approved by the Senate Rules Committee.[750] Republicans had split support for increasing the cigarette tax. Although some Republicans called early in the session for an increase in the cigarette tax to help resolve budget deficits, many in the Illinois General Assembly's Republican leadership resisted any tax increases.[812]

According to Sen. Rauschenberger's remarks to the Senate immediately before the vote to fold the amendment into the bill, the cigarette tax would raise between $225 million and $240 million for the General Fund, and aiming to transfer that money to the School Infrastructure Fund starting in April 2003. The amendment included a credit for distributors against the increased tax, up to 115% of the current inventory.[750]

Discussion in the Senate combined a distaste for more taxes with recognition of the need to come up with a balanced budget. As supporter Sen. Todd Sieben (R-Geneseo) declared on May 31 in Senate floor debate:

> Many of us, you know, are not comfortable voting for tax increases, but if we are going to pay for the programs that we voted on earlier this evening, ... we have to do the responsible thing and step up to the plate and say this is a revenue stream that will provide some of the monies necessary to pay for these programs.[750]

Passing the 2002 Increase

Partisan politics played a key role in the lineup of political support for the cigarette tax increase. Gov. George Ryan (R) supported the increase to take care of the budget problems facing Illinois in 2002.[185] Democrats, who controlled the Illinois House, generally supported the idea, and among Republicans, who controlled the Illinois Senate, some looked favorably on the fact that it would fix the budget. Supporting the proposal by the coalition, Sen. Barack Obama (D-Chicago) used both the "health argument" and "revenue raising" arguments, remarking for a *Peoria Journal Star* article covering the Illinois Children's Initiative that the increase had the dual advantages of reducing youth smoking and helping the budget:[808].

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco put in a comprehensive strategy to support the cigarette tax increase. Lobbying was one part. Public educational outreach was also part of the strategy, financed through the SmokeLess States grants that the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco had won from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.[274]

The fact that health advocates created the Illinois Children's Initiative generated favorable media coverage for the 2002 cigarette tax increase. Media reporting on the cigarette tax increase often reflected the fact that revenues would go to pay for children's programs.[808, 810] Still, newspapers that supported smokefree laws seemed not to have as much support for cigarette taxes: the *News-Gazette* in Champaign-Urbana took a stand against the increase, after it passed.[813]

The Senate passed the bill on a vote of 30 to 6, just receiving the 30 votes needed to pass; in addition, 22 senators abstained, all Democrats.[814] These Democratic senators voted against the increase as a protest against this measure since it was pushed by the Republican leadership in the Senate; this maneuvering did not have to do with the merits of the cigarette tax itself, but rather simply occurs as a consequence of partisan politics in legislatures in general. The House approved House Bill 539, as amended by the Senate, on a vote of 82 to 33.[815]

Of the $1.5 billion deficit projected for the 2003 fiscal year, the cigarette tax increase raised a projected $235 million, with cuts, other revenue increases, and transfers of funds from local governments and special state funds to the state general fund making up the rest.[816]

In June 2002, Gov. George Ryan (R; 1999-2003) called a special session of the General Assembly to remedy a $500 million shortfall in the budget for the upcoming fiscal year, ending in June 2003. Gov. Ryan had wanted a 50-cent increase in the cigarette tax. The budget passed

by the General Assembly only included a 40-cent increase, and the budget depended on the cigarette tax revenue, so the result was that a shortfall remained in the budget.[817] The General Assembly met on June 10 and June 11, eliminating the remaining budget shortfall by cutting from the budget rather than passing additional cigarette taxes.

A lesson from the 2002 increase is that from lawmakers' point of view, cigarette taxes are appealing avenues of addressing budget issues, regardless of the health considerations. For the 2002 increase, the cigarette tax increase also appealed to lawmakers regardless of party, but that dynamic would soon change.

The 2009-2010 Effort: A Sharper Partisan Divide on Cigarette Taxes

As soon July 23, 2007, the day that Gov. Blagojevich signed the Smoke Free Illinois Act into law, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco began pushing for increases in the cigarette tax as a way to fund programs to help people quit.[818] Health advocates' efforts to increase taxes on tobacco products included both state and local efforts to increase cigarette taxes. These efforts materialized in an attempt in 2009-2010.

Origins: Crafting the Bill for an Increase

Legislators, not health groups, were the origins of the push for a cigarette tax increase. Legislative leaders in both houses, along with Gov. Quinn, sought to close an estimated $11 billion budget deficit by including tax increases. Gov. Quinn made multiple proposals to close the deficit, including increasing the state income tax rate, and also increasing the state-level cigarette tax by $1 to raise the funds necessary to keep an existing program of need-based student scholarships from being cut.[819]

Key legislators consulted with health advocates before drafting the bill. According to the 2013 interview with Heather Eagleton, the American Cancer Society advocate, Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco advocates talked with Sen. Schoenberg and Rep. Karen Yarbrough (D-Broadview) during the preparation of the bill. Health advocates wanted the funds to go to smoking cessation efforts, but the legislative sponsors did not see that as being able to create enough political support among legislators; health advocates then wanted the funds to go at least to some sort of public health initiatives, but Schoenberg and Yarbrough wanted the funds to go to education. Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco members did not like that idea, having preferred smoking cessation efforts all along, but agreed to it because it would create broader support for an increased cigarette tax.[423, 713] According to a 2014 interview with Matt Maloney, the Respiratory Health Association advocate, it was legislators' idea that the funds going to education would help boost support among legislators representing suburban parts of the Chicago metropolitan area.[423]

Senate Bill 44 by Senate Assistant Majority Leader Jeffrey Schoenberg (D-Evanston) sought unsuccessfully to increase the cigarette tax by $1 per pack. The bill unfolded in what would seem like favorable conditions. Although the bill had strong support in the Senate leadership, with in addition to the sponsor, Sen. Schoenberg, had chief co-sponsors Senate President John Cullerton, Sen. Jacqueline Collins (D-Chicago), and Smoke Free Illinois Act

sponsor Sen. Terry Link (D-Lake Bluff). Also, when it passed the Senate, in the House was sponsored by the House Majority Leader, Barbara Flynn Currie. In 2009, after Gov. Pat Quinn (D) took office, Democrats controlled both houses of the General Assembly as well as the governor's office.

Introducing an Increase in 2009

As introduced, on January 30, 2009, Senate Bill 44 created a Healthcare Provider Relief Fund, designed to be spent as Illinois' Medicare payments to hospitals; at the time, the state had a backlog of payments to hospitals that it had not yet paid. The $1 increase would raise an estimated $300 million per year.[820] The bill reserved over 99% of the revenues from the cigarette tax increase to go to the Healthcare Provider Relief Fund, with less than 1% going to the Tax Compliance and Administration Fund, a fund for ensuring compliance with enacted state taxes. As a small adjustment, Senate Committee Amendment 1, filed by Sen. Schoenberg on March 10, changed the portion of the tax receipts going to fund the administration of the tax from a percentage to a fixed dollar amount; the Senate Executive Committee adopted it on March 11.

Despite strong support for the increase among Senate Democrats, fewer House Democrats backed the bill. Such differences in support among legislators in the same party but different chambers can occur in state legislatures, often depending on the perspectives of the leadership in the respective chambers. Senate President Cullerton had stated an increase as a priority.[821] Limited support in the House, however, led leaders in both the Senate and the House to attempt to make the tax increase a multistage increase.

Advocating for an Increase in 2009

To support the cigarette tax increase, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco engaged in a full mobilization of its standard repertoire of efforts. These efforts included targeting undecided members by letters, emails, and visits in Springfield.[423] Advocates also did press conferences and limited radio and newspaper advertising in districts with undecided legislators.[274]

Proponents included the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, which released a poll in April 2010, finding in a survey of 502 people that 74% of people favored the increase.[820] The Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids also spoke in favor,[821] and provided information to Illinois newspapers in support of the increase.[820]

Opposition to the Increase in 2009

Opponents to the 2009-2010 attempted cigarette tax increase included Philip Morris' parent company Altria, arguing that the tax would not raise the amount of money that legislators had forecast to help the budget situation.[822] Representatives William Black (R-Danville) and Dave Luechtefeld (R-Okawville) argued that smuggling would increase.[822-823] In spring 2009 news coverage of the proposed increase, a Phillip Morris spokesperson asserted that cigarette tax increases in general do not raise as much revenue as legislators predict.[822]

Partisan polarization of Senate Bill 44's supporters and opponents became more pronounced than for past cigarette tax increase attempts in Illinois. In addition to House sponsor Rep. Karen Yarbrough (D-Broadview), co-sponsors included Rep. Jack McGuire (D-Joliet), House Majority Leader Barbara Flynn Currie (D-Chicago), Rep. Constance Howard (D-Chicago; $7,900 in contributions), and Rep. Harry Osterman (D-Chicago; $150 in contributions). On April 30, the House Human Services Committee passed it with the four Democrats in favor and three Republicans against.[824]

Legislators attempted many amendments between July 2009 and May 2010. Amendment 1 by Rep. William Black (R-Danville), one of the representatives who had introduced a bill to try to weaken the Smoke Free Illinois Act during 2007, aimed to limit what counted as a cigarette to those with paper wrappers.

Other amendments were done by the sponsors in reaction to objections by others legislators that a one-step increase would burden distributors. Of course health advocates favored a one-step increase arguing that a one-step increase would save more lives.[825]

Opponents to the 2009-2010 attempted cigarette tax increase included Philip Morris' parent company Altria.

A large adjustment, Senate Amendment 2, introduced from the floor by Sen. Schoenberg, the Senate sponsor, made the tax into a two-step increase, adding 50 cents in September 2009 and 50 cents more in September 2010, without a phase-in period for distributors' existing stocks of cigarettes. On April 2, the Illinois Senate passed Senate Bill 44 by a vote of 30-26.[826]

House Amendment 2 by Rep. Yarbrough sought to make it a three-stage tax, 50 cents in 2010, and 25 cents each in 2011 and 2012, as well as making distributors not responsible for taxing existing inventories as long as distributors did not hoard tax stamps by having above-average tax stamp purchases from 2009 levels. The amendment never left the House Rules Committee.[826]

Trying to Save the Increase: January 2011 End of Session

House Majority Leader Barbara Flynn Currie (D-Chicago), a state representative since 1979 and the House Majority Leader since 1997, worked at the end of the session to salvage the cigarette tax increase in some form. Currie introduced House Amendment 5 in an attempt to get more support in the House. The amendment proposed to allow some of the cigarette tax revenue to go to the Education Assistance Fund, a fund for grants to school districts. The House Human Services Committee forwarded the amendment to the House on a 4-3 vote, with Democrats in favor and Republicans opposed,[827] but the House did not vote on the amendment.

In the last few days of the legislative session, Rep. Barbara Flynn Currie proposed a flurry of amendments to try to get the bill passed. House Amendments 6 and 7 by Currie made the bill into a $1.01 increase, with funds from the extra cent going to the Long-Term Care

Provider Fund and the $1 not into the General Fund but instead for educational assistance programs. The amendments also proposed to set the tax on moist snuff at 20 cents per ounce, and on other tobacco products at 18% of the wholesale price. The House Revenue & Finance Committee did not forward these amendments to the House.

On January 11, 2011, the final day of the General Assembly term, Rep. Currie withdrew her other amendments and focused on House Amendment 8, which proposed a two-phase increase, adding 76 cents the first year and 25 cents in the second year. The House Rules Committee forwarded the amendment to the House, and the House incorporated the amendment into the bill. Currie cast the cigarette tax increase in terms of savings to the budget, primarily through reduced medical costs from lower smoking rates, and then secondarily from bringing in tax revenue, which she argued would increase in total, not decrease. The money in the fund would be used to supplement existing education spending, or spending on other matters if chosen to be spent that way.

Yet, Rep. Michael Tryon (R-Crystal Lake, in McHenry County; $5,250 in contributions) asserted that it the cigarette tax increase would be a regressive tax. Roger Eddy (R-Hutsonville, in southeastern Illinois on the Illinois-Indiana border) asserted that it would harm border business. Those voting 'no' argued that revenues were going to the wrong places. Rep. Jack Franks (D-Woodstock, in McHenry County; $2,500 in contributions) declared that directing funds from "sin taxes" to pay for education amounted to the state encouraging the population to smoke. Franks also declared that it did not make sense to fund education through a "Band-Aid" when education funding needed to be fixed fundamentally first. After the House defeated the bill 51 to 66, the bill ended up on "postponed consideration" meaning it could theoretically be considered again, but all this activity occurred on the last day of the session.[826] To fill the budget, the General Assembly passed an increase in the state income tax instead of any increase in the cigarette tax.[828]

The lesson from this attempt is that although legislators may favor using cigarette taxes over other taxes to fill budget holes, using such funds for non-tobacco control purposes ends up enabling opponents of further tax increases to claim that state programs became dependent on cigarette tax revenue.

Medicaid: The 2012 Increase to $1.98

Origins of the 2012 Increase: Medicaid Budget Gap

In 2012, the need to find new revenue became a pressing issue among state elected officials. Gov. Pat Quinn argued for increasing the cigarette tax as an integral piece of his plan to close a yawning gap in 2012 in the state Medicaid budget. The result was a one-dollar increase in the state-level cigarette tax, with half going to pay for Medicaid and half going to pay county hospitals for long-term care services.

Legislators were the driving force behind this bill, getting both health advocates as well as medical and social services groups on board.[423] Medical groups in Illinois, in contrast with the public health groups dedicated to tobacco, formed one of the most active and well funded

lobbying forces at the state capitol and in campaign contributions.[654] Medical and social services groups got on first, foremost among these the Illinois Hospital Association; then, legislators got the health groups on board the increase.[276]

Organizing Support for the 2012 Increase

As in 2009-2010, health groups worked with legislators up front beforehand in negotiating what would go into the proposed tax increase. Legislators put together a bill that would enlarge the coalition in support of a cigarette tax to include hospital interests, by having half the money go to hospitals. As Heather Eagleton, the American Cancer Society advocate, recalled in a 2013 interview, including hospitals in the supporting coalition was a major reason for the success of the increase.[713] Public health advocates had wanted money to go to tobacco cessation, but after the failed attempt of 2009-2010, recognized that a cigarette tax increase would not be successfully passed if the money was going to pay for tobacco cessation.[713]

Many health advocates believed early on in 2012 that a cigarette tax would not pass. In Illinois, every 10 years, after redistricting of legislative districts, every single seat in the Illinois General Assembly is up for re-election; 2012 was one such year, making it difficult to marshal legislative support in such years. Of course, the last successful state cigarette tax increase before then was in 2002, meaning that cigarette tax increases still had a chance in such years. The supporting organizations included the American Lung Association, American Heart Association, and American Cancer Society, the Respiratory Health Association, and the American Medical Association of Chicago. The same efforts that health advocates had tried in previous years' cigarette tax increase efforts, mostly events to earn coverage by media, with limited radio and television advertising, also were done in 2012.[274, 423]

Introducing the Bill for the 2012 Increase

House Amendment 3 to Senate Bill 2194, introduced from the floor by House Majority Leader Barbara Flynn Currie (D-Chicago) on May 25, 2012, amended Senate Bill 2194, a shell bill, turning the bill into a cigarette tax increase bill. In addition to increasing the state cigarette tax by $1 per pack for a total of $1.98 per pack, the bill doubled the tax on other tobacco products, from 18% of the wholesale price to 36%.[829] The bill also expanded the definition of cigarette to include cigarette-like substitutes, including miniature cigars.[829]

According to the 2013 interview with Eagleton, the inclusion of funding for medical care in the 2012 bill "really bought in our coalition. And when this happens, it's a lot more helpful ... With the final package that they [the legislative sponsors] put together in 2012 with the hospitals and the Hospital Association onboard really helped move it forward. Of course, we worked very hard on it."[713]

The change from putting cigarette tax revenues to education as in 2010 attempt and earlier, to proposing funds for hospitals, was a search for a recipient of the funds that would make the cigarette tax increase politically viable. Tobacco control efforts were difficult enough, and trying to tie the revenues to cessation services was even less plausible for the legislators championing the increase. Eagleton recalled in the 2013 interview, that health advocates were

told by legislators that putting cigarette tax revenues to pay for cessation services is "really a nonstarter. After that first year, we knew that we weren't going to be successful in tying it [to] cessation, so we knew to stop."[713]

House Amendment 3 to Senate Bill 2194 had been just one several bills that session to propose increasing cigarette taxes. Senate Bill 6 by Senate President John Cullerton (D-Chicago) proposed an increase similar to the legislation that House Majority Leader Barbara Flynn Currie had developed at the end of the January 2011 "lame duck" session. Cullerton also attempted to introduce a $1 cigarette tax in an amendment to Senate Bill 21. The Senate Assignments Committee did not forward either Senate Bill 6 and Senate Bill 21 to other Senate committees. These bills were merely placeholder bills.[825]

Senate Bill 2194 passed the Senate on April 15, 2011 in a form unrelated to cigarette taxes, as a bill about the collection of sales taxes. Unlike previous cigarette tax increases that had mainly gone to fund education, this bill aimed to raise $350 million per year for Medicaid, with the idea that these funds would be part of closing up a $2.7 billion gap in funding for the state Medicaid program.[830]

By putting money to filling backlogs in the state Medicaid program's payments, Illinois lawmakers sought also to receive matching funds through the federal government's matching program for Medicaid.[830] Of the funds raised by the tax increase, 50% would go to the Long-Term Care Provider Fund, a state fund for reimbursing county long-term nursing facilities, and 50% would go to the Healthcare Provider Relief Fund, a state fund established in 2009 dedicated to reducing the state's backlog of Medicaid bills that it needed to pay hospitals.

Including More Tobacco Taxes in the 2012 Increase

In an environment with a budget crisis as well as the promise of matching federal funds if the state raised money for Medicaid, state elected officials had high incentives to find all sorts of tobacco taxes that would be raised for Medicaid. This provided a favorable environment for public health advocates' efforts to increase tobacco taxes including both cigarettes and other tobacco products. According to Kathy Drea in a 2013 interview, legislative leadership kept asking what tobacco taxes would result in more revenue.[185]

Consequently, four bills that health advocates were working on all came together: an increase in the state cigarette tax of $1 per pack for a total state cigarette tax of $1.98 per pack, an increase of the tax on other tobacco products from 18% of the wholesale value to 36% of the wholesale value, a tax on little cigars, and a tax on roll-your-own tobacco.[185] These other increases are discussed more in the section about taxes on non-cigarette tobacco products.

Advocating for the 2012 Increase

Health advocates engaged in standard efforts of mobilization and earned media.[274] Advocates also did some light advertising in favor of the cigarette tax increase.[423] For the Senate Executive Committee hearings on the proposed cigarette tax increase, the American Lung Association in Illinois brought in University of Illinois at Chicago economist Frank Chaloupka,

an expert on the economics of tobacco policy including cigarette taxes, to testify on the subject of cigarette taxes. Chaloupka was brought in as a technical expert to testify at the state capitol as well as to answer legislators' questions.

Health advocates and legislators in favor worked closely in lobbying other legislators for the 2012 tax, focusing on three clusters of legislators. Senate President Cullerton called in members to his office one at a time to meet with Kathy Drea, the American Lung Association in Illinois lobbyist, and Chaloupka, the University of Illinois at Chicago economist.[185] Advocacy focused on three types of legislators.

One group included legislators who cared about the impending cuts to Medicaid if no revenue were raised. Legislators in favor characterized the cigarette tax increase as necessary to save Medicaid.[831]

The meetings with Cullerton, Drea, and Chaloupka also focused on a second group of legislators, those who represented low-income districts: a key change in discussions, responding to the "regressive tax" argument historically pushed by tobacco industry interests and voiced as concerns by legislators in low-income districts, pointing out it actually helped poor people because poor people would pay less in future medical costs. This argument attempted to convince many African American legislators in Illinois, many of whom up until this point had more exposure from the tobacco industry and allied business associations to the "regressive taxes" argument that cigarette taxes disproportionately affect poorer groups with a higher smoking prevalence. Instead, advocates argued that increasing cigarette taxes served as a progressive health measure, since tobacco-related medical costs disproportionately affected the poor.[832]

The legislators being called in also included a third group, legislators who came from border areas: in these meetings, Drea and Chaloupka worked to assuage fears about the smuggling of cigarettes from low-tax states to high-tax states.[832] Border area legislators voiced these concerns early on, as early as May 2009.[823] These arguments reflected standard arguments often pushed by the tobacco industry, in opposition to tobacco taxes.

Opposition to the 2012 Increase

Major opponents of the proposed increase included the Illinois Association of Convenience Stores, arguing that it would cost sales,[833] as well as the Illinois Association of Wholesale Distributors,[834] which was called the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors through 2011. Between the passage of House Amendment 3 to Senate Bill 2194 by Illinois House and the vote on it by the Illinois Senate, antitax advocate Grover Norquist and other national conservatives made strident statements against the increased cigarette tax.[835]

Passing the 2012 Increase

On May 25, Rep. Currie introduced House Amendment 3 to Senate Bill 2194, the House Human Services Committee forwarded it to the House on a 9-1 vote, and the House passed the amendment by voice vote. In the Illinois House, Democrats generally favored the bill, while

Republicans generally did not. Christine Radogno (R-Lemont), one of the chief co-sponsors in 2007 of the Smoke Free Illinois Act, as Senate Minority Leader opposed the cigarette tax. As the new Senate Minority Leader, Radogno was now the voice of the Republicans in general in the Senate. Cigarette companies had also surged in campaign contributions to Radogno in the 2009-2010 election cycle, now that she had just risen to Senate Minority Leader.

Radogno noted that although several Republican state representatives voted for it, support from Republicans in the Illinois Senate seemed less likely, given the context of increased opposition to taxes of any form among Republican elected officials nationwide. A Springfield *State Journal-Register* news article covering Senate Republican opposition to the bill quoted Radogno as arguing against the bill, in May for the purposes of the article, arguing, "This is a very regressive tax."[833] The House passed the bill that day on a vote of 60-52, meeting the 60 votes necessary to pass.

In the Senate, Sen. Jeffrey Schoenberg (D-Evanston) filed the motion to concur with House Amendment 3, the entire cigarette tax bill. Senate Bill 2194 passed the Senate on a 31-27 vote on May 29. Senators in general voted on strongly partisan lines: of the 35 Democrats in the 59-member Senate, 31 voted in favor, while all Republicans in the Illinois Senate voted against it.[836] There was some dropoff of support among Democrats representing border areas, despite Cullerton's efforts to call many legislators in, but this dropoff of support is consistent with the influence of "border business" arguments expounded by the Illinois Retail Merchants Association in opposing the 1993 increase, and by the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce in opposing the 2002 increase. Of Illinois' 18 state senators from districts bordering another state, five senators, all Democrats, voted yes: Sens. James Clayborne (East St. Louis), William Haine (Alton), Toi Hutchinson (Chicago Heights), James Meeks (Calumet City), and Donne Trotter (Chicago).

Some border district senators voted for the cigarette tax increase. Lobbying of border legislators shored up support from border legislators. On the closely divided votes in favor of the bill in both the House and Senate, of Illinois' 25 state representatives from districts with land borders with another state, 12 voted for the increase. In addition to seven Democrats, this support included five Republicans in the House representing border areas: Reps. Mike Bost (Carbondale), JoAnn Osmond (Gurnee), Jim Sacia (Rockford), Jim Watson (Jacksonville), and Eddie Winters (Chicago).

Gov. Pat Quinn (D) signed Senate Bill 44 into law on June 14 as Public Act 97-0688.[837] In his message to the Illinois General Assembly on signing the bill, Gov. Quinn declared, "Raising the price of cigarettes is not only good fiscal policy, but good health policy."[838] The Medicaid program achieved the boost in funding from the cigarette tax increase.

Tobacco Industry Litigation Afterward Against the Tax

Tobacco industry litigation challenged the tax increase after it became law. In July 2012, after the Illinois General Assembly passed the increase, the Cigar Association of America and National Association of Tobacco Outlets sued in Cook County Circuit Court, part of the state courts system, to block the increases from occurring, attacking the provision that expanded the

definition of cigarette to include little cigars, with the argument that the new, expanded definition was "unconstitutionally vague."[839]

Courts sided in favor of the tobacco industry litigation, forcing the General Assembly to refine the wording in its tax increase. In December 2012, the circuit court issued an injunction against the state's collection of taxes on little cigars.[840] The increase had included little cigars by defining cigarettes to include all items meeting at least two of a list of seven criteria, such as being "sold in packs similar to cigarettes," or being "of a length and diameter similar to commercially manufactured cigarettes."[841]

In August 2013, Senate Bill 338 by Sen. Toi Hutchinson (D-Chicago Heights) resolved the issues leading to the injunction by changing the definition to go back to the original definition of cigarettes before July 2012, and simply making a separate tax for little cigars set to be the same rate as the cigarette tax.[842]

The lesson from the 2012 increase is that even though cigarette taxes are often seen as more politically palatable revenue sources than revenue from income taxes, this is not always the case, especially in light of increasing party polarization in which many Republicans increasingly oppose cigarette tax increases and more Democrats are increasingly willing to support such increases.

State Non-Cigarette Tobacco Taxes

In 1986, Senate Bill 1912 by Sen. Dawn Clark Netsch (D-Chicago), a long-time figure in Illinois state politics who served in the Illinois Senate from 1972 to 1990 and who also was a long-time cigarette smoker,[843] proposed a new 20% tax on non-cigarette tobacco products.[319] Sen. Netsch also introduced from the floor Senate Amendment 1, proposing for 60% of the estimated $10 million yearly tax revenues from the bill to go to state domestic violence help services, which had recently been slashed.[844] The Senate voted to make Senate Amendment 1 part of the bill,[844] but then voted against the amended bill by a vote of 22-25, with 6 abstentions.[319]

In 1987, Senate Bill 604 by Sen. Netsch and House Bill 1389 by Rep. Marcel "Bob" DeJaegher (D-Silvis) sought a tax on 20% of the value of non-cigarette tobacco products. Senate Bill 604 went to the Senate Revenue Committee and House Bill 1389 went to the House Revenue Committee, where both bills died in their respective committees.[320]

The 1993 Medicaid support and cigarette tax increase bill, Senate Bill 677 by Sen. John Maitland (R-Bloomington), not only contained the cigarette tax increase for that year, but also established a tax of 20% on other tobacco products. Up through 1992, no Illinois state tax existed for non-cigarette tobacco products, even as 40 other states already had taxes on other tobacco products.[845-846]

A cigar company sued against the law. In January 1995, a court later ruled the 1993 tax on other tobacco products unconstitutional,[240, 396, 751] on the grounds that the law treated Illinois-based manufacturers of other tobacco products differently from out of state.[847] Later in 1995,

Sen. Maitland, the sponsor of the 1993 tobacco tax increase, introduced Senate Bill 465, setting an 18% tax on the wholesale price of non-cigarette tobacco products.[396] After this new tax was found to violate the Illinois Constitution, because the bill that raised taxes on these tobacco products also contained legislation on matters not related to tobacco taxes, violating the state constitution's rule that legislation must cover only one main subject. The state government stopped collecting the tax until 1999, when the Illinois Supreme Court reversed the lower trial court's ruling and declared the other tobacco products tax constitutional after all.[751]

In 2012, as part of the Senate Bill 2194 state level cigarette tax increase, the tax on other tobacco products became 36%, effective January 1, 2012 for non-cigarette tobacco products except moist snuff. Senate Bill 2194 created a separate tax for moist snuff, of 30 cents per ounce.[751] The moist snuff provision came in through House Amendment 3, introduced by House Majority Leader Barbara Flynn Currie (D-Chicago).[829] In addition to the 30 cents per ounce for moist snuff, the bill required the tax on moist snuff to be no greater than 15 percent of the amount charged per pack of 20 cigarettes.[829]

City Cigarette Taxes in Illinois

Local cigarette taxes in Illinois existed, as of 2014, in Chicago, Evanston, and Cicero. A county cigarette tax for Cook County also existed, and applied to all parts of the county including municipalities in the county. Some cities considered but failed to enact cigarette taxes, most notably Peoria in 1988, due to tobacco industry opposition; the Peoria oppositional language was subsequently used elsewhere to oppose local cigarette taxes. Legislation to prevent cities from establishing cigarette taxes from scratch passed in 1993; cities that already had a local cigarette tax could continue to have a cigarette tax and to change its amount. There was historically a cigarette tax in Rosemont, but it was abolished in 2011.

Health advocates' efforts to shape cigarette taxes were constrained by the fact that all of the local cigarette taxes in Illinois are in either cities within Cook County, or enacted by the Cook County Board of Commissioners.[274] Media advertising in the Chicago area, whether by television or radio, or in print, was prohibitively expensive compared with the resources of the major health groups. Consequently, unlike media efforts by health advocates favoring state cigarette tax increases, health advocates' efforts for local cigarette tax increases consisted all of gaining "earned media," or attention by the press to write articles or run stories about the cigarette tax and health advocates' positions, without having to pay for advertising in news media.[274]

Why Local Governments Can Tax Cigarettes

Local cigarette taxes, as of 2014, were a relatively rare phenomenon within U.S. states. Like with the issue of smokefree laws, the tobacco industry has spent time getting states to preempt local communities from establishing local cigarette taxes. As of 2014, most states did not allow local cigarette taxes.

In addition to Illinois, where as of 2014 existing local cigarette taxes could be modified but local governments without an existing local cigarette tax ordinance could not enact one from

scratch, Midwestern states with local cigarette taxes included Missouri and Ohio.[848] Missouri had one of the lowest state-level taxes in the United States, at 17 cents per pack, yet several of Missouri's local governments had cigarette taxes,[17] including two counties with cigarette taxes of 5 cent per pack and city cigarette taxes of up to 7 cents per pack.[849] Outside of the Midwest, states with local cigarette taxes included Alabama, Alaska, New York, and Virginia.[848]

Local power to tax cigarettes comes from the 1970 Illinois Constitution which granted "home rule" municipalities the authority, among other things, to impose taxes.[850] In the article of the 1970 Illinois Constitution that deals with local government, Article 7, home rule powers are spelled out as including the power to tax:

> A County which has a chief executive officer elected by the electors of the county and any municipality which has a population of more than 25,000 are home rule units. ... a home rule unit may exercise any power and perform any function pertaining to its government and affairs including, but not limited to, the power to regulate for the protection of the public health, safety, morals and welfare; to license; to tax; and to incur debt.[851]

Chicago passed a cigarette tax, adopted December 10, 1971, of 5 cents a pack, effective January 1, 1972.[852] The city rebuffed a lawsuit against it, upheld by the Illinois Supreme Court.[853]

Senate Bill 591 in 1993 cut off local cigarette taxing power.

Chicago's 1972 cigarette tax led to the case *Bloom v. Korshak*, the first Illinois Supreme Court case about Illinois "home rule" governments' taxing powers.[852] This case affirmed the authority of "home rule" governments to enact local excise taxes on cigarettes.

In 1975, a second municipality, the village of Rosemont, with a population of approximately 4,000, enacted a tax of 5 cents;[854] Rosemont kept this tax in place until 2011, when the village board abolished it.[855] In 1980, Cook County enacted a cigarette tax, starting at 5 cents per pack, effective June 1, 1980.[17] In 1982, Evanston enacted a local cigarette tax, placing a 5 cent tax per pack. In 1993, the town of Cicero enacted a cigarette tax of 16 cents per pack.

Cutting Off Most Local Cigarette Taxes

Senate Bill 591 in 1993 cut off local cigarette taxing power, prohibiting it for all but five local governments in Illinois. The legislation changed the powers that the state afforded to "home rule" cities, amending the Illinois Municipal Code's provisions about powers for home rule cities, to prohibit any cities from enacting cigarette taxes if such cities had not done so by July 1, 1993. In a May 1994 memo, the Tobacco Institute State Activities Division's director of legislative information, Cathy Yoe, included the bill on its list of "industry-supported legislation" for the early 1990s.[856]

Sen. Peter Fitzgerald (R-Palatine) sponsored a bill that was not about cutting off cigarette taxes, but House Amendment 2 to Senate Bill 591 changed the bill to become one about removing local cigarette taxing power.[857-858] As the 1970 Illinois Constitution specified, the Illinois General Assembly needed a three-fifths vote to pass Senate Bill 591: "The General Assembly by a law approved by the vote of three-fifths of the members elected to each house may deny or limit the power to tax and any other power of function of a home rule unit not exercised or performed by the State ...".[851]

Senate Bill 591, as amended by the House, passed the House by a vote of 79-34 at the end of the spring legislative session. Yet the Senate refused to take it up on that last day: as Philip Morris counsel Bernie Robinson wrote in a July 14, 1993 memo to Philip Morris Regional Director of Government Affairs for the Midwest region, Lance Pressl, and to Philip Morris government affairs manager Tina Walls, this was because Senate President James "Pate" Philip (R-Wood Dale) had only heard of the legislation that day. Yet, Senate President Philip expressed a desire to meet with Pressl about it, and appeared interested in advancing the bill:

> Senator Philip would like to meet with Lance [Pressl] again at a mutually convenient time. From the tenor of his comments it's fair to say that the Senator Philip feels that the members of his Senate Caucus would like to have a positive working relationship with consumer products companies who do business in Illinois.[859]

John O'Connell, the Tobacco Institute lobbyist, billed the Tobacco Institute for $4,000 for services that O'Connell contracted out to a lobbyist he was employing for activities including "conferences with the Governor's Office, negotiations, proactive lobbying efforts with leadership and members of the General Assembly."[860] O'Connell also billed the Tobacco Institute for $2000 for work including "meeting with Governor's staff to persuade the necessity to sign SB 591 as is and avoid a veto or amendatory veto."[100]

The Senate accepted House Amendment 2 to Senate Bill 591 on October 28, 1993 by a vote of 47-6, with 2 abstentions. Just before the final vote in the Illinois Senate, Sen. Aldo DeAngelis (R-Olympia Fields) became the sponsor. During Senate floor debate about whether to concur with the House amendments, Sen. DeAngelis argued, contrary to the position of health advocates, that because funding for Medicaid came in part from cigarette taxes, the funding stream needed to be 'protected', so "to preserve that revenue stream" the state needed to prevent more cities from enacting their own taxes.[861] Sen. DeAngelis' assertion led Sen. Alice Palmer (D-Chicago) to ask, during Senate floor debate about whether to concur with the House amendments, "Is it correct to say that this bill is to protect the revenues that are coming to the State by curtailing the ability of ... other cities to enact taxes on cigarettes?"[861]

By July 1, 1993, only five local governments had passed cigarette taxes, and so only these governments would continue to have the authority to do so: Chicago, Evanston, Cook County, Cicero, and Rosemont. Through 2014, of these five local governments that continued to make use of cigarette taxing powers, Chicago, Evanston, and Cook County increased the cigarette tax for both public health and budget-filling purposes, Cicero kept it the same since its enactment, and Rosemont abolished its local cigarette tax.

Chicago

Chicago's city level cigarette tax was set in 2014 to $1.18 per pack, making the total state, county, and city taxes on a pack of cigarettes in Chicago $6.16.

From the five-cent tax for 1972, Chicago's city cigarette tax increased again in 1981, adding five cents per pack, for a total of 10 cents per pack.[862-863] An increase of five additional cents for a total of 15 cents passed on December 27, 1984, effective January 7, 1985.[864] In December 1985, Alderman Edward Burke attempted to increase the city-level cigarette tax from 15 cents to 30 cents; this attempt did not pass.[318, 865]

In 1989, an increase took place shortly after the April 1989 election of Mayor Richard M. Daley (1989-2011). Although Daley did not campaign on a cigarette tax increase, this increase took place amidst a shortfall in the city budget that year, estimated to be as large as $120 million.[866] The council passed an increase of one cent per pack, for a total city tax of 16 cents per pack. Rather than directing the revenue to the city's general operating fund, the ordinance designated the revenue from the one-cent increase to go to homeless shelter programs; in addition, aldermen in favor of the increase pointed to the cigarette tax increase's benefits to public health.[867]

After finding out about the increase proposal, on May 1, 1989, Bill Trisler, the Tobacco Institute State Activities Division's Vice President for the region, notified Tobacco Institute Northern Sector Vice President Paul Emrick, and asked State Activities Division Director of Economic Issues Bill Orzechowski to prepare information on Chicago tax revenues.[868] Trisler also tapped Tobacco Institute lobbyists, David Wilhelm and John O'Connell about the situation, but Wilhelm and O'Connell told Trisler that newly elected Mayor Richard M. Daley fully supported the increase.[869]

The Chicago City Council moved quickly to pass the 1989 increase. Mayor Daley keenly wanted to get the increase passed, as part of his plans at the beginning of his mayoral period of securing new revenues for the city, helping to get the proposed ordinance sent to the favorable Finance Committee, chaired by Ald. Edward Burke, the long-time supporter of tobacco control policies.[870] The Finance Committee approved it on June 27, and the next day the full Chicago City Council passed the ordinance, effective July 8, 1989.[867, 869]

In a Tobacco Institute internal memo to State Activities Division Senior Vice President Kurt Malmgren, Paul Emrick stated, "We are all very upset about the passage of the one cent per pack excise tax increase in the City of Chicago, Illinois."[869] Emrick noted that the speed at which the Chicago City Council approved it surprised him, writing that "the entire City Council unanimously voted in favor of the tax increase which was immediately signed by the Mayor. Again this happened without agenda notification and without a public hearing. ... There is no doubt that we could have been better prepared for the fight but Mayor Daley and the Chairman of the City Council went out of their way to get the one cent increase passed as quickly as possible."[869]

Proposals to increase the city cigarette tax occurred in the 2000s. In 2003, Chicago City Council candidate Rick Ingram proposed to add 16 cents per pack, for a total of 32 cents.[871] Ingram did not win election. For the 2005 Chicago city budget, Joel Africk, the head of the American Lung Association of Metropolitan Chicago, the forerunner organization to the Respiratory Health Association, sought to propose an increase in cigarette taxes.[872] When Daley presented the budget the council, the cigarette tax was one of a wide set of increased fees and taxes proposed for the city budget.[873] The proposed increase received strong support on the Chicago City Council. In budget negotiations, several powerful aldermen, including Alds. Edward Burke and Edward Smith, even declared that they preferred an increase that would raise the city tax to $1.[872] The American Lung Association's Lung Action Network mobilized individuals to write the Chicago City Council in support of a $1 increase.[874] The Chicago City Council stayed with an increase of 32 cents, rather than the $1 increase proposed by the American Lung Association, for a total city tax of 48 cents per pack, approving it on December 15, 2004 and effective January 1, 2005.

Chicago's budget for 2014 ended up including a 50 cent increase in the local cigarette tax.

For 2006, the Chicago cigarette tax increased by 20 cents per pack, for a total city cigarette tax of 68 cents per pack. In September 2005, Mayor Daley told the Chicago City Council that he wanted to raise taxes on a host of items, including on cigarettes, parking, and real estate transactions, in an effort to close a projected budget deficit without raising property taxes; local business leaders opposed many of these increases, leading the City Council to shelve all but the cigarette tax increase.[875] The Chicagoland Chamber of Commerce strongly opposed the tax increases other than the cigarette increase. In November 2005, Mayor Daley argued that although no one wanted to raise taxes, the cigarette tax seemed the least objectionable tax to increase.[876]

By enacting this increase, the Chicago City Council aimed to generate $9 million in general revenue.[877] On December 12, Ald. Anthony Beale proposed an amendment to have a 25 cent increase rather than a 20 cent increase, to pay for an additional staff person for each of the 50 aldermen; this did not make it into the budget.[878] On December 14, the Chicago City Council approved by the budget by a vote of 48-1, with the 20 cent per pack increase effective January 1, 2006 (Table 26).

Table 26: Chicago Local Cigarette Tax Rates

Year	Effective Date	Per pack
1972	January 1, 1972	5 cents
1981	August 1, 1981	10 cents
1985	January 7, 1985	15 cents
1989	July 8, 1989	16 cents
2005	January 1, 2005	48 cents
2006	January 1, 2006	68 cents
2014	January 10, 2014	$1.18

Under the administration of Mayor Rahm Emanuel (D; from 2011), the mayor took active steps on the issue of smoking. In addition to proposals to deal with issues surrounding the sale of menthol cigarettes near schools and the use of electronic cigarettes indoors, Emanuel proposed in October 2013 for the 2014 budget to include a 75 cent increase in the city cigarette tax. Chicago's budget for 2014 ended up including a 50 cent increase in the local cigarette tax.

As Chicago Department of Public Health policy director Kendall Stagg recalled in a 2014 interview:

> ... this budget cycle, all options were on the table to balance the budget. It seemed like nothing was off the table. And certainly the health department and my commissioner [Commissioner Bechara Choucair] supported the tobacco tax. And my commissioner had advocated that they should be considering a tobacco tax as one of the options. [879]

Opposition, including by Ald. Jason Ervin, who despite succeeding as alderman the cigarette tax champion Ald. Edward Smith, was the most vocal opponent on the Chicago City Council to the cigarette tax. In response to such opposition, Emanuel's plan changed in November 2013 to propose a 50 cent increase in the city cigarette tax, from 68 cents to $1.18 rather than the originally proposed 75 cent increase. Such an increase brought the total state, Cook County, and city excise tax within the city of Chicago to $6.16, the highest combined state and local tax on cigarettes of any city in the United States.

Rosemont: Long Term Low Tax, Then Abolished

Rosemont, the third municipality to enact a cigarette tax, in 1975, did so for revenue purposes. Village elected officials sought revenue sources to funds the village's high service needs. Rosemont had a population in the early 1970s of about 4,000; located immediately next to Chicago's O'Hare International Airport, it had greater city service demands compared with other communities of its size, including its own fire department, and consequently greater revenue needs. Consequently, Rosemont sought "home rule" municipality status from the state, which for communities smaller than 25,000 residents could be established by referendum. Rosemont's "home rule" referendum passed in January 1972; Rosemont enacted its cigarette tax of five cents in May 1975.[854]

Village officials never increased the tax. With the tax staying the same and the number of packs declining, as elsewhere in Illinois and the United States, revenue from the tax went from about $43,000 in 1976 and $55,000 in 1977, to about $32,000 per year in 1986 and 1987.[880]

In 2011, the Rosemont Village Board abolished the tax. The tax seems to have been abolished, according to informal phone and electronic communications with village staff, because the tax just had not generated enough revenue for the village to be worth its administration.

At the October 12, 2011 village board meeting, the village considered the ordinance to abolish it. The motion to adopt the ordinance was made by Jack Dorgan, in 2011 a Rosemont village trustee, and who in 2013 became the chair of the Illinois Republican Party. In 2011,

Dorgan was a lobbyist for Swisher International, one of the largest cigar companies in the world.[881] The Rosemont Village Board repealed the local cigarette tax by a vote of 6-0.[855]

Evanston: Tobacco Institute Efforts to Reduce the Tax

Evanston city leaders enacted a cigarette tax in 1982 and Tobacco Institute executives worked for at least four years to reduce Evanston's cigarette tax.[882] The city cigarette tax remained a political issue almost every year throughout the 1980s, when it first began.

In 1982, the Tobacco Tax Council, the national industry organization against cigarette taxes that had formed before the Tobacco Institute, worked to defeat a proposed Evanston 10-cent cigarette tax.[883] By early February 1982, the Tobacco Tax Council became aware of the proposed local tax. Tobacco Tax Council strategists, who were not local residents, met Evanston Mayor James Lytle to convince him to allow an opportunity to present objections at a February 17 public hearing; in the meantime, the Tobacco Tax Council mailed materials to retailers in Evanston asking the retailers to oppose the cigarette tax, mobilized tobacco distributors to try to convince Evanston merchants to oppose the tax, had tobacco company representatives talk to merchants, contacted aldermen, circulated petitions at retail stores to be signed by customers and sent to city council members, and came to the February 17 public hearing alongside merchants who had been mobilized against the tax. Despite these efforts by the Tobacco Tax Council to head off a cigarette tax, the Evanston City Council introduced a 5-cent tax and passed it on March 22.[883]

In 1984, on the recommendation of city manager Joel Asprooth, city leaders increased the cigarette tax by five more cents, for a total of 10 cents per pack.[317] This increase brought Evanston's city cigarette tax to the same level as Chicago's, higher than Rosemont's by five cents.

Tobacco Institute efforts against Evanston's local cigarette tax increased from this point. The Tobacco Institute started efforts to slow or reduce Evanston's cigarette tax. Looking back on this point after getting the council to reduce the tax in 1988, the Tobacco Institute took credit for its "four year intensive lobbying effort".[882]

In 1985, State Activities Division Manager of Legislative Issues Paula Johnson Duhaime wrote a memo to Bill Trisler, the regional vice president, preparing talking points to use at the Evanston City Council meetings, working to oppose a proposal to add five cents per pack to make the new level 15 cents per pack.[884]

In 1986, Evanston city leaders increased the cigarette tax, for 1987, to balance the city budget.[319] The idea started in February 1986 with broad, but not unanimous support, on the Evanston City Council: with the tax as part of the budget, the Evanston City Council approved the budget by a vote of 13 to 5 that included the revenue from the projected tax.

The tax still needed to be approved formally, however, and Tobacco Institute strategists actively worked against it. On December 2, the manager of legislative issues for the State Activities Division, Paula Johnson Duhaime, shared with Tobacco Institute strategists and

executives a new draft of material to use against the proposed increase.[885] By December, however, the Evanston City Council tied 9-9. Mayor Joan Barr had to vote in favor of it to break the tie and pass the tax.[319] This increase of five cents per pack, for a total of 15 cents per pack, passed on December 8, 1986, effective February 1987.[886]

In 1988, Tobacco Institute executives actively mentioned the opportunity to reduce Evanston's cigarette tax. Bill Trisler, the State Activities Division regional vice president, remarked in a memo to Tobacco Institute Vice President Bill Cannell that a study of sales tax data in Evanston would be useful "maybe for a successful vote to reduce [Evanston's cigarette] tax from 15-cents back to 10-cents."[887] The study showed a decline in the number of packs of cigarettes sold.[888]

Trisler made multiple contacts with city budget director Kathy Booth. Booth told Trisler about the upcoming legislative processes as well as what the council would likely approve.[888] Trisler suggested in a weekly activities report within the State Activities Division that Booth supported the idea of reducing the cigarette tax, stating in late January that "maybe Kathy Booth will be successful by encouraging the city [council] to cut from [15 cents] back to [10 cents]. Don't count on it, but who knows."[889]

The Evanston City Council considered lowering the cigarette tax in February 1988. Alderman Ann Rainey, the main force on the council in favor of reducing the local cigarette tax rate, cast the issue in terms of revenue generation. Rainey had focused on comparing cigarette tax revenue from year to year, including since the 1986 increase, and asserted that increased taxes decreased revenue, declaring that "the purpose of a tax is to raise revenue, not decrease it."[890] Interestingly, two decades later, by 2009, Rainey, still in office, changed tack completely, declaring at a city budget workshop that she would like to tax cigarettes out of business.[891]

Tobacco Institute executive Paula Duhaime Johnson presented at a city council meeting about the decline of packs of cigarettes sold in Evanston since the increase.[888] But, Trisler warned Vice President for Legislative Support Bill Cannell that the Tobacco Institute should take care not to be too visible: as a March 14, 1988 memo from Bill Trisler to Bill Cannell stated, "We are not going to get out front because we could do more harm to ourselves th[a]n we would good."[888] In addition to its own efforts, the Tobacco Institute enlisted the Illinois Restaurant Association to push Evanston to decrease its cigarette tax in 1988. Trisler and the legislative coordinator for Illinois, Bob Pruett, contacted Illinois Restaurant Association President Andy Kelley to "furnish materials for them to write their letters to the city council."[888] These efforts all paid off for the Tobacco Institute when, on April 4, 1988, the council voted to reduce the tax from 15 cents to 10 cents.[892]

Considerations about the cigarette tax focused largely on revenue intake from the tax, rather than improving health or reducing government expenditures on healthcare. In 1989, City Manager Joel Asprooth reported to Evanston City Council about the trends in cigarette tax intake over the four years leading up to 1989.[893] The reporting documents showed changes in tax revenue that reflected short-term effects of a large amount of hoarding right before a tax increase, followed by low purchases for the first three to four months after the hoarding month.[893]

After the 1980s, proposals to reduce the cigarette tax fell away; instead, in the 1990s and 2000s, city leaders focused more on increasing cigarette taxes as a way of generating revenue. These efforts came to a head in 1998 with another increase in the cigarette tax. In 1998, the Evanston City Council considered ways to raise revenue for the city. A proposed budget by City Manager Roger Crum proposed increasing property taxes. But, in late February, Mayor Lorraine Morton threatened to veto a budget that included raising property taxes. On the Evanston City Council, support was mixed for raising property taxes. Ald. Rainey also opposed raising property taxes, instead favoring taxes that did not only impact residents of the city.[894]

The Evanston City Council considered many other types of taxes, including raising sales taxes, and including raising the cigarette tax by six cents per pack for a total of 16 cents per pack.[895] The cigarette tax in the budget passed in February 1998 and became effective on March 1.[896] On February 28, 2005, the council, as part of revenue-raising for the yearly budget, increased the cigarette tax by 16 cents per pack for a total of 32 cents per pack, in time for the city's new budget on March 1.[897] Then, in January 2006, city manager Julia Carroll proposed a city budget for 2006-2007 aimed to raise the tax by 18 cents to a total of 50 cents, raising an extra $50,000 for the city.[898] On February 28, 2006, one year after the previous increase, the Evanston City Council approved the increase, to take effect on March 1. Changes to the Evanston cigarette tax have therefore increased periodically from the 1980s to 2000s (Table 27).

The Tobacco Institute enlisted the Illinois Restaurant Association to push Evanston to decrease its cigarette tax in 1988.

Table 27: Evanston Local Cigarette Tax Rates

Year	Per pack
1982	5 cents
1984	10 cents
1987	15 cents
1988	10 cents
1998	16 cents
2005	32 cents
2006	50 cents

Cicero: No Increases Over Twenty Years

In 1993, Cicero, then a town of about 70,000 located immediately west of Chicago, and known for a colorful historical past including sophisticated gang activity, approved a cigarette tax of 16 cents on May 12, 1993. Village trustee Gerald Resnick moved that the proposed tax be adopted, and the ordinance passed the village board on a 7-0 vote.[899] The city cigarette tax in Cicero remained at 16 cents from its enactment in 1993 through at least 2013.

Peoria: No Cigarette Tax Passed, Due to Tobacco Institute Research Assistance

Some municipalities considered, but never enacted, cigarette taxes. In 1988, the Peoria City Council considered a cigarette tax but did not pass one. An organization called the Stop Taxing Our Peoria Citizens Committee, a newly formed organization, emerged to oppose the proposed cigarette tax. Similarly to other cigarette tax initiatives, tobacco industry interests attempted to frame the issue away from health effects and toward economic effects, and to assert that economic effects would be negative. A postcard for use in the campaign opposing the tax read:

> To the Peoria City Council:
>
> I strongly urge you to reject the proposed taxes on cigarettes, liquor and gasoline. These taxes will force businesses to close their doors – costing our city jobs – by forcing their customers to shop in neighboring cities.
>
> Stop Taxing Our Peoria![900]

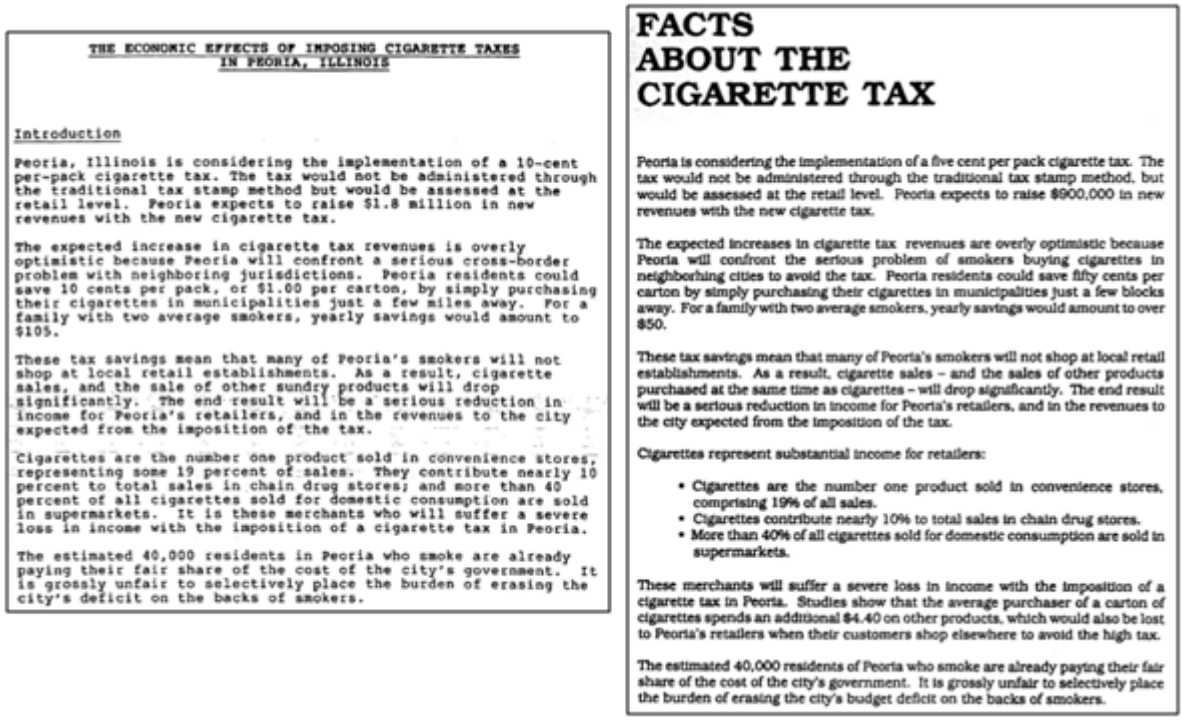
In October 1988, attorney Paul Musgrove, the Tobacco Institute's local counsel for tobacco issues in the city of Peoria in the late 1980s,[901] wrote in a memo to regional vice president Bill Trisler about the situation: Peoria needed to close a budget gap of $2.5 million.[902] City council members were discussing internally what revenue sources were politically feasible, and had begun to consider cigarette taxes more closely for its lack of negative political repercussions compared with other tax increases. Musgrove reported this development, according to his memo, to give Bill Trisler and Bob Pruett, the opportunity to decide what, if anything, to do to lobby council members to turn away from considering a cigarette tax.

As a response to Peoria's cigarette tax effort, Tobacco Institute strategists and its internal political research team began to devise common arguments about cigarette taxes that would be used in tax arguments throughout the state in the next decades at both the local and state levels, and which, as of 2014, continued to be used. In November 1988, Yvonne Lewis, a research assistant at the Tobacco Institute for Director of Economic Issues Bill Orzechowski,[903] conducted research on the cigarette taxes in similarly sized cities in other states, specifically in response to the upcoming proposed cigarette tax in Peoria.

Lewis wrote in a memo to Orzechowski that no other cities, to Lewis' knowledge, had attempted a cigarette tax that would be implemented at the retail level like a sales tax, which is what was being proposed in Peoria. Lewis also included a draft of a document entitled, "The Economic Effects of Imposing Cigarette Taxes," which presented border business and regressive tax arguments, arguing, "The projected loss of cigarette sales means that Peoria's revenue will be much smaller than anticipated" and that "Peoria's cigarette tax will significantly add to this unfair burden on lower income individuals."[904]

In December 1988, the Stop Taxing Our Peoria Citizens Committee prepared a packet of information for the Peoria City Council against the cigarette tax, entitled "Facts About the Cigarette Tax".[905]

Comparing the Tobacco Institute draft "Economic Effects" draft and the Stop Taxing Our Peoria Citizens Committee, the first five paragraphs of the Tobacco Institute draft appeared almost word for word on the first page of text in the Stop Taxing Our Peoria Citizens Committee informational packet (Figure 21).



THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF IMPOSING CIGARETTE TAXES IN PEORIA, ILLINOIS

Introduction

Peoria, Illinois is considering the implementation of a 10-cent per-pack cigarette tax. The tax would not be administered through the traditional tax stamp method but would be assessed at the retail level. Peoria expects to raise $1.8 million in new revenues with the new cigarette tax.

The expected increase in cigarette tax revenues is overly optimistic because Peoria will confront a serious cross-border problem with neighboring jurisdictions. Peoria residents could save 10 cents per pack, or $1.00 per carton, by simply purchasing their cigarettes in municipalities just a few miles away. For a family with two average smokers, yearly savings would amount to $105.

These tax savings mean that many of Peoria's smokers will not shop at local retail establishments. As a result, cigarette sales, and the sale of other sundry products will drop significantly. The end result will be a serious reduction in income for Peoria's retailers, and in the revenues to the city expected from the imposition of the tax.

Cigarettes are the number one product sold in convenience stores, representing some 19 percent of sales. They contribute nearly 10 percent to total sales in chain drug stores; and more than 40 percent of all cigarettes sold for domestic consumption are sold in supermarkets. It is these merchants who will suffer a severe loss in income with the imposition of a cigarette tax in Peoria.

The estimated 40,000 residents in Peoria who smoke are already paying their fair share of the cost of the city's government. It is grossly unfair to selectively place the burden of erasing the city's deficit on the backs of smokers.

FACTS ABOUT THE CIGARETTE TAX

Peoria is considering the implementation of a five cent per pack cigarette tax. The tax would not be administered through the traditional tax stamp method, but would be assessed at the retail level. Peoria expects to raise $900,000 in new revenues with the new cigarette tax.

The expected increases in cigarette tax revenues are overly optimistic because Peoria will confront the serious problem of smokers buying cigarettes in neighborhing cities to avoid the tax. Peoria residents could save fifty cents per carton by simply purchasing their cigarettes in municipalities just a few blocks away. For a family with two average smokers, yearly savings would amount to over $50.

These tax savings mean that many of Peoria's smokers will not shop at local retail establishments. As a result, cigarette sales – and the sales of other products purchased at the same time as cigarettes – will drop significantly. The end result will be a serious reduction in income for Peoria's retailers, and in the revenues to the city expected from the imposition of the tax.

Cigarettes represent substantial income for retailers:

- Cigarettes are the number one product sold in convenience stores, comprising 19% of all sales.
- Cigarettes contribute nearly 10% to total sales in chain drug stores.
- More than 40% of all cigarettes sold for domestic consumption are sold in supermarkets.

These merchants will suffer a severe loss in income with the imposition of a cigarette tax in Peoria. Studies show that the average purchaser of a carton of cigarettes spends an additional $4.40 on other products, which would also be lost to Peoria's retailers when their customers shop elsewhere to avoid the high tax.

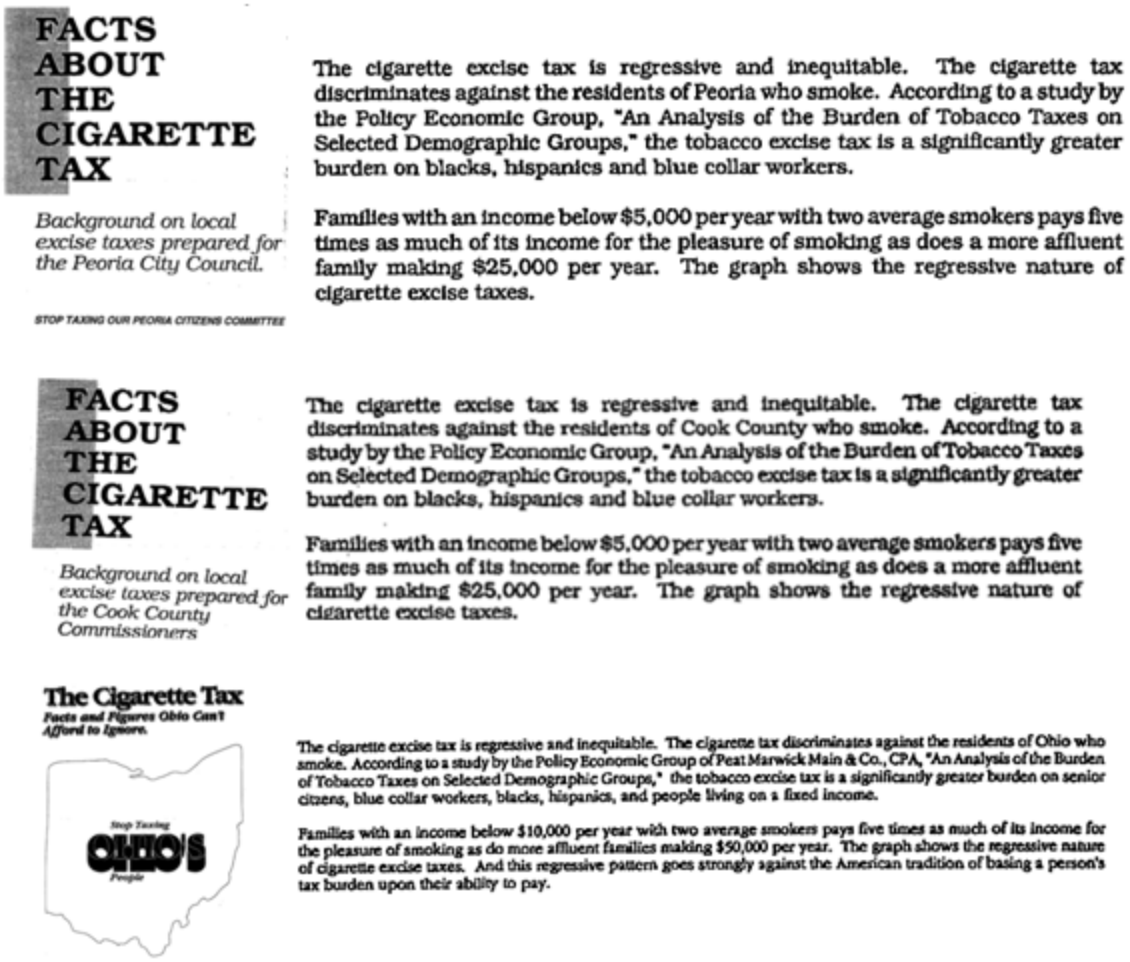
The estimated 40,000 residents of Peoria who smoke are already paying their fair share of the cost of the city's government. It is grossly unfair to selectively place the burden of erasing the city's budget deficit on the backs of smokers.

Figure 21: Tobacco Institute internal draft and Stop Taxing Our Peoria Committee public materials
Sources: Tobacco Institute and Stop Taxing Our Peoria Committee[904-905]

The Stop Taxing Our Peoria Citizens Committee packet did, however, add more information, including asserted negative economic projections and a summary of statements arguing against cigarette taxes in general.[905]

This organization's informational packet to the Peoria City Council looked almost identical in format to material prepared to oppose a proposed Cook County tax increase, and similar in text to the Cook County material and to text opposing a proposed Ohio state cigarette tax increase (Figure 22). All these materials were developed in 1988.[906]

Not only did Peoria fail to enact a cigarette tax due to tobacco industry efforts against it, but the Tobacco Institute spread its activities in opposition to other proposed cigarette taxes, including in Oak Park. The Tobacco Institute mobilized against the proposed tax in Oak Park. According to a Tobacco Institute State Activities Division summary of the proposed Oak Park tax, it did not pass because "there was enough advanced notice."[907]



FACTS ABOUT THE CIGARETTE TAX

Background on local excise taxes prepared for the Peoria City Council.

STOP TAXING OUR PEORIA CITIZENS COMMITTEE

The cigarette excise tax is regressive and inequitable. The cigarette tax discriminates against the residents of Peoria who smoke. According to a study by the Policy Economic Group, "An Analysis of the Burden of Tobacco Taxes on Selected Demographic Groups," the tobacco excise tax is a significantly greater burden on blacks, hispanics and blue collar workers.

Families with an income below $5,000 per year with two average smokers pays five times as much of its income for the pleasure of smoking as does a more affluent family making $25,000 per year. The graph shows the regressive nature of cigarette excise taxes.

FACTS ABOUT THE CIGARETTE TAX

Background on local excise taxes prepared for the Cook County Commissioners

The cigarette excise tax is regressive and inequitable. The cigarette tax discriminates against the residents of Cook County who smoke. According to a study by the Policy Economic Group, "An Analysis of the Burden of Tobacco Taxes on Selected Demographic Groups," the tobacco excise tax is a significantly greater burden on blacks, hispanics and blue collar workers.

Families with an income below $5,000 per year with two average smokers pays five times as much of its income for the pleasure of smoking as does a more affluent family making $25,000 per year. The graph shows the regressive nature of cigarette excise taxes.

The Cigarette Tax

Facts and Figures Ohio Can't Afford to Ignore.

Stop Taxing OHIO'S People

The cigarette excise tax is regressive and inequitable. The cigarette tax discriminates against the residents of Ohio who smoke. According to a study by the Policy Economic Group of Peat Marwick Main & Co., CPA, "An Analysis of the Burden of Tobacco Taxes on Selected Demographic Groups," the tobacco excise tax is a significantly greater burden on senior citizens, blue collar workers, blacks, hispanics, and people living on a fixed income.

Families with an income below $10,000 per year with two average smokers pays five times as much of its income for the pleasure of smoking as do more affluent families making $50,000 per year. The graph shows the regressive nature of cigarette excise taxes. And this regressive pattern goes strongly against the American tradition of basing a person's tax burden upon their ability to pay.

Figure 22: Material Selected From Informational Packets in 1988 Opposing Cigarette Tax Increases in Peoria, Cook County, and Nearby in the State of Ohio

Berwyn: Tobacco Distributors' Lawsuit "On Behalf of the Industry"

In September 1993, Berwyn, a city in Cook County adjacent to Cicero, attempted to enact a cigarette tax. It passed its cigarette tax of 16 cents on September 15, before Senate Bill 591, the bill preventing cities from enacting cigarette taxes for the first time, became law.[908]

On July 13, 1993, an amendment to an existing bill, Senate Bill 591, specified that cities could not pass ordinances establishing a local cigarette tax if they had not passed one before July 1. Senate Bill 591 passed the House, but the Senate did not vote to concur until October 28.

Gov. Edgar signed Senate Bill 591 into law as Public Act 88-527, on December 23, 1993. So, this state law was passed after Berwyn established its cigarette tax, allowing existing taxes to stand and future changes in cigarette tax rates for those local governments, but had a date that would prohibit laws starting from a date before when Berwyn passed the tax (Figure 23).

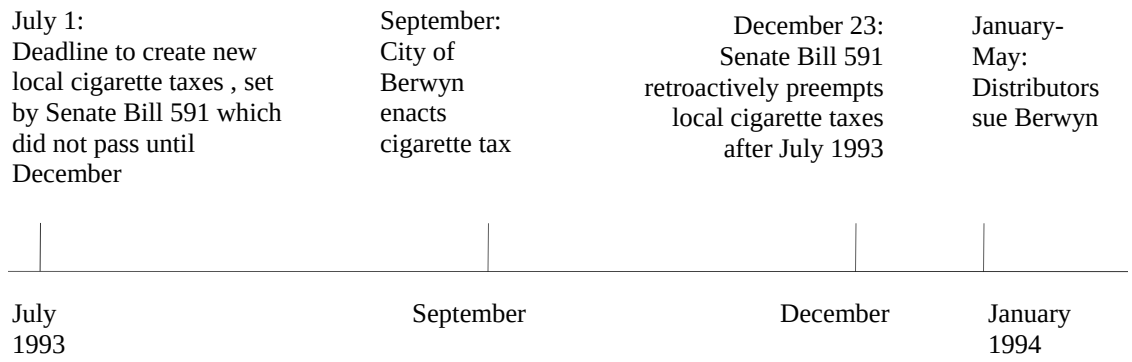


Figure 23: Timeline of Events for 1993 State Preemption of Almost All Local Cigarette Taxes

Aurora Eby-Brown Company and other wholesale tobacco retailers filed suit against Berwyn city collector Alba Lovero, in the lawsuit *Eby-Brown Co., et al. v. Lovero*. Bud Kelley of the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors enlisted the law firm Cohon, Raizes & Regal, based in Chicago, to work on the case, beginning conversations with the law firm as early as December 28, 1993. Cohon, Raizes & Regal billed the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors for its work on the case between December 1993 to April 1994.[909-910] On May 19, 1994, in a motion for summary judgment, Cook County Circuit Court Judge Earl Arkiss ruled that the state government could retroactively strip local governments of this kind of taxing power.[908]

After the judgment invalidated Berwyn's cigarette tax, Harry Kelley, the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors' president, wrote a June 7, 1994 letter to Tobacco Institute vice president Bob Pruett. In this letter, Kelley noted that the legal fees that Cohon, Raizes & Regal had billed his association totaled over $16,000, and wrote:

> We are asking the Tobacco Institute if they would be willing to help the Association on part of these expenses as we feel that this lawsuit was done on behalf of the industry and will benefit all the industry in the future in the State of Illinois ... What we are asking for help from the Tobacco Institute is for the $16,079.26.[911]

Given that Kelley's letter asked the Tobacco Institute to cover the expenses of the lawsuit, and to pay the entirety of the legal expenses, the letter's reference to work "on behalf of the industry" indicates that Kelley was referring to the tobacco industry in general, not merely the distributors' industry.

Kelley also suggested that the Tobacco Institute could make this transaction without directly involving the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors in receiving it. As he continued in his letter to Pruett, Kelley wrote:

> If it would be easier for the Institute to pay this amount directly to the law firm, that would be alright [*sic*] with the Association so that it does not reflect that the Association was paid any money for the year 1994 by the Tobacco Institute.[911]

The Tobacco Institute budget for 1998, showing payments to organizations in previous years, reflects that it gave zero dollars to the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors in 1994, while it gave $25,000 each year from 1995 to 1997,[110] a notable absence in funding for just one year, the year of this litigation. Meanwhile, in 1994, the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors continued to receive funds from other tobacco industry interests, such as $15,000 from Philip Morris in 1994.[167]

Attempting to allow Berwyn to let its cigarette tax stand, Sen. Aldo DeAngelis (R-Olympia Fields, in Cook County) introduced Senate Bill 106 in January 1995 to amend the law that prevented cities from starting local cigarette taxes. Senate Bill 106 attempted to change the deadline for stripping local cigarette taxing powers from July 1, 1993 to March 2, 1994.[912] This bill died in the Senate Rules Committee.[913]

Waukegan: Considering a Cigarette Tax Not Knowing Local Taxes Are Prohibited

In 2006, Waukegan considered a cigarette tax. Inspired by the Cook County and Chicago increases of 2006, in February 2006, Alderman Greg Moisio proposed the idea and the Waukegan City Council's Finance Committee considered it. At the time, mayor Richard Hyde appeared favorably disposed to the idea.[877] Of course, the 1993 state law preempting local governments' authority to enact local cigarette taxes prevented the council from acting further on the idea.

How these Local Taxes Work On Top of Other Cigarette Taxes

The process by which municipalities' additional cigarette taxes become part of the Cook County cigarette tax stamp was explained by Ken Harris and Alex Thorpe of the Cook County Department of Revenue in a 2013 joint interview: the Cook County Department of Revenue provides a combined stamp for cities with a local tax, but the retailer must first pay the county and also the city, before getting the stamp:

> Three of the municipalities have decided to do an additional tax on top of the State of Illinois and County of Cook taxes. And that is of course Chicago, the biggest one, and Evanston and Cicero. So when we sell a stamp, which is a combined stamp, a taxpayer will go and pay Chicago their portion. Then they'll come and pay us our portion, and then the stamp gets issued to them ...
>
> The wholesaler will know where they're planning to distribute. So if they know they have a retail location in the city of Chicago, they'll buy the combined county/city stamp. If we're selling it to a retailer in ... [a municipality] that doesn't have their own municipal tax, then they buy the ... $3 county stamp.[914]

The Cook County Department of Revenue also engaged in its own enforcement efforts to combat the sale of tobacco products without the Cook County tax stamp. As Alex Thorpe described the inspections in the 2013 interview:

> They [inspectors] walk in. They do a purchase. If it's the correct tax, they essentially write them a receipt that says, "We came in ... thanks a lot." Or they'll go in, and the pack will be illegal. They'll come back and write the citation.[914]

The scale of these inspections was described by Ken Harris in the 2013 interview:

> We're training our investigators to look at the other things, but their specific focus at this point is on tobacco: the cigarette tax stamps and then the other tobacco product. Right now [2013] we have eight investigators. We're increasing that up to 14 by the end of this annual cycle. So by the first of the year we should have 14 folks out on the street doing investigations.[914]

Cook County: The Only Illinois County With A Cigarette Tax

Cook County was the only county in Illinois with "home rule" status, by virtue of having an directly elected executive, the Board President. This home rule status made Cook County the only county in Illinois with cigarette taxing power.

The Cook County cigarette tax, which became $3 in 2013, was an important part of the overall price of cigarettes in the Chicago area because the county cigarette tax made up the largest single excise tax on a pack of cigarettes paid in northeastern Illinois. As of 2014, Cook County's cigarette tax made up much of the total tax and total amount paid for a pack of cigarettes.

Within Cook County, the 2013 retail price for a pack of cigarettes stood at approximately $11 to $12: about $4 for the product, about $1 in total sales tax, and the remainder for excise taxes, consisting of $1.01 for the federal level, $1.98 for Illinois' state-level tax, and $3 for Cook County's tax. These combined rates fell within the World Bank's general recommendation for up to four-fifths, depending on context, of the price paid for cigarettes to consist of taxes.[915]

The Cook County tax is also important because it is cigarette tax policy for the second largest county in the United States, with a 2013 population of over 5 million; within the United States, Cook County is the most populous county whose state allows it the power to tax cigarettes. On the Cook County Board of Commissioners, comprised of 17 County Commissioners, with a separately elected Board President, budget proposals are usually crafted and proposed publically by the President, then examined by the Cook County Board's Finance Committee. Then, when these proposals are approved by the Finance Committee, they are voted on by the Board of Commissioners. Because the Finance Committee is a committee of the whole, meaning all 17 members of the Cook County Board acting as a committee, the pivotal vote on cigarette tax increases is the Finance Committee vote. Between 1980 and 2013, the Cook County cigarette tax rate underwent periodic increases to come to the rate in 2013 (Table 28).

As with the local cigarette tax increase attempts in cities, Cook County cigarette tax increase campaigns by health advocates included standard mobilization efforts.[274]

Table 28: Cook County Cigarette Tax Rates

Year	Effective Date	Per pack
1980	June 1	5 cents
1985	January 1	8 cents
1989	March 1	10 cents
1997	January 1	18 cents
2004	April 1	$1.00
2006	March 1	$2.00
2013	March 1	$3.00

Cook County Cigarette Tax Up to 1997

Cook Country was exempted from the 1993 law that preempted local governments from enacting new cigarette taxes, because it already had one on the books. Like the cities of Chicago and Evanston, Cook County increased its cigarette tax multiple times since the 1980s.

In February 1980, Cook County Board President George Dunne proposed a 5 cent county cigarette tax. The Tobacco Tax Council, a tobacco industry-funded organization started in 1949 to oppose cigarette taxes, presented a report on the situation for internal use among the organization's political strategists.[916] The report stated that the tax would pass "unless Dunne can be convinced otherwise." Following the report, representatives of the Tobacco Tax Council arranged a February 21 meeting with Dunne.[916-917]

Tobacco industry interests sought to derail the Cook County increase. A late February 1980 update on the situation for internal purposes by the Tobacco Tax Council reported that at the meeting with Cook County Board President Dunne, apparently Dunne said that the county needed the money. From the meeting, Tobacco Institute strategists learned that the Cook County Board did not plan to implement the tax immediately, as the Tobacco Institute analyst had thought before. The Tobacco Tax Council brief concluded by arguing, "We now have time to fully organize and oppose the issue."[917] A March 10, 1980 report from the Tobacco Tax Council shows what the Tobacco Tax Council did to organize against it, primarily invoking the efforts of the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors:

> The Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors did everything possible, given the time available. Every commissioner was contacted, the media was informed, and thousands of mail-o-grams were sent by distributors and retailers. The testimony at the hearing was excellent, and participation by representatives of the tobacco companies was evident. A tremendous effort, but Chicago politics was stronger than our collective lobbying efforts.[918]

"Chicago politics" requiring intense personal connections kept the Tobacco Tax Council from being able to block the county cigarette tax increase. The Cook County Board's finance committee approved the five-cent tax on March 7, effective June 1, with the revenues from the tax increase going toward the Cook County Hospital.[918]

Proposals to increase the tax again came as early as January 1983, with high-profile county leaders backing an increase. Right after Cook County Board President George Dunne presented a proposed budget in late January 1983, Martin Tuchow, the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Cook County Board, declared that he may propose an increase of several cents on the cigarette tax. Tuchow, despite being a political rival of Dunne, called for this increase as a way of raising revenue for the budget.[919] Thus, leaders on all sides of Chicago city politics backed a cigarette tax increase. In June 1983, Board President Dunne moved ahead with proposed an increase of five cents per pack.

Opposing the cigarette tax increase, Jack Kelly, director of the Tobacco Action Network, wrote to leaders of major tobacco companies asking permission to mobilize its members against the proposed increase.[920] Protests, including 200 people attending a June 1983 Cook County Finance Committee meeting, led the commissioners on the committee to postpone action on the increase.[921] Board members did not pass the increase in 1983.

The Cook County Board of Commissioners did approve an increase for 1985, however. On December 5, 1984, the board approved a temporary increase, adding 3 cents per pack for a total county-level tax of 8 cents per pack, effective January 1, 1985, and set to expire after December 31, 1987.[922]

Although the 1985 increase was originally intended to be temporary, it became permanent. On November 17, 1986, the Board of Commissioners considered an ordinance to keep the cigarette tax rate at 8 cents per pack, rather than letting it drop back to 5 cents; temporary increases had also been set to expire for liquor and gasoline. The county board maintained the cigarette tax, in addition to the liquor and gasoline taxes, to fund increases in pay for county employees.[923] On February 21, 1989, the Board of Commissioners passed an increase of 2 cents per pack, for a total of 10 cents per pack.[924]

To oppose cigarette taxes in Cook County, the Tobacco Institute in 1989, the same year that the Illinois General Assembly passed a statewide cigarette tax increase, tapped Tom Lyons (d. 2007). Lyons, a key figure in Illinois politics during his lifetime, including serving as a state senator (1965-1967, 1971-1973) and the vice president of Illinois' 1970 constitutional convention,[128, 925] was paid by the Tobacco Institute as its lobbyist for the Chicago metropolitan area. Lyons became the Tobacco Institute's lead lobbyist through at least 1998.

In 1989, Lyons' contract as a lobbyist for the Tobacco Institute, covering Chicago, paid $25,000;[926] a July 1989 memo from State Activities Division Region III Vice President Bill Trisler to State Activities Division Northern Sector Vice President Paul Emrick recommended that Lyons be hired for 1990 for Cook County as well, for a total of $70,000; [926] in August 1989, Trisler arranged a meeting with Lyons in Chicago to talk about Lyons continuing to represent the Tobacco Institute;[927] Trisler completed his interview with Lyons and agreed to a payment of $80,000 for 1990.[127] Trisler and Lyons continued to meet face-to-face in late 1989.[928]

Tobacco Institute strategists saw in Lyons a powerful figure whom the tobacco industry could tap to influence tobacco policy in Chicago. In 1990, Lyons became the chair of the Cook County Democratic Party (1990-2007). Tobacco Institute strategists sought to take advantage of

it: in an April 17, 1990 memo from State Activities Division Director of Communications Walter Woodson to the Federal Relations Division head Bob Lewis, Woodson noted, "Incidentally, Lyons is now Democratic County Chairman for Cook County, an important position for all levels of government in that state."[929] The Tobacco Institute continued to hire Lyons through the organization's final years, allocating $60,000 to Lyons in each of the years 1996, 1997, and 1998.[930-931]

Tobacco Institute strategists saw in Lyons a powerful figure whom the tobacco industry could tap to influence tobacco policy.

On November 22, 1996, for the 1997 budget, the Board of Commissioners voted to increase the county cigarette tax by 8 cents per pack, for a total of 18 cents per pack, effective January 1, 1997. The Board of Commissioners passed the cigarette tax increase in conjunction with increases in property, entertainment event ticket, and diesel fuel taxes, as part of a "revenue enhancement" package to raise an extra $43 million for the county.[932]

Avoiding Property Tax Increases: Increase to $1 for 2004

While Cook County Board President John Stroger was in office (1994-2006), according to interviews of Mark Peysakhovich and Matt Maloney, Stroger first decided what he wanted to do with cigarette taxes before consulting health organizations, and then attempted to convince the health organizations to support the increases, rather than consulting with health organizations to craft proposed cigarette tax increases.[569, 933] Health advocates therefore only could mobilize after health measures such as cigarette tax increases were introduced, rather than having mobilization infrastructure set up in advance to support the cigarette tax increases. This also meant that the increase was intended primarily as a way to raise revenue for the county, rather than for health purposes.

In late 2003, for the 2004 budget, Cook County Board President John Stroger proposed to increase the existing 18 cent county cigarette tax by 82 cents per pack, for a total of $1 per pack. American Lung Association in Illinois President Joel Africk and other officials from public health groups joined Board President Stroger in a press conference about the proposed increase.

On December 16, 2003, Board President Stroger's ally on the council, County Commissioner Roberto Maldonado, postponed a vote on the increase.[934] Stroger and Maldonado argued that the proposed increase aimed to reducing smoking. In response to Stroger and Maldonado's arguments, to try to kill the cigarette tax increase, since it was, designed primarily to raise funds for the county, opponents of the increase to proposed an amendment to dedicate all the revenue to anti-smoking programs. Health advocates wanted some of the money to go to tobacco prevention; they were not the cause for this proposal to dedicate all of it to tobacco prevention.[423] Commissioners Stroger, Maldonado, and other supporters of a cigarette tax increase voted that down; the key vote on the cigarette tax increase came from County Commissioner Earlean Collins. The board approved the increase on February 3, 2004.[935]

Staving Off Property Tax Increases Again: Increase to $2 for 2006

Board President Todd Stroger, the son of previous Board President John Stroger, also proposed increases in the cigarette tax in December 2004 for the 2005 budget, and in December 2005 for the 2006 budget, as a way of raising revenue without hiking property taxes.[936] In the case of the December 2005 proposal, Stroger proposed raising the county cigarette tax by $1 per pack, for a total of $2 per pack.[937] In January 2006, Stroger introduced a late proposed 2006 budget, to increase the county cigarette tax by $1 per pack, for a total of $2 per pack. The budget also proposed to expand the tax to other tobacco products. The budget estimated that the tobacco tax increase, the only tax increase in the budget, would raise $75 million.

Health advocates supported the proposals, but Board President Todd Stroger, in formulating the proposed increases, did not engage in extensive consultations with health groups.[274] Health groups still did support the potential increase as proposed by the county board president. American Cancer Society and American Heart Association representatives focused on the benefits to public health and cast the increase as favorable to county taxpayers. The American Cancer Society's Emilio Barrera, told the *Daily Southtown* newspaper that "This is a win-win both for public health and the taxpayers of Cook County."[938]

Opposition came from the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors, through its head Harry Kelley, who argued that distributors in the county would lose business and that a black market would result.[938] Commissioners largely did not seem sympathetic to Kelley's position. At a January 6 public hearing about the proposed county budget, Kelley asserted that economic effects would be negative. In response, County Commissioner Roberto Maldonado (D-Chicago) countered that Kelley had made these same claims in 2004 and they turned out not to be true.[938]

Opposition also came from a new coalition called Stop Taxing Our Poor, which appeared for the first time in early February 2006, and which ceased to appear publicly after the Chicago cigarette tax increase. This Stop Taxing Our Poor organization asserted that economic effects would be concentrated among poor residents and small retailers. County commissioners in support of the increase remained undeterred: Commissioner Joan Murphy (D) argued that the county required extra funds in part to give medical attention to poor smokers, and Commissioner Deborah Sims (D) maintained that the cigarette tax aimed to improve health.[939] The Stop Taxing Our Poor organization was as short-lived as the run-up to its creation, and health advocates do not recall it being much of a force.

The Board of Commissioners passed its budget on February 9 on a vote of 10-7, and the tax became effective March 1.[940-941] The cigarette tax filled $70 million of the $78 million budget gap; the board handled the remaining $8 million by increasing the figure for projected revenue.

Since the tobacco tax revenue was not clearly tied to tobacco prevention efforts, opponents of tobacco taxes hit on a line of attack against the taxes. Fiscal hawks seized on the lack of connection to tobacco prevention to argue that if the tax sought merely to raise revenue, it should be opposed. The Chicago-area newspaper *Southtown Star*'s editorial board, opposing

higher cigarette taxes, used standard lines, asserting negative retail sales impact, making assertions of the regressivity of such taxes, and also, "The problem with any new tax is it does not go to the root of the problem. We need reduced spending."[942]

Countering the "Regressive Tax" Argument: Increase to $3 for 2013

In 2012, effective March 1, 2013, the Cook County Board of Commissioners increased the cigarette tax by $1 per pack, for a total county-level cigarette tax of $3 per pack.

The idea for an increased cigarette tax originated in the office of Cook County Board President Toni Preckwinkle.[933] It was also Board President Preckwinkle's idea for the funds from the county cigarette tax increase to go to medical services.[274] As a county government, a large portion of the Cook County budget was dedicated to paying for the county hospital system. Preckwinkle, according to Mark Peysakhovich, had a "do your homework" approach to governing that involved reaching out to groups affected and interested in an issue before announcing initiatives.[933] The president's office approached health advocates about an increase in the county cigarette tax.[569]

The outreach by Preckwinkle's office resulted in health advocates being more involved and invested than in the 2006 increase.[933] Before the Cook County Board of Commissioners announced its proposal, health advocates had developed a strategy based on lobbying policymakers directly, rather than seeking to air the issue among the public at large. Proponents had a clear legislative approach: an actual planning strategy of who to approach and when. According to a 2013 interview with Peysakhovich, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco played a more active role in the 2012 effort than in 2006.[933]

The Respiratory Health Association and American Heart Association's Midwest Affiliate worked closely with County Board President Preckwinkle. The Respiratory Health Association used the "same grassroots activity" that it had used in the past: mobilizing letters, phone calls, and emails to officials.[569] Health organizations also supported letters to the editor, and each had prepared statements for media outlines, aiming to convey that public health organizations strongly supported the effort.

A large portion of the Cook County budget was dedicated to paying for the county hospital system.

Health advocates anticipated the "regressive tax" argument, so Mark Peysakhovich and Matt Maloney, discussing the matter with Preckwinkle's office, prepared Preckwinkle to be able to make key points about the tax increase to the county board commissioners.[933] Peysakhovich crystallized for Preckwinkle a way to counter the "regressive tax" arguments with a "progressive health" argument: the worse that this tax is for smoking adults, the better this is for our kids. Preckwinkle used this as a public discourse strategy, marking the first time that a "progressive health" argument was used in a sustained fashion in support of a county tax, although Peysakhovich notes that this argument was not invented by local health advocates. Preckwinkle

argued that kids with parents who do not smoke will have their parents still around, so rather than being regressive at all, this is progressive for smokers' kids. As Peysakhovich told it in the 2013 interview, this is one argument that especially resonates among African American families. Cigarette taxes help keep parents around. Peysakhovich further clarified that:

> The sort of the thing that she [Preckwinkle] and others really seized on, that became the rallying cry, was that ... the worse that this tax is for smokers, for smokers from underprivileged communities, the more progressive, the more powerful and hopeful that same tax is for their kids. So it might be regressive for the smoking parents, but this tax was going to in fact ensure that more kids in the future were going to be growing up with their mom and dad, rather than a mom or dad who was dying or dead because of tobacco use.[933]

Peysakhovich also noted that because County President Preckwinkle was African American, she could directly address the concerns of African American county commissioners who had heard arguments about the cigarette tax being regressive.[933]

In October 2012, Preckwinkle presented a budget that proposed the $1 increase.[943] This tax increase would raise an estimated $25.6 million, for the Cook County Health and Hospitals System, and along with additional tax and fee increases, total revenue would be increased by $43.4 million.

Health advocates engaged in an organized campaign in support of the increase. Advocates ran a campaign with frequent conference calls on message coordination and tracked each board commissioner's status in a "war room" on whether each was planning to vote for or against the increase.[274] Health advocates also wrote letters to the editor and prepared statements to distribute to the media.[933] Both health advocates and President Preckwinkle reached out to medical groups. Preckwinkle also worked individually on the board commissioners.[274] In support, health advocates got the national Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids to prepare estimates on the money and lives that would be saved from a county cigarette tax increase.

Opponents tried to mobilize convenience store operators against the ordinance. At a Cook County Board hearing where convenience store operators complained about the effect that an increased cigarette tax would have on not just cigarette sales but also convenience stores' other sales, Peysakhovich invoked ideas about convenience purchasing behavior by consumers, remarking, as he recalled in the 2013 interview:

> "Their stores are thriving, which is great," I said, "because we all know that almost anywhere in Chicago people come in to buy milk, to bring on their way home, when they get gas, could get that milk, and for the matter that gas, cheaper [elsewhere]."
>
> So people all the time go to – what are they called? – convenience stores! Because it is convenient. And if everybody actually operated on the principles that [opponents] articulate, then nobody would stop there to buy milk, or to buy cigarettes, or to buy anything else that they do now, because in most cases you could get the same thing significantly cheaper at a discount retailer within a mile of the convenience store.

> I said, "So these people being here, representing currently operating convenience stores, are in fact proof positive that cigarette sales will continue ... because even people who try to change their behavior and go fill up across the state line, and buy cigarettes across the state line, that is a temporary blip."[933]

Peysakhovich's testimony at the Cook County Board meeting, along with the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco's general mobilizing efforts, served to neutralize the "border business" argument. The Cook County Board passed its increase in the cigarette tax in November 2012, an increase of $1 per pack for a total of $3 per pack, on a 16-1 vote, to take effect March 2013.[944]

Peysakhovich mentioned that the commissioners seemed to be convinced by the pitch about how the Cook County Hospital System, including Stroger Hospital, the county hospital named for former County Board President John Stroger after he died of a stroke, is a large portion of the county budget.[933]

Health advocates' efforts continued beyond the passage of the tax, and also focused on improving implementation right before the tax increase. Advocates anticipated that right before cigarette tax increases, news outlets would include stories centering on individuals being taxed more. Anticipating these dynamics, on February 28, 2013, the day before the tax increase went into effect, health advocates held a news conference about the tax revenues would go right back into healthcare for low-income people. Preckwinckle explained how the tax would encourage adults to quit smoking and to discourage teens from smoking.[945] Peysakhovich in the 2013 interview also recalled that, in addition to putting money into the healthcare system, press conference participants also stressed the argument that by reducing smoking-related diseases it would save the county budget more money in the future. Media coverage from the *Chicago Tribune*, after noting that revenues would decline as smoking declined, cited Preckwinkle's arguments about saving money "over the long run" as well as responses about smuggling from David Vite of the Illinois Retail Merchants Association.[945] The *Chicago Sun-Times* also reported Preckwinkle's mention of bringing in revenue while reducing smoking, but did not report Preckwinkle's statements about how the reduction in smoking would save the system money.

Nevertheless, some sellers just outside Cook County also reacted to it, but in a way that attempted to benefit from the Cook County increase. Convenience stores just outside the county began having signs in front of stores declaring the fact that these stores lay outside the county borders, often with the slogan "No Cook County Cigarette Tax."

DuPage County and Trying to Allow Counties to Tax Cigarettes

Although Cook County had the authority to enact cigarette taxes, it remained the only one of Illinois' 102 counties with that power. In 2006, DuPage County faced a projected budget shortfall of up to $50 million. Consequently, led by County Board chairman Bob Schillerstrom, DuPage County officials pushed unsuccessfully for counties to have the power to enact local cigarette taxes. At the Metro Counties meeting of county officials of the Chicago area, all counties at the meeting endorsed the idea.[946]

To attempt to allow all counties to enact county cigarette taxes, and not just the "home rule" county of Cook, the House Revenue Committee introduced legislation by amending a shell bill. Senate Bill 716 started as a shell bill, passing the Senate in April 2005; over a year later, on November 14, 2006, the House Revenue Committee, chaired by Rep. Dan Reitz (D-Sparta; $16,150 in contributions) and with vice-chair Rep. Barbara Flynn Currie (D-Chicago), introduced House Amendment 2, proposing to allow any county, not just Cook County, the authority to enact cigarette taxes so long as such revenue went to health and safety programs. The House sponsor started as Rep. Reitz and later changed to Rep. Currie; in addition, the bill gained as chief co-sponsors Reps. Jim Durkin (R-Countryside), Bob Biggins (R-Elmhurst), and Eddie Washington (D-Waukegan). The House passed Senate Bill 716 by a vote of 61-55; the amended bill moved back to the Senate.[947] If passed, DuPage and Lake county leaders in December 2006 envisioned instituting a $1 tax, and McHenry County leaders envisioned a 50 cent tax.[948]

DuPage County officials pushed unsuccessfully for all counties to have the power to enact local cigarette taxes.

As the Arlington Heights-based newspaper *Daily Herald* described the situation, lawmakers remained reluctant to back anything that looked like increasing taxes, especially since, as a county taxing power, the state government would not even be allowed to spend those funds.[949] Without Senate Bill 716 passing both houses in identical form, the DuPage County Board prepared to pass a budget on November 30 assuming no extra revenue from the cigarette taxes; at that point the bill continued to face an uphill climb.[950] The Senate did not vote on whether to concur with the House version of Senate Bill 716. Counties continued not to have cigarette taxing authority.

In 2007, Senate President John Cullerton sponsored legislation to allow specific Chicago-area counties cigarette taxing power, in the form of amendments to House Bill 556. Senate Committee Amendment 1 to House Bill 556 proposed a 75 cent per pack maximum authorization. Senate Amendment 6, filed by Cullerton on August 8, 2007, proposed to name the Chicago area counties of Lake, McHenry, Kane, DuPage, and Will, only, to have the power to levy a tax of exactly $1 per pack; the Senate incorporated the amendment into the bill on August 9 by a vote of 34 to 19, with two abstentions. Senate Amendment 9 sought to renew the chances of the bill by updating the effective date from September 2007 to June 2008; Cullerton introduced this amendment on August 9 as well. The Senate passed House Bill 556, as it had been amended in the Senate, on that day by a vote of 34 to 24.[951] The House, however, did not vote on whether to concur with the Senate's version of the bill, and the bill returned to the House Rules Committee, where it died at the end of the General Assembly term.

In 2008, Sen. Cullerton tried again for a bill to allow county cigarette taxing powers. On February 15, 2008 Cullerton introduced Senate Bill 2545, proposing a 90 cent per pack state increase and allowing any county to levy an exactly $1 tax per pack. This bill died in the Rules Committee.

Conclusion

Cigarette taxes in Illinois took place both at the state level as well as among a limited set of local governments, and many of the increases of cigarette taxes occurred in the late 2000s and early 2010s. In the few local governments that retained the authority to impose cigarette taxes, Cook County, Chicago, and Evanston periodically increased cigarette tax rates.

What Stands Out About Taxes on Tobacco in Illinois

Illinois stands out in that its state level cigarette tax increased in 2012 to $1.98, to bring it closer to levels near the state's neighbors in the upper Midwest. Also, some cities had local cigarette taxes, allowing a few municipalities to have higher cigarette taxes.

Increases in cigarette taxes were repeatedly sought by Illinois legislators and by local elected officials as a way to fill budget gaps. Legislators frequently allotted the tax revenue to fund education; only in the 2009-2010 attempt and in the 2012 increase did legislators begin consider allocating these revenues to health programs. Still, such attempts at focusing on health only focused on providing medical services rather than a more direct use of tobacco taxes on tobacco-related programs.

What Stands Out in How These Tax Increases Passed

Budgetary demands in poor economic times, including 1989, 2002 and 2012, led elected officials to look for ways to raise revenue in a politically less controversial way, and Illinois elected officials frequently raised cigarette taxes as a way to raise revenue for education, rather than to hike income, sales, or property taxes, or excise taxes on products other than tobacco. But because the programs to which these funds are directed, primarily education, had less connection to matters related to tobacco, these cigarette and other tobacco product tax increases also led to charges of an incongruous reliance of state government on tobacco tax funds, often complicating further attempts to increase tobacco taxes.

Lobbying efforts in Evanston to lower its tax, in Peoria to prevent the start of any local cigarette tax, and in Berwyn to prevent a tax, stand as a key examples of tobacco interests' political activities in opposing cigarette taxes. The Berwyn lawsuit stands as an indicator of the nature of tobacco interests' involvement in Illinois' tobacco policymaking process. The Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors' request to the Tobacco Institute to pay its legal costs for fighting Berwyn's cigarette tax, and the suggestion that the Tobacco Institute could pay these fees in a way that would allow the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors to continue to claim that it did not receive any money from the Tobacco Institute, represents an effort of trying to keep the relationship out of the public eye.

An important change in health advocates' messaging came from the Cook County cigarette tax increase for 2013: anticipating charges of a "regressive" tax that disproportionately hits the poor, including African Americans, health advocates and the county president instead characterized it as a "progressive" health tax, so that parents could be around for their children.

What Illinois' Experience Confirms About Cigarette and Other Tobacco Tax Policy

Illinois confirms that on cigarette taxes, a stronger partisan split exists than on smokefree laws. State cigarette tax increases between 1989 and 2002 demonstrated that to fill budget gaps, Republicans were often the sponsors of cigarette tax increase legislation and among the many supporters of such increases. In the 2012 state cigarette tax increase, as in other states,[952] many more Democrats supported the cigarette tax increase than did Republicans.

Across states, it is commonly thought that cigarette tax increases are most likely to be passed during the first year of a two-year legislative session;[953] Illinois' state-level increases in 1985, 1989, 1993, and 1997 showed this dynamic at work. But, the 2002 and 2012 state-level cigarette tax increases gave credence to the worries of tobacco industry strategists that such increases could happen at any time. As the 2012 state-level, 2013 Cook County, and 2014 Chicago cigarette tax increases show, health advocates continued to press for tobacco taxes in cooperation with lawmakers, while tobacco industry interests continued to resist these efforts.

Chapter 7: Youth Smoking Prevention

- In 1965, Illinois changed its minimum cigarette purchasing age from 16 with an exception for parental notes, to 18 with an exception for parental notes; in 1990, the state made the minimum age 18 with no exceptions.
- Driven by the efforts of U.S. Sen. Richard Durbin to raise the issue of bidi use among youth, and backed by the Chicago Department of Public Health, Chicago banned the sale of bidis in 1999; Illinois banned bidi sales in 2000, effective 2001, following Chicago's lead.
- In 2013, to curb menthol cigarette use among youth, and on the initiative of Mayor Rahm Emanuel, Chicago prohibited the sale of menthol tobacco products within 500 feet of schools; this law was the first local, state, or federal law to act on menthol tobacco products in such a manner.
- In 2014, Evanston passed an ordinance restricting sales of electronic cigarettes to youth by requiring tobacco retailer licenses to sell electronic cigarettes; starting with an effort by Chicago aldermen to enact an ordinance restricting sales of electronic cigarettes to youth, Chicago also required tobacco retailer licenses to sell electronic cigarettes and added requiring electronic cigarettes in Chicago's existing smokefree ordinances.
- Illinois banned the sale of flavored cigar wraps in 2012, due to the efforts of Chicago-area representative Kwame Raoul.
- Woodridge was one of the first cities in the United States to require municipal licensing of tobacco retailers; in the early 1990s, Chicago and many additional northern Illinois cities followed suit.
- Local health departments, especially in Cook County and Will County, starting from the 1990s began to encourage municipalities to adopt local tobacco retailer licensing ordinances to curb the sale of tobacco products to children and teenagers.

Efforts in Illinois in the 1960s through 2010s to prevent youth smoking dwarfed those of many other states. Youth smoking prevention policies in Illinois focused on laws about sales and advertising of cigarettes, cigars, and other tobacco products; laws on tobacco accessories and other products similar to cigarettes that became popular among youth; and efforts to ensure compliance with these laws, including state-run compliance checks and local licensing of tobacco retailers. The Illinois General Assembly acted to curb the sale of bidis in 2000 and the Chicago Department of Public Health also acted in 2013 to expand the area around schools where menthol cigarette sales were prohibited, and in 2014 to require licensing of the sale of electronic cigarettes to curb the sale of electronic cigarettes to children and teenagers.

Many people in Illinois have focused on issues of preventing smoking among children and teenagers, including legislation restricting ways in which children and teenagers can access tobacco products. Many advocates see this as an integral part of combating smoking, given that approximately 80% of people who smoke in the United States started by age 18,[954] Health advocates also pushed for broader policy tools for youth smoking prevention. These policies included laws prohibiting sales to people under 18, as well as laws about sales in vending machines, near schools, and on store counters. Advocates attempted to advocate for statewide licensing of tobacco retailers, but these advocacy efforts did not result in any licensing legislation at the state level, and as of early 2014 there were no state licensing requirements for

tobacco retail sales. Other efforts in tobacco control in Illinois included regulatory agencies' enforcement and compliance with existing laws; and rules restricting products similar to cigarettes. The Illinois Department of Public Health, as a state agency, did not lobby or advocate for policy positions.

Tobacco Industry Strategies on Youth Smoking Prevention

On the other hand, youth smoking prevention efforts can be a policy "trap" that diverts attention from programs to reduce smoking among the population as a whole. Many tobacco company-created youth programs were designed to take credit for acting on the issue of youth smoking, while avoiding discussion of how advertising by tobacco companies encourages smoking among youth.[173-174] These programs often contained messages that attempted to refocus the responsibility for smoking on children and teenagers themselves, or on their parents, rather than on tobacco manufacturers.[955] In many states, the tobacco industry set up competing youth access programs to protect the industry while giving the impression of being socially responsible regarding youth smoking,[173] and by setting up messages that diluted the messages given by public health departments.

A focus on youth programs has been used to distract from tobacco companies' promotion of smoking and from the role of policy such as smokefree laws in reducing smoking. Instead, tobacco companies' youth programs attempted to shift the focus to convenience stores or to friends and family of young people who smoke.[955] Tobacco industry programs often included "life skills" trainings that purported to teach children about how to make "good decisions" in life while actually minimizing discussion of the negative effects of tobacco use.[956]

The creation of youth smoking prevention programs by tobacco companies was often a stalling tactic to ward off legislation. The tobacco industry tried to make its own youth prevention programs part of the enforcement environment in order to prevent governments from taking steps that would, as required by law, force companies to take other steps to reduce smoking among teenagers and children. Exemplifying the strategy of diversionary strategies of the Tobacco Institute on youth issues in Illinois, wanting public health-sponsored health measures to fail while minimizing the impression of opposing restrictions on sales to youth, was a December 8, 1989 memo from State Activities Division regional vice president Bill Trisler and regional director Bob Pruett. This memo, to State Activities Division Vice President George Minshew, discussed the Tobacco Institute's aim to stay out of the spotlight in debates about local ordinances on tobacco retailer licensing:

> One of our member company regional directors is wanting to know our position on such legislation and what our plans are to defeat these measures. ... George, we need direction on how to proceed. ... It could be counter-productive for us to openly oppose these measures given our stand on the product being for adults.[957]

Tobacco companies opposed youth prevention policies and programs, or worked to alter the policies and programs in a way to make them less effective at preventing youth smoking than what health advocates proposed. The Tobacco Institute also tried to shape the implementation of youth smoking prevention efforts. The tobacco industry historically tried to push enforcement

responsibilities into state agencies on liquor rather than on public health departments and their tobacco-focused missions, giving responsibility for enforcement to agencies for which tobacco prevention was not the main priority. The past activities of tobacco industry interests often explain why these enforcement functions ended up in liquor control agencies of many states.

Legislation Preventing Cigarette Sales and Advertising to Youth

Selling and Distributing Tobacco Products to Youth

Age Requirements

Youth smoking prevention legislation in Illinois dates back to 1887, when the General Assembly passed an age requirement for purchasing tobacco products. The legislation prohibited the sale of tobacco to people under 16, declaring, "no person or persons in this State shall sell, buy for, or furnish any cigar or cigarette, or tobacco in any of its forms" to that age group. Yet, the law contained an exception: sales to children of any age were allowed "upon the written order of parent or guardian".[958]

In 1965, the minimum purchasing age increased to 18, but still with an exception for a parental note. House Bill 1453 by Rep. Harold Katz (D-Glencoe) received its first reading in the House in May,[959] passed the Senate in June,[960] and became law on August 10, 1965.[961] The 1965 act made the violations a misdemeanor, with penalties of $50 for a first offense and $100 for subsequent offenses. In 1972, legislators reduced the penalty for violations a petty offense, through House Bill 3179 (Public Act 77-2348), effective January 1, 1973.[962-963]

Through the 1980s and 1990s, legislators gradually expanded minimum-age tobacco purchasing laws to cover more products, not just cigarettes and cigars. In 1987, Senate Bill 257 (Public Act 85-305) by Sen. Margaret Smith (D-Chicago) prohibited the sale of smokeless tobacco products to people under 18. It increased the fine for first offenses to $100, and the fine for subsequent offenses to $250.

Beyond expanding the minimum-age requirement to smokeless tobacco products, Senate Bill 257 (Public Act 85-305) also prohibited the distribution of tobacco samples to people under 18. This change followed in the wake of proposed efforts in 1982 in Chicago and Evanston to consider banning the distribution of tobacco product samples. Attempting to defeat the proposed ordinances, Anne Browder, the assistant to Tobacco Institute President Samuel Chilcote, drafted speeches in opposition to these ordinances.[964-965] The proposed local bans in the two cities did not pass.[966] In Senate floor debate before the vote on Senate Bill 257, Sen. Smith argued that free samples of smokeless tobacco products had contributed to increased smokeless tobacco sales.[967] Senate Bill 257 passed the Senate on May 14 by a vote of 57-0, passed the House on June 22 on its Consent Calendar of multiple bills to be approved at once, voted 114-0,[968] and became law on September 10.

In 1990, the General Assembly closed the parental "written order" exception that had been in the original minimum-age purchasing law for over one hundred years, making the

minimum purchasing age truly 18. Senate Bill 1572 by Sen. Jack Schaffer (R-Cary, in McHenry County) eliminated the exception for parental written notes.[969]

This change came on the heels of one of the first comprehensive local ordinances in the United States about youth smoking, a 1989 ordinance in the village of Woodridge. The ordinance in Woodridge arose from residents' complaints about sales of tobacco products to minors. Police officer Bruce Talbot led the effort to call on the village board to pass an ordinance requiring licensing for tobacco retailers.[970] The ordinance in Woodridge effectively reduced access to cigarettes by people under 18.[970-971]

As a youth smoking-focused police officer from Woodridge, Officer Bruce Talbot, declared for a 1989 *Chicago Tribune* article, the state parental notice clause served as a loophole "big enough to drive a semi through."[972] During floor debate in the Senate on May 9, Sen. Schaffer argued that he "put this bill in at the request of the retail merchants" in the state, who did not want to be responsible for examining the veracity of any alleged note from parents. The Senate passed the bill on a vote of 45-4, and passed the House on its Consent Calendar by a vote of 117-0, with one abstention, on June 19.[973] Senate Bill 1572 became law on August 17 as Public Act 86-1181, closing the parental note exception created in 1887.

In 1990, the General Assembly closed the parental "written order" exception ... making the minimum purchasing age truly 18.

In 1991 in Chicago, Alderman Edward Burke proposed an ordinance to raise the minimum purchasing age to 19, but opposition by the tobacco industry stalled the ordinance. The Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors worked with the Tobacco Institute, and the Smokeless Tobacco Council to change all references in the proposed ordinance about age 19 back to stating age 18. As Harry Kelley of the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors recounted in a January 24, 1991 letter to R.J. Reynolds Mid-Western Area Vice President Pat Cundari, "I am not real pleased with this ordinance, but I am extremely pleased with the way it came out from its original form."[974]

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco did not largely focus on raising the minimum tobacco purchasing age in the early 2000s, believing that if anything, it was more important to improve enforcement of minimum-age purchasing laws than to continue to raise the legally stated age further.[276] Still, Rep. John Fritchey (D-Chicago; $4,550 in tobacco industry contributions) authored legislation in 2001 to increase the purchasing age to 19 statewide. House Bill 1034, sponsored by Rep. Fritchey, as introduced sought to change the age to 19 while having an exemption for military service members who were 18. The House Children & Youth Committee then adopted an amendment to eliminate the exception,[975-976] and the House passed the under-19 bill by a vote of 104-6, with five abstentions, on March 7.[977] The Senate Rules Committee buried the legislation, however. Rep. Fritchey tried again in January 2003 with

House Bill 77, which had almost identical text to the 2001 bill,[978-979] yet in 2003 this bill did not come to a vote in the House.[980]

In February 2003 Rep. Fritchey tried yet again to increase the minimum tobacco purchasing age to 19 with House Bill 1383. As with the initial version of the 2001 bill, Fritchey's proposed legislation in 2003 included an exception for active military members over 18. To assuage the concerns of retail merchants, the bill also included a provision to mark drivers' licenses with a clear message about whether a person was 19 or older. It also allowed a one-year grace period for retailers to comply.[981-982]

House Bill 1383 drew the attention of many legislators, including chief co-sponsors Reps. Sara Feigenholtz (D-Chicago), Kenneth Dunkin (D-Chicago), Kathleen Ryg (D-Vernon Hills), and Paul Froehlich (R-Schaumburg). Numerous state representatives requested legislative research notes to examine the impact of the bill, including the impact on state mandates, budget, and the judiciary.[983] The House passed the bill by a vote of 80-32 on March 20. In the Senate, Sen. Donne Trotter (D-Chicago; $22,150 in contributions)sponsored the bill, along with chief co-sponsors Sens. Christine Radogno (R-Lemont), Barack Obama (D-Chicago), Kimberly Lightford (D-Westchester; $7,500 in contributions), and Edward Maloney (D-Chicago). The Illinois Retail Merchants Association stayed neutral on the bill.[981] The bill died in the Senate Rules Committee.

Possession of Tobacco Products

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco generally did not support laws prohibiting possession of tobacco products by youth, because this focus placed the responsibility on youth rather than on tobacco manufacturers and retailers.[261] Still, in 2009, the Illinois General Assembly prohibited the possession of tobacco products by people under age 18. House Bill 799 by Rep. Ronald Wait (R-Belvidere, in northern Illinois; $2,000 in contributions) also changed the existing title of the Illinois law about youth smoking, from the Sale of Tobacco to Minors Act, to the Prevention of Tobacco Use by Minors Act. The law took effect on August 10, 2009 as Public Act 96-179.[984]

Some local ordinances prohibited youth possession of tobacco products, rather than just barring sales to youth. In 1981, the village of Zion in Lake County passed an ordinance in reaction to high school students smoking and the school district not establishing its own no-smoking policy;[985] Batavia followed suit in 1996, as a result of a request by the Batavia School District,[986] as did Naperville in 1997.[987]

When the focus on youth laws distracted from efforts to reduce smoking among the population at large, as tobacco companies intended, public health advocates in Champaign opposed such laws in order to pursue legislation that covered the entire population. In 2006, these advocates rejected a proposed local ordinance that sought to prohibit youth possession of tobacco, to authorize police to warn youths or seize tobacco products, and to issue fines starting in February 2007. In the eyes of the Champaign-Urbana Smoke-Free Alliance, however, the

proposed ordinance seemed to serve merely as a substitute for action on the smokefree ordinance that the alliance and Alderman Giraldo Rosales was pushing at the time.

The Champaign City Council, however, passed the ordinance, by a vote of 8-1 on January 17, 2006. Ald. Rosales stood alone on the council in opposing it, along with the Champaign-Urbana Smoke-Free Alliance and leader Scott Hays, who called instead for a local comprehensive smokefree ordinance, which passed later in 2006. [988]

Purchasing of Loose Cigarettes

"Loose" or individual cigarettes were prohibited from being sold in 2008, in Senate Bill 2546 by Sen. James Clayborne (D-East St. Louis).[989] The idea for the bill came from the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco.[276] Health advocates, including the American Lung Association of Illinois' Greater Chicago office, supported the bill,[990] and the bill became Public Act 95-905.

Selling Cigarettes Near Schools

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco also worked to prohibit people from selling cigarettes near schools.[276] In 1991, House Bill 1849 by Rep. Daniel Burke (D-Chicago), proposed to prohibit the sale or distribution of cigarettes within 100 feet of schools; the House defeated the bill by a vote of 45-52, with 21 abstentions.[238] In 1991, Senate Bill 784 (Public Act 87-0572) by Sen. John P. Daley (D-Chicago), the brother of Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley, mandated signs to be displayed wherever cigarettes were sold, with a pregnancy warning message.[238]

According to a May 10, 1991 memo from Harry Kelley, the tobacco lobbyist, to Bill Trisler, the Tobacco Institute's regional vice president, tobacco industry interests did not fight the bill because Illinois Retail Merchants Association did not oppose it; nevertheless, Kelley attempted to convince Sen. Daley to withdraw the bill, without success, arguing that such warnings already existed on cigarette packs.[991] Later, in 2003, Senate Bill 1030 (Public Act 93-0284) by Sen. James Meeks (I-Calumet City) prohibited the sale or giveaway of cigarettes from lunch wagons within 1,000 feet of elementary and secondary schools.[992]

Displaying Cigarettes on Store Counters

The issue of displaying cigarettes on store counters, which health advocates call "self-serve" cigarette displays because it allows purchasers physically to pick up packages of cigarettes without first showing identification, became important for health advocates in an attempt to reduce the chance that children and teenagers would try to buy cigarettes. In 2004, the year before Rep. Karen Yarbrough (D-Maywood), had sponsored the bill to reverse state preemption of local smoking ordinances, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco and the Cook County Department of Public Health approached Rep. Yarbrough about sponsoring a bill to keep cigarettes from being displayed directly on store counters.[276, 291] A local minister in the village of Maywood had been active in getting rid of tobacco advertising in the area, and this desire for getting rid of counter and other self-serve areas of tobacco was an outgrowth of these efforts.[291]

House Bill 4302 (Public Act 93-0886) by Rep. Karen Yarbrough (D-Maywood) required cigarettes displayed in stores to be out of reach behind the counter, in a sealed case or age-restricted area. The bill also required that other tobacco products be kept in the line of sight of a cashier or another employee. The same law also prohibited people under 16 from selling cigarettes.[993]

As Rep. Yarbrough recalled in a 2013 interview about the counter display bill, tobacco companies and retail merchants served as the main opponents:

> I had obviously lots of opposition from the convenience stores because they said they didn't have a lot of space and they couldn't do this. And, of course, the retail merchants were in opposition to the bill. ... The big challenges were, it's big tobacco. ... They have plenty of money to throw at anything they're in opposition to. And they did. And the retail merchants, of course, same thing. So I had to make the case for why kids' lives are important and who's stealing those cigarettes. And, since you had to be 18 years old to smoke that, we needed to try to protect children. ... I was able to influence my colleagues that this was good public policy.[638]

The law preventing cigarette displays on counters took effect on January 1, 2005.

Advertising Cigarettes to Youth and Young Adults

Limits on advertising practices to youth and young adults occurred through action by the office of the state's attorney general. In July 2004, Illinois Attorney General Lisa Madigan, who in 2001 as a state senator had supported a bill attempting to reverse state preemption of local smoking ordinances, sued Brown & Williamson to get Brown & Williamson to stop its 2004 Kool Mixx advertising campaign,[994] which aimed at least in part to target young African American males and young people in general[995] by including portraits of hip-hop artists with cigarette packs.

Joining Illinois, the attorneys general of New York and Maryland also sued Brown & Williamson over the campaign. In October 2004, R.J. Reynolds, which had purchased Brown & Williamson in mid-2004, settled with these three states, giving Illinois $500,000, holding the campaign in venues open only to adults, refraining from college radio stations, and removing cartoon characters from cigarette packs in the campaign.[996]

Delivering Cigarettes

In 2004, the Prevention of Cigarette Sales to Minors Act (Senate Bill 2148; Public Act 93-0960) by Sen. Ira Silverstein (D-Chicago) prohibited mail carriers from delivering cigarettes to people under 18. It required deliverers of cigarettes to obtain identification from the purchaser proving that the purchaser was 18 years or older.[997-998] In 2009, to crack down further on shipping cigarettes to people under 18, Senate Bill 801 (Public Act 95-1053) by Sen. Terry Link (D-Lake Bluff) required delivery sales of cigarettes require the deliverer to verify the age of the recipient by demanding identification, effective January 1, 2010.[999]

Tobacco Industry Response: Youth Programs

The tobacco industry's response in youth programs was intended to distract policymakers and to burnish an image of seeming corporate responsibility; tobacco companies' strategies surrounding the issue of youth smoking included supporting various "Helping Youth Decide", "It's the Law", and "We Card" programs.[174, 1000] In 1986, Tobacco Institute executives attempted to expand the "Helping Youth Decide" campaign by creating a parallel program in Spanish called "Decidiendo Juntos" (Deciding Together).[1001] "It's the Law" programs came from the Tobacco Institute, Philip Morris, and R.J. Reynolds, and entered common use in the 1990s.[1000]

The "We Card" program began in 1995 by the Tobacco Institute, to replace the "It's the Law" program. The "We Card" program received almost all of its funding from tobacco companies;[174] as of 2013, the program continued with wide adoption. In Illinois, tobacco industry newsletters trumpeted the "We Card" program as a way to keep people under 18 away from tobacco products; one article featuring the village of Oak Lawn became prominently featured in a newsletter.[1002]

Legislation Preventing Smoking Accessories and Products Similar to Cigarettes

Beyond purchasing and possession laws for cigarettes, health advocates also worked to curb the sale of smoking accessories and tobacco products similar to cigarettes. On a broad range of products similar to cigarettes that are used disproportionately by youth, the Illinois General Assembly acted to curb these products. On these products, the city of Chicago was also a leader nationwide, moving to address concerns with such products much earlier than other major cities, and often first in the United States. Action on these products within Illinois included smoking herbs and accessories, a product from India called bidis, electronic cigarettes, and menthol cigarettes. State and local action on these products put Illinois at the forefront of policymaking in these arenas.

Smoking Herbs and Accessories

In 1981, House Bill 1632 (Public Act 82-487) prohibited youth possession of products used principally as accessories for tobacco products. Rep. Mike Tate (R-Decatur) sponsored the bill, and John Cullerton (D-Chicago), then a state representative, amended the bill with Tate's support.[1003] The bill attempted to deal with an increase in possession of drug accessories among youth and the stores that sold these accessories. The bill specifically mentioned certain illegal drugs on the basis of being illegal, and also dealt with tobacco, according to the text of the bill, because of tobacco harmful health impact. The bill aimed to prohibit sales to youth of tobacco accessories, other drug accessories, and tobacco products: as the text of the act states, "The prohibition of the sale of tobacco and snuff accessories and smoking herbs to minors would help to curb the usage of illegal drugs and tobacco products, among our youth."[1004]

The bill passed both houses and became law, but along the legislative process, a Senate amendment created temporary questions about the real effect of the bill. The House passed the bill on May 18 by a vote of 138-12 with four abstentions;[1005] on Rep. Tate's request, Sen. John

Maitland (D-Bloomington) sponsored the bill in the Senate.[1006] A proposed Senate amendment attempted to clear up some duplicate wording;[1007] the Senate then passed it on June 26 on a vote of 53-0.[1008] On June 29, the House considered the Senate's version but then concluded, under the investigations of Cullerton's office, that the Senate's amendment had the effect of repealing the 1887 age restriction. Consequently, the House refused to concur with the Senate amendment.[1007] On June 30, the Senate took up the bill again, and voted 51-0 to recede from its earlier amendment, accepting the version that had been approved by the House.[1009]

Flavored Cigarette Papers or Cigar Wraps

The 2009 federal Family Smoking Prevention and Tobacco Control Act prohibited most flavored cigarettes except for menthol cigarettes; it did not, however, take any action about flavored cigarette papers or cigar wraps, meaning that nonflavored tobacco could still be purchased and put inside candy and fruit flavored cigarette papers. In 2012, legislation by Kwame Raoul (D-Chicago), House Bill 3801 (Public Act 97-0917), prohibited the distribution of flavored cigarette papers, cigar wraps, or other tobacco or smoking herb rolling products.

In 2012 legislation by Kwame Raoul ... prohibited the distribution of flavored cigarette papers, cigar wraps, or other tobacco or smoking herb rolling products.

The bill prohibited "characterizing flavors" including chocolate, fruit, vanilla; the bill did not prohibit menthol, however.[1010] In addition to flavored smoking products, the bill dealt primarily with other drugs, aiming primarily to lower the threshold at which parole is not allowed for those convicted of knowingly manufacturing heroin or knowingly intending to deliver heroin. The text of the law did not address flavors in the tobacco mix, just in the cigarette papers. These provisions became part of House Bill 3801 through Senate Amendment 3; Raoul introduced the provisions in a floor amendment to the bill.

This idea to prohibit the sale of flavored cigarette papers was something that health advocates had worked on before 2012. In the case of this bill, it came out of Sen. Raoul's legislative office.[276] House Bill 3801 became law in the form given in Senate Amendment 3. The bill passed the House 118-0 on March 7, passed the Senate on a vote of 46-1 on May 25, and won approval by Gov. Pat Quinn (D) on August 9. This prohibition of flavored cigarette papers was a major step in tobacco control, placing Illinois law as one of the earliest state laws prohibiting flavored cigarette papers.

Bidis: Crafting a Law Correctly to Prohibit Sales of a Growing Product

Bidis consist of tobacco rolled in the *tendu* or *temburi* leaves of southern Asia, or similar leaves, and are commonly tied at the end with string. They were first used in India; as of 2013, a government branch in at least one Indian state has considered prohibiting the sale of bidis on

public health grounds.[1011] Bidis deliver carcinogens and result in cancers at rates equal to or exceeding that of cigarettes.[1012-1014]

Chicago and Illinois took the lead in the United States on the issue of bidis. Chicago became the first major city in the United States to prohibit the sale of bidis to both youth and adults, and Illinois became one of the first states to ban the sale of bidis. Bidi use prevalence among adults in India was about 9 percent,[1012, 1015], but the prevalence of bidi use in the United States was largely not among South Asian Americans, however, because in southern Asian countries, bidis had connotations of being tobacco products used by low-income individuals.

In the 1990s, bidis increased markedly in popularity among teenagers in the United States;[1016] By 2000, about 3% of youth aged 11 to 18 used bidis regularly;[1017] among youth in the largest racial or ethnic groups nationwide, bidi use had the highest prevalence among Latino youth,[1017], a situation that persisted through at least through the early 2010s.[1018]

In the United States, bidis commonly carried flavorings including chocolate, mint, vanilla, and mango; manufacturers often added these fruit flavorings when the bidis reached the United States, after importing non-fruit-flavored bidis from India.[1019] Many youth also had the perception that bidis seemed "natural" or "safer" than conventional cigarettes.[1017]

A force for elevating the issue of bidis in Illinois was U.S. Senator from Illinois Dick Durbin (D). Durbin and other U.S. senators urged federal officials to take action on bidis sales in health food stores.[1020] Durbin made this an issue in Illinois, to deal with bidis' growing popularity among teenagers. Bidi use in the United States in the late 1990s appeared to observers of youth activity to be most prevalent among urban youth on the west coast and east coast, but bidi use was continuing to spread geographically.[1019] Cities such as Boston, Phoenix, and San Francisco had already begun to prohibit the sale of bidis to people under 18.[1021]

A force for elevating the issue of bidis in Illinois was U.S. Senator from Illinois Dick Durbin ... to deal with bidis' growing popularity among teenagers.

Chicago took its action on bidis one step further, prohibiting its sale outright. According to a 2013 interview with policy analyst Jennifer Herd, who was at the Chicago Department of Public Health during the bidis ordinance, the Chicago Department of Public Health together with local health advocates had identified bidis as an issue. Tobacco policy analysts in the Chicago Department of Public Health worked with the Chicago Department of Law to draft an ordinance.[290]

Ald. Terry Peterson, a member of the Chicago City Council from 1996 to 2000, introduced the ordinance, which would prohibit the sale of bidis both to youth as well as to

adults. As Herd recalled in the 2013 interview, the passage of the ordinance was not very difficult.[290]

Health advocates testified at the License Committee hearing of the City Council about the danger of the bidis and the amount by which bidis produced nicotine and toxic substances at rates higher than cigarettes.[1019] A local Catholic priest also spoke on the subject. The head of the Chicago Public Schools wrote a letter for the council in support of a prohibition on bidis, as did U.S. Senator Durbin.[1019, 1021]

On December 9, 1999, the License Committee of the Chicago City Council voted unanimously to enact an ordinance.[1019] One member of the city council, had some concerns that a ban on bidis would impinge on adults from countries whose cultures may include bidi use.[1019] as of 2010} Yet, supporters of the ordinance at the meeting argued that the city needed to mandate a total prohibition on bidi sales to prevent adults from buying bidis for youth.[1019]

Following Chicago's lead on prohibiting the sale of bidis in 1999, the Illinois General Assembly followed suit in 2000. Several legislators introduced bills to prohibit the sale of bidis in the state. that year introduced many bills to restrict bidis. Senate Bill 1443 by Sen. Kathleen Parker (R-Northbrook) and Senate Bill 1583 by Sen. Barack Obama (D-Chicago) each sought to prohibit the sale of bidis in Illinois; neither bill made it out of the Senate Rules Committee.[1022-1023] House Bill 4369 by Rep. Harry Osterman (D-Chicago), sponsored in the Senate by Parker, did become law.

Rep. Osterman's bidi prohibition bill had several advantages over the two other bills introduced earlier that year. Unlike Sen. Parker and Sen. Obama's bills, which defined bidis narrowly to be wrapped in *tendu* or *temburi* leaves only and thus would not cover wrappings using similar leaves, Osterman's bill defined bidis to include wrappings in any leaf characteristic of *tendu* or *temburi* as specified by the Illinois Department of Public Health. Also, unlike Parker and Obama's bills, which included in their definitions the lack of a filter, and thus would not cover any products that simply claimed to add a filter, Osterman introduced and won approval for an amendment to his own bill that created a simpler definition by leaving out the language about lacking a filter. Furthermore, unlike Obama's bill, which would have created a separate Bidi Cigarette Act, Osterman's bill worked simply to amend the existing Tobacco Accessories and Smoking Herbs Control Act, ensure that future legislation about tobacco or smoking products would apply to bidis in the same way that such legislation would apply to cigarettes (Table 29).

The U.S.-based tobacco industry did not present opposition to the legislation banning bidis, at least in part because bidis were from southern Asia and therefore not products of the U.S. tobacco industry. The House passed Osterman's bill on a vote of 118-0 on March 2, and the Senate passed the bill on a vote of 56-0, with one abstention, on April 7, and sale of bidis became prohibited in Illinois starting on January 1, 2001.[1024]

Through this law, Illinois became the first state to prohibit the sale and distribution of bidis to both adults and youth.[1025] By 2001, the states of Vermont and West Virginia had also prohibited the sale and distribution of bidis to both adults and youth, and Arizona, New York,

Oregon, Rhode Island, and Virginia forbade their sale and distribution to youth but not to adults.[1016] In 2009, the federal law prohibiting flavored cigarettes, for all flavors except menthol, caused most flavored bidis to be prohibited throughout the United States.

Table 29: Defining Bidis in Legislation Prohibiting Bidi Sales

	Osterman's House Bill 4369 (became law)[1024]	Obama's Senate Bill 1583[1023]	Parker's Senate Bill 1443[1022]
Definition of bidis	Broadly defined: "a product that contains tobacco that is wrapped in temburni or tendu leaf or that is wrapped in any other material identified by rules of the Department of Public Health that is similar in appearance or characteristics to the temburni or tendu leaf"	Narrowly defined: "a product that (i) contains tobacco that is wrapped in temburni or tendu leaf, or that is wrapped in any other material identified by rules of the Department of Public Health that is similar in appearance or other characteristics to the temburni or tendu leaf; and (ii) does not contain a smoke filtering device"	Narrowly defined: "a product that (i) contains tobacco that is wrapped in temburni or tendu leaf or that is wrapped in any other material identified by rules of the Department of Public Health that is similar in appearance or characteristics to the temburni or tendu leaf and (ii) does not contain a smoke filtering device"
Definition left out extra characteristics, such as whether it is a filter?	Yes	No	No
Amended existing act in the Illinois Compiled Statutes?	Yes: amended the existing Tobacco Accessories and Smoking Herbs Act	No: sought to create a new act, the Bidi Cigarette Act	Yes: sought to amend the existing Tobacco Accessories and Smoking Herbs Act

Menthol Cigarettes and Electronic Cigarettes

Menthol Cigarettes

The issue of menthol cigarettes is an example of Chicago city public health authorities continuing to lead the United States in an area of tobacco control policy. In 2013, Chicago prohibited the sale of menthol cigarettes within 500 feet of schools; this was the first law, whether federal, state, or local, to include menthol cigarettes as part of the laws that regulated flavored tobacco. Moreover, Chicago's action occurred before even any states acted to include menthol cigarettes as flavored tobacco. Policy activity on menthol cigarettes in Chicago in 2013 was introduced primarily in terms of preventing smoking among teenagers and children.

Tobacco industry efforts to encourage menthol cigarette use among African Americans

Tobacco companies frequently focused on promoting tobacco use among African American populations.[1026-1029] The tobacco industry in the 1960s purposefully targeted the African American and urban consumer market characterizing menthol cigarettes as healthy and attractive, while also maintaining contributions to African American organizations to head off criticisms from these organizations.[781, 1030-1031] Although public health advocates frequently

pointed out tobacco companies' efforts to do so, tobacco industry strategists often instead attempted to speak for African Americans, against public health advocates.

Starting in the 1950s, and especially during the 1980s and 1990s, the tobacco industry established relationships with African American leadership groups throughout the United States.[781] In the context of Illinois, in 1989, the Tobacco Institute created drafts of sample testimony that could be presented by individuals mobilized to oppose tobacco advertising restrictions being considered in the Illinois General Assembly.[1032] Such Tobacco Institute-drafted testimonies attempted, in part, to refute allegations that the tobacco industry targeted African Americans and Latinos. The sample testimony drafts asserted that health advocates engaged in a "paternalistic racism."[1032]

Efforts by African American leadership groups to combat menthol cigarettes

Drawing a contrast with tobacco companies' efforts, the National Association of American Americans for Positive Imagery, a national African American advocacy group founded in 1991 to organize against high levels of tobacco and alcohol marketing to African Americans, attempted to demonstrate the tobacco industry's harm to the African American community nationwide, focusing in many instances on activities in Chicago. In February 1997, it led a protest against Camel menthol cigarettes in Chicago and in two other cities. Camel menthols were test marketed in Chicago, and, in 1997, approximately three-quarters of African American smokers used menthol cigarettes. The protesters called for an end to advertising of Camel menthols and to withdraw the product from the market.[1033-1034]

The 2009 federal Family Smoking Prevention and Tobacco Control Act prohibited in cigarettes the addition of any flavoring, except for one: menthol. The cooling sensation of menthol results in cigarettes that feel less harsh to users, increasing cigarette smoking initiation and dependence, and inhibits decisions to quit.[1029, 1035-1036]

After the passage of the Family Smoking Prevention and Tobacco Control Act, due in part to reaction by public health and African American groups, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration promised to take steps to determine what policies to take concerning menthol cigarettes. In 2013, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration enacted a period of comment on a citizens' petition to prohibit menthol cigarettes nationwide.

The African American Tobacco Control Leadership Council, a national organization based in Oakland, California, dedicated to reducing tobacco use among African Americans, worked to elevate the issue of menthol cigarettes nationally. The Legacy Foundation and the African American Tobacco Prevention Leadership Council had been planning efforts to restrict menthol cigarettes for years. On May 31, 2013, World No Tobacco Day, the African American Tobacco Control Leadership Council used the occasion to call for banning menthol cigarettes.[1037] Also in 2013, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration opened up a docket for public comments on what to do with menthol cigarettes.[1038] The African American Tobacco Prevention Leadership Council worked with law groups and centers around the country to prepare comments. Also, in July 2013, Delta Sigma Theta, the largest African American sorority in the

United States, passed a resolution calling on the Food and Drug Administration to ban menthol cigarettes.[1039]

Origins of a menthol ordinance in Chicago

Mayor Rahm Emanuel made the issue of menthol cigarettes a priority in health policy for the city, through the Chicago Department of Public Health.[290] Emanuel had been active in his first months in office at setting health policy targets for the city of Chicago to reduce tobacco use. Emanuel himself was driving force behind policy action on menthol cigarettes. Both Mayor Rahm Emanuel and Health Commissioner Bechara Choucair had submitted strong written commentary to the U.S. Food and Drug Administration's menthol public comment docket. The African American Tobacco Control Leadership Council and the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco participated in meetings with the city health department early on the topic.

Dozens of community groups sponsored Chicago's 2013 menthol cigarette hearings.

The Chicago Department of Public Health invited Asian American, African American, and Latino leadership groups to be part of the citywide conversation on menthol. For this effort, the Chicago Department of Public Health also built capacity at the local level, getting local community groups to mobilize in favor of some ordinance about menthol cigarettes. These efforts also built the capacity for subsequent efforts by Chicago city elected officials to regulate electronic cigarettes and to increase the city's cigarette tax.[1040]

Series of town hall meetings to gather community input

The U.S. Food and Drug Administration released a report on menthol cigarettes on July 23, 2013. Two days later, on July 25, Mayor Emanuel directed the Chicago Board of Health to hold four town hall meetings at sites in different parts of Chicago. These town hall meetings occurred in September 2013.

Advocates representing member organizations in the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco attended these meetings and testified.[430] Dozens of community groups sponsored Chicago's 2013 menthol cigarette hearings, including the Illinois African American Coalition for Prevention, Asian Health Coalition, Chicago Hispanic Health Coalition, church groups, neighborhood centers, university organizations, and civic groups, four Chicago aldermen, and state representative LaShawn Ford.[290] In addition, experts in tobacco research and in particular on menthol cigarettes came from outside Chicago and outside Illinois to testify.

As April Bailey, the tobacco program manager at the American Lung Association in Illinois' Chicago office, recalled in a 2014 interview, opposition was not high in general at the first town hall meeting, but much more opposition surfaced at the second meeting.[430] At this second meeting, those giving testimony were instructed to relay whether they were associated

with any organization. Many in opposition gave testimony about cigarettes that appeared to reflect standard talking points of convenience store owners, even though the testifiers did not disclose an affiliation. Yet April Bailey recognized a testifier as having previously testified on tobacco-related issues, and called out these testifiers, exhorting them to disclose that they worked at convenience stores. Consequently, at the third and fourth town hall meetings, opposition did not return in the numbers of the second meeting.[430]

Crafting an ordinance and preparing community outreach

The Chicago Department of Public Health sought an ordinance that banned the sale of menthol cigarettes within 500 feet of schools, rather than prohibiting the sale of menthol cigarettes outright. The Chicago Department of Public Health crafted the ordinance with an eye toward withstanding legal challenges, which would then allow other cities across the United States to continue developing further ordinances limiting the sale of menthol cigarettes near concentrations of children and teenagers. Considerations of creating an ordinance that could stand up under litigation also contributed to setting the radius around schools to be 500 feet, rather than 750 or 1000 feet.[1040] In terms of messaging in support of the ordinance, Mayor Emanuel and Commissioner Choucair led with a social justice argument not a health arguments, thereby allowing a focus on the disproportionate impact of menthol cigarettes among African Americans and youth.[1040]

In November 2013, members of the African American Tobacco Prevention Leadership Council engaged in community outreach at Chicago State University. A meeting of the Chicago City Council including discussion of menthol cigarettes, originally planned for the second half of November, took place on December 9; the African American Tobacco Prevention Leadership Council spoke at the December meeting.

The proposed ordinance was sponsored by Emma Mitts and JoAnn Thompson.[1041] At a joint meeting of the Finance and Health Committees, on December 9, the Chicago City Council considered an ordinance that included discussion of both menthol cigarettes as well as electronic cigarettes. Discussion on the city council then moved to split apart the two topics and then only to consider ordinances about menthol cigarettes.[1042] Anticipating the efforts of tobacco industry lobbyists, Mayor Rahm Emanuel warned aldermen to anticipate contacts from tobacco lobbyists.[1043]

On December 11, 2013, the Chicago City Council voted 48-2 to pass an ordinance prohibiting the sale of menthol cigarettes and other flavored cigarettes within 500 feet of schools. This expanded an existing Chicago ordinance banning menthol and flavored cigarettes within 100 feet of schools. The ban on menthol within 500 feet of schools, impacting approximately 12% of tobacco retailers in the city, had an effective date of July 15, 2014.[1040]

Electronic Cigarettes

Electronic cigarettes heat chemical solutions into an aerosol; as of 2014, electronic cigarettes typically contained nicotine, propylene glycol or glycerol, and flavoring agents.[1044] Cigarette companies attempted to create electronically heated cigarettes as early as the 1960s; the

types of electronic cigarettes used in 2014 were commonly claimed to have been developed from models invented in China in the year 2000. By the early 2010s, all major U.S.-based cigarette companies developed electronic cigarette product lines or purchased existing electronic cigarette companies. Such products also grew in use for other substances, including hash oil. Efforts to regulate the use or sale of electronic cigarettes in Illinois and in some cities in the early 2010s centered on electronic cigarette use among youth or started with such a focus before being expanded to other aspects of regulation.

Electronic cigarette policy activity centering on youth

In Illinois in 2013 and 2014, state and local policy activity on the issue of electronic cigarettes started on and centered on the availability of electronic cigarettes to children and teenagers. In 2013 the Senate Public Health Committee considered Senate Bill 1756, which aimed to prevent the sale of electronic cigarettes to people under 18. Sen. John Mulroe (D-Chicago; $2,000 in contributions) sponsored the legislation in the Senate, and Rep. Kathleen Willis (D-Northlake) sponsored it in the House. The bill created a separate section in Illinois law defining "alternative nicotine products", rather than including this in an existing section about tobacco or smoking, and then declared the sale or distribution of alternative nicotine products prohibited to youth.[1045] It passed the House on April 17 and the Senate on May 31.[1046] On August 15, Gov. Pat Quinn signed the bill into law as Public Act 98-0350, effective January 1, 2014.

Inclusion of electronic cigarettes in Illinois' statewide smokefree law had not occurred, as of 2014, meaning that many people who used electronic cigarettes did so inside because existing laws did not explicitly prohibit electronic cigarettes. Bills about electronic cigarettes in indoor smoking did not come to a vote in the Illinois General Assembly during the spring 2013 General Assembly session.

Electronic cigarette ordinance in Evanston

Some local governments considered requiring licensing for electronic cigarette sales to curb sales to youth and incorporating electronic cigarettes into existing indoor clean air laws. The first to act in Illinois was the city of Evanston. City leaders considered an ordinance, heard testimony at an October 14 meeting, including from local health advocates, including April Bailey, the American Lung Association in Illinois tobacco program manager.[430] Groups opposing the ordinance mobilized users of electronic cigarettes to oppose it. The Evanston City Council voted to include electronic cigarettes in existing clean indoor air ordinances and to require a tobacco retailer license, approving the ordinance on October 28, 2013 by a vote of 8-1.

Origins of an electronic cigarettes ordinance in Chicago

In January 2014, the Chicago City Council extended smokefree provisions to include electronic cigarettes, limiting the use of electronic cigarettes in existing public places where regular cigarettes, and within 15 feet of public entrances, with exemptions for theater performances. It also allowed electronic cigarettes stores to have the same exemptions as cigar shops and hookah shops.

The Chicago electronic cigarette ordinance had its origins in a proposed September 2013 ordinance to strengthen youth access restrictions in Chicago. This ordinance was sponsored by Edward Burke, a longtime supporter of tobacco control legislation, and William Burns, an aldermen elected in 2011.[879] Alds. Burke and Burns drafted the ordinance and sent it to the mayor's office; the mayor's staff met with Ald. Burns' office and proposed going further, by adding restrictions on electronic cigarettes and prohibitions on countertop displays and requiring licensing for sales of electronic cigarettes.[879]

The push for regulation of the use of electronic cigarettes came from inside the Chicago Department of Public Health, lead by Commissioner Bechara Choucair, a physician appointed by Mayor Richard M. Daley in 2009. Health advocates then came to support it.[423] Kendall Stagg, the director of health policy and a lawyer who had extensive experience in other jurisdictions promoting public health-related tobacco policies, led the efforts from the health department to convince the Chicago City Council to act to regulate the use of electronic cigarettes.[1047]

Advocacy and community mobilization efforts for the Chicago ordinance

The ordinance gained the support of Mayor Rahm Emanuel, who had just been working with the Chicago Department of Public Health on his own initiative on menthol cigarettes during the fall of 2013.[879] Within government, Commissioner Choucair played the central role in spearheading the ordinance. Choucair framed the ordinance as an issue of keeping electronic cigarettes away from children and away from indoor public spaces.[423] Kendall Stagg, the Chicago Department of Public Health policy director, mobilized the same groups that had been working during fall 2013 on the issue of menthol cigarettes. These groups had already been working on the issue of menthol cigarettes said they were already in communication with each other and with the Chicago Department of Public Health.[879]

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco engaged in standard earned media efforts and also wrote editorials to the Chicago Tribune. Health groups and medical professionals testified at Chicago City Council meetings. National organizations supporting the ordinance included the American Cancer Society Cancer Action Network and the American Lung Association.[1047] Phil Gardiner of the African American Tobacco Prevention Leadership Council gave the main 25 minute presentation on electronic cigarettes at the meeting. Carolyn Lopez, the president of the Chicago Board of Health, also gave strong testimony in favor of the ordinance.

Opposition to the ordinance

A key tactic of opponents was online mobilization of users of electronic cigarettes against the ordinance, to send online messages to elected officials. The use of online forums to mobilize users outside of a particular geographic area that is considering an ordinance was a recently crafted political tactic in the repertoire of tactics used by opponents to public health initiatives on tobacco. The Consumer Advocates for Smoke-free Alternatives Association, a nationwide association supporting the use of electronic cigarettes, mobilized its members to write to aldermen and to send online messages against the ordinance, asserting that electronic cigarettes had allowed them to quit smoking. Opponents to the ordinance sent commissioners large

numbers of emails and other online messaging. Many of these messages came from outside of the Chicago area and outside of Illinois.[1048]

Opponents to the Chicago ordinance, frequently users of electronic cigarettes, argued contrary to the findings of existing scientific research that electronic cigarettes contained only water vapor and that no proof existed of the harm of electronic cigarettes. According to a 2014 interview with policy director Kendall Stagg, tobacco lobbyists also told aldermen that they had determined the vote count on the ordinance and that there weren't enough votes.[1048]

As a consequence of this opposition mobilized by the Consumer Advocates for Smoke-free Alternatives Association, the electronic cigarette ordinance stalled at a December 9, 2013 meeting of the Finance and Health committees of the Chicago City Council, the same meeting where these committees passed forward the proposed menthol ordinance to the full Chicago City Council. Aldermen presented objections to the ordinance on the grounds that enforcement was difficult. This opposition caught the Chicago Department of Public Health off-guard.[1048]

A key tactic of opponents was online mobilization of users of electronic cigarettes against the ordinance.

Opponents, often electronic cigarette users, argued that dangerous substances produced by the use of electronic cigarettes were lower and safer than regular cigarettes.[1049] Opponents also testified to the personal benefits achieved from using electronic cigarettes rather than regular cigarettes; health advocates argued that regardless of whatever potential benefits existed from electronic cigarette use, the ordinance addressed issues of whether children should be using electronic cigarettes and whether electronic cigarettes should be used indoors.[1048]

As Cathy Callaway, the associate director of state and local campaigns for the American Cancer Society Cancer Action Network, described in a 2014 interview, the activities that opponents of the ordinance undertook, in Chicago as in communities throughout the United States, were sophisticated and well organized:

> What we're seeing with this e-cigarette, with this vapor community, is very well organized e-advocacy, very well-organized turnout at even some of the smallest community city council meetings. It kind of goes back to what we saw in the early 1990s around the smokers' rights groups. Even some of the lobbyists' registrations that we've seen throughout the country, you'll have a lobbyist that one day is working for Philip Morris and then the next day is all of a sudden representing the vapor alliance advocacy group in a place.
>
> So whether they're funded [by the tobacco industry] or not, they certainly seem to have organized talking points and seem to know when things are happening and seem to be able to turn people out.[1047]

Reworking and passing the electronic cigarettes ordinance

Such opposition resulted in the city not moving forward with the bill. Alds. Burke and Burns agreed to rework the ordinance in the face of such opposition. Mayor Rahm Emanuel's office convened Alds. Burke and Burns with the Chicago Department of Public Health to provide a substitute ordinance accounting for these concerns.

During the reworking of the ordinance, health advocates and the Chicago Department of Public health had several debates about how to proceed with reworking the ordinance. Electronic cigarette lounges would be allowed, under the same rules as cigar shops. Nicotine-free electronic cigarettes would be allowed to be used by actors in theatrical performances. Health advocates differed on whether to try to define electronic cigarettes within the ordinance. The ordinance ended up including a broad definition that encompassed nicotine free electronic cigarettes: not specifically defining electronic cigarettes as a product, but prohibiting devices that altered the composition of the users' exhalation. This approach allowed nicotine-free electronic cigarettes to be included within the scope of the ordinance.[879]

On January 15, 2014, the full Chicago city Council voted to approve the ordinance by vote of 45-4, to take effect April 29, 2014. After the passing of this ordinance the Chicago staff at the Chicago Department of Public Health used the experiences of the electronic cigarette ordinance efforts in New York and in Chicago to advise advocates and local health officials on electronic cigarettes ordinances and other cities throughout the United States.[1048]

Enforcing Youth Smoking Prevention Laws

City-Level Enforcement

In 1997, legislation sought to enable cities to enforce laws against smoking by people under 18; legislators considered fining teens directly.[1050] Illinois Attorney General Jim Ryan sought to reduce smoking among teens by removing cigarettes from vending machines accessible to people under 18, and conducting sting operations against sales to teens. In the early 1990s, Woodridge police conducted a period of sting operations against teen smoking.[1050] In October 1997, the village of Pleasant Plains, a community of about 800 people located in Sangamon County northwest of Springfield, passed an ordinance to fine those under 18 for smoking, with a fine of $25.[1051] By this time, other local governments in the Midwest, including Medina County, Ohio as well as North Platte, Nebraska had passed laws fining teens for smoking.[1051]

In 1997, the Illinois Senate considered so many bills about tobacco, most about preventing tobacco use among teenagers, that the senate created a tobacco subcommittee, with members appointed by Sen. Dick Klemm (R-Crystal Lake, in McHenry County; $2,250 in contributions). The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco worked to draft to many of these bills to find sponsors to introduce them. During the late 1990s the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco's legislative strategy was to introduce many bills, hoping that at least some of them would make it through the legislative process; through the decade of the 2000s, however, acting on experience, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco shifted to introducing fewer bills and concentrating on each bill more. Many of these bills dealt with enforcement of existing laws, or expanding

regulations. Subcommittees were frequently used as a way to deal with legislation that the broader General Assembly did not want to consider further, and much of this legislation did not leave the subcommittee.

Synar Amendment Implementation in Illinois

As part of the 1992 federal Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration Reorganization Act, an amendment to the act required states to conduct compliance checks to make sure that tobacco vendors complied with the age 18 requirement for sales of tobacco products. U.S. House Representative Mike Synar (D-Oklahoma) introduced this amendment, becoming section 1926 of the act, such that this section commonly became known as the "Synar Amendment" to the act. The Synar Amendment required the state to enforce its minimum-age laws to keep federal funding for the federal Substance Abuse and Prevention Treatment block grant, which in Illinois went to the state Division of Alcoholism and Substance Abuse.

Unlike in other states, such as Kentucky,[215] where the tobacco industry used the existence of the Synar Amendment to claim that states needed to pass legislation and often then used that pretext to introduce legislation including preemption, for Synar Amendment implementation, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco initially outmaneuvered the tobacco industry by introducing implementing legislation first. Instead, tobacco interests worked to change the bill that health advocates had drafted to make the what the bill required less effective than the original content of the bill.

For Synar Amendment implementation, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco initially outmaneuvered the tobacco industry.

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco drafted legislation to implement the Synar Amendment, and Rep. Dunn championed the bill, House Bill 1576. Before filing the bill, Dunn sent a copy of the draft bill to the Vice President of the Illinois Retail Merchants Association, Timothy Bramlet, likely to get the retail association's input before filing the bill.[1052]

House Bill 1576 became Illinois' implementation of the Synar Amendment. It was originally introduced by Rep. John Dunn (D-Decatur). The bill, drafted with consultation with the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, originally called for the statewide licensing tobacco retailers.

But, legislators had a negotiation session that brought together public health advocates and tobacco industry lobbyists, to negotiate a way of complying with the Synar Amendment. House Speaker Michael Madigan directed the negotiations to be coordinated by Rep. Terry Steczo (D-Oak Forest), who was on the Tobacco Institute's list of key contacts for the region of the State Activities Division that included Illinois: one of seven contacts for Illinois, and the only state legislator on the entire list for the four-state region.[1053]

The negotiations included, on one side, advocates from the American Lung Association in Illinois and American Cancer Society in Illinois, and on the other side, tobacco industry lobbyists and the president of the Illinois Retail Merchants Association, David Vite.

John O'Connell, the Tobacco Institute lobbyist, noted in a May 26, 1993 memo to James Savarese, the Executive Director of the Tobacco Industry Labor Management Committee, that tobacco industry lobbyists had managed in negotiations to have the youth compliance program housed in the Illinois Liquor Control Commission, and not even as a separate program dedicated to tobacco prevention but rather housed administratively within the program.[1053]

The tobacco industry side of negotiations also managed to include, through David Vite's protests and tobacco industry representatives then jumping on to express support for Vite's stated position, incorporation of youth compliance programs that were not run by the state – that is, including the programs developed by the tobacco industry.[1053] As O'Connell recalled about the meeting:

> The resulting product is a negotiated bill that directs the Illinois Liquor Control Committee to be the State agency to oversee the enforcement program. ... There will also be an evaluation of educational programs both through the government and private sources. This latter issue resulted in major debate with the Lung Association people saying it should be strictly governmental education. This brought an outburst from the President of the IL [Illinois] Retail Merchants Association ... IRMA would oppose the bill if private efforts were excluded from the mix. Needless to say, his comments were supported by the Industry representatives.

The bill increased fines for selling cigarettes to people under 18 and required the Illinois Liquor Control Commission to conduct random checks of retail establishments.[240] For that year, legislators needed to enact the law to keep $4 million in the federal substance abuse block grant.[1054]

The tobacco industry also kept a watch on the way in which the Illinois Liquor Control Commission developed its youth tobacco sales compliance survey. In October 1993, Ward Johnson sent a copy of the draft survey instrument to Tobacco Institute executives including Bob Pruett.[1055] Johnson also noted that Philip Morris, R.J. Reynolds, and the Illinois Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors also had copies of the survey.[1055] The Senate sponsor was Sen. Doris Karpiel (R-Roselle, in DuPage County; $3,431 in contributions).

State Enforcement Programs: Kids Can't Buy 'Em Here

The Illinois Liquor Control Commission was the state agency responsible for enforcing tobacco laws related to people under age 18.[24]

The "Kids Can't Buy 'Em Here" program started around 1996. According to the program's website as of 2013, the Illinois Liquor Control Commission runs the program in collaboration with the Illinois Retail Merchants Association.[1056] According to a 2013 interview with Jeff Barr, the tobacco program manager for the Illinois Liquor Control Commission, the

Illinois General Assembly selected the agency to be responsible for youth smoking enforcement because the agency already had a mission of regulating liquor, and legislators thought at the time that regulating liquor had many similarities to regulating tobacco.[286]

As Barr described in the 2013 interview, the Illinois Liquor Control Commission carried out three different types of inspections. First, the state carried out reporting consistent with the Synar Amendment, so that the state could continue to receive the Substance Abuse and Prevention Treatment federal block grant funds.[286] These involved randomly selected vendors, done by in-house staff within the Illinois Liquor Control Commission, and carries out approximately 900 inspections per year. The federal government required, but did not fund, Illinois to carry out these checks.[286]

Second, the Tobacco Enforcement Program involved the Illinois Liquor Control Commission giving grants to local law enforcement to do checks of tobacco sales to youth.[286] Combined, local law enforcement carried out approximately 17,000 checks per year. In addition, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration did a compliance check between 1997 and 2000 but the Supreme Court ruled this check unconstitutional, declaring the Food and Drug Administration of exceeding its authority; at the time checks numbered about 600 per month.[286]

For the Tobacco Enforcement Program, funded by Master Settlement Agreement funds, the state chose to do three checks per year because Barr spoke with an expert psychologist working on tobacco-related issues, who concluded that compliance rates depended on how many times per year enforcing agencies did checks, with a good rate being about three to four per year, with Barr electing to go with three checks per year.[286]

Third, the state carried out inspections that complied with U.S. Food and Drug Administration standards, of smokeless tobacco products and "roll-your-own" tobacco stores.[286] As a way to comply with two sets of compliance check requirements, the Illinois Liquor Control Commission carried out its checks for Synar reporting in a way that complied with the Food and Drug Administration standards.[286]

Compliance Rates

According to Barr, compliance improved because the public became aware of the checks. Food and Drug Administration-compliance inspections also drove down violation rates; the Tobacco Enforcement Program increased compliance as well.[286] This program gives $1.15 million per year in the form of grants, with approximately 260 grants per year to communities covering 70% of Illinois' population.

Violations of state laws against youth purchasing of tobacco have decreased from 16 percent of compliance checks done in 2001, to 8.4 percent in 2009.[25] As one interesting issue with these checks, noncompliance skyrocketed when the youth conducting sting operations showed their identification, despite the identification still listing such youth as under 18. This change in compliance was due to the fact that retail workers, when presented with identification, were more likely to be willing to sell tobacco products, regardless if the identification stated that the person was under 18.

Licensing of Tobacco Retailers

The issue of tobacco retail licensing is to require licenses of retail establishments, including grocery stores, gas stations, or convenience stores, that sell tobacco products. The major opponent publicly of retail licensing efforts was the Illinois Retail Merchants Association. As of 2013, this organization continued to oppose licensing efforts.

At first glance, the tobacco industry and retail merchants in Illinois might be seen to have shared interests in opposing licensing, but on the issue of licensing, the tobacco industry and retail merchants on occasion had a divergence in interests. In 1992, the Tobacco Institute considered licensing legislation in Illinois even knowing that it would anger retail merchants in Illinois. Tobacco Institute regional Vice President Bill Trisler met on May 8, 1992 with Tobacco Institute lobbyists for Illinois including Tom Lyons, Ward Johnson, and with Bud Kelley,[165] in a meeting originally scheduled to last most of the workday.[1057] In summarizing the meeting, Trisler wrote on the tobacco industry's strategies in Illinois for retail licensing:

> We believe that there will be a retail license bill introduced again and our interest would be sampling, behind counter sales, and vending. We would assist with the passage of such bill if our recommended language would be accepted to include preemption if at all possible. Our counsel believe we should not be trying to assist this type of bill and recommendation of fees because of our allies, namely IRMA [the Illinois Retail Merchants Association].[165]

Local Licensing of Tobacco Retailers

Cities moved to enforce laws about youth smoking, by attempting licensing requirements for tobacco retailers. In May 1989, Woodridge, a village in DuPage County, adopted an ordinance requiring municipal cigarette licensing. In doing so, Woodridge became the second city in the United States to have a municipal tobacco retailer licensing ordinance; the Woodridge ordinance and its effects are well studied.[971, 1058-1059] Some cities followed: Lombard in November 1989 and West Chicago in 1990.[1060] Elmhurst passed an ordinance in 1990 that took effect in 1991,[1061] and Elk Grove enacted an ordinance in 1991.[1061]

As early as 1991, the numerous cities passing licensing ordinances in Illinois began to be a concern to the Tobacco Institute's Regional Vice President Bill Trisler, who wrote a December 11, 1991 memo to State Activities Division Senior Vice President Pat Donoho. Trisler recounted a meeting with Illinois Retail Merchants Association president David Vite, in which Trisler and Vite considered collaborating with tobacco industry strategists to pursue a bill jointly about the issue, including prohibiting cities

Woodridge became the second city in the United States to have a municipal tobacco retailer licensing ordinance.

from enacting licensing ordinances:

> [Vite] is willing to sit down at the table with our industry in 1992 and discuss this issue and possibly draft a bill we could all agree upon to pursue in the [Illinois] House of Representatives. We feel this would not be too difficult; however, the Senate rules in 1992 do not allow this type of legislation. We feel that with our lobbying staff, their lobbying staff, and member company lobbying staff, we could possibly over-come the rule in the Senate Assembly of Illinois.[210]

Starting in 1995, the Cook County Department of Public Health paid increasing attention to licensing of tobacco retailers. Sean McDermott, at the Cook County health department, came across an article in the journal *JAMA*, the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, about the effects of the tobacco retail licensing ordinance in nearby Woodridge. He brought this to health department director Karen Scott and they decided that it would be a suitable effort to encourage licensing within Cook County.

The Cook County Department of Public Health worked in approximately 60 municipalities to pass tobacco retailer licensing ordinances through the middle and late 1990s.[291] McDermott met with the mayors of these communities, gave these mayors copies of the Woodridge tobacco retailer licensing ordinance, and also distributed copies of the article from *JAMA*. The Cook County Department of Health also prepared a series of studies in communities in cook County, using youth posing as buyers of cigarettes to determine the percentage of retailers in each community that were willing to sell cigarettes to people under 18.[291]

In 1997, House Bill 207 by Rep. Carol Ronen (D-Chicago) proposed to allow municipalities, not just home-rule municipalities, to require licensing of cigarettes and other tobacco products. It passed the House but remained in the Senate Rules Committee.[800] With Pate Philip as Senate President, tobacco control legislation had a difficult time being passed; Philip frequently did not allow tobacco control legislation to get out of the Senate Rules Committee.

Local health departments also pushed for cities to undertake municipal tobacco retailer licensing ordinances.

County governments also moved to pass tobacco retailer licensing ordinances in unincorporated county areas. Local health departments also pushed for cities to undertake municipal ordinances. Most local licensing retailer requirements were, as of early 2014, located in the Chicago area, with many of these municipalities located in Cook and Will counties. In these counties a push to have local licensing requirements for tobacco retailers came from local health departments in each of these counties.

Local licensing of tobacco retailers gained momentum after the Cook County Department of Public Health distributed model ordinance text that cities could use in effective municipal

licensing ordinances. In the early 2000s, the Cook County Department of Public Health sent the model text to each mayor in a Cook County municipality. As Janet Williams, who served as the Director of Tobacco Prevention and Control at the Cook County Department of Public Health from 2001 to 2003, recalled in a 2013 interview:

> We sent it to every mayor in the 129 municipalities, saying, 'Would you adopt this?' And I'd say the majority of them did. So now the policy had very strong penalities for selling to [people under 18], and it also had revenue built in.[257]

Efforts by the Will County Health Department to encourage local retailer licensing requirements began in 2003. As Cindy Jackson, the Will County Health Department program manager, recalled about these early days in a 2013 interview:

> We actually had a coalition partner that had taken this on as a project ... now it's called Chestnut Health Systems ... a community coalition mobilizing group, and so they help coalitions to focus. So [a staff member at Chestnut] mobilized these teens as a part of our coalition, worked with these teens and then scheduled all the presentations presenters, had them at every county board meeting.
>
> She worked with the school, and it was basically a group of honor students ... at one of the high schools in Plainfield, Illinois. They were very interested in doing this, and all of the teens signed on to do the project ... it only took them about a year.[722]

In 2005, the county board of Will County considered an ordinance that would apply to unincorporated areas of the county.[1062] Although this first proposal did not pass, the county considered the issue as late as 2009, with the Will County Health Department involving high school students who advocated for a license requirement.[1063] The board passed an ordinance in June 2009 requiring licenses for tobacco retailing in unincorporated areas of the county.[1064]

According to a 2013 interview with Cindy Jackson, the Will County Health Department program manager, the use of maps showing which municipalities do and do not have municipal licensing of tobacco retailing is part of the strategy for trying to get remaining municipalities in the county to consider municipal tobacco retailer licensing ordinances.[722] These maps attempt to show starkly how many of these cities are surrounded by neighbors who all do have licensing. As of 2013, most of Will County's municipalities had municipal tobacco retailer licensing ordinances. The Will County tobacco control program regularly used maps of which municipalities had and had not adopted tobacco retailer licensing, to put pressure on the municipalities that did not have a requirement to adopt such requirements. Municipalities without such ordinances, as of 2013, were Romeoville, New Lenox, and Channahon; these municipalities were largely surrounded by those that did require licensing.[1065]

Attempts for Statewide Licensing of Tobacco Retailers

To ensure that businesses do not sell tobacco products to people under the legally required age set by each state, states frequently require that businesses dealing with tobacco have a license to be in businesses, thus allowing some sort of ability by which states can get

businesses to comply with rules about sales to youth. As of early 2014, there was no statewide licensing of tobacco retailers.

Pushing for statewide tobacco retailer licensing legislation, Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco members attempted to argue that many things are licensed in Illinois, and that when comparing tobacco with many of the licensed products or practices, tobacco products are more dangerous.

Draft legislation proposing to require tobacco retailer licensing occurred in the Synar Amendment implementation legislation that the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco created, but tobacco industry pressure led the legislation to be amended to remove this requirement.

Health advocates in Illinois argued that the lack of retailer licensing reduced the state government's ability to ensure that retailers comply with laws prohibiting sales to youth. Licensing is not only a matter of youth smoking prevention, being also a way of being able to enforce laws prohibiting illegal sales of cigarettes not properly stamped with tax stamps. In the wake of failure to have a state licensing law, local governments began to require local tobacco retailer licenses.

As Drea recalled in a 2013 interview, health advocates tried perenially to pass a statewide bill on licensing tobacco retailers but the Illinois Retail Merchants Association would fight the bill every time.[185] Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco members negotiated with the Illinois Retail Merchants Association and with legislators in the past. Drea even talked with California legislators, who told Drea that distributors in California favored licensing retailers so that retailers would only have an incentive to buy from distributors in the state in which the retailers were located.[185]

Illinois, as of early 2014, required licensing of distributors of tobacco products but not retailers of such products. Distributors, according to Illinois state law, are businesses that sell large quantities of tobacco products to other businesses. Wholesalers, businesses that purchase tobacco products directly from tobacco product manufacturers to sell to retailers or to consumers, are treated in Illinois tobacco licensing law as a type of distributor. All 50 states have licensing requirements for tobacco wholesalers or distributors.[27]

Statewide licensing requirements for tobacco retailers were common throughout the United States and also common throughout the Midwest. As of 2013, state-required licensing of tobacco retailers occurred in at least 34 states; among these were eight Midwestern states (Table 30).[27]

Licensing Fees an Issue

One major issue impeding licensing was the cost of the license. Janet Williams, the American Medical Association manager, noted in the 2013 interview that the Illinois Retail Merchants Association opposed statewide tobacco retailer licensing on the basis that the cost of licenses, if set to be high, would be a blow to businesses.

Yet without a tobacco retailer license being a revenue generator, legislators would be less likely to pay attention to it as an issue. Meanwhile, in contrast with the state legislation for tobacco retailing, the fee for state licenses for liquor retailing increased from $175 to $500 in 2003.[1066] As Janet Williams, the former Cook County tobacco control program manager, mentioned in the 2013 interview:

> The cost of the license can't be a fee generator, unlike in New York, where they raise a lot of revenue. ... basically any fee attached to, at least a tobacco license ... can only be the cost of enforcement. So it all has to go into enforcement and implementation.[257]

In 1991, House Bill 2449 by Rep. Vincent Persico (R-Wheaton) proposed a state retailer licensing requirement, with a fee of $250.[322, p. 482] The House Executive Committee tabled this bill after interim study.[322, p. 482]

In 1993, House Bill 1576 by Rep. John Dunn (D-Decatur), the Synar implementation bill, included a proposal for a state tobacco retailer license, with the fee of $50 to go into the state's Tobacco Education & Enforcement Fund.[1067] In the House, an amendment remade the bill into a bill about compliance with the federal Synar amendment.[240] By this point, however, the bill did not contain a requirement for statewide retailer licensing. The bill came to a vote in the House and passed,[1068] eventually passing the Senate with amendments and concurred on by the House.[1069]

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco opposed a 1997 plan by Attorney General Jim Ryan to have a statewide license requirement for tobacco retailers, on the grounds that the proposal included state preemption of local licensing ordinances.[1070] In 1999, Senate Bill 216 by Tom Walsh (R-Westchester) proposed licensing of tobacco retailers with a $25 annual licensing fee.[1071]

Bills for tobacco retailer licensing introduced in 2001 and 2003 included a $125 license fee.[1072-1073] House Bill 784 by Rep. Douglas Scott (D-Rockford; $200 in contributions) in 2001 did not get forwarded by the House Children & Youth Committee,[1074] and Senate Bill 1032 by Sen. James Meeks (I-Calumet City) never made it past the Senate Licensed Activities Committee.[1073]

In 2005, House Bill 1296 by Rep. Paul Froehlich (R-Schaumburg; $3,850 in contributions) did not specify a set dollar amount for a tobacco retailer license fee, but instead proposed to allow the Illinois Liquor Control Commission to set a license fee that would cover the administration and enforcement of licenses. The House Human Services Committee made one amendment to the bill that took out requirements that retailers ask for photo identification and put up new signs, took out a prohibition on new tobacco retailers near schools, and allowed the Illinois Liquor Control Commission to set what information was required on the license application. Yet after incorporating the amendment into the bill, the committee voted against the amended bill.[1075]

Table 30: Retail Tobacco License Requirements by State as of 2012

State	Retailer License Requirement and Fee
Alabama	$2-15 per year
Alaska	$100 per year
Arizona	No License Requirement
Arkansas	$20-50 per year
California	$100 one-time only
Colorado	No License Requirement
Connecticut	$50 per year
Delaware	$5 per year
Florida	$50 per year
Georgia	$10 per year
Hawaii	$20 per year
Idaho	License Required but Free
Illinois	No License Requirement
Indiana	$50 per year
Iowa	$50-100 per year
Kansas	$25 every two years
Kentucky	No License Requirement
Louisiana	$25 per year
Maine	Set by state agency ($50-150 per year as of 2010)
Maryland	$55-80 per year depending on county
Massachusetts	Set by state agency, even years ($50 as of 2012)
Michigan	No License Requirement
Minnesota	State requires licenses through county or city (example: $250 in most populous county)
Mississippi	Free
Missouri	Must Check Box on Retail Sales Tax License
Montana	$5 per year
Nebraska	$10-25 per year
Nevada	Free
New Hampshire	No License Requirement
New Jersey	$50 per year
New Mexico	No License Requirement
New York	$300 per year
North Carolina	No License Required for Cigarettes; $10 per year for selling other tobacco products
North Dakota	$15 per year
Ohio	$125 per year
Oklahoma	$30 every three years
Oregon	No License Requirement
Pennsylvania	$25 per year
Rhode Island	$25 per year
South Carolina	No License Required for Cigarettes; $10 per year License Required for Vending Machines
South Dakota	Registration Required (Free) but No License Required
Tennessee	No License Requirement
Texas	$180 every two years
Utah	$30 for three years, $20 for three-year renewal
Vermont	$10 per year
Virginia	No License Requirement
Washington	$93 per year
West Virginia	Tobacco retail license application is part of the $30 per year business license application
Wisconsin	None; only for 10+ Retail Sites, at $5-10 per year
Wyoming	No License Requirement

Source: Compiled from American Lung Association reports.[27]

Health advocates regularly pushed for statewide tobacco retailer licensing in the General Assembly, session after session. From 2009, through at least 2013, bills for tobacco retailer licensing proposed a $250 license fee.[1076-1079] After 2009, state tobacco retailer licensing legislation regularly included language that the fee charged must only be revenue neutral. The bills introduced about licensing directed the funds to go to the state's Tax Compliance and Administration Fund, meaning that these funds were directed to paying for retail inspections and could not be used to pay for other expenses in the state budget. In 2009, Sen. Ira Silverstein (D-Chicago) and Rep. Karen Yarbrough (D-Maywood) introduced cigarette retail licensing legislation in Senate and House, proposing a Cigarette Delivery Sales Reporting Act: Senate Bill 317 and House Bill 734.[1080-1081] For Senate Bill 317, the bill that attracted more legislative activity, Sen. Silverstein filed committee amendments to the bill, including setting a license fee of $250, for the cost of retail inspections. The series of amendments also included provisions for applying for a license, provisions for appealing a denial of a license, and provisions for suspending and revoking licenses. The amendments did not get added to the original bill, and the bill did not get forwarded from the Senate Executive Committee.

To provide an economic argument in favor statewide tobacco retailer licensing, health advocates often argued that licensing requirements would lead to fewer smuggled cigarettes from outside Illinois and more retailers selling Illinois tax-stamped cigarettes, giving the state increased cigarette tax revenue.

In 2010, 2011, 2012, and 2013, Silverstein introduced tobacco retailer licensing bills, with each of these bills remaining postponed in the Senate Revenue, Executive, or Licensed Activities and Pensions committees until the bills returned to the Senate Assignments Committee.[1076-1079]

In 2014, health advocates worked to pass a tobacco retailer licensing bill, House Bill 2494, sponsored by Rep. Barbara Flynn Currie (D-Chicago) and sponsored in the Senate by Senate President John Cullerton (D-Chicago). The bill required a license to sell tobacco products, with an annual license fee of $75. On May 30, 2014, the bill passed and was sent to the governor's desk.

Conclusion

What Stands Out About Youth Smoking Prevention Policy in Illinois

A key item in youth smoking prevention policy involved the restriction of products similar to cigarettes. In the face of products similar to cigarettes that expanded in Illinois' market and nationwide, health advocates responded to the growth of such products by working to restrict those products. Bidis and electronic cigarettes were both examples of such products similar to cigarettes. The relatively rare step of prohibiting the sale of bidis entirely, arguing that adults can give them to youth, was special about Illinois.

Since minimum age purchasing laws are only as effective as retailers' compliance with these laws, Illinois advocates tried, but had not succeeded as of early 2014, to establish statewide licensing of tobacco retailers. The Cook County Department of Public Health's development of

a model city licensing ordinance language helped many cities within Cook County to enact local licensing standards. Statewide licensing, which would establish licensing beyond just northeastern Illinois, may improve retailers' compliance rates with purchasing age laws.

The city of Chicago was a leader in taking on different issues about products that promote smoking among youth. Although not the first city in Illinois to require licensing of tobacco retailers, it was the first city in Illinois to ban bidi sales, in 1999, and also in 2013 limited the sale of menthol cigarettes, and alongside with Evanston, in 2014 included electronic cigarette sales in tobacco retailer licensing requirements and clean indoor air ordinances.

What Illinois' Experience Confirms About How to Pursue Youth Smoking Prevention Policies

The prohibition of the sale of bidi cigarettes in Chicago, along with the subsequent adoption in Illinois as a whole, suggests that Chicago served as a focal point not just within Illinois, but within the United States in general, for a focus on considering policies to reduce the use of certain tobacco and smoking products among youth. Chicago city elected officials have often been forceful in calling for such products to be addressed.

In the absence of a state law requiring licensing of tobacco retailers, local health departments were key in promoting the adoption of municipal licensing ordinances. Many cities in the Chicago area took active roles in adopting licensing requirements. In the case of Cook and Will counties, the health departments for these two counties had staff that took an especially active role in promoting local governments to adopt municipal tobacco retailer licensing ordinances.

Chapter 8: State Tobacco Control Program

- Legislative appropriations for state tobacco control programs during the 1990s involved small funding for piecemeal noncomprehensive programs, became well-funded with a comprehensive program for the early 2000s, and then saw funding drop, remaining at low levels through the early 2010s.
- Before the 2000-2001 fiscal year, legislative appropriations for state tobacco control programs amounted to less than $1 million per year; these activities focused specifically on the enforcement of laws prohibiting the sale of tobacco to youth.
- The Illinois Tobacco-Free Communities program started in the 2000-2001 fiscal year, funded by $28 million from the Master Settlement Agreement that the state appropriated for tobacco control.
- Tobacco control funding spiked in the 2001-2002 fiscal year with the state appropriating over $46 million for state tobacco control programs.
- Between 2000 and 2002, the high legislative appropriations allowed the Illinois Department of Public Health to engage in extensive tobacco control programming, including the I Decide program focused on middle school and high school students.
- Tobacco control funding fell to $13 million for the 2002-2003 fiscal year, causing existing statewide tobacco control programming to be curtailed or replaced by programs that could be operated on less money but which could not have as much reach; state-level tobacco control media efforts ceased, although some local health departments continued to run local tobacco control media efforts.
- Funding of state tobacco control programs remained at low levels in the early 2010s.
- Funding for the Illinois Tobacco Quitline, starting in the 2002-2003 fiscal year at $1 million per year, increased during the early 2010s. The Illinois Tobacco Quitline, as of 2013, handled over 96,000 calls per year from approximately 25,000 distinct callers.
- State-run tobacco control media campaigns consisted of advertising for the Quitline.

The trajectory of state tobacco control programs follows a story of federal funding starting in 1994, state litigation against the tobacco industry in 1996, settlement of that litigation in the 1998 Master Settlement Agreement, an initial fight for funding from the Master Settlement Agreement, and the establishment of the state tobacco control program, Illinois Tobacco-Free Communities. An increase in allocations in the 2001-2002 fiscal year allowed a period of more intense state tobacco control programming. Starting in the 2002-2003 fiscal year, the state legislature reduced appropriations for tobacco control programs, resulting in tobacco control programs to be reduced in scope, and changed in structure to reflect the drastically reduced appropriations.

Funding in the 1990s: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

Early sustained federal funding for certain states' tobacco control program did not focus on Illinois. In 1990, the National Cancer Institute funded 17 states' tobacco control programs through its American Stop Smoking Intervention Study for Cancer Prevention (ASSIST). The federal program funded states based on a competitive process, and although it did not fund Illinois' application, the tobacco control programs that were selected to be funded happened to

be located mostly in midwestern, northeastern, and Atlantic southeastern states. Those in the Midwest included Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, and Wisconsin.[1082]

In 1993, the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention developed a program to fund the remaining states' health department tobacco control efforts, through its Initiatives to Mobilize for the Prevention and Control of Tobacco Use (IMPACT) program. The program funded 32 of the remaining 33 states not funded by ASSIST, consisting of all other states but California, where voters had passed a 1988 proposition to raise cigarette taxes and earmarked part of the money raised for a state tobacco control program, as well as the District of Columbia.[1083]

Illinois received a grant as one of the program's 18 core award states. The awarded states happened to be mostly mountain west, plains, and midwestern states, which in addition to Illinois also included Iowa and Ohio. In 1994 and 1995, the Illinois Department of Public Health received between $250,000 and $300,000 per year through the IMPACT program.[1083]

State Appropriations for Tobacco Control in the 1990s: Youth Enforcement

State funding for tobacco control in the 1990s was limited, with no comprehensive statewide tobacco control program. State funding was limited to occasional programs. For the 1996-1997 fiscal year, the only line item budget appropriation for tobacco control was $300,000 for the Illinois Liquor Control Commission, for a "study to determine laws relating to access by minors to tobacco products." For the 1997-1998 fiscal year, the General Assembly increased appropriations to $670,000. State support before the 2000-2001 fiscal year, however, funded programs dealing with tobacco in a piecemeal way (Table 31).

Table 31: State Appropriations of State Tobacco Control Programs Before Master Settlement Funds, 1997-2000 (in Millions of Dollars)

Fiscal Year:	1996-1997	1997-1998	1998-1999	1999-2000
Available:				
Tobacco Tax Collection	123.7	105.2	91.1	468
State:				
To the Illinois Liquor Control Commission: Conduct Study to Determine Laws Relating to Access by Minors to Tobacco Products	0.30	0.67	0.67	0.67
To Illinois Department of Public Health: Legacy Public Health Programs including but not Limited to Dental Health, SIDS and Tobacco Programs*		0.13		
Total:	0.30	0.80	0.67	0.67

Sources: Illinois Comptroller state detailed annual reports, 1997-2000[287]
Note(*): Legacy public health program estimate for tobacco is based on a $390,300 appropriation for all these programs and taking just one-third of the figure to count for tobacco programs.

Fighting for Master Settlement Agreement Funds: Operation Half the Pie, 1999-2000

Public health advocates attempted to convince elected officials to dedicate half of the Master Settlement Agreement funds toward state tobacco control programs. In contrast, since the Master Settlement Agreement prohibited tobacco companies from lobbying on the use of settlment funds, tobacco industry allies in many states try to get funding shifted away from tobacco control, usually by presenting any other topic that is not related to tobacco control, which elected officials in such states see as also pressing.

Master Settlement Agreement funds for Illinois for the first year were projected to be $360 million.[285] The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco made a concerted attempt to convince state leaders to dedicate half of Master Settlement Agreement funds to state tobacco control programs. The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco organized a coalition specifically to call for funding, called Half for Tobacco Prevention. This coalition consisted of over 50 organizations.[1084]

To prepare organizationally for this campaign, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco advocates had each organization in Half for Tobacco Prevention sign pledge forms to commit resources and lobbyist time to the effort.[261] The public face of this organizing effort was Operation Half the Pie.

Each statewide elected official in 1999 and 2000 called for different ways to spend the Master Settlement Agreement revenues.

Revenue from the Master Settlement Agreement was allocated to the "Tobacco Settlement Recovery Fund"; this fund would also contain money from any other settlement with tobacco companies or judgment against tobacco companies.[1085] In addition to public health advocates on tobacco, different groups wanted portions of the settlement revenues to fund different causes.

Now that that state had the money from the tobacco settlement, many interests lined up over the beginning months of the 2000 legislative session to get a chunk of that money dedicated toward different purposes. In January and February 2000, senior citizens' advocates, backers of early childhood programs called for money, with some of the groups called for one-quarter to one-half for the tobacco settlement funds to go to the groups' respective programs. Cancer researchers called for backing research programs on cancer.[1086-1087]

Each statewide elected official in 1999 and 2000 called for different ways to spend the Master Settlement Agreement revenues. Comptroller Dan Hynes in 1999 called for the money to be used over 25 years for tax rebates every year; by 2000, he changed his proposal to call for a tax rebate, with some small amounts going to tobacco prevention efforts; many legislators also called for a tax cut.[1088]

Attorney General Jim Ryan called for children's health programs; in January 2000, he called for half to be invested and half spent on health programs, including tobacco control research and education.[1089] Governor George Ryan (R; in office 1999 to 2003) wanted to invest half and to have half spent on health programs, including some grants directly to local health departments for controlling AIDS and communicable diseases; state treasurer Judy Baar Topinka wanted to invest all of it, using only the interest on programs for senior citizens.[1088-1096] Meanwhile, Republicans in the Illinois General Assembly, especially in the House, wanted to make tax rebates a key priority in 2000.[1093]

Sen. Jeffrey Schoenberg (D-Evanston), in the Illinois Senate from 1993 to 2003, introduced several bills in 1999 requiring the funds to be spent on health-related purposes. The Attorney General's office declared that a portion of the funds would be set aside for Medicaid, arguing that Medicaid reimbursement served as the original purpose for suing the major U.S. tobacco companies.[285]

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco stressed that the biggest savings came from investing in tobacco prevention programs. Advocates testified at hearings to try to get half the funds to go to tobacco control.[185] Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco members delivered half a pie to Gov. Ryan and to each member of the Illinois General Assembly, and also conducted a poll and had a news conference about the cause. Half the settlement revenues was the amount of money that the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention was recommending go to tobacco control in Illinois.[185]

Health advocates initially held out for more money from the governor's initial offer in 1999 of low funding, and this strategy succeeded in resulting in high amounts of funding in the first several years. As Janet Williams recalled in a 2013 interview, the governor's office originally offered health advocates $5 million per year to go to tobacco programs run by the state. Given that half the initial forecast of $360 million was $180 million, this offer was a lot less than what the health groups had proposed.[285]

Appropriations for state tobacco control programs (Table 32) were decided each year by the Illinois General Assembly, rather than according to a formula that would be followed in subsequent years, as in many other states. Much of the state's initial intake was spent on a "tax rebate" on property taxes, even though the money was not coming from taxes, but rather from the tobacco settlement payments from tobacco companies.

Appropriations for state tobacco control programs were $26 million for non-enforcement programs for the 2000-2001 fiscal year, and $2.2 million for enforcement programs, and then increased, to its highest appropriation during the second-to-last year of Gov. Ryan's administration, to over $46 million total for the 2001-2002 fiscal year. A portion of Illinois' share of the Master Settlement Agreement funds went to establishing the Illinois Tobacco Free Communities program, which started in 2000.

Table 32: State Appropriations and Federal Funding of State Tobacco Control Programs, Fiscal Years 2000-2012 (in Millions of Dollars)

Fiscal Year Ending:	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Available:													
Tobacco Tax Collection	468	473	469	637	760	692	643	639	614	581	582	588	606
Master Settlement Agreement Funds	0	277	314	319	296	290	273	285	310	340	284	290	133
State Appropriations:													
To Public Health, including Quitline	0	16.0	44.75	12.0	12.0	11.0	9.0	8.5	8.5	8.5	8.5	9.5	9.5
To Liquor Control Commission	0.67	2.22	1.8	1.48	1.15	1.16	1.17	1.17	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
To Department of Education	0	10.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
State Total:	0.67	28.2	46.55	13.48	13.15	12.16	10.17	9.67	9.50	9.50	9.5	10.5	10.5
Federal:													
Centers for Disease Control and Prevention	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.9	1.4	1.3	1.3	0.97	1.8	8.9	7.6
Total:	2.27	29.9	48.25	15.18	14.85	14.06	11.57	10.97	10.8	10.47	11.3	19.4	18.1

Sources:
Tobacco tax collection, Master Settlement Agreement funds: official state budgets.[8-10, 1097-1103]
State appropriations: Detailed Annual Reports, Illinois Comptroller.[287]
Federal sources: 2000-2011 is Chaloupka and Huang at University of Illinois at Chicago[1104] and 2012 is American Lung Association's State of Tobacco Control[1105]

Notes:
State funds are listed in millions of dollars, to two decimal places.

Figures for state appropriations from the 2006-2007 to 2011-2012 fiscal years include estimations of 50% of a $5 million line item for "Grants and Administrative Expenses for Tobacco Use Prevention Program, BASUAH Program [an HIV/AIDS prevention program] and Asthma Prevention". These are in line with figures from the American Lung Association's State of Tobacco Control.

Federal figures for 2011 and 2012 are higher than previous years as a result of American Recovery and Reinvestment Act grants.

Setting Up the Program and Shaping the Program's Structure

Structure of Illinois Tobacco-Free Communities

Illinois' state tobacco control and prevention program, Illinois Tobacco-Free Communities, was created in the Illinois Department of Public Health in 2000. In contrast with the limited youth enforcement programs before the 2000-2001 fiscal year, the Master Settlement Agreement funds would allow for a program that was comprehensive, involving multiple aspects of tobacco control programming rather than primarily youth purchasing laws only.

The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco tried to have an oversight body, separate from the state health department, for the state tobacco control program. Health advocates tried to have legislation to create an oversight body for the tobacco control program.[261] As of 2014, such a body did not exist. Advocates wanted to have input into what would happen with funding, but the Illinois Department of Public Health often had a lot of turnover, making it difficult for a consistent direction for state health department programs. In the early 2010s, however, health advocates reported an improving relationship.[261]

Local Health Department Activities

Illinois Tobacco-Free Communities grants provided local health departments with funding for tobacco control efforts. As of 2013, these funds were distributed to each local health department, starting at $25,000 for the smallest health departments, some of which covered only a population of a few thousand people,[288] and increased depending on size of the population covered. Chicago, as of 2013, received approximately $1 million.[290] The main requirements attached to the funding grants were that local health departments, at a minimum, enforce the Smoke Free Illinois Act, promote the Illinois Tobacco Quitline, and work with healthcare providers on tobacco cessation, including referring patients to the Illinois Tobacco Quitline.[288]

As a case that exemplifies the breadth of activities that local health departments pursued in tobacco control media at the local level, media efforts in Will County included advertising in newspapers, billboards, signs on local buses, advertising at gas stations, and signs and brochures in healthcare provider offices.[722] The Will County Health Department also partnered with the local company responsible for Spanish-language advertising in many grocery stores and restaurants in the county, to create English- and Spanish-language tobacco control advertising on the digital televisions in these venues.[722]

During the periods of relatively high state appropriations for tobacco control in the early 2000s, local health departments with high funding could also carry out mass media programming against tobacco use. As Sean McDermott of the Cook County Department of Public Health mentioned in a 2014 interview, during the 2001-2002 fiscal year, the Cook County health department had enough funds to do some advertising in the expensive Chicago media market:

> We actually had I think a $2 million allocation. We did "Take It Outside" ... It was an effort just to encourage activities around clearing the air ... we did some newspaper advertising and ... some radio.[291]

In times of constrained state appropriations for tobacco control, even the larger local health departments were unable to mount sustained media campaigns. When state appropriations for tobacco control dried up rapidly, starting from the 2001-2002 fiscal year, the Cook County Department of Public Health could not afford to pay for such advertising.[291]

Local health departments could also do more with the state grants, and could apply for more money from the state: as part of the grant application for local health departments to receive state funds, local health departments could choose to apply for supplemental youth engagement programs, called Engaging Youth for Positive Change. These were part of the funds appropriated by the state for the Illinois Department of Public Health to award as grants to local health departments. The overall goals were to educate youth in civic engagement, government, and policy advocacy, by identifying a local tobacco issue and researching it for presentation to a local body of government to propose a policy change. As of 2013, additional grants for youth engagement programs went out to 25 local health departments.

The focus of such youth engagement programs varied among the local health departments that ran such programs. As examples, before the Smoke Free Illinois Act, the Lake County Health Department trained high school students in policy advocacy, with a focus in 2005 and 2006, on advocating for smokefree restaurant and bar policies in local communities. After the Smoke Free Illinois Act made advocating for indoor smokefree spaces a moot issue, in the early 2010s, the Lake County Health Department tobacco control program leaders moved the focus to on smokefree park policies.[433] The Will County Health Department's efforts to mobilize youth to advocate for county tobacco retail licensing requirements, mentioned in Chapter 7, were also part of this effort. [722] The Kane County Health Department did advocacy awareness trainings around the Great American Smokeout in November and for Kick Butts Day in March, and in the early 2010s had students working on smokefree parks and students considering efforts on electronic cigarettes.[292]

The Illinois Academy of Family Physicians also provided a youth smoking prevention program developed by its national parent organization, the American Academy of Family Physicians. This program, Tar Wars, began at the national level in 1988 and was used in Illinois by local health departments, as a program approved by the Illinois Department of Public Health for use by these local departments, starting in 2000. Tar Wars involved presentations at elementary schools at the fourth-grade level about the short-term health and financial effects of smoking, and also included an anti-tobacco poster contest that formed part of the nationwide poster contest for Tar Wars. By 2014, Tar Wars had been used by a total of 21 local health departments.[1106]

Shaping the Initial Programs: Youth Focused Programs in a Specific Geographic Area

With the state tobacco control program receiving $28 million for the 2000-2001 fiscal year and over $46 million in the 2001-2002 fiscal year, where before 2000 the state budget for tobacco control efforts had numbered in the hundreds of thousands of dollars, there was money to develop a comprehensive tobacco control program. Beyond the grants to local health departments, a key focus was made on youth. The "I Decide" program was a pilot project from

2000 to 2002 that ended after two years due to state funds plummeting for the 2002-2003 fiscal year, with focused intense media coverage at youth against smoking, and to some degree against the tobacco industry's tactics, starting first in Winnebago County in northern Illinois, and spreading to central Illinois communities.

State Media Programs Focusing Only on Youth: the "I Decide" Pilot Program

Staff at the Illinois Department of Public Health who played a central role in conceptualizing, supporting, and developing the I Decide program were: John Lumpkin, a long-serving director of the department, and who as of 2014 worked for the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation; Tom Schafer, who in the early 2000s was the director of communications at the Illinois Department of Public Health, and who as of 2014 was the director of the department's Office of Health Promotion; Mark Schmidt, Deputy Director of Public Health in the early 2000s and who also held other positions in the Illinois Department of Public Health including previously assistant director of the department; and Patrick McGarry, the head of Illinois Tobacco-Free Communities program in the early 2000s.

The idea to have a program for youth came from the director of the health department, John Lumpkin.[659] As Tom Schafer, who in 2001 was the department's communications director, recalled in a 2014 interview, Lumpkin then tapped Schafer to work on the program.[659] The program lasted two years, running during the 2000-2001 fiscal year and 2001-2002 fiscal year. The first-year budget was $3.85 million; for the second year, approximately $15 million.[1107]

Origins of the Program

As inspiration for a youth program, staff at the Illinois Department of Public Health reviewed existing programs in other states, notably Florida's "Truth" program for youth and Minnesota's "Target Market" program.[1107]

I Decide focused initially on just one county because health department officials wanted to concentrate resources in demonstrating that a multifaceted approach to tobacco control would achieve results. The state picked the location, rather than this bubbling up from the local health department. Schafer reflected, in a 2014 interview, on the process behind developing the program and deciding on focusing on one area within Illinois:

> One of the things that we wanted to carve out was a youth initiative, and in discussions between myself, the director, and the program staff, we carved out the amount of money that we felt was necessary ...
>
> Previously, things like the AIDS campaigns were the ones where we had the most money, and in those areas, we may have $500,000 or $600,000. We never had anything like this to work with ... we did start in one particular community ... to see if it would work, and how we would be able to do all the things logistically, and then expand it the next year and hopefully the years after that, and continue expanding it throughout the state.

Mark Schmidt, Deputy Director of Public Health at the time of the I Decide program, echoed these considerations, recalling in a 2013 interview, the reasoning was for I Decide to serve as a demonstration project, noting:

> We felt that rather than spread money scattershot over the state, what we wanted to do ... was to demonstrate what could be accomplished ... targeting one specific population in a specific geographic area and then use that as the rationale, hopefully, if you were successful, to replicate that in other localities throughout the state.[1108]

The Illinois Department of Public Health selected Winnebago County, the northern Illinois county containing Rockford. State health department officials argued that Winnebago County's location outside the Chicago area gave it some similarities to central and southern Illinois cities, while its location in northern Illinois gave it demographic similarities to the Chicago area; also, since Rockford was located outside of Chicago's expensive media market, media purchasing costs would be lower.

Starting the Program

The I Decide campaign involved aggressive countermarketing, initially in one local market and aiming to expand across the state over three years before being canceled after just two years due to the decline in state funding from the 2002-2003 fiscal year onward. It was intended to work in conjunction with events in the community for high school students. The program focused on both high school and junior high school populations in Winnebago County. Rather than being directed by health education specialists in the Illinois Department of Public Health, the program was run by a communications team in the state health department to provide messages that aimed to attract attention in the media and generate awareness. The Illinois Department of Public Health announced the formation of a youth program in October 2000 and used a handful of local students in Rockford County as a focus group.[1107]

The program made its debut in February 2001 with a two-day program, the "Kick Ash Bash",[1109] with rock-concert-like activities as well as visits from several television celebrities.[1109-1110]. The event included examination of issues of smoking, and invited as part of these discussions the cast of a popular television show in the year 2000, *The Real World: New Orleans*. As a consequence of the summit, the program set up a youth advisory committee and came up with a name for the program: I Decide.[1111]

Program Content

Advertising for I Decide centered on television and radio ads and billboards. The advertisements included Rockford area high school students as actors in the television ads, using their presence to generate attention by students.[1107] The main message of the I Decide advertisements was to demonstrate the many health problems caused by smoking, including the social side effects of such health problems as they related to a teenage audience; later advertisements also pointed to the role of the tobacco industry in promoting cigarette use. The content of the advertisements focused on a fictional situation, a high school in which all students were forced to smoke, and used that setting in the ads to demonstrate many health problems of

smoking cigarettes.[1107] Mark Schmidt, the former deputy director, described in a 2013 interview the choice of the media for the program, "We needed to use language that was comfortable for the teens, to which the teens could relate. We needed to use message strategies that would resonate with the teens. We also realized that we didn't have that expertise in-house."[1108]

The Illinois Department of Public Health hired the Chicago office of the public relations firm Golin/Harris to assist with message strategy, as well as a polling firm in the Chicago area called Teen Reach Unlimited. As Schmidt recalled:

> One of the things that was identified was a message strategy which basically said you take a standard message and move it to its most extreme position. So was born All Smoke High, which rested on the foundation of [assuming] there was a high school in which smoking was not only allowed, but encouraged and, in fact, mandated. As a result, there was created All Smoke High, a high school in which all students, all faculty members had to smoke. It was achieving a comic end with a serious purpose by taking the argument to its extreme – not just if you could smoke, but what happens if you had to smoke.[1108]

Television advertisements were the main medium, and the department also attempted to spread these online. The program put up billboards, bought bus advertising wrappers, and put some ads on bus benches. In addition to rallies and limited newspaper advertising, the billboards and much of the other non-television advertisements included characters from the All Smoke High television advertisements.[1108]

The advertising reflected a style that attempted to be modern for the time and to be appealing to a teenage audience. According to a 2013 interview with Patrick McGarry, the administrator of Illinois Tobacco-Free Communities during the time of I Decide, described the program, "it was kind of glitzy, and poppy-looking, and trying to be appealing to kids, and had some kind of interesting approaches to it."[1112]

The main message of the I Decide advertisements was to demonstrate the many health problems caused by smoking.

The advertisements also focused on the role of the tobacco industry by including an advertisement about a tobacco industry executive participating in the school's "career day", depicting the tobacco industry executive denying research about health effects of smoking, with the character stating to a room full of students, "Come on, would we sell something that causes cancer? You know, I love my job, because I love working with kids."[1107]

During the 2000-2001 academic year the I Decide program mobilized Rockford area students to organize to encourage restaurants in Winnebago County to adopt smoke-free policies.

Over the course of the year, student activism contributed to bringing the number of smoke-free County smoke-free restaurants in the county from 12 to 70.[1107]

Expansion of the Program

Part of the plans for "I Decide", as Schafer reflected in a 2014 interview, was to expand for a second year and then to take it statewide in a third year. Expansion of I Decide happened in the second year. I Decide expanded components of the program to areas outside of Rockford.[1108] In fall 2001, the program entered its second year. Rather than staying only in the Rockford area, the program expanded to six counties in central Illinois: McLean County, the county containing Bloomington; Macon County, the County containing Decatur; Tazewell County, the county containing the city of Pekin; Champaign County; Peoria County; and Sangamon County.[1111] In 2002, I Decide teen tobacco summits also occurred in other areas, including one held in Bloomington for teenagers from the Bloomington and Champaign areas, and one held in Peoria.[1113-1114] Several advertisements during the second year also focused on non-health social repercussions of smoking.[1107]

In spring 2002, the I Decide program developed its final television advertising, recognizing that state appropriations for tobacco control programs for the 2002-2003 fiscal year would fall dramatically. The I Decide program focused on one final advertisement to wrap up the campaign.[1107]

In the final advertisement of the campaign (Figure 24), a student assembly mercilessly harangued the school's mandatory-smoking policy, with children standing up and declaring one of several health or social problems caused by smoking. The tobacco industry executive who had been featured in many of the previous advertisements was shown speaking on his phone to the tobacco company's corporate headquarters declaring, "Yeah, we've got a problem at the school ... No, I don't think more advertising's going to work this time."[1111]

Figure 24: Advertisements from the I Decide Program
Captions: Tobacco executive voiceover answering a student: "Come on, would we sell something that causes cancer? You know, I love my job, because I love working with kids." (Left)
Tobacco executive on the telephone: "Yeah, we've got a problem at the school ... No, I don't think more advertising's going to work this time." (Right)
Source: Illinois Department of Public Health[1107]

End of the Program

Long-term evaluation of the effects of the program could not be done because the dramatic decline in state funding for the 2002-2003 fiscal year led the department to end the I Decide program. A short-term evaluation did occur: the Illinois Department of Public Health did prepare a progress and evaluation report of the I Decide program during each of the two years of the program, focusing on participation in and awareness of the program, as well as measures of program outputs. According to the report, in the first eight months of the program, I Decide attracted 1500 teenagers in Winnebago County, and half of the students in the county reported hearing or seeing an anti-tobacco commercial at least once per day.[1115]

Surveys evaluating the effectiveness of the program showed that after six months of the program in Rockford there was an 11% reduction in smoking prevalence among high school students in the county. The Illinois Department of Public Health's director, John Lumpkin, played up the impact of this program declaring, as part of a 2002 evaluation video of the I Decide program, "That [impact] they didn't see in California after a ten-year period of time."[1111]

Funding: Pressure for Declining Appropriations, 2002-2010

The state tobacco control budget underwent a period of high appropriations in the early 2000s only to fall precipitously and remained at a lower level throughout the mid- and late 2000s and early 2010s. State-funded tobacco control programs remained anemic due to a lack of funding from the state government.

Starting Strong But Drawn Down Quickly

Under Gov. George Ryan (R), funding increased then dropped dramatically. While in the first few years of Ryan's administration these funding levels were high, funding levels dropped precipitously. In 2002, the Illinois General Assembly slashed funding to $12 million, with legislative leaders arguing that the funds were needed to avoid raising taxes while being able to pay for other programs.[1116] The state reduced funding to $12 million in 2002.[229]

In November 2001, the House encouraged $11 million allotted for youth smoking prevention to be diverted to plug a hole in the state budget. The driver of this was House Speaker Michael Madigan (D-Chicago), a recipient of $27,500 in tobacco industry contributions during the 2001-2002 election cycle.[226] Opposing this move, Attorney General Jim Ryan argued for maintaining the funds for state tobacco control problems, and state representatives John Fritchey (D-Chicago) and Carolyn Krause (R-Mount Prospect) also made statements supportive of maintaining tobacco control program funding to the *Daily Herald* newspaper.[1117]

State budget crises ... created continual pressure to use Master Settlement Agreement revenues for purposes other than tobacco control.

Health advocates attempted to push the legislature to restore funding.[423] With Gov. Rod Blagojevich (D), in office from 2003 to 2009, appropriations remained low. Meanwhile, the Illinois Department of Public Health was running its high-visibility I Decide program; the budget cuts that occurred after the 2001-2002 fiscal year were the ones that led to the shuttering of the program.

When Blagojevich ran for office, he promised to put $20 million more in such programs, but did not in his first year in office.[229] Under Blagojevich's first budget as governor, state allocations for tobacco control programs stayed at similar levels.[229] Blagojevich cited budget problems as the reason not to increase funding for tobacco control programs,[229] and given the dire financial situation of the state in the early 2000s, health advocates believed that this was truly what kept Gov. Blagojevich from restoring more funding.[274] State budget crises in Illinois in many years of the early 2000s through early 2010s created continual pressure to use Master Settlement Agreement revenues for purposes other than tobacco control. This made it difficult for advocates to argue to fund tobacco control.[933] At the time, the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention recommended that Illinois spend $65 million on such programs.[1118]

Attempt to Securitize the Master Settlement Agreement Funds: 2002

Hard budget times came to Illinois in 2002. As part of the same budget crisis that compelled legislators to raise the state cigarette tax in 2002, legislators looked for still other solutions to fixing the budget. During this time, some states attempted to sell future revenue from the Master Settlement Agreement through bonds, to get funds in the short-term, in a process called "securitization". States considered such sales of tobacco settlement future money to get money precisely to fill budget holes.

Banking interests, often writing in articles in business journals, attempted to convince states to do this, arguing that cash-strapped states should sell these bonds, and arguing that tobacco settlement revenues were uncertain and likely to decline with falling cigarette sales. Banking interests also argued that if tobacco companies were to go out of business and be unable to pay states this money, states should sell the bonds to have investors absorb this uncertainty. Yet because of such uncertainties, banking interests argued that the amounts given to states in exchange ought to be heavily discounted, meaning that the states would receive less money over the term of the bonds. Banks would also receive large fees for underwriting and selling the bonds.

In June 2002, in a step encouraged by public health advocates, Senate Republicans did kill a proposed plan to sell off $1 billion in future revenues for $500 million in the short-term.[1116]

Bonds Authorized But Not Sold: 2002

In 2002, the Illinois General Assembly passed an authorization for the governor to securitize $750 million in Master Settlement Agreement funds, with this authorization lasting only during the 2002-2003 fiscal year. The Illinois General Assembly merely authorized the sale during Illinois' 2002-2003 fiscal year only, but did not require it.[742] During the 2001-2002 fiscal year, Master Settlement Agreement revenues for Illinois were $312 million.[742]

Sen. Steve Rauschenberger (R-Elgin; $12,550 in tobacco industry contributions) introduced Senate Amendment 2 to House Bill 2828 on June 1, 2002. After the Senate approved the amendment, Rauschenberger took over as chief sponsor of the bill, and the Senate passed the bill as amended by a vote of 36-18, with 2 abstentions. House Speaker Michael Madigan took up the bill, as amended by Senate Amendment 2, and the House passed the bill 100 to 17, with the bill becoming law as Public Act 92-0596.[1119]

Yet although the Illinois General Assembly passed the approval for a securitization of the bonds, and although the governor approved the bill, the governor's office did not actually sell these bonds.[742] One issue likely contributing to not securitizing the revenues even though the General Assembly had authorized securitization, was the fact that much of the revenues that the state was receiving for the 2002-2003 fiscal year had already been pledged to pay for other parts of the budget.[742]

Yearly appropriations of $5 million up to 2005, for "Grants and Administrative Expenses for Tobacco Use Prevention Program" were cut to $3 million in 2006. Then, from 2007 onward, this funding level was brought back to $5 million but listed as "Grants and Administrative Expenses for Tobacco Use Prevention Program, BASUAH Program [an HIV prevention program] and Asthma Prevention". Estimates of tobacco appropriations by other organizations, including the American Lung Association's State of Tobacco Control and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, suggested that from 2007 onward, half of the tobacco-HIV-asthma appropriation, or $2.5 million, went to tobacco programs.

Adapting Programs to the Cuts in State Appropriations for Tobacco Control

After the decline in state appropriations, the department had to shrink its programming dramatically. Its $11 million for I Decide and related programming to reduce youth tobacco use was gone, so the health department had to find another program model that used little funding. The Illinois Department of Public Health's pool of grants to local health departments shrunk too, from $16,875,000 in the 2001-2002 fiscal year to $5 million, constraining what local health departments could do.

Although aggressive media campaigns are more cost effective than school-based programs at reducing smoking rates among youth,[1120] for both the state and many local programs, the drop in funding meant that any serious attempt at television advertising, no matter how limited, was no longer a financially feasible option, especially in the Chicago area.

Changing "I Decide" to Reality Illinois

As a reaction to the decline in state funding for tobacco control programs, the state health department salvaged its efforts by creating the Reality Illinois program. Reality Illinois involved training young people in media and policy advocacy. Participants come up with initiatives, like petitions for smokefree parks, and go to city council meetings. Out of 93 local health departments, 25 departments as of 2013 had a youth engagement grant.

Reality Illinois began in 2002. As Conny Moody, the deputy director of health promotion, described the origins of the program in a joint interview with state tobacco control program manager Gail DeVito:

> We were really convinced that it was very important to ensure that youth understand the implications of tobacco use and that we try to have an impact on new young smokers and try to reduce the number of current youth smokers in the state. We felt that youth have a passion and can be very effective in different approaches that adults just can't have in terms of raising community awareness. So Reality Illinois evolved out of the remnants of the I Decide initiative.[288]

Some administrative aspects of I Decide continued for Reality Ilinois. As Mark Schmidt recalled in the 2013 interview, some items of continuity were that, "we maintained the relationship with Golin/Harris. The challenges involved trying to put together a program on much less money but something that could be done statewide."[1108] The state health department coordinated with local health departments and local school districts that wanted to implement Reality Illinois chapters in those communities, based on which departments and districts were interested in working to form such chapters.[1108]

The program consisted of local chapters at schools. The state health department helped to foster the creation of local school chapters of Reality Illinois by providing small funding grants to both local health departments or school districts, approximately on the level of a few thousand dollars, to help start these chapters.[1108]

The Illinois Department of Public Health developed several activities that the local chapters of Reality Illinois could use. One activity furnished by the Illinois Department of Public Health was an activity involving "toxic pizza" kits in which students would place tokens representing chemical agents found in cigarette smoke onto a pizza to underscore what was being added to cigarettes to demonstrate that smoking cigarettes meant taking in such chemicals. According to a 2013 interview with Mark Schmidt, although these toxic pizza kits reflected a "reduction to absurdity" approach, such activities worked well among junior high students to heighten students' opposition to using cigarettes.[1108] Another event included having mock coffin parades where students could take a picture with a tobacco control message. These messages and consequently generated media attention,[1108] while also touching on sensitive aspects of school society, such as when members of the school community had recently died.[1112]

Funding, Setting Up, and Organizing the Quitline

Although the American Lung Association in Illinois already had its own quitline in Illinois in 2001, the state government established an official Illinois quitline. The American Lung Association in Illinois won the ability to operate the official state Illinois Tobacco Quitline. The state funding for the Quitline totaled $2 million for 2013, and the 2014 budget proposed another $2 million.[1102, p. 268, 1103, p. 288]

The Illinois Tobacco Quitline began in 2002. The state budget since the 2002-2003 fiscal year included a direct appropriation to the American Lung Association to operate the Illinois

Tobacco Quitline, a resource for people who wished to stop smoking to get advice, counseling, and cessation products. The Illinois Tobacco Quitline by the American Lung Association in Illinois, as of 2014, could be reached at the number 1-866-QUIT-YES (1-866-784-8937). Calling the U.S. clearinghouse quitline at 1-800-QUIT-NOW (1-800-784-8669) sent callers to state quitlines.

At its start, the Illinois Tobacco Quitline started from 7:00 in the morning to 7:00 in the evening, Monday to Friday. As of 2014, the Illinois Tobacco Quitline operated seven days a week, from 7:00 in the morning to 11:00 at night. Quitline services, as of 2014, were offered in over 150 languages. Appropriations for the Quitline did not dominate tobacco control spending. Starting in the 2002-2003 fiscal year, Quitline funding started at $1 million, which out of a total state tobacco control appropriation of $12 million from the General Assembly meant that Quitline funding was approximately 8% of the total annual tobacco control appropriations.

Oversight of the Illinois Tobacco Quitline by the state health department, focusing specifically on the Quitline and involving both staff from the Illinois Department of Public Health and the American Lung Association in Illinois, involved regularly scheduled advisory meetings covering the hours and staffing of the Illinois Tobacco Quitline, as well as the type of cessation medications offered by the Illinois Tobacco Quitline. The media campaign to drive callers to the Illinois Tobacco Quitline was also developed between the Illinois Department of Public Health and the American Lung Association in Illinois.[288]

The Illinois Tobacco Quitline could be reached at the number 1-866-QUIT-YES (1-866-784-8937).

The Illinois Department of Public Health and the American Lung Association in Illinois partnered to carry advertising for the Illinois Tobacco Quitline. The "Alone for a Lifetime" media campaign in 2012, targeted parents who wanted to quit to be able to be around for their children. Advertising included billboards, print media, television, and radio advertisements.[288]

"Break the Habit" Cessation Model for the Quitline

According to Patrick McGarry, the model for the Illinois Tobacco Quitline started with the Washington County Health Department, the local health department for a rural county of 15,000 residents in southern Illinois, and ended up spreading to other local health departments in Illinois. In 2001, the Washington County Health Department hired a staff member to administer tobacco programs driven by grant money to local departments from the Illinois Department of Public Health.

After the Washington County tobacco control program began in 2001, a health department nurse assigned to tobacco control programs, in consultation with the American Lung Association in Illinois, crafted the "Break the Habit" program.[1121] The core of the program

consisted of having individuals agree to sign up for regular, at least once a week over-the-phone counseling sessions with Quitline counselors.[1121]

Although smokefree workplace policies at the local level should result in lower smoking rates at a cheaper cost per individual than programs providing nicotine replacement,[1122] this time period in Illinois was one with state preemption of local clean indoor air policies that ended in 2005.

As a pilot program for Washington County, people interested in quitting would call the Washington County Health Department, give their information, receive the phone number of the Illinois Tobacco Quitline, and then choose a nicotine replacement medication; if prescription medication was required, individuals would need to get a prescription first. The Washington County Health Department would mail interested people a packet with quitting tips and reading information about the quitting process. Individuals in the Break the Habit program would get on a list at their local pharmacy and would get medication for free from the pharmacies; the Washington County Health Department would reimburse the pharmacies, and this would be paid for through the Illinois Tobacco-Free Communities grant from the Illinois Department of Public Health.

The Washington County Health Department advertised mainly in the local weekly newspaper for the county; in addition, the department gave information to health providers, put up flyers, participated in health fairs, took advantage of occasional free radio spots, visited schools to tell children about the program so they could tell their family members, and left information in at the county jail.[1121] These advertisements targeted lower-income residents of the county.

Frederking sent quarterly reports to the Illinois Department of Public Health, and after four years with the program, the Illinois Department of Public Health evaluated the program and determined the program to be successful. In 2005, the state health department opened up the program to other counties to offer Break the Habit. In 2008 or 2009, it became mandatory for local health departments with an Illinois Tobacco-Free Communities grant. As implemented by the Illinois Tobacco Free Communities program, the Illinois Department of Public Health would give a referral form to individuals interested in quitting, and those individuals would take the form to their health providers: "if they went, did the fax referral form, got that signed, contacted the Quitline to set up counseling appointments, they would then be eligible to receive free NRT [nicotine replacement therapy]" from their local pharmacies.[1112]

This program became the state health department's preferred model for how counties should direct individuals to use the Illinois Tobacco Quitline, run by the American Lung Association.[1112] In 2011, since all counties already did this, the Quitline took over the features of the "Break the Habit" itself, so instead of a county program it was a standard practice of the Quitline: people who wished to sign up for counseling sessions were eligible for free cessation medication.

Tobacco Control Program Expenditures in the Mid-2000s

In its uses of funds appropriated by the General Assembly, the Illinois Department of Public Health organized its efforts into categories following the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's *Best Practices for Comprehensive Tobacco Control Programs*, a series of guidelines with its second release published in 2007. Those guidelines recommended that state tobacco control program began reporting its expenditures in specific categories. Beyond administration and management, which paid for the staff that managed these programs, state tobacco control and prevention funds were used in four areas: state and community interventions; health communication interventions; cessation interventions; and surveillance and evaluation.

The Illinois Department of Public Health, along with other states' health departments, began reporting expenditures in these categories starting from 2007 (Table 33). State health department expenditures for tobacco control increased somewhat between the 2008 and 2013 fiscal years.

Table 33: Illinois Department of Public Health Expenditures for Tobacco Prevention and Control, 2007-2013 (in Millions of Dollars)

Fiscal Year:	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13
State and Community Interventions	5.098	5.621	5.314	5.723	6.238	7.546
Health Communication Interventions	0.041	0.843	0	0.025	0.100	0.939
Cessation Interventions	0.970	1.000	1.000	2.000	2.000	3.000
Surveillance and Evaluation	0.518	0.420	0.204	0.225	0.249	0.386
Administration and Management	0.669	0.313	0.760	1.141	1.719	1.693
Total Expenditures:	7.295	8.197	7.277	9.115	10.307	13.564

Source: Illinois Department of Public Health[1123]
Notes: Each figure is rounded, to three decimal places (nearest thousand dollars). Sums may not add to the exact total figures listed because of rounding. Figures for the fiscal year ending in 2013 are estimates.

Funding in the Early 2010s: Staying Low

In many states, tobacco industry influence makes it a difficult task to ensure a robust state tobacco control program, even when state appropriations are secure and when there are legal requirements to follow proven practices.[1124] Confirming the challenges of maintaining funding in Illinois, as Janet Williams remarked in a 2014 interview, maintaining appropriations for state

tobacco control programs even after they were drawn down in the 2002-2003 fiscal year still involved effort by health advocates.[261]

Securitizing the Master Settlement Funds: 2010

The intake of tobacco settlement revenues flowing to the state general fund was cut by the decision to securitize a portion of the revenues. Persistent budgetary crises in Illinois gave political room for legislators who wanted to use Master Settlement Agreement funds for any other purposes than tobacco control, and made it difficult for advocates to bargain for continued funding. As Mark Peysakhovich told in a 2013 interview, compared with things that raise revenue for the state, such as increasing cigarette taxes, "it is more difficult to do anything that will require state investment."[933] As Peysakhovich recalled, it was easier to convince legislators to raise cigarette taxes for consumers than to convince legislators to invest money in tobacco control programs, during the budget crises in the decade of the 2000s and early 2010s:

> ... there is this sense that ... there are kids who are losing their childcare slots. There are hungry seniors who are losing their Meals on Wheels. And it just seems unseemly in some respect, even to the more obnoxious of us, such as myself, to go in and to talk about money to fund tobacco prevention and cessation.[933]

Janet Williams, in a 2014 interview, noted the difficulties with pushing for tobacco control funding in an environment where tobacco settlement revenues were also being appropriated to other health programs:

> We don't pit public health concerns against other public health concerns. So you don't say we should have more money to fund lung cancer and less on breast cancer. That doesn't make any sense. ... But then if you look at subsequent years, the majority of the money was going to health. It just wasn't going to tobacco. And we sort of still had to keep reinforcing that message without denigrating anybody else who was getting the money.[261]

For the 2010-2011 fiscal year, the state faced a $2 billion budget shortfall. Among the attempted ways to raise revenue had been the 2009-2010 attempt to increase the cigarette tax, which Barbara Flynn Currie, the House Majority Leader, had attempted to pass. Instead, the Illinois House turned to securitization: to cash out of future Master Settlement Agreement revenues in exchange for money in the short term. House Majority Leader Currie was the sponsor the Emergency Budget Act of Fiscal Year 2011 (Public Act 96-958; Senate Bill 3660). As part of this, the General Assembly passed the Railsplitter Tobacco Settlement Authority Act. The law set up the Railsplitter Tobacco Settlement Authority, selling $1.5 billion in bonds from the settlement funds, which the state sold in December 2010.

The way securitization gave the state money in the short term was by selling bonds that the state would repay using the Master Settlement Agreement revenues for future years. Bonds would be sold with maturity dates between 2012 and 2024. The state would receive $926 million by selling bonds whose principal amounts added up to that amount, and the state would

repay those bonds to the investors in those bonds by paying $1.5 billion in future Master Settlement Agreement revenues through 2024.

For the 2010-2011 fiscal year, the state was collecting approximately $324 million as a result of the Master Settlement Agreement.[1125] It was authorized to use only a maximum of 45 percent of its yearly tobacco revenue to pay back the bonds sold.[1125]

In the 2012-2013 fiscal year, Illinois appropriated $11.1 million for its tobacco prevention and cessation programs; this put Illinois' per capita support for tobacco control programs at 33rd among states.[35] In addition to the state appropriation, $2.7 million in federal funds also supplemented state funding for tobacco programs in Illinois. These state and federal funds support state and local health department programs, as well as a statewide helpline for quitting smoking.[35] This level of funding fell short of the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's recommendation, in 2014, of $137 million.

Federal Funding: American Recovery and Reinvestment Act Funding

The federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention provided funding for state tobacco control programs through grants administered under the National Tobacco Control Program. The National Tobacco Control Program office opened in 1999. As a result of the late 2000s recession and consequent prolonged economic downturn, the federal government passed in 2009 the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, designed to pump funds into the economy nationwide. The Illinois Department of Public Health received $1.5 million in 2012 from federal grants under the act.

Surveillance

The department also conducted surveillance activities: tobacco surveys, evaluations of the Illinois Tobacco Quitline, and reporting on tobacco trends. Adult and youth tobacco surveys constituted a major component of the health department's surveillance efforts on tobacco. Each state collected data for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's Adult Tobacco Survey. One innovation in tobacco surveillance in Illinois came in 2003, when the state-administered survey included a question about sexual orientation, allowing for data from Illinois to show that the rate of smoking among heterosexual individuals was lower than the rate among gay men and lesbians as a group, as well as lower than the rate among bisexual individuals.[1126]

Reporting of such surveillance came in the form of reports published by the department. The state health department in 2013 published a *Burden of Tobacco in Illinois* report. The department also regularly published a *Chronic Disease Burden Update* report, and the September 2013 two-page report focused on hospitalizations from asthma, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, and other conditions since the Smoke Free Illinois Act went into effect in 2008.

Evaluations of the Illinois Tobacco Quitline also formed part of the surveillance projects of the Illinois Department of Public Health. During the 2012-2013 fiscal year, the Illinois Tobacco Quitline fielded over 96,000 calls from more than 25,000 callers.[1127] About one-third (32%) of callers to the Quitline were aged 25 to 44, and almost half of callers (49%) were ages

45 to 64. Women made up 62% of callers; in addition, the racial and ethnic profile of callers was 67% white, 23% African American, and 4% Latino.

Early 2010s: Expanding the Quitline and Offering More Programs

The slight increases in state funding and in federal funding during the early 2010s led to increased support for health communications activities of the Illinois Department of Public Health. Health communications involved a media grant from the federal Centers of Disease Control and Prevention for state purchasing of advertisements, often involving bus wrappers and bus stops, and also in an online video for individuals with hearing impairments.

Not just the Illinois Department of Public Health, but also local health departments received funds: the Chicago Department of Public Health applied for and won American Recovery and Reinvestment Act funds, designed for the aftermath of the late 2000s economic recession, to fund health communications campaigns. The state health department interacted with the Chicago Department of Public Health in organizing its campaign. By 2013, some of the major members of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco highlighted low state tobacco control program funding as an issue to revisit.[933]

Using state funds, a state health department campaign took shape to drive more Quitline use, using multiple languages including Vietnamese, Khmer, and Polish, as well as for individuals with hearing and visual impairments.[1128]

Statewide television or radio advertisements, as of 2014, consisted of advertising promoting the Illinois Tobacco Quitline. The Illinois Department of Public Health did not run advertising outside of promoting the Illinois Tobacco Quitline, although Quitline advertising did sometimes include messaging about the effects of secondhand smoke, as part of encouraging people to quit smoking. Apart from advertising for the Illinois Tobacco Quitline, as of 2014, statewide television and radio advertising for tobacco control in Illinois did not exist. The television and radio campaign undertaken with the I Decide youth-focused program ended after 2002 with the cuts to the state tobacco control budget.

Compared with the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's recommendations for state tobacco control funding, the Illinois General Assembly funded state tobacco control and prevention programs, as of 2013, at levels less than one-tenth of the recommended level. Even at its highest funding levels during the 2001-2002 fiscal year, the Illinois General Assembly's appropriations for tobacco control remained only a fraction of the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's recommended funding levels.

Conclusion

What Stands Out About the Trajectory of Illinois' Tobacco Control Program

Although tobacco companies in some states attempt to influence the content of tobacco control programs in a way that makes them less effective in reducing smoking, or sue state health departments to stop messages unfavorable to tobacco companies,[1129] or works to have states

water down state tobacco control programs by replacing effective programs with ones that produces more marginal drops,[1130] the major challenges to state tobacco control programming in Illinois came from legislative appropriations for tobacco control being slashed during the 2002-2003 fiscal year.

The cuts from that year on forced the Illinois Department of Public Health to run a shoestring operation on tobacco control. Cuts to Illinois' program funding did not, however, face the most serious cuts that state tobacco control programs faced during this period: funding for Massachusetts' tobacco control programs, for example, dropped in 2003 to approximately one-tenth the level of program funding in the year 2000.[1131] As one exception to this decline, the Illinois Tobacco Quitline did, over the decade of the 2000s and early 2010s, expand in state funding, hours, and provision of cessation medications. Given the lack of tobacco control funding in general, where Illinois had no statewide television or radio advertising against smoking other than Quitline advertising, the expansion of the Quitline's hours and services was one area where state offerings on tobacco control expanded.

Funds from the Master Settlement Agreement, like tobacco taxes, served as an attractive source of funds for state elected officials. Funding for state tobacco control programs in the 2000s fell as the General Assembly, in times of budgetary crisis, diverted funding out of state tobacco control programs and kept these appropriations low. Budget crises enabled pressures to divert funds away from tobacco prevention and cessation. These periods of economic pressure placed advocates in a difficult position between having to declare a choice for maintaining funding for tobacco control programs or for other purposes that lawmakers declared as priorities. As of 2014, health advocates identified funding of the state's tobacco control program to be a focus for future tobacco control advocacy.

Chapter 9: Conclusions and Recommendations

- Tobacco policymaking in Illinois shifted from a period of persistent wins by tobacco industry interests from the 1960s through the 1980s to a situation of progress on clean indoor air and tobacco taxes, especially from the 1990s onwards and seemingly accelerating in the decade of the 2000s and the early 2010s.
- Major factors in the success of public health advocates were giving priority to tobacco control and becoming more assertive over the decades from the 1960s to 2010s.
- Outside funding contributed importantly to building the capacity of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, showing the ability of outsider, national organizations to shape the conditions under which tobacco policymaking takes place.
- The case of Illinois confirms existing research findings about the tobacco industry's efforts to thwart smokefree laws by courting the restaurant and casino industries, working through third-party business associations, creating front groups, and fighting smokefree laws after the laws had passed.
- Illinois also confirms the tobacco industry's use of organized labor to oppose cigarette taxes.
- Health groups at the state level must have dedicated staff working to tobacco control, including lobbyists for the state capital during the legislative session.
- Health advocates should make the widespread contributions of tobacco industry in Illinois politics more of an issue.
- For policy issues where there is inaction at the state level, health advocates and local health departments must push forward at the local level, replicating the local-to-state strategy that proved successful for smokefree laws. Policy arenas where this could work include issues of menthol cigarettes and electronic cigarettes.
- State health advocates should continue to press for increased appropriations for state tobacco control program, emphasizing ways that tobacco control programs help save money in the state budget through reduced state medical costs, even in the short-term.
- The state tobacco control program should broaden the scope of messages to discuss issues of tobacco beyond promoting the Illinois Tobacco Quitline.

Contextual Factors Over Time in Tobacco Control in Illinois

Tobacco control efforts in Illinois operated under different background conditions, in the 1960s through 1980s, during the 1990s to early 2000s, and in the mid-2000s through 2014. These periods differed in the financial resources for tobacco control advocates and for state health authorities, the attitude of business and labor groups toward tobacco control, the leadership in the legislature, and key ideas about tobacco policy.

From the start of health advocates coming together in 1965 through the 1970s and 1980s, in terms of financial resources, health advocates were organized loosely, with the member health groups contributing financial resources to fund staff who could represent the coalition, separately from the member health groups. By at least the 1970s, the tobacco industry, organized through the Tobacco Institute, already had set up a lobbying team for Illinois. Also by the 1970s, the tobacco industry had already lined up many state business associations as third-party allies to do

its work. In terms of legislative leadership, the top party leaders in the Illinois General Assembly were not specifically known to be ardently for or against tobacco control measures. Consequently although the tobacco industry already had a set of lobbyists and third-party allies to back its positions, public health advocates still had some successes.

The 1990s and the early parts of the decade of the 2000s began a period of expanded financial resources, both for tobacco control advocates organized as the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, as well as for state tobacco control programming. These resources allowed advocates to build a tobacco control infrastructure that would then lead to policy changes in the 2000 and early 2010s.

Federal agencies and charitable foundations, namely the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the National Cancer Institute, and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, each took an interest in funding tobacco control efforts in Illinois as in other states. The period of economic expansion in the 1990s also meant fewer pressures for these outside funding agencies. The 1998 Master Settlement Agreement provided Illinois with revenue and the Illinois General Assembly appropriated some of these revenues for tobacco control.

However, the 1990s and early 2000s were also a period of continued collaboration by state business associations as third-party allies of the tobacco industry, preventing major progress even as health advocates worked to develop the infrastructure for future policy changes. In addition, the 1989 Illinois Clean Indoor Air Act's preemption of clean indoor air laws led advocates to focus for the next decade and a half on restoring local authority to pass clean indoor air ordinances. The 1989 statewide cigarette tax increase, which was a victory for health advocates and seen by the Tobacco Institute as a defeat, led the Tobacco Institute to mobilize third-party allies in business against tobacco taxes, and also to cultivate opposition to tobacco taxes among organized labor through the 1990s. Tobacco policymaking in Illinois from the 1990s onwards shifted from a period of persistent thwarting of tobacco control legislation by tobacco industry interests from the 1960s through the 1980s to a situation of increasing progress on clean indoor air and tobacco taxes.

From the mid-2000s through the early 2010s, the infrastructure that health advocates had built paid off. The work of state-level advocates during this time, the activities of local advocates who were often supported by state-level advocates, and the efforts of local health departments who were also funded in part by the state health department, all combined to promote state and local tobacco control policy in place that reinforced each other.

The tobacco industry also lost several key third-party business association allies during the decade of the 2000s: the heads of the Illinois Restaurant Association and the Illinois Licensed Beverage Association changed, after which these organizations stopped opposing smokefree ordinances and statewide smokefree laws. About the same time, local chambers of commerce, such as those in Sangamon and McLean counties, also supported smokefree ordinances at the local level. In addition to this newfound support by business, in the decade of the 2000s and early 2010s, strong supporters of tobacco control came to positions of political power: John Cullerton to the position of Senate President in 2009, and Rahm Emanuel as the mayor of Chicago in 2011.

The mid-2000s through 2014 saw tobacco control policy progress accelerating. Successes during this period were numerous: the restoration of local authority to regulate smoking; the Smoke Free Illinois Act; increases in tobacco taxes at the state level, in Cook County, and in Chicago; many local retailer licensing ordinances in the Chicago metropolitan area; the inclusion in some cities of electronic cigarettes in clean indoor air ordinances and retailer licensing requirements; and restrictions on the sale of menthol cigarettes in Chicago.

The major challenges to tobacco control during the mid-2000s to 2014 involved a dearth of financial resources. The early 2000s recession and late 2000s economic crisis resulted in multiple years of state budget crises during this time. Maintaining some level of funding for the state's tobacco control programs from the mid-2000s to early 2010s despite persistent budget crises was a success, but funding did remain low. Meanwhile, the outside support from national foundations for tobacco control coalitions ended by the mid-2000s. The economic problems of the decade of the 2000s and early 2010s provided an opportunity for state officials to push money away from tobacco control programs, and gave opponents of tobacco control programs an opportunity to argue for such diversions. It also impaired health advocates' ability to argue for increasing state appropriations for tobacco control programs.

Drivers of Success: Priorities to Tobacco, Assertiveness, Outside Funding

A major factor in the success of public health advocates was giving priority to tobacco control and being willing to spend political capital in support of tobacco control. The American Lung Association in Illinois, the American Heart Association's Midwest Affiliate, and the Respiratory Health Association, through all the organizational changes in these health groups' national organizations over several decades, retained a focus on tobacco control as a major priority. Advocates in these groups, alongside staff in additional state medical provider groups and policy staff in several key local health departments, made tobacco control a priority and made concerted efforts to accomplish goals in tobacco control. Health groups' priorities even increased over time for some groups: the American Cancer Society in Illinois, after decades of not wanting to be considered as a full-fledged member of the coalition, over the course of the decade of the 2000s changed to become an integral part of the coalition. As part of this commitment, the major health groups in the state had dedicated staff, including some lobbyists at the state capitol during the legislative session.

Health advocates also became more assertive over time. Health advocates efforts' changed over the course of several decades from informal meetings of health groups in the 1960s and some funding of coalition staff in the 1970s, to holding out successfully for more money for tobacco control program funding after the Master Settlement Agreement, organizing successful lobbying efforts to achieve statewide smokefree legislation in the decade of the 2000s, and increasing tobacco taxes at multiple levels of government during the 2010s. These efforts were carried out by lobbyists and government relations staff by each of the major public health organizations in the state.

Outside funders' support for state advocates' efforts during the 1990s and early 2000s contributed vitally to allowing advocates to do the work of building advocacy capacity for tobacco control. Dramatic strides in professionalizing the coalition took place between 1994 and

2004 under the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation's SmokeLess States grants. The fact that outside funders contributed so importantly to the efforts of health advocates in Illinois shows the ability of outsider, national organizations to shape the conditions under which tobacco policymaking takes place. The lack of sustained funding for the coalition after 2004, when the SmokeLess States program ended, highlighted the reliance of state-level tobacco control advocates on outside support.

What the Experience of Illinois Confirms About Tobacco Control Policymaking

Illinois confirms existing research about the passage of state smokefree laws. In line with the 16 years between the preemption of smokefree ordinances in 1989 and the restoration of local control in 2005, Illinois demonstrates that smokefree laws have staying power and are difficult to change once adopted.[301] The experience of Illinois also confirms that the tobacco industry worked to convince the restaurant industry to take policy positions aligned with the tobacco industry's positions.[73, 75] It also confirms the positioning of the gaming industry, as of 2014, in support of tobacco industry positions on clean indoor air.[213] Existing research has shown that the tobacco industry attempted to cultivate these ties. The fervent opposition of the Illinois Casino Gaming Association to smokefree casino requirements suggests that these efforts also worked in Illinois. Illinois confirms the need for health advocates to find a counterbalance against the tobacco industry's use of third-party allied business associations. Illinois also confirms the use of front groups to provide the appearance of third-party support,[64] and confirms the massive expenditures in lobbying by the Tobacco Institute.[36]

The local ordinance strategy that health advocates pursued worked well for Illinois: local business groups, including local chambers of commerce, first saw local smokefree ordinances come into force with positive consequences. As local businesses, such as those in Springfield and Naperville, continued to be worried about being surrounded geographically by areas without smokefree ordinances, businessowners then agitated in favor of a county ordinance or a statewide smokefree law.

Illinois' experience confirms the tobacco industry's attempts to interfere with statewide smokefree laws after the passage of such laws.[1132] The tobacco industry's efforts in late 2007 and early 2008 to scale up its campaign contributions, aimed at trying to weaken the law even after it passed and went into effect, are examples of this effort. In Illinois, however, many of the problems of implementation occurred not because of direct industry action, although the tobacco industry may have been active behind the scenes, but rather as a result of tensions between Governor Blagojevich and the Illinois General Assembly about rulemaking.

Once the tensions between Blagojevich and the General Assembly resulted in the prohibition order against smokefree rulemaking, this prohibition order induced continual miscommunication about the implementing rules among health advocates, staff of the Illinois Department of Public Health, and staff of the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules. Thus, the Blagojevich-era prohibition order allowed the tobacco industry to sit back and watch for years as public health advocates and health authorities continued to wrangle over the smokefree rules, even after the tobacco industry stopped trying to overturn it directly.

Illinois' experience confirms the tobacco industry's use of organized labor to oppose cigarette taxes.[59, 746-747] Illinois also shows that the tobacco industry tried to water down youth smoking prevention interventions by promoting its own less effective programs.[956] Lastly, Illinois confirms how abrupt changes in appropriations for programs can induce sharp changes in the type and reach of programming. Low legislative appropriations for state tobacco control programs from the 2002-2003 fiscal year onward constrained the scope of the Illinois Department of Public Health's tobacco control programs, and also limited what local health departments could accomplish.

Lessons for Tobacco Control Efforts in Other States

Health groups must have dedicated staff, including lobbyists at the state capitol during the legislative session. Successes in Illinois depended on having full time staff resources from the major organizations on the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, including these organizations' contract lobbyists. To present the strongest case, such lobbyists must also have a broad understanding of issues in the state, in addition to tobacco issues.

Health advocates frequently relied on a strategy of having local activity that would then bubble up to the state level. To implement this strategy, state-level advocates often supported local activity, particularly on smokefree ordinances, but also for the limited number of local governments that retained the power to change local cigarette taxes. Other policy activity also showed the vitality of local activity in pushing policy forward when the state government had not acted. Examples of this activity include the municipal licensing of tobacco retailers, as well as action on bidis, menthol cigarettes, and electronic cigarettes.

Clean indoor air policymaking was also a regional issue, often more than it was a partisan issue. For local laws, supporters and opponents crossed partisan lines and were more regionally and geographically rooted. The Springfield ordinance and the Sangamon County ordinance passed by a city council and county board that were dominated by Republicans, in a state dominated politically by Democrats. Much of the legislation attempting to peel back parts of the Smoke Free Illinois Act were sponsored by Democrats, not Republicans. The support of local elected officials or statewide elected officials for smokefree laws could not be assumed on the basis of such officials' political party.

Passage of the smokefree state law that covered all hospitality venues including casinos and private clubs was done by the legislative sponsors being the position of leadership and taking a stand against any amendments. Then, maintaining coverage of casinos required extensive, ongoing effort. A focus on casinos as places of employment, not merely as places of entertainment, allowed coverage of casinos to be seen as protecting casino workers. Since 2009, having a new Senate President who was a strong supporter of the bill was key to maintaining smokefree coverage of these venues, and advocates also maintained lawmakers' support through traditional lobbying and informational campaigns. The Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco's efforts in thanking legislators and continually providing legislators with information about the effects of secondhand smoke, even after the passage of the act, were key efforts in maintaining this support.

On taxes, Illinois showed that less controversy arises when cigarette tax legislation directs revenue from tobacco taxes toward health, as in 2012. Spending tobacco tax revenue on combating tobacco makes clear why tobacco products are being taxed in the first place. Lawmakers in Illinois in the past repeatedly went to the cigarette tax as a way of creating revenue streams for education or other issue arenas not related to tobacco use. Such uses appealed both to social program-oriented lawmakers who wished to increase funding to state programs, as well as to fiscally cautious lawmakers who preferred cigarette taxes over other types of taxes. When tobacco tax revenue went primarily to fund programs not related to tobacco such as education, however, it allowed opponents to charge that the state was dependent on smoking for state revenues.

Health advocates in Illinois also prepared a discourse to counter the tobacco industry's "regressive" arguments about taxes, with arguments that cigarette taxes were a "progressive" measure for health. Working with elected officials who were African American, advocates argued that taxes were a progressive health policy that resulted in having more parents live to be around; this strategy worked as a part of messaging on cigarette taxes in Cook County in 2012.

The experience of Illinois shows just how constraining state preemption of tobacco taxes was for tobacco control policy, just like how preemption of smokefree ordinances chilled tobacco policymaking in that area. The prohibition at the local level, as of 2014, on enacting new cigarette taxes meant that almost all municipalities in Illinois were forbidden from having this revenue stream, thereby likely placing upward pressure on local property taxes and sales taxes, even as a select few cities in Illinois were able to tap into a cigarette tax revenue stream.

Illinois shows that local governments can lead the way in setting tobacco policy during periods of policy and action by the state or federal governments. Chicago led on multiple policies to reduce smoking among youth. In addition to its early tobacco retailer licensing, andin addition to its banning of the sale of bidis in 1999, the city health department and city political leaders also acted on menthol cigarettes in 2013 and electronic cigarettes in 2014.

Recommendations for Illinois

Despite the successes of health advocates at the state level, tobacco industry campaign contributions are widespread in Illinois politics. The tobacco industry contributed campaign funds to as large a proportion of the Illinois General Assembly as in many other states, but most importantly the tobacco industry spent up to five times as much per resident in campaign contributions in Illinois compared with its contributions in neighboring states. Health advocates should make the pervasive contributions of the tobacco industry more of an issue in Illinois politics.

The difficulties of the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco in securing sustained funding after the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation's SmokeLess States grant ended demonstrates the reliance of tobacco control advocates on the efforts of outside funders. Health advocates' search for sustained sources of funds for the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco should continue. National foundations interested in tobacco control, including the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, should recognize the success that SmokeLess States had in leveraging important

policy change, and should develop modernized versions of that program, either alone or in conjunction with other funders.

Health advocates can use the template of encouraging local activity to build support for statewide policies, in tobacco policy areas beyond smokefree air. Such activity would follow the successful model that advocates used to promote clean indoor air ordinances at the local level between 2005 and 2007. For policy issues where there is inaction at the state level, including on menthol cigarettes and electronic cigarettes, health advocates and local health departments have an opportunity to push forward at the local level.

The Illinois Department of Public Health should finalize the implementing rules for the Smoke Free Illinois Act, and the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules should promptly approve the rules that the department submits. Since Rod Blagojevich, the governor who antagonized the Illinois General Assembly with his attitude toward the rulemaking process, long left office, and since the 2013 meeting among all the relevant actors resulted in an agreement that the Illinois Department of Public Health could submit implementing rules again, a window of opportunity was created for all relevant actors to move forward to support the approval of implementing rules that specify with precision the kinds of areas that are covered under the Smoke Free Illinois Act.

On taxes, advocates should follow up on the attempts made in the late 2000s to restore local authority to enact cigarette taxes, using the template of repealing preemption for local clean indoor air ordinances: casting the issue in terms of local control and enlisting the support of local associations of governments and the Illinois Municipal League. Since legislators often resisted passing legislation about taxes, this effort should be seen first as coming from local governments. Based on the template for arguing for the repeal of preemption of clean indoor air ordinances, the argument that some municipalities in Illinois can pass local cigarette taxes, while most other municipalities cannot, would seem to be a powerful motivator for local elected officials.

Content expansion in media efforts at the state level would also be fruitful: media efforts should shift from promoting just the Illinois Tobacco Quitline to also engaging in broader statewide media campaigns about tobacco, including highlighting the activities of the tobacco industry, as the Illinois Department of Public Health's I Decide program did in the early 2000s. Such content will have more impact in reducing smoking and saving medical costs to the state budget. State tobacco-related media programs can draw inspiration from local health departments' media campaigns, from the advertisements in the I Decide campaign that generated the most favorable responses, or from examples from outside Illinois.

Advocates should press for broader state appropriations for state tobacco control programs, to help the Illinois Department of Public Health secure the resources it requires to expand its tobacco control programs. Such advocacy can include economic arguments for these programs, highlighting both the health benefits of such programming but also importantly, how such programs save the state money, actually helping taxpayers by preventing much larger expenditures on healthcare costs in the state budget, even in the short term.[30-31]

Wrapping up 50 Years of Tobacco Control

Fifty years of tobacco control policymaking in Illinois, starting in 1965 and continuing through 2014, demonstrated the determined effort and use of local-to-state tactics by tobacco control advocates and state and local agencies working on tobacco control. These efforts combated the widespread campaign contributions, large lobbying expenditures, and political, legal, marketing, and business tactics of the tobacco industry and its allies. On the fiftieth year since health advocates in Illinois grouped together to form the precursors of the state's current tobacco control coalition, the Illinois Coalition Against Tobacco, much progress has occurred. Particularly in the 2000s and early 2010s, as national and global forces in favor of state tobacco control advocates also supplemented the continued work of state and local advocates and health agencies, tobacco control in Illinois gained ground dramatically in a short time period.

Prospects for continued successes in tobacco control were favorable in Illinois in 2014. The Smoke Free Illinois Act had brought smokefree indoor environments to residents and employees throughout the state. Tobacco industry contributions, while continuing in the 2010s to be widespread across members of the Illinois General Assembly and voluminous compared with tobacco industry contributions in neighboring states, seemed to buy the tobacco industry less leverage than it had in earlier decades. Local chambers of commerce and other groupings of businesses also came to support tobacco control measures, and as many of the tobacco industry's former allies in state business associations were replaced in the decade of the 2000s. Meanwhile, businessowners across Illinois came to realize that smokefree laws improved the business climate for hospitality businesses by drawing in business from nonsmokers. Raising tobacco taxes at the state and local levels, leading the United States at the local level in curbing the use of bidis, menthol, and electronic cigarettes among youth, including electronic cigarettes in clean indoor air laws at the local level, maintaining some funding for state tobacco control programming, and finding ways to adapt state and local tobacco control programs after a period of legislative cuts to state tobacco control appropriations, were all signs of progress. In a leading state in the United States and within the Midwest, these developments in Illinois showed great promise for improving the public's health.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Tobacco Industry Campaign Contributions by Candidate, 1995-2012

Appendix B: Tobacco Industry Campaign Contributions by Contributor, 1995-2012

Appendix C: Tobacco Industry Contributions to Political Party Organizations, 1997-2012

Abbreviations

AG	Attorney General
COMPT	Comptroller
D	Democrat
G	Governor
H	House of Representatives
L	Libertarian
LTG	Lieutenant Governor
R	Republican
S	Senate
SS	Secretary of State
SW	Statewide Office
TREAS	Treasurer

Appendix A: Tobacco Industry Campaign Contributions by Candidate, 1995-2012

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
ACEVEDO, EDWARD	D	H	2		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,200
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2000 Total			$2,050
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$800
				2004 Total			$1,300
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2006 Total			$2,100
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$2,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$2,500
				2010 Total			$3,000
					2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$4,000
				2012 Total			$4,000
ACEVEDO, EDWARD Total							$16,150
AGUILAR, FRANK	R	H	24		2004	LORILLARD	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2004 Total			$750
AGUILAR, FRANK Total							$750
ALTHOFF, PAMELA	R	S	32		2004	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2004 Total			$250
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2008 Total			$5,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$5,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$5,500
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$5,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$5,500
ALTHOFF, PAMELA Total							$16,750
ARROYO, LUIS	D	H	3		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,008
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
ARROYO, LUIS	D	H	3	2008 Total			$3,258
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$4,500
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$7,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$7,500
ARROYO, LUIS Total							$15,258
AXLEY, CHERYL	R	S	33		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500
				2006 Total			$1,500
AXLEY, CHERYL Total							$1,500
BARICKMAN, JASON	R	S	53		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$750
BARICKMAN, JASON Total							$750
BARNETTE, RANDY J	D	S	8		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				1998 Total			$1,000
BARNETTE, RANDY J Total							$1,000
BASSI, SUZANNE	R	H	54		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2000 Total			$1,000
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2002 Total			$1,500
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,550
				2004 Total			$1,550
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2008 Total			$1,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,500
BASSI, SUZANNE Total							$7,550
BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,200
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						US TOBACCO	$200
				2000 Total			$950
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2002 Total			$2,000
					2004	LORILLARD	$250

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2004 Total			$3,750
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,600
						RJ REYNOLDS	$2,000
				2006 Total			$3,600
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$750
				2008 Total			$4,750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$9,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$10,000
BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total							$26,250
BEISER, DANIEL V	D	H	111		2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$1,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$2,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$2,500
BEISER, DANIEL V Total							$6,000
BELLOCK, PATRICIA R	R	H	47		2008	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$750
				2008 Total			$750
BELLOCK, PATRICIA R Total							$750
BERGMAN, ROBERT	R	H	54		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$500
BERGMAN, ROBERT Total							$500
BERMAN, ARTHUR L	D	S	9		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$650
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				1998 Total			$900
BERMAN, ARTHUR L Total							$900
BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA	D	H	39		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$750
				2004 Total			$2,250
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
				2006 Total			$1,100
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,750

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle		Contributor	Total
BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA	D	H	39			2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
							US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2008 Total				$3,500
						2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,500
							RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total				$5,000
						2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$7,000
							RJ REYNOLDS	$4,000
				2012 Total				$11,000
BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA Total								$22,850
BIGGERT, JUDY	R	H	81			1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
							TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$250
				1996 Total				$750
						1998	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$250
				1998 Total				$250
BIGGERT, JUDY Total								$1,000
BIGGINS, ROBERT A	R	H	41			2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total				$500
						2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
							RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total				$1,000
						2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,750
							RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total				$3,250
			78			1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$800
							TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total				$1,000
						1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
							RJ REYNOLDS	$250
							TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$450
				1998 Total				$950
						2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
							LORILLARD	$300
							PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2000 Total				$1,550
BIGGINS, ROBERT A Total								$8,250
BLACK, WILLIAM B	R	H	104			2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total				$500
						2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
							US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$200
				2004 Total				$1,200
						2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
							US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
BLACK, WILLIAM B	R	H	104	2006 Total			$1,350
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$2,000
			105		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$1,200
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,400
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,600
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2000 Total			$750
BLACK, WILLIAM B Total							$8,600
BLAGOJEVICH, ROD R	D	G	SW		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
				2002 Total			$3,000
					2004	SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$1,000
				2004 Total			$1,000
BLAGOJEVICH, ROD R Total							$4,000
BLUDORN, R SCOTT	IBERTARIA	H	53		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,000
				2004 Total			$4,000
BLUDORN, R SCOTT Total							$4,000
BOLAND, MIKE	D	H	71		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$500
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,300
				2000 Total			$1,550
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$200
				2002 Total			$1,450
					2004	RJ REYNOLDS	$200
				2004 Total			$200
					2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2006 Total			$1,000
		LTG	SW		2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
BOLAND, MIKE Total							$5,200
BOMKE, LARRY	R	S	50		2002	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$100
				2002 Total			$100
					2004	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$200
				2004 Total			$200
					2006	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$100
				2006 Total			$100

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
BOMKE, LARRY	R	S	50		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2010 Total			$2,000
BOMKE, LARRY Total							$2,400
BOND, MICHAEL	D	S	31		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
				2008 Total			$3,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$3,500
BOND, MICHAEL Total							$6,500
BOST, MIKE	R	H	115		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$200
				1996 Total			$500
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				1998 Total			$250
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2000 Total			$1,000
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
					2004	LORILLARD	$250
				2004 Total			$250
					2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$750
				2008 Total			$2,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$2,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$1,500
BOST, MIKE Total							$8,250
BOWLES, EVELYN	D	S	56		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$200
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
				1998 Total			$1,100
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
				2000 Total			$600
BOWLES, EVELYN Total							$1,900
BRADFORD, GLENN	D	H	112		1998	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$200
BRADFORD, GLENN Total							$200

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
BRADLEY, JOHN	D	H	117		2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,000
					2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
BRADLEY, JOHN Total							$1,500
BRADLEY, RICHARD T	D	H	20		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,450
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2000 Total			$1,300
			40		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2002 Total			$750
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$300
				2004 Total			$1,550
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$1,100
		S	20		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$10,000
				2008 Total			$11,500
BRADLEY, RICHARD T Total							$17,650
BRADY, BILL	R	G	SW		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$37,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$10,000
				2010 Total			$47,000
		H	88		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$150
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$650
				1996 Total			$1,100
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,300
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$450
				1998 Total			$1,750
		S	44		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2002 Total			$750
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2008 Total			$3,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$2,750
BRADY, BILL Total							$56,350

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
BRADY, DAN	R	H	88		2004	RJ REYNOLDS	$550
				2004 Total			$550
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$2,750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2010 Total			$750
BRADY, DAN Total							$4,050
BRADY, ED	R	H	88		2000	RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2000 Total			$250
BRADY, ED Total							$250
BRAUER, RICH	R	H	87		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
			100		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2002 Total			$750
					2004	LORILLARD	$250
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2004 Total			$500
					2006	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$200
				2006 Total			$200
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$1,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$2,250
BRAUER, RICH Total							$5,700
BROSNAHAN, JAMES	D	H	36		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$550
				2000 Total			$550
BROSNAHAN, JAMES Total							$550
BROWN, ADAM M	R	H	102		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$2,250
BROWN, ADAM M Total							$2,250
BRUNSVOLD, JOEL	D	H	72		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$450
				1996 Total			$950
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,300
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$600
				1998 Total			$2,400
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle		Contributor	Total
BRUNSVOLD, JOEL	D	H	72			2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,822
							US TOBACCO	$500
				2000 Total				$3,572
						2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
							LORILLARD	$200
							PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total				$1,450
BRUNSVOLD, JOEL Total								$8,372
BUGIELSKI, ROBERT	D	H	19			1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
							TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total				$950
						1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
							TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$400
				1998 Total				$1,900
						2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
							LORILLARD	$300
							PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2000 Total				$2,300
			20			2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
							PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2002 Total				$2,000
BUGIELSKI, ROBERT Total								$7,150
BURKE, DANIEL J	D	H	1			2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$7,000
							RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total				$7,500
			23			1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				1996 Total				$500
						1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				1998 Total				$1,500
						2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
							US TOBACCO	$200
				2000 Total				$1,700
						2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2002 Total				$750
						2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2004 Total				$500
						2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
				2006 Total				$600
						2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,000
							RJ REYNOLDS	$2,000
				2008 Total				$6,000
						2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$7,000
							RJ REYNOLDS	$15,500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
BURKE, DANIEL J	D	H	23	2010 Total			$22,500
BURKE, DANIEL J Total							$41,550
BURNS, WILLIAM D	D	H	26		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$2,500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$225
				2008 Total			$4,225
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$2,000
BURNS, WILLIAM D Total							$6,225
BURRELSMAN, MARCY	R	H	114		2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
				2002 Total			$250
BURRELSMAN, MARCY Total							$250
BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY	R	S	35		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$900
				1996 Total			$900
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
						RJ REYNOLDS	$600
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,400
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				2000 Total			$300
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
					2004	LORILLARD	$250
				2004 Total			$250
					2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2008 Total			$750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
				2010 Total			$3,000
BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY Total							$7,600
BURZYNSKI, KEN W	R	S	59		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$1,000
BURZYNSKI, KEN W Total							$1,000
BUTLER, MARTIN J	R	S	28		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
				1998 Total			$600
BUTLER, MARTIN J Total							$600
CAPPARELLI, RALPH C	D	H	13		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$550
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$400
				1996 Total			$950
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
CAPPARELLI, RALPH C	D	H	13	1998 Total			$1,750
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2000 Total			$2,550
			15		2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2002 Total			$1,200
			20		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2004 Total			$750
CAPPARELLI, RALPH C Total							$7,200
CARROLL, HOWARD W	D	S	8		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,850
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$450
				1996 Total			$3,300
CARROLL, HOWARD W Total							$3,300
CAVALETTO, JOHN	R	H	107		2008	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2008 Total			$250
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2010 Total			$1,500
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$1,000
CAVALETTO, JOHN Total							$2,750
CHAPA LAVIA, LINDA	D	H	83		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2004 Total			$1,500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$2,750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2010 Total			$2,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$2,500
CHAPA LAVIA, LINDA Total							$9,250
CHURCHILL, ROBERT W	R	H	62		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$5,900
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$1,150
				1996 Total			$7,050
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,000
					2004	RJ REYNOLDS	$250

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
CHURCHILL, ROBERT W	R	H	62		2004	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$200
				2004 Total			$450
		SS	SW		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				1998 Total			$2,500
CHURCHILL, ROBERT W Total							$11,000
CIARLO, FLORA L	R	H	80		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				1996 Total			$300
CIARLO, FLORA L Total							$300
CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$450
				1998 Total			$1,450
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						US TOBACCO	$200
				2000 Total			$2,700
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,700
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$200
				2002 Total			$1,900
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$5,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$700
				2004 Total			$6,200
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$5,000
				2006 Total			$7,500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$7,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,000
				2008 Total			$9,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
				2010 Total			$3,000
					2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total							$32,750
CLAYTON, VERNA L	R	H	51		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$200
CLAYTON, VERNA L Total							$200
COLADIPIETRO, FRANCO	R	H	45		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$2,250
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2010 Total			$1,250

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
COLADIPIETRO, FRANCO Total							$3,500
COLE, SANDY	R	H	62		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2010 Total			$1,250
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2012 Total			$2,000
COLE, SANDY Total							$3,250
COLLINS, ANNAZETTE	D	H	10		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2002 Total			$1,750
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2004 Total			$500
					2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$2,500
				2010 Total			$2,500
		S	5		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
COLLINS, ANNAZETTE Total							$5,250
COLVIN, MARLOW	D	H	33		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2004 Total			$250
					2006	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$225
				2008 Total			$3,475
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$1,000
COLVIN, MARLOW Total							$5,725
CONNELLY, MICHAEL G	R	H	48		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2010 Total			$1,500
		S	21		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2012 Total			$2,000
CONNELLY, MICHAEL G Total							$3,500
CONROY, DEBORAH	D	H	46		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$3,000
				2012 Total			$3,000
CONROY, DEBORAH Total							$3,000
COSTELLO II, JERRY	D	H	116		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$1,000
COSTELLO II, JERRY Total							$1,000
COULSON, ELIZABETH	R	H	17		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,000
			57		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				1998 Total			$750

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
COULSON, ELIZABETH	R	H	57		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2000 Total			$1,750
COULSON, ELIZABETH Total							$3,500
COWLISHAW, MARY LOU	R	H	41		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
				1996 Total			$600
COWLISHAW, MARY LOU Total							$600
CRESPO, FRED	D	H	44		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$1,750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$2,500
CRESPO, FRED Total							$4,750
CRONIN, DAN	R	S	21		2002	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$200
				2002 Total			$200
					2004	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$200
				2004 Total			$200
					2006	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$200
				2006 Total			$200
CRONIN, DAN Total							$600
CROSS, TOM	R	H	84		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$450
				1996 Total			$2,450
					2004	LORILLARD	$2,750
						PHILIP MORRIS	$25,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$3,500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,000
				2004 Total			$32,250
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$40,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$3,500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$3,000
				2006 Total			$46,500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$45,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$21,500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$2,500
				2008 Total			$69,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$25,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$40,000
						RYO CIGAR ASSOCIATION	$1,000
				2010 Total			$66,000
			97		2012	BURNING LEAF CIGARS	$250

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
CROSS, TOM	R	H	97		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$20,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$16,500
				2012 Total			$36,750
CROSS, TOM Total							$252,950
CROTTY, M MAGGIE	D	S	19		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$1,500
					2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$500
CROTTY, M MAGGIE Total							$2,000
CULLERTON, JOHN	D	S	6		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
						REPUBLIC TOBACCO	$1,000
				1998 Total			$1,250
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2000 Total			$800
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,000
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2004 Total			$1,500
					2008	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$2,000
				2008 Total			$2,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$20,000
						RYO CIGAR ASSOCIATION	$2,000
				2010 Total			$22,000
CULLERTON, JOHN Total							$28,550
CULTRA, SHANE	R	H	105		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$1,500
					2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2010 Total			$250
		S	53		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$250
CULTRA, SHANE Total							$2,000
CUNNINGHAM, BILL	D	S	18		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
CUNNINGHAM, BILL Total							$500
CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN	D	H	25		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				1998 Total			$2,000
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN	D	H	25		2000	US TOBACCO	$200
				2000 Total			$2,700
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,200
				2002 Total			$1,200
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,200
				2004 Total			$1,200
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$1,000
CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN Total							$9,100
D'AMICO, JOHN C	D	H	15		2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2010 Total			$750
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
D'AMICO, JOHN C Total							$2,250
DAHL, GARY G	R	S	38		2006	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2006 Total			$250
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$2,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2008 Total			$3,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$2,000
DAHL, GARY G Total							$5,750
DANIELS, LEE	R	H	46		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$80,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$3,800
						US TOBACCO	$4,000
				1996 Total			$87,800
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$20,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$5,050
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$1,250
						US TOBACCO	$1,100
				1998 Total			$27,400
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$1,500
						PHILIP MORRIS	$30,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$2,620
						US TOBACCO	$1,750

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
DANIELS, LEE	R	H	46	2000 Total			$35,870
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$28,760
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,000
				2002 Total			$29,760
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2004 Total			$1,000
DANIELS, LEE Total							$181,830
DART, THOMAS J	D	H	28		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				1998 Total			$250
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2000 Total			$750
DART, THOMAS J Total							$1,000
DAVIS, MONIQUE D	D	H	27		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$450
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$400
				1998 Total			$900
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2000 Total			$550
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,700
				2002 Total			$1,700
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
						RJ REYNOLDS	$2,500
				2008 Total			$3,100
					2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$5,000
				2012 Total			$5,000
DAVIS, MONIQUE D Total							$12,200
DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$700
				1996 Total			$1,450
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,400
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,600
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2000 Total			$2,300
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111		2002	LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$750
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500
				2002 Total			$1,700
					2004	LORILLARD	$750
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,300
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$450
				2004 Total			$3,750
DAVIS, STEVE Total							$10,800
DAVIS, WILLIAM	D	H	30		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$200
				2004 Total			$200
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,250
				2008 Total			$3,250
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$2,250
					2012	BOGIES FINE CIGARS & SMOKEHOUSE	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2012 Total			$1,750
DAVIS, WILLIAM Total							$7,950
DEANGELIS, ALDO A	R	S	40		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,400
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$1,350
						US TOBACCO	$1,700
				1996 Total			$5,950
DEANGELIS, ALDO A Total							$5,950
DEERING, TERRY W	D	H	116		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$250
				1996 Total			$750
					1998	US TOBACCO	$250
				1998 Total			$250
DEERING, TERRY W Total							$1,000
DEL VALLE, MIGUEL	D	S	2		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$200
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$850
				2000 Total			$850
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$200
				2004 Total			$200

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
DEL VALLE, MIGUEL Total							$1,500
DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$350
				1996 Total			$850
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,250
				1998 Total			$2,250
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$300
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2000 Total			$3,350
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,450
					2004	LORILLARD	$1,500
						PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$750
				2004 Total			$5,750
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$1,500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
				2008 Total			$3,000
DELEO, JAMES A Total							$18,150
DELGADO, WILLIAM	D	H	3		2004	LORILLARD	$500
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2004 Total			$2,750
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2006 Total			$2,600
		S	2		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2008 Total			$4,250
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2010 Total			$2,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$1,000
DELGADO, WILLIAM Total							$12,600
DELUCA, ANTHONY	D	H	80		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
DELUCA, ANTHONY	D	H	80		2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$2,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$3,000
DELUCA, ANTHONY Total							$5,000
DEMUZIO, DEANNA	D	S	49		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$3,000
				2004 Total			$4,000
					2006	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2006 Total			$250
					2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500
				2008 Total			$1,000
DEMUZIO, DEANNA Total							$5,250
DEMUZIO, VINCE	D	S	49		1996	SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$200
				1996 Total			$200
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$500
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				2000 Total			$600
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500
				2002 Total			$2,450
DEMUZIO, VINCE Total							$3,750
DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24		2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2002 Total			$2,700
					2004	LORILLARD	$1,000
						PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2004 Total			$5,000
					2006	ARANGO CIGAR CO	$650
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	2006 Total			$2,650
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,500
				2008 Total			$3,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$5,500
					2012	ARANGO CIGAR CO	$450
						PHILIP MORRIS	$9,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$9,950
			41		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,350
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$300
				1996 Total			$1,650
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$950
						US TOBACCO	$200
				1998 Total			$3,150
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$300
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US TOBACCO	$600
				2000 Total			$4,450
DILLARD, KIRK W Total							$38,550
DONAHUE, LAURA KENT	R	S	47		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,000
			48		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,400
				1996 Total			$1,400
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,600
				1998 Total			$1,600
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
				2000 Total			$2,500
DONAHUE, LAURA KENT Total							$6,500
DUDYCZ, BOB	R	S	7		2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,450
DUDYCZ, BOB Total							$1,450
DUDYCZ, WALTER W	R	S	7		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$1,150
				1996 Total			$2,150
					1998	GEOFFREY TOBACCO IMPORTS	$10,090

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
DUDYCZ, WALTER W	R	S	7		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,600
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				1998 Total			$12,690
					2000	ARANGO CIGAR CO	$1,250
						BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$1,698
						CONSOLIDATED CIGAR	$1,000
						PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$500
						US TOBACCO	$435
				2000 Total			$5,383
DUDYCZ, WALTER W Total							$20,223
DUFFY, DAN	R	S	26		2008	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2008 Total			$250
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
DUFFY, DAN Total							$750
DUGAN, LISA M	D	H	79		2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$2,250
DUGAN, LISA M Total							$2,750
DUNKIN, KENNETH	D	H	5		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$200
				2004 Total			$200
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
				2006 Total			$1,100
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2008 Total			$2,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$2,500
						RYO CIGAR ASSOCIATION	$1,000
				2012 Total			$5,500
DUNKIN, KENNETH Total							$9,300
DUNN, JOHN F	D	S	51		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$200
				2002 Total			$200
DUNN, JOHN F Total							$200
DUNN, TOM	D	S	43		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$850
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$450
				1996 Total			$1,300
DUNN, TOM Total							$1,300

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
DURKIN, JIM	R	H	44		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				1996 Total			$1,000
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$250
				1998 Total			$1,750
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2000 Total			$2,250
			82		2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2006 Total			$1,000
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$1,750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2010 Total			$1,500
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$2,250
DURKIN, JIM Total							$11,500
EDDY, ROGER L	R	H	109		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$1,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2010 Total			$1,500
EDDY, ROGER L Total							$3,000
EDGAR, JAMES	R	G	SW		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$27,500
				1996 Total			$27,500
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				1998 Total			$1,500
EDGAR, JAMES Total							$29,000
EVANS, PAUL J	R	H	108		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$2,000
EVANS, PAUL J Total							$2,000
FANTIN, ARLINE M	D	H	29		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$400
				1996 Total			$400
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$800
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,000
FANTIN, ARLINE M Total							$1,400
FARLEY, BRUCE A	D	S	17		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
FARLEY, BRUCE A	D	S	17		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$500
				1996 Total			$1,500
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$250
				1998 Total			$750
FARLEY, BRUCE A Total							$2,250
FARLEY, DAN	D	H	11		2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$2,000
				2010 Total			$2,000
FARLEY, DAN Total							$2,000
FARNHAM, KEITH	D	H	43		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$1,750
FARNHAM, KEITH Total							$1,750
FAWELL, BEVERLY	R	S	20		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				1996 Total			$500
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$700
				1998 Total			$700
FAWELL, BEVERLY Total							$1,200
FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA	D	H	12		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				1998 Total			$500
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2000 Total			$1,000
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
						REPUBLIC TOBACCO	$500
				2002 Total			$750
					2004	REPUBLIC TOBACCO	$1,000
				2004 Total			$1,000
					2006	REPUBLIC TOBACCO	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$500
					2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA Total							$4,750
FITZGERALD, PETER G	R	S	27		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				1996 Total			$500
FITZGERALD, PETER G Total							$500
FLOWERS, MARY E	D	H	21		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$200
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,450

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
FLOWERS, MARY E	D	H	21		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2000 Total			$500
			31		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$200
				2004 Total			$2,200
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2006 Total			$2,100
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
				2008 Total			$600
					2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
FLOWERS, MARY E Total							$7,800
FLYNN, MOLLY MCAVOY	R	H	37		2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$2,750
				2010 Total			$2,750
FLYNN, MOLLY MCAVOY Total							$2,750
FORBY, GARY	D	H	117		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$300
				2002 Total			$550
		S	59		2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2008 Total			$2,750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2010 Total			$2,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2012 Total			$1,500
FORBY, GARY Total							$7,300
FORTNER, MIKE	R	H	95		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
FORTNER, MIKE Total							$500
FOWLER, JAMES D	D	H	18		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
FOWLER, JAMES D Total							$250
FRANKS, JACK D	D	H	63		2006	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2006 Total			$250
					2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$750

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
FRANKS, JACK D	D	H	63	2008 Total			$1,250
					2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
					2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
FRANKS, JACK D Total							$2,500
FRERICHS, MICHAEL W	D	S	52		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$2,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2008 Total			$5,250
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$5,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$6,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$7,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$8,000
FRERICHS, MICHAEL W Total							$19,250
FRIAS, FERNANDO	D	H	1		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$350
				1996 Total			$650
FRIAS, FERNANDO Total							$650
FRIAS, RAFAEL	D	H	1		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$500
				1996 Total			$500
FRIAS, RAFAEL Total							$500
FRITCHEY, JOHN A	D	H	11		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2008 Total			$1,500
			33		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,300
				1998 Total			$1,300
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2000 Total			$1,250
FRITCHEY, JOHN A Total							$4,550
FROEHLICH, PAUL	D	H	56		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2008 Total			$2,250
	R	H	56		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$1,600
FROEHLICH, PAUL Total							$3,850
GABEL, ROBYN	D	H	18		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
GABEL, ROBYN Total							$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
GAFFNEY, KENT	R	H	52		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$2,500
GAFFNEY, KENT Total							$2,500
GARRETT, SUSAN	D	S	29		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2004 Total			$1,000
GARRETT, SUSAN Total							$1,000
GEO-KARIS, ADELINE JAY	R	S	31		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$700
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$250
				1998 Total			$500
GEO-KARIS, ADELINE JAY Total							$1,200
GIANNOULIAS, ALEXANDER	D	TREAS	SW		2006	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$2,000
				2006 Total			$2,000
					2008	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,750
				2008 Total			$1,750
GIANNOULIAS, ALEXANDER Total							$3,750
GIGLIO, MICHAEL	D	H	79		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$300
				1996 Total			$800
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,300
						RJ REYNOLDS	$400
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,900
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2000 Total			$750
GIGLIO, MICHAEL Total							$3,450
GILES, CALVIN	D	H	8		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$400
				1996 Total			$1,000
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,300
				1998 Total			$2,300
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$500
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,650
				2000 Total			$2,150
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,450
				2002 Total			$1,700
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2004 Total			$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
GILES, CALVIN	D	H	8		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
GILES, CALVIN Total							$8,150
GOLAR, ESTHER	D	H	6		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
				2008 Total			$600
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
					2012	RYO CIGAR ASSOCIATION	$1,500
				2012 Total			$1,500
GOLAR, ESTHER Total							$2,600
GORDON, CAREEN M	D	H	75		2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2010 Total			$1,500
GORDON, CAREEN M Total							$2,000
GORDON, JEHAN	D	H	92		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2012 Total			$1,500
GORDON, JEHAN Total							$2,500
GRAHAM, DEBORAH L	D	H	78		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$450
						RJ REYNOLDS	$300
				2004 Total			$750
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$1,600
					2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$1,000
GRAHAM, DEBORAH L Total							$3,350
GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	107		2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$850
				2002 Total			$3,300
					2004	LORILLARD	$750
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$800
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$450
				2004 Total			$4,500
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,250
				2006 Total			$3,750

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	109		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$1,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$1,150
						US TOBACCO	$3,000
				1996 Total			$6,400
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$700
						US TOBACCO	$250
				1998 Total			$2,950
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$550
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,845
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US TOBACCO	$800
				2000 Total			$4,995
GRANBERG, KURT M Total							$25,895
HAINE, WILLIAM R	D	S	56		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2004 Total			$500
					2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2006 Total			$750
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$3,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
						RYO CIGAR ASSOCIATION	$500
				2010 Total			$4,000
					2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
HAINE, WILLIAM R Total							$9,250
HALVORSON, DEBBIE D	D	S	40		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2000 Total			$750
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2002 Total			$2,000
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2004 Total			$5,000
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
HALVORSON, DEBBIE D	D	S	40	2006 Total			$3,000
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500
				2008 Total			$1,500
HALVORSON, DEBBIE D Total							$12,250
HAMMOND, NORINE K	R	H	93		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$250
HAMMOND, NORINE K Total							$250
HAMOS, JULIE	D	H	18		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$450
				2000 Total			$450
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$200
				2002 Total			$200
HAMOS, JULIE Total							$650
HANNIG, GARY	D	H	98		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				1996 Total			$300
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$600
				1998 Total			$1,100
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2000 Total			$1,750
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$750
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$300
				2002 Total			$1,300
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
				2006 Total			$600
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$9,000
				2008 Total			$10,750
HANNIG, GARY Total							$15,800
HARMON, DON	D	S	39		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,000
				2004 Total			$4,000
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$6,500
				2006 Total			$7,500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$10,000
				2008 Total			$12,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,000
				2010 Total			$4,000
					2012	NATIONAL TOBACCO CO	$2,500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
HARMON, DON	D	S	39		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$3,500
HARMON, DON Total							$31,500
HARRIS, DAVID	R	H	53		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
HARRIS, DAVID Total							$500
HARRIS, GREGORY	D	H	13		2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
HARRIS, GREGORY Total							$1,000
HARRIS, NAPOLEON	D	S	15		2012	BOGIES FINE CIGARS & SMOKEHOUSE	$500
				2012 Total			$500
HARRIS, NAPOLEON Total							$500
HARRIS, WILLIS A	D	H	29		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2000 Total			$1,250
HARRIS, WILLIS A Total							$1,250
HARTKE, CHARLES A	D	H	108		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$250
				1996 Total			$750
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$550
				1998 Total			$1,550
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$500
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,353
				2000 Total			$3,153
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$1,250
						LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$800
				2002 Total			$4,500
HARTKE, CHARLES A Total							$9,953
HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	83		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,050
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$400
				1996 Total			$1,450
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$500
				1998 Total			$4,500
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,175
				2000 Total			$2,425

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	85		2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$3,200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,250
				2002 Total			$5,700
					2004	LORILLARD	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2004 Total			$2,750
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2006 Total			$3,500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$3,500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2008 Total			$7,750
HASSERT, BRENT Total							$28,075
HATCHER, KAY	R	H	50		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2010 Total			$1,500
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2012 Total			$2,000
HATCHER, KAY Total							$3,500
HAYS, CHAD D	R	H	104		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$1,250
HAYS, CHAD D Total							$1,250
HENDON, RICKEY R	D	LTG	SW		2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
		S	5		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				1998 Total			$1,000
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2000 Total			$750
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,850
				2002 Total			$1,850
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,200
				2004 Total			$2,200
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$750
				2008 Total			$4,750
HENDON, RICKEY R Total							$11,050
HENDON, RICKY	D	S	5		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				1996 Total			$500
HENDON, RICKY Total							$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
HERNANDEZ, ELIZABETH	D	H	24		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$5,000
				2012 Total			$6,500
HERNANDEZ, ELIZABETH Total							$7,000
HIGGINS, RYAN	R	H	56		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
				2010 Total			$3,500
HIGGINS, RYAN Total							$3,500
HOEFT, DOUGLAS L	R	H	43		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
HOEFT, DOUGLAS L Total							$250
HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$200
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2000 Total			$2,300
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,750
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$300
				2002 Total			$3,050
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500
				2004 Total			$3,500
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,600
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$7,000
				2006 Total			$9,100
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,500
				2008 Total			$5,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2010 Total			$2,000
HOFFMAN, JAY C Total							$25,150
HOLBROOK, THOMAS	D	H	113		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$250
				1996 Total			$250
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$800
				1998 Total			$800
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2000 Total			$2,000
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
HOLBROOK, THOMAS	D	H	113		2002	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$300
				2002 Total			$2,050
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2004 Total			$1,500
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$1,600
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$2,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$2,000
HOLBROOK, THOMAS Total							$12,700
HOLMES, LINDA	D	S	42		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$1,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2010 Total			$2,000
HOLMES, LINDA Total							$3,000
HOWARD, CONSTANCE A	D	H	32		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				1996 Total			$300
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,200
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2000 Total			$1,250
			34		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2004 Total			$800
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2006 Total			$2,600
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$1,500
HOWARD, CONSTANCE A Total							$7,900
HOWE, LUKE J	D	H	34		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$250
				1996 Total			$250
HOWE, LUKE J Total							$250
HUGHES, ANN	R	H	63		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$400

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
HUGHES, ANN	R	H	63	1996 Total			$400
HUGHES, ANN Total							$400
HULTGREN, RANDALL M	R	H	40		2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2000 Total			$2,050
			95		2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2002 Total			$1,000
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2004 Total			$1,250
		S	48		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2006 Total			$1,500
					2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$1,250
HULTGREN, RANDALL M Total							$7,550
HUNTER, MATTIE	D	S	3		2004	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2004 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$1,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,000
HUNTER, MATTIE Total							$2,500
HURLEY, FRANCES ANN	D	H	35		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
HURLEY, FRANCES ANN Total							$500
HUTCHINSON, TOI W	D	S	40		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$4,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$3,000
HUTCHINSON, TOI W Total							$7,000
HYNES, DANIEL W	D	COMPT	SW		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
HYNES, DANIEL W Total							$500
ILLINOIS CHAMBER PAC					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$20,000
				2004 Total			$20,000
ILLINOIS CHAMBER PAC Total							$20,000
JACKSON, EDDIE LEE	D	H	114		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
JACKSON, EDDIE LEE	D	H	114		2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$4,000
				2010 Total			$4,500
JACKSON, EDDIE LEE Total							$4,500
JACOBS, DENNIS J	D	S	36		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,350
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$750
				1996 Total			$2,100
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$800
				1998 Total			$2,800
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$600
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2000 Total			$2,900
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2002 Total			$2,200
					2004	LORILLARD	$1,500
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$700
				2004 Total			$4,200
JACOBS, DENNIS J Total							$14,200
JACOBS, MIKE	D	S	36		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2006 Total			$2,750
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$5,750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$2,500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2008 Total			$8,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$1,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$4,000
JACOBS, MIKE Total							$16,250
JEFFERIES, ELGA L	D	H	26		2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
JEFFERIES, ELGA L Total							$500
JEFFERSON, CHARLES E	D	H	67		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,350

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
JEFFERSON, CHARLES E	D	H	67	2002 Total			$1,350
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2004 Total			$750
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
				2006 Total			$1,100
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$2,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$1,500
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$4,500
				2012 Total			$6,500
JEFFERSON, CHARLES E Total							$13,200
JENISCH, ROGER A	R	H	45		2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
JENISCH, ROGER A Total							$500
JOHNSON, CHRISTINE J	R	S	35		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$1,000
JOHNSON, CHRISTINE J Total							$1,000
JOHNSON, THOMAS LEE	R	H	50		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2000 Total			$250
JOHNSON, THOMAS LEE Total							$250
JOHNSON, TIMOTHY V	R	H	104		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$400
				1996 Total			$400
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				1998 Total			$1,000
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2000 Total			$750
JOHNSON, TIMOTHY V Total							$2,150
JONES III, EMIL	D	S	14		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$3,500
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$6,000
				2012 Total			$6,000
JONES III, EMIL Total							$9,500
JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$9,000
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$2,000
				1996 Total			$11,500
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$25,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$2,000

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14		1998	SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$1,000
						US TOBACCO	$200
				1998 Total			$28,700
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$1,500
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$35,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$2,500
						US TOBACCO	$1,700
				2000 Total			$41,000
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$1,500
						LORILLARD	$5,500
						PHILIP MORRIS	$47,400
						RJ REYNOLDS	$6,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,500
				2002 Total			$61,900
					2004	CIGAR ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	$2,000
						LORILLARD	$15,000
						PHILIP MORRIS	$45,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$3,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$14,500
				2004 Total			$79,500
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$60,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$20,000
				2006 Total			$80,000
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$110,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,000
				2008 Total			$111,000
JONES JR, EMIL Total							$413,600
JONES, JOHN O	R	H	107		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$200
				1998 Total			$200
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2000 Total			$750
		S	54		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
					2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2008 Total			$3,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$3,500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
JONES, JOHN O Total							$8,700
JONES, LOVANA S	D	H	5		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$200
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$1,000
				1998 Total			$2,000
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2000 Total			$2,000
			26		2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2002 Total			$1,500
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$700
						RJ REYNOLDS	$600
				2004 Total			$1,300
JONES, LOVANA S Total							$7,000
JONES, SHIRLEY M	D	H	6		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				1996 Total			$300
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,200
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,400
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2000 Total			$1,500
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2002 Total			$1,000
JONES, SHIRLEY M Total							$4,200
JONES, THADDEUS	D	H	29		2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$3,250
				2010 Total			$3,250
JONES, THADDEUS Total							$3,250
JONES, WENDELL	R	S	27		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						US TOBACCO	$200
				2000 Total			$1,200
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2002 Total			$1,250
JONES, WENDELL Total							$2,450
JOYCE, KEVIN	D	H	35		2002	LORILLARD	$1,500
				2002 Total			$1,500
					2004	LORILLARD	$500
						PHILIP MORRIS	$250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2004 Total			$2,250

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
JOYCE, KEVIN	D	H	35		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2008 Total			$1,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,750
				2010 Total			$2,250
JOYCE, KEVIN Total							$7,500
KARPIEL, DORIS C	R	S	25		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$900
				1996 Total			$900
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,300
				1998 Total			$1,300
					2000	US TOBACCO	$519
				2000 Total			$519
			28		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$212
				2002 Total			$712
KARPIEL, DORIS C Total							$3,431
KAY, DWIGHT D	R	H	112		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2012 Total			$2,000
KAY, DWIGHT D Total							$2,000
KELLY, ROBIN	D	H	38		2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
KELLY, ROBIN Total							$500
KENNER, HOWARD A	D	H	5		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
			24		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$700
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,300
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$2,000
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$500
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,700
						RJ REYNOLDS	$750
						US TOBACCO	$200
				2000 Total			$3,450
KENNER, HOWARD A Total							$6,650
KIFOWIT, STEPHANIE A	D	H	84		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$5,500
				2012 Total			$5,500
KIFOWIT, STEPHANIE A Total							$5,500
KLEMM, DICK	R	S	32		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				1998 Total			$750

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
KLEMM, DICK	R	S	32		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2002 Total			$1,500
KLEMM, DICK Total							$2,250
KLINGLER, GWENN	R	H	100		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				1998 Total			$300
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
KLINGLER, GWENN Total							$800
KLUNK-MCASEY, EMILY	D	H	85		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
KLUNK-MCASEY, EMILY Total							$500
KOSEL, RENÉE	R	H	37		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$1,750
				2012 Total			$1,750
			81		2004	RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2004 Total			$250
					2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2006 Total			$1,500
					2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$750
				2008 Total			$750
					2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
KOSEL, RENÉE Total							$4,750
KOTLARZ, JOSEPH S	D	H	20		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$800
				1996 Total			$800
KOTLARZ, JOSEPH S Total							$800
KOTOWSKI, DAN	D	S	28		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$1,000
			33		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2008 Total			$1,250
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2010 Total			$2,000
KOTOWSKI, DAN Total							$4,250
KRAUSE, CAROLYN H	R	H	56		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				1996 Total			$300
			66		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
KRAUSE, CAROLYN H Total							$800
KRISHNAMOORTHI, S RAJA	D	COMPT	SW		2010	A&T TOBACCO MARKETERS	$1,500
				2010 Total			$1,500
KRISHNAMOORTHI, S RAJA Total							$1,500
KUBIK, JACK L	R	H	43		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$1,450

Recipient	Party	Office	District	Cycle	Contributor	Total
KUBIK, JACK L Total						$1,450
KYLE, ANGELO	D	H	60			
				2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$3,000
				2010 Total		$3,000
KYLE, ANGELO Total						$3,000
LACHNER, THOMAS	R	S	30			
				1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$400
				1996 Total		$400
LACHNER, THOMAS Total						$400
LAHOOD, DARIN M	R	S	37			
				2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2012 Total		$2,000
LAHOOD, DARIN M Total						$2,000
LANDEK, STEVEN	D	S	12			
				2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
					RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total		$1,500
LANDEK, STEVEN Total						$1,500
LANDERS, CHARLES	D	H	98			
				2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$3,000
				2010 Total		$3,000
LANDERS, CHARLES Total						$3,000
LANG, LOU	D	H	16			
				1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
					TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total		$700
				1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				1998 Total		$1,000
				2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
					PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
					US TOBACCO	$500
				2000 Total		$2,500
				2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total		$500
				2004	LORILLARD	$750
					PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
					RJ REYNOLDS	$800
				2004 Total		$2,550
				2006	ARANGO CIGAR CO	$750
					PHILIP MORRIS	$600
					RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total		$1,850
				2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
					RJ REYNOLDS	$8,000
				2008 Total		$9,000
				2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
					RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total		$1,000
				2012	ARANGO CIGAR CO	$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
LANG, LOU	D	H	16	2012 Total			$500
LANG, LOU Total							$19,600
LAURINO, WILLIAM J	D	H	15		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				1996 Total			$300
LAURINO, WILLIAM J Total							$300
LAUZEN, CHRIS	R	S	25		2002	RJ REYNOLDS	$2,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500
				2002 Total			$2,500
					2004	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$750
				2004 Total			$750
					2006	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2006 Total			$250
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$3,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,000
				2010 Total			$4,000
LAUZEN, CHRIS Total							$10,500
LAWFER, RONALD	R	H	74		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$400
				1996 Total			$400
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				1998 Total			$500
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2000 Total			$250
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
LAWFER, RONALD Total							$1,400
LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	73		2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$950
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2004 Total			$1,500
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$200
				2006 Total			$2,300
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2008 Total			$2,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	73	2010 Total			$1,500
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$3,750
			93		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$900
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$450
				1996 Total			$1,350
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$700
				1998 Total			$1,950
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2000 Total			$2,300
LEITCH, DAVID Total							$17,600
LIGHTFORD, KIMBERLY A	D	S	4		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2000 Total			$250
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
				2004 Total			$3,500
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2006 Total			$2,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2010 Total			$1,750
LIGHTFORD, KIMBERLY A Total							$7,500
LILLY, CAMILLE	D	H	78		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$4,000
				2012 Total			$4,000
LILLY, CAMILLE Total							$4,000
LINDNER, PATRICIA REID	R	H	50		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2002 Total			$1,500
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2004 Total			$1,000
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
				2006 Total			$1,100
			65		2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2000 Total			$1,300
LINDNER, PATRICIA REID Total							$4,900
LINK, TERRY	D	LTG	SW		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,500
				2010 Total			$4,500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
LINK, TERRY	D	S	30		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$700
				1998 Total			$1,700
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,250
						US TOBACCO	$200
				2000 Total			$2,750
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$700
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$300
				2002 Total			$3,250
					2004	ILLINOIS ASSOCIATION OF TOBACCO & CAND`	$1,210
						LORILLARD	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$450
				2004 Total			$3,910
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$5,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2006 Total			$6,750
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$5,500
				2008 Total			$5,500
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$1,000
LINK, TERRY Total							$29,360
LOPEZ, EDGAR	D	H	4		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$700
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$900
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				1998 Total			$1,500
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2000 Total			$2,000
LOPEZ, EDGAR Total							$4,400
LUECHTEFELD, DAVID	R	S	58		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,000
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2004 Total			$1,000
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2006 Total			$2,000
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
LUECHTEFELD, DAVID	R	S	58		2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$2,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2010 Total			$3,750
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$7,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$7,250
LUECHTEFELD, DAVID Total							$17,500
LYONS, EILEEN	R	H	82		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2004 Total			$1,000
LYONS, EILEEN Total							$1,000
LYONS, JOSEPH M	D	H	15		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				1996 Total			$300
					1998	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$200
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2000 Total			$1,750
			19		2002	LORILLARD	$200
				2002 Total			$200
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2004 Total			$3,000
					2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2006 Total			$1,000
					2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$500
					2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
LYONS, JOSEPH M Total							$7,450
MACELLAIO, MICHAEL B	D	H	36		2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$7,000
				2010 Total			$7,000
MACELLAIO, MICHAEL B Total							$7,000
MADIGAN, LISA	D	AG	SW		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$400
				2002 Total			$400
					2008	SWEDISH MATCH NORTH AMERICA INC	$1,000
				2008 Total			$1,000
		S	17		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$150
				2000 Total			$150
MADIGAN, LISA Total							$1,550
MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$28,000
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$1,000

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$5,200
						US TOBACCO	$1,000
				1996 Total			$35,200
					1998	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$5,000
						PHILIP MORRIS	$30,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$1,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$2,000
						US TOBACCO	$1,300
				1998 Total			$40,300
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$5,000
						PHILIP MORRIS	$35,000
						US TOBACCO	$3,500
				2000 Total			$43,500
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$1,500
						LORILLARD	$4,000
						PHILIP MORRIS	$15,000
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$2,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$5,000
				2002 Total			$27,500
					2004	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$2,000
						PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$4,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$7,000
				2004 Total			$16,500
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$18,500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$6,000
				2006 Total			$24,500
					2008	LORILLARD	$10,000
						PHILIP MORRIS	$45,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$10,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$2,500
				2008 Total			$67,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$50,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$15,500
						RYO CIGAR ASSOCIATION	$2,000
				2010 Total			$67,500
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$20,000
				2012 Total			$20,000
MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total							$342,500
MADIGAN, ROBERT A	R	S	45		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,550
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$250
						US TOBACCO	$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
MADIGAN, ROBERT A	R	S	45	1996 Total			$2,300
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,350
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$1,000
				1998 Total			$3,600
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$500
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
				2000 Total			$3,300
MADIGAN, ROBERT A Total							$9,200
MAHAR, WILLIAM F	R	S	19		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$200
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$250
				1998 Total			$1,750
MAHAR, WILLIAM F Total							$1,950
MAITLAND, JOHN	R	S	44		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				1996 Total			$500
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				1998 Total			$1,000
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2000 Total			$1,500
MAITLAND, JOHN Total							$3,000
MALONEY, EDWARD D	D	S	18		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
				2004 Total			$2,500
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2006 Total			$2,000
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2008 Total			$500
MALONEY, EDWARD D Total							$5,000
MARTINEZ, IRIS Y	D	S	20		2004	RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2004 Total			$250
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
MARTINEZ, IRIS Y Total							$750
MARTWICK JR, ROBERT F	D	H	19		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$1,000
MARTWICK JR, ROBERT F Total							$1,000
MATHIAS, SIDNEY H	R	H	53		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$1,600
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
MATHIAS, SIDNEY H	R	H	53	2008 Total			$500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,000
			59		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$1,250
MATHIAS, SIDNEY H Total							$4,350
MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$150
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$500
				1996 Total			$1,650
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$400
						RJ REYNOLDS	$400
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,250
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$500
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2000 Total			$1,750
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2002 Total			$2,200
					2004	LORILLARD	$500
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$750
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2004 Total			$3,500
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$900
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$200
				2006 Total			$2,600
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$750
				2008 Total			$6,250
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$3,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$15,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$15,500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
MAUTINO, FRANK J Total							$37,700
MAYER, G ALLEN	D	H	92		2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$5,000
				2008 Total			$5,000
MAYER, G ALLEN Total							$5,000
MAYFIELD, RITA	D	H	60		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						RYO CIGAR ASSOCIATION	$1,000
				2012 Total			$2,000
MAYFIELD, RITA Total							$2,000
MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	14		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
						US TOBACCO	$200
				1998 Total			$1,650
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,250
				2000 Total			$2,500
			20		2004	LORILLARD	$750
						PHILIP MORRIS	$7,500
						REPUBLIC TOBACCO	$10,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$750
				2004 Total			$19,000
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						REPUBLIC TOBACCO	$1,100
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,250
				2006 Total			$3,850
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2008 Total			$4,250
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						REPUBLIC TOBACCO	$600
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$2,600
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$11,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$11,500
MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total							$45,350
MCAULIFFE, ROGER P	R	H	14		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$950
MCAULIFFE, ROGER P Total							$950
MCCANN, WILLIAM	R	S	50		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
MCCANN, WILLIAM	R	S	50	2012 Total			$4,250
MCCANN, WILLIAM Total							$4,250
MCCARTER, KYLE	R	S	51		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$3,000
MCCARTER, KYLE Total							$3,000
MCCARTHY, KEVIN A	D	H	37		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$200
				1998 Total			$200
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,600
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$2,100
MCCARTHY, KEVIN A Total							$2,300
MCCAULEY, JOHN P	R	H	36		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				1998 Total			$500
MCCAULEY, JOHN P Total							$500
MCGUIRE, JACK	D	H	86		2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2000 Total			$1,250
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$250
				2002 Total			$500
MCGUIRE, JACK Total							$1,750
MCKEON, LARRY	D	H	13		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2002 Total			$1,250
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2004 Total			$500
			34		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				1996 Total			$250
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				1998 Total			$550
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2000 Total			$1,250
MCKEON, LARRY Total							$3,800
MELL, DEBORAH L	D	H	40		2008	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$225
				2008 Total			$225
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
MELL, DEBORAH L Total							$725
MENDOZA, SUSANA	D	H	1		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				1998 Total			$1,000
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
MENDOZA, SUSANA	D	H	1		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2002 Total			$2,000
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2004 Total			$2,500
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
				2006 Total			$600
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$3,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2010 Total			$1,500
MENDOZA, SUSANA Total							$10,600
MEYER, JAMES H	R	H	48		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2002 Total			$1,250
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2004 Total			$500
					2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
			82		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$800
				1996 Total			$800
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				1998 Total			$250
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2000 Total			$750
MEYER, JAMES H Total							$4,050
MILLER, DAVID E	D	COMPT	SW		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
		H	29		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$400
				2002 Total			$400
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2004 Total			$250
MILLER, DAVID E Total							$1,150
MILLNER, JOHN J	R	H	55		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$300
				2004 Total			$1,800
		S	28		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2006 Total			$2,250
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
MILLNER, JOHN J	R	S	28		2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$2,000
				2008 Total			$4,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$3,000
MILLNER, JOHN J Total							$12,050
MINTON, MICHAEL	D	S	27		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$5,000
				2002 Total			$5,000
MINTON, MICHAEL Total							$5,000
MITCHELL, BILL	R	H	87		2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2008 Total			$750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,000
			101		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
				2012 Total			$2,500
			102		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2000 Total			$500
MITCHELL, BILL Total							$5,250
MITCHELL, CHRISTIAN L	D	H	26		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$5,000
				2012 Total			$5,000
MITCHELL, CHRISTIAN L Total							$5,000
MITCHELL, JERRY	R	H	73		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				1998 Total			$250
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2000 Total			$500
			90		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2008 Total			$500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2010 Total			$750
MITCHELL, JERRY Total							$2,250
MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	H	21		2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2002 Total			$2,200
					2004	LORILLARD	$500
						PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$2,000
				2004 Total			$5,500
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	H	21		2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2006 Total			$2,100
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2008 Total			$2,250
		S	12		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$500
				1996 Total			$1,000
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,450
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$600
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2000 Total			$1,900
MOLARO, ROBERT S Total							$16,400
MOORE, ANDREA S	R	H	61		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				1996 Total			$300
MOORE, ANDREA S Total							$300
MOORE, EUGENE	D	H	7		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$400
				1996 Total			$700
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,700
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$3,400
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2000 Total			$1,500
MOORE, EUGENE Total							$5,600
MORRISON, THOMAS R	R	H	54		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$250
MORRISON, THOMAS R Total							$250
MORROW, CHARLES G	D	H	26		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,050
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,250
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,950
				2000 Total			$2,200
			32		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,200
				2002 Total			$1,200
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2004 Total			$2,000

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
MORROW, CHARLES G Total							$6,650
MORTHLAND, RICHARD	R	H	71		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
				2012 Total			$3,000
MORTHLAND, RICHARD Total							$3,000
MOYLAN, MARTIN J	D	H	55		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
MOYLAN, MARTIN J Total							$500
MULCAHEY, MARTY	D	S	45		2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$500
MULCAHEY, MARTY Total							$500
MULLIGAN, ROSEMARY E	R	H	65		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
MULLIGAN, ROSEMARY E Total							$500
MULROE, JOHN G	D	S	10		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2012 Total			$2,000
MULROE, JOHN G Total							$2,000
MUÑOZ, ANTONIO	D	S	1		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				1998 Total			$1,000
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2000 Total			$500
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,000
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2006 Total			$1,000
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$2,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2010 Total			$2,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$4,500
MUÑOZ, ANTONIO Total							$12,000
MUNSON, RUTH	R	H	43		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
				2006 Total			$600
MUNSON, RUTH Total							$600
MURPHY, HAROLD	D	H	30		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$500
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				1998 Total			$1,000
			38		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2002 Total			$750

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
MURPHY, HAROLD Total							$2,250
MURPHY, MATT	R	S	27		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2008 Total			$3,250
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$4,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$7,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$7,500
MURPHY, MATT Total							$14,750
MURPHY, MAUREEN	R	H	36		1996	SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$450
MURPHY, MAUREEN Total							$450
MYERS, JUDITH A	R	S	52		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
					2006	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2006 Total			$250
MYERS, JUDITH A Total							$750
MYERS, RICHARD P	R	H	94		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2002 Total			$1,250
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2004 Total			$1,000
					2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$750
				2008 Total			$1,750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2010 Total			$2,250
			95		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				1998 Total			$1,000
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2000 Total			$1,000
MYERS, RICHARD P Total							$8,750
NEAL, JOE	R	S	31		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$1,000
NEAL, JOE Total							$1,000
NIXON, GLENN	R	H	79		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
NIXON, GLENN Total							$500
NOLAND, MICHAEL	D	H	43		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
		S	22		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$3,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2010 Total			$3,250
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$1,500
NOLAND, MICHAEL Total							$8,750
NOLAND, N DUANE	R	H	102		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
				1996 Total			$600
		S	51		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				1998 Total			$300
					2000	US TOBACCO	$200
				2000 Total			$200
NOLAND, N DUANE Total							$1,100
NOVAK, JOHN	D	H	79		2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$300
				2002 Total			$2,750
			85		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$800
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$700
				1996 Total			$1,500
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$1,000
						US TOBACCO	$200
				1998 Total			$2,950
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2000 Total			$2,250
NOVAK, JOHN Total							$9,450
NYBO, CHRIS	R	H	41		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,000
		S	24		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$250
NYBO, CHRIS Total							$1,250
OBAMA, BARACK	D	S	13		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
OBAMA, BARACK Total							$500
OBERWEIS, JIM	R	S	25		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2012 Total			$2,000
OBERWEIS, JIM Total							$2,000
O'BRIEN, MARY K	D	H	75		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2000 Total			$250
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
O'BRIEN, MARY K Total							$750
O'CONNOR, WILLIAM A	R	H	43		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2000 Total			$500
		LTG	SW		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
O'CONNOR, WILLIAM A Total							$1,000
O'DANIEL, WILLIAM L	D	S	54		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				1996 Total			$500
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,450
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2000 Total			$2,000
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2002 Total			$2,000
O'DANIEL, WILLIAM L Total							$5,950
OFFICER, CARL E	D	H	114		2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$2,500
				2010 Total			$2,500
OFFICER, CARL E Total							$2,500
O'MALLEY, PATRICK	R	S	18		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$200
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				1998 Total			$500
					2000	US TOBACCO	$200
				2000 Total			$200
O'MALLEY, PATRICK Total							$900
OSMOND, JOANN D	R	H	61		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
				2006 Total			$1,100
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$750
				2008 Total			$2,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$6,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2010 Total			$6,750
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
OSMOND, JOANN D	R	H	61		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$2,750
OSMOND, JOANN D Total							$12,600
OSMOND, TIMOTHY H	R	H	61		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,000
OSMOND, TIMOTHY H Total							$1,000
OSTERMAN, HARRY	D	H	14		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$150
				2004 Total			$150
OSTERMAN, HARRY Total							$150
PANKAU, CAROLE	R	H	45		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
			49		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				1996 Total			$300
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$800
				1998 Total			$800
		S	23		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2004 Total			$750
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2008 Total			$1,750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,250
				2010 Total			$2,250
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2012 Total			$2,000
PANKAU, CAROLE Total							$8,100
PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	44		2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2002 Total			$1,950
					2004	LORILLARD	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2004 Total			$1,750
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$1,000
			53		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,900
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
						US TOBACCO	$1,000
				1996 Total			$3,100
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,300
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,750

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	53		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2000 Total			$2,000
PARKE, TERRY R Total							$11,550
PARKER, KATHLEEN K	R	S	29		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,300
				1996 Total			$1,300
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				1998 Total			$1,000
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2000 Total			$2,000
					2002	REPUBLIC TOBACCO	$250
				2002 Total			$250
PARKER, KATHLEEN K Total							$4,550
PECK, GARRETT M	R	S	49		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
PECK, GARRETT M Total							$500
PERSICO, VINCENT A	R	H	39		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,900
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$750
				1996 Total			$2,650
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$1,000
				1998 Total			$2,500
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2000 Total			$1,750
PERSICO, VINCENT A Total							$6,900
PETERSON, WILLIAM E	R	S	26		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$250
				1996 Total			$750
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,300
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,500
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2000 Total			$1,550
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$450
				2002 Total			$1,450
					2004	LORILLARD	$250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2004 Total			$1,000
					2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
PETERSON, WILLIAM E	R	S	26		2006	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$750
				2006 Total			$1,250
PETERSON, WILLIAM E Total							$7,500
PETKA, EDWARD F	R	S	42		1998	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$200
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,600
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2000 Total			$3,100
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,000
PETKA, EDWARD F Total							$4,300
PHELPS, BRANDON	D	H	118		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2004 Total			$750
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$1,100
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$750
				2008 Total			$1,750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$2,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2012 Total			$2,500
PHELPS, BRANDON Total							$8,100
PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$17,640
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$3,000
						US TOBACCO	$3,500
				1996 Total			$24,140
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$15,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$7,000
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$750
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$1,500
						US TOBACCO	$1,200
				1998 Total			$25,450
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$1,500
						LORILLARD	$1,300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$40,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
						US TOBACCO	$4,400
				2000 Total			$48,700

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23		2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$500
						LORILLARD	$500
						PHILIP MORRIS	$20,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$2,000
				2002 Total			$23,000
PHILIP, JAMES Total							$121,290
PIHOS, SANDRA	R	H	42		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2008 Total			$500
PIHOS, SANDRA Total							$1,500
POE, RAYMOND	R	H	99		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				1998 Total			$500
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2000 Total			$500
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500
				2006 Total			$1,100
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$1,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2010 Total			$1,500
					2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$250
POE, RAYMOND Total							$5,100
POSHARD, GLENN W	D	G	SW		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				1998 Total			$500
POSHARD, GLENN W Total							$500
PRITCHARD, ROBERT W	R	H	70		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2008 Total			$750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$1,000
PRITCHARD, ROBERT W Total							$2,750
PUGH, COY	D	H	10		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				1996 Total			$300
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,200

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
PUGH, COY	D	H	10	1998 Total			$1,200
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,100
						US TOBACCO	$300
				2000 Total			$2,600
PUGH, COY Total							$4,100
QUINN, PAT	D	G	SW		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$10,000
				2010 Total			$10,000
QUINN, PAT Total							$10,000
RADOGNO, CHRISTINE	R	S	24		2000	US TOBACCO	$200
				2000 Total			$200
			41		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$20,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$5,000
						RYO CIGAR ASSOCIATION	$1,000
				2010 Total			$26,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$20,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$12,500
				2012 Total			$32,500
		TREAS	SW		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2006 Total			$1,000
RADOGNO, CHRISTINE Total							$60,200
RAICA, ROBERT	R	S	24		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$600
				1996 Total			$600
RAICA, ROBERT Total							$600
RAMEY, HARRY	R	H	55		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,000
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2008 Total			$750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2010 Total			$1,250
		S	23		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$250
RAMEY, HARRY Total							$3,250
RAOUL, KWAME	D	S	13		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2006 Total			$2,000
					2010	REPUBLIC TOBACCO	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,000
RAOUL, KWAME Total							$3,000
RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN	R	S	22		2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN	R	S	22		2002	LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,450
					2004	LORILLARD	$1,000
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
				2004 Total			$3,500
			33		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				1996 Total			$1,500
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$750
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$400
				1998 Total			$3,400
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$300
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$600
				2000 Total			$2,700
RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN Total							$12,550
REA, JAMES F	D	S	59		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$250
				1996 Total			$2,000
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$450
				1998 Total			$2,200
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2000 Total			$500
REA, JAMES F Total							$4,700
REBOLETTI, DENNIS M	R	H	45		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$250
			46		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						REPUBLIC TOBACCO	$500
				2010 Total			$1,500
REBOLETTI, DENNIS M Total							$1,750
REIS, DAVID	R	H	108		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2010 Total			$1,250
			109		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$1,250
REIS, DAVID Total							$2,500
REITZ, DAN	D	H	116		1998	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$200
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,250

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	2000 Total			$2,500
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$300
				2002 Total			$800
					2004	ILLINOIS ASSOCIATION OF TOBACCO & CAND'	$300
						LORILLARD	$750
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$800
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$700
				2004 Total			$4,550
					2006	ILLINOIS ASSOCIATION OF TOBACCO & CAND'	$350
						PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2006 Total			$2,100
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500
				2008 Total			$4,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$2,000
REITZ, DAN Total							$16,150
REZIN, SUSAN	R	S	38		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$250
REZIN, SUSAN Total							$250
RIGHTER, DALE A	R	S	55		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
				2004 Total			$2,500
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$1,500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2008 Total			$4,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,000
				2010 Total			$4,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$6,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$7,000
RIGHTER, DALE A Total							$19,500
RILEY, AL	D	H	38		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$12,500
				2008 Total			$13,500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
RILEY, AL	D	H	38		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
RILEY, AL Total							$14,000
RISINGER, DALE E	R	S	37		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2004 Total			$3,000
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2006 Total			$2,750
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$3,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2010 Total			$3,250
RISINGER, DALE E Total							$12,000
RITA, ROBERT	D	H	28		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$2,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$450
				2004 Total			$3,450
					2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$2,500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2006 Total			$2,750
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$5,500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2008 Total			$7,750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$2,250
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$11,000
				2012 Total			$13,000
RITA, ROBERT Total							$29,200
RODRIGUEZ, DAVID S	D	S	2		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				1998 Total			$1,000
RODRIGUEZ, DAVID S Total							$1,000
RODRIGUEZ, ELBA IRIS	D	H	3		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				1998 Total			$1,000
RODRIGUEZ, ELBA IRIS Total							$1,000
ROSE, CHAPIN	R	H	110		2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
ROSE, CHAPIN	R	H	110		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,250
				2008 Total			$3,250
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2010 Total			$750
		S	51		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$3,000
ROSE, CHAPIN Total							$7,500
ROSENTHAL, WAYNE ARTHUR	R	H	95		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2012 Total			$2,000
			98		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
				2010 Total			$3,500
ROSENTHAL, WAYNE ARTHUR Total							$5,500
ROSKAM, PETER J	R	S	48		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
					2004	LORILLARD	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500
				2004 Total			$1,000
ROSKAM, PETER J Total							$1,500
ROTH, PAM	R	H	75		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$2,250
ROTH, PAM Total							$2,250
RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	H	87		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$700
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,950
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2000 Total			$1,000
		S	53		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2002 Total			$2,000
					2004	LORILLARD	$750
						PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2004 Total			$5,000
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	S	53		2008	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2008 Total			$4,000
		SS	SW		2006	L & D DISCOUNT TOBACCO SHOPS	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$450
				2006 Total			$2,250
		TREAS	SW		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$2,000
RUTHERFORD, DAN Total							$18,900
RYAN, GEORGE H	R	G	SW		1998	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$1,000
						CIGAR ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	$250
						CIGAR MONTHLY INC	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$32,500
						REPUBLIC TOBACCO	$21,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$5,000
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$1,000
						US TOBACCO	$2,600
				1998 Total			$63,800
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$20,000
				2000 Total			$20,000
		SS	SW		1996	CARIBBEAN CIGARS	$2,500
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				1996 Total			$4,500
RYAN, GEORGE H Total							$88,300
RYAN, JIM	R	AG	SW		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$5,000
						US TOBACCO	$500
				1996 Total			$5,500
					1998	LORILLARD	$500
				1998 Total			$500
RYAN, JIM Total							$6,000
RYAN, ROBERT L	D	H	29		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
			79		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2000 Total			$500
RYAN, ROBERT L Total							$1,000
RYDER, THOMAS W	R	H	97		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,250
				2000 Total			$4,500
RYDER, THOMAS W Total							$4,500
RYDER, TOM	R	H	97		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,900

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
RYDER, TOM	R	H	97		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$250
				1996 Total			$2,150
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$300
						US TOBACCO	$200
				1998 Total			$3,000
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,000
RYDER, TOM Total							$6,150
SACIA, JIM	R	H	89		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2004 Total			$250
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
				2006 Total			$1,100
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2008 Total			$1,750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2010 Total			$1,750
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$1,250
SACIA, JIM Total							$6,100
SALTSMAN, DONALD L	D	H	92		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$650
				1996 Total			$950
SALTSMAN, DONALD L Total							$950
SANDACK, RON	R	H	81		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$2,500
SANDACK, RON Total							$2,500
SANDOVAL, MARTIN A	D	S	11		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$1,500
			12		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$3,000
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$1,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,000
SANDOVAL, MARTIN A Total							$7,000
SANTIAGO, MIGUEL A	D	H	3		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,050

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
SANTIAGO, MIGUEL A	D	H	3		1996	SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$550
				1996 Total			$1,850
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				1998 Total			$750
SANTIAGO, MIGUEL A Total							$2,600
SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$900
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
						US TOBACCO	$1,000
				1996 Total			$2,100
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						REPUBLIC TOBACCO	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$1,500
				1998 Total			$5,000
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$500
						PHILIP MORRIS	$3,250
						US TOBACCO	$250
				2000 Total			$4,000
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						REPUBLIC TOBACCO	$0
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$450
				2002 Total			$3,400
					2004	LORILLARD	$1,750
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						REPUBLIC TOBACCO	$5,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,750
				2004 Total			$12,500
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						REPUBLIC TOBACCO	$5,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,750
				2006 Total			$8,750
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$6,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2008 Total			$7,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$6,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$7,500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$9,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2012 Total			$10,500
SAVIANO, ANGELO Total							$61,250
SCHERER, SUE	D	H	96		2012	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
SCHERER, SUE Total							$500
SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L	R	H	42		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2000 Total			$1,000
			49		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$800
				2004 Total			$2,800
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$1,600
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$2,000
				2008 Total			$4,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$2,000
			65		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$16,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
				2012 Total			$17,500
SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L Total							$29,650
SCHOCK, AARON	R	H	92		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,100
				2006 Total			$1,100
SCHOCK, AARON Total							$1,100
SCHROEDER, DAVID	D	H	5		2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$2,500
				2010 Total			$2,500
SCHROEDER, DAVID Total							$2,500
SCOTT, DOUGLAS P	D	H	67		1998	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$200
SCOTT, DOUGLAS P Total							$200
SENTE, CAROL	D	H	59		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2010 Total			$750
SENTE, CAROL Total							$750
SHADID, GEORGE P	D	S	46		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$950
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$550

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
SHADID, GEORGE P	D	S	46		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
				2000 Total			$1,150
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
				2002 Total			$3,450
					2004	LORILLARD	$500
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2004 Total			$2,250
SHADID, GEORGE P Total							$7,800
SHARP, WANDA J	D	H	7		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2000 Total			$1,750
SHARP, WANDA J Total							$1,750
SHAW, WILLIAM	D	S	15		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$650
				1996 Total			$1,650
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,750
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$250
				1998 Total			$3,000
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$300
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2000 Total			$2,350
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$1,200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,700
				2002 Total			$4,150
SHAW, WILLIAM Total							$11,150
SIEBEN, TODD	R	S	37		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$900
				1996 Total			$900
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				1998 Total			$1,000
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$912
				2000 Total			$912
			45		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
					2004	LORILLARD	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2004 Total			$2,500
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
SIEBEN, TODD	R	S	45		2006	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$700
				2006 Total			$1,700
SIEBEN, TODD Total							$7,512
SILVERSTEIN, IRA I	D	S	8		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
				2006 Total			$3,500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
				2008 Total			$2,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
SILVERSTEIN, IRA I Total							$7,500
SIMS, ELGIE R	D	H	34		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$3,000
SIMS, ELGIE R Total							$3,000
SMITH, DERRICK	D	H	10		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$7,000
				2012 Total			$9,000
SMITH, DERRICK Total							$9,000
SMITH, MARGARET	D	S	3		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$400
				1998 Total			$400
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$200
				2000 Total			$200
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$200
				2002 Total			$200
SMITH, MARGARET Total							$800
SMITH, MICHAEL K	D	H	91		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$200
				2006 Total			$1,200
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500
				2008 Total			$3,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$1,500
SMITH, MICHAEL K Total							$5,950
SOMMER, KEITH P	R	H	88		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
SOMMER, KEITH P	R	H	88	2012 Total			$1,750
			89		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				1998 Total			$500
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2000 Total			$500
			106		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2002 Total			$750
					2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$1,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2010 Total			$1,500
SOMMER, KEITH P Total							$6,500
SOSNOWSKI, JOE	R	H	69		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$750
SOSNOWSKI, JOE Total							$1,750
SOTO, CYNTHIA	D	H	4		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$200
				2002 Total			$200
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$1,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
SOTO, CYNTHIA Total							$3,200
SPANGLER, STEPHEN ALAN	R	H	75		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				1996 Total			$300
SPANGLER, STEPHEN ALAN Total							$300
STEPHENS, RON	R	H	102		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2002 Total			$750
					2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$750
				2008 Total			$2,750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
STEPHENS, RON	R	H	102		2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2010 Total			$750
			110		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$900
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$1,100
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,300
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,500
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2000 Total			$1,750
STEPHENS, RON Total							$9,100
STROGER, TODD H	D	H	31		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$200
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$500
				1998 Total			$750
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2000 Total			$2,000
STROGER, TODD H Total							$2,950
SULLIVAN JR, ED	R	H	51		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$600
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$200
				2006 Total			$1,800
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2008 Total			$2,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$2,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$11,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$750
				2012 Total			$11,750
SULLIVAN JR, ED Total							$17,550
SULLIVAN, DAVE	R	S	28		2000	US TOBACCO	$400
				2000 Total			$400
			33		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2004 Total			$1,000
SULLIVAN, DAVE Total							$1,400
SULLIVAN, JOHN M	D	S	47		2004	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500
				2004 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,000
				2008 Total			$4,000

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
SULLIVAN, JOHN M	D	S	47		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$4,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$5,000
				2012 Total			$5,000
SULLIVAN, JOHN M Total							$13,500
SYVERSON, DAVE	R	S	34		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,300
				1998 Total			$1,300
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$1,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
				2010 Total			$3,500
			35		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$3,500
SYVERSON, DAVE Total							$10,300
TABARES, SILVANA	D	H	21		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2012 Total			$500
TABARES, SILVANA Total							$500
TENHOUSE, ART	R	H	93		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2002 Total			$1,500
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2004 Total			$500
			96		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$200
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,450
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2000 Total			$3,500
TENHOUSE, ART Total							$7,150
THAPEDI, ANDRÉ	D	H	32		2008	RJ REYNOLDS	$2,000
				2008 Total			$2,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$15,000
				2010 Total			$15,500
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$6,500
				2012 Total			$6,500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
THAPEDI, ANDRÉ Total							$24,000
TOBIN, JIM	LP	LTG	SW		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$12,000
				2002 Total			$12,000
TOBIN, JIM Total							$12,000
TOPINKA, JUDY BAAR	R	G/LTG	SW		2006	CIGAR ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	$750
				2006 Total			$750
		TREAS	SW		2000	US TOBACCO	$1,000
				2000 Total			$1,000
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$5,000
				2004 Total			$5,000
TOPINKA, JUDY BAAR Total							$6,750
TRACY, JIL	R	H	93		2006	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$1,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2010 Total			$1,500
			94		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$1,250
TRACY, JIL Total							$4,250
TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	16		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$400
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				1998 Total			$650
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$950
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2000 Total			$1,450
			17		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,750
				2002 Total			$2,750
					2004	LORILLARD	$1,000
						PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2004 Total			$4,500
					2006	LORILLARD	$500
						PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$4,000
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$5,250
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2008 Total			$5,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RYO CIGAR ASSOCIATION	$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	17	2010 Total			$3,000
					2012	CIGAR ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	$300
				2012 Total			$300
TROTTER, DONNE E Total							$22,150
TRYON, MICHAEL W	R	H	64		2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$1,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2010 Total			$1,750
			66		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2012 Total			$2,000
TRYON, MICHAEL W Total							$5,250
TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
						SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$1,200
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$500
						US TOBACCO	$100
				1998 Total			$3,600
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,650
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,250
						US TOBACCO	$200
				2000 Total			$4,350
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						LORILLARD	$200
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,450
					2004	LORILLARD	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$4,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2004 Total			$5,750
					2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2006 Total			$1,000
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$7,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$14,500
				2008 Total			$21,500
					2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$3,000
				2010 Total			$3,000

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$3,500
		LTG	SW		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$9,000
				2010 Total			$9,000
TURNER, ARTHUR L Total							$54,350
TURNER, JOHN W	R	H	90		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$200
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				1998 Total			$500
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$450
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2000 Total			$1,450
TURNER, JOHN W Total							$2,150
UNES, MICHAEL D	R	H	91		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,000
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total			$2,250
UNES, MICHAEL D Total							$3,250
VALLAS, PAUL G	D	G	SW		2002	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,000
VALLAS, PAUL G Total							$1,000
VERSCHOORE, PATRICK	D	H	72		2004	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2004 Total			$500
					2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2006 Total			$1,000
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$3,000
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2010 Total			$2,250
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$3,500
				2012 Total			$5,500
VERSCHOORE, PATRICK Total							$12,250
VIVERITO, LOUIS S	D	S	11		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$700
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$500
				1998 Total			$1,500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
VIVERITO, LOUIS S	D	S	11		2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2000 Total			$1,300
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
				2002 Total			$2,000
					2004	LORILLARD	$500
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2004 Total			$2,000
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2006 Total			$2,500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
				2008 Total			$1,750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,000
VIVERITO, LOUIS S Total							$12,750
WAIT, RONALD A	R	H	69		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
					2006	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2006 Total			$250
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2008 Total			$1,500
WAIT, RONALD A Total							$2,000
WALKER, MARK	D	H	66		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2010 Total			$1,250
WALKER, MARK Total							$1,250
WALSH, LAWRENCE M	D	S	43		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$1,450
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2000 Total			$1,000
					2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,200
				2002 Total			$2,450
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2004 Total			$1,500
WALSH, LAWRENCE M Total							$6,400
WALSH, THOMAS J	R	S	21		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,000
			22		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$900

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
WALSH, THOMAS J	R	S	22	1996 Total			$900
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,750
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total			$2,200
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2000 Total			$1,550
WALSH, THOMAS J Total							$5,650
WALTERS, ED	R	H	62		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,000
WALTERS, ED Total							$1,000
WASHINGTON, EDDIE	D	H	60		2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2004 Total			$250
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2006 Total			$250
					2010	RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2010 Total			$1,000
WASHINGTON, EDDIE Total							$1,500
WATSON, FRANK	R	S	51		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2002 Total			$1,250
					2004	LORILLARD	$6,000
						PHILIP MORRIS	$35,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,848
				2004 Total			$43,348
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$50,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$6,000
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$3,250
				2006 Total			$59,250
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$50,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$23,678
						SWEDISH MATCH NORTH AMERICA INC	$844
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$3,300
				2008 Total			$77,823
			55		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$900
				1996 Total			$900
					2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$500
						LORILLARD	$300
						PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
				2000 Total			$3,300
WATSON, FRANK Total							$185,871

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle		Contributor	Total
WATSON, JIM	R	H	97			2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
							RJ REYNOLDS	$250
							US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$500
				2002 Total				$2,250
						2004	DISCOUNT SMOKE SHOP	$250
							ILLINOIS ASSOCIATION OF TOBACCO & CAND`	$382
							LORILLARD	$250
							PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
							RJ REYNOLDS	$250
							US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$650
				2004 Total				$3,782
						2006	DISCOUNT SMOKE SHOP	$500
							PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2006 Total				$1,000
						2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
							RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total				$2,000
						2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
							RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2010 Total				$2,250
			100			2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,000
							RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2012 Total				$4,250
WATSON, JIM Total								$15,532
WEAVER, MICHAEL	R	H	106			1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				1996 Total				$300
WEAVER, MICHAEL Total								$300
WEAVER, STANLEY B	R	S	52			1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$500
				1996 Total				$500
						1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
							TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1998 Total				$1,450
						2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$500
							LORILLARD	$300
							PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
				2000 Total				$2,050
						2002	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$250
							LORILLARD	$200
							PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2002 Total				$950
WEAVER, STANLEY B Total								$4,950
WELCH, EMANUEL	D	H	7			2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2012 Total				$1,000

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
WELCH, EMANUEL Total							$1,000
WELCH, PATRICK D	D	S	38		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$250
				1998 Total			$1,000
					2000	RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2000 Total			$250
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$300
				2002 Total			$1,050
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2004 Total			$500
WELCH, PATRICK D Total							$2,800
WENNLUND, LARRY	R	H	38		1996	TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$200
WENNLUND, LARRY Total							$200
WHITE, JESSE	D	SS	SW		1998	US TOBACCO	$250
				1998 Total			$250
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
				2000 Total			$2,500
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$15,000
				2002 Total			$15,000
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$5,000
				2004 Total			$5,000
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$5,000
				2006 Total			$5,000
WHITE, JESSE Total							$27,750
WILHELMI, ARTHUR	D	S	43		2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2006 Total			$3,000
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2008 Total			$2,500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500
				2010 Total			$2,500
					2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
				2012 Total			$2,000
WILHELMI, ARTHUR Total							$10,000
WINTERS, DAVE	R	H	68		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
					2006	RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2006 Total			$500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
WINTERS, DAVE	R	H	68		2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$750
				2008 Total			$750
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$250
				2010 Total			$1,750
			69		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$300
				1996 Total			$300
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2000 Total			$500
WINTERS, DAVE Total							$4,050
WIRSING, DAVID A	R	H	70		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
WIRSING, DAVID A Total							$250
WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L	R	H	45		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,730
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$200
				1996 Total			$2,930
					1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$2,920
						RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$500
						US TOBACCO	$250
				1998 Total			$4,670
					2000	US TOBACCO	$250
				2000 Total			$250
			56		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
						US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
				2002 Total			$750
WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L Total							$8,600
WOJCIK, MICHAEL A	D	S	20		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
				2002 Total			$1,500
WOJCIK, MICHAEL A Total							$1,500
WOODYARD, HARRY	R	S	53		1996	PHILIP MORRIS	$400
				1996 Total			$400
WOODYARD, HARRY Total							$400
WOOLARD, LARRY D	D	H	117		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$700
						TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$500
				1998 Total			$1,200
		S	59		2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,800
						US TOBACCO	$600
				2000 Total			$2,400
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2002 Total			$1,000
WOOLARD, LARRY D Total							$4,600
YARBROUGH, KAREN	D	H	7		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500

Recipient	Party	Office	District		Cycle	Contributor	Total
YARBROUGH, KAREN	D	H	7	2002 Total			$1,500
					2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2004 Total			$500
					2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2010 Total			$500
YARBROUGH, KAREN Total							$2,500
YOUNGE, WYVETTER H	D	H	114		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				1998 Total			$500
					2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,000
				2000 Total			$1,000
					2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
					2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2006 Total			$500
					2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$500
				2008 Total			$500
YOUNGE, WYVETTER H Total							$2,750
ZALEWSKI, MICHAEL J	D	H	21		2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,250
						RJ REYNOLDS	$7,500
				2010 Total			$8,750
			23		2012	PHILIP MORRIS	$1,500
						RJ REYNOLDS	$500
				2012 Total			$2,000
ZALEWSKI, MICHAEL J Total							$10,750
ZICKUS, ANNE	R	H	35		2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$250
				2002 Total			$250
			48		1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$400
				1998 Total			$400
ZICKUS, ANNE Total							$650

Appendix B: Tobacco Industry Campaign Contributions by Contributor, 1995-2012

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
A&T TOBACCO MARKETERS	2010	KRISHNAMOORTHI, S RAJA	D	COMPT	SW	$1,500
		KRISHNAMOORTHI, S RAJA Total				$1,500
	2010 Total					$1,500
A&T TOBACCO MARKETERS Total						$1,500
ARANGO CIGAR CO	2000	DUDYCZ, WALTER W	R	S	7	$1,250
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W Total				$1,250
	2000 Total					$1,250
	2006	DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$650
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$650
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$750
		LANG, LOU Total				$750
	2006 Total					$1,400
	2012	DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$450
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$450
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$500
		LANG, LOU Total				$500
	2012 Total					$950
ARANGO CIGAR CO Total						$3,600
BOGIES FINE CIGARS & SMOKEHOUSE	2012	DAVIS, WILLIAM	D	H	30	$250
		DAVIS, WILLIAM Total				$250
		HARRIS, NAPOLEON	D	S	15	$500
		HARRIS, NAPOLEON Total				$500
	2012 Total					$750
BOGIES FINE CIGARS & SMOKEHOUSE Total						$750
BROWN & WILLIAMSON	1998	MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$5,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$5,000
		RYAN, GEORGE H	R	G	SW	$1,000
		RYAN, GEORGE H Total				$1,000
	1998 Total					$6,000
	2000	ACEVEDO, EDWARD	D	H	2	$250
		ACEVEDO, EDWARD Total				$250
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52	$250
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total				$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
BROWN & WILLIAMSON	2000	BIGGINS, ROBERT A	R	H	78	$250
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A Total				$250
		BOLAND, MIKE	D	H	71	$250
		BOLAND, MIKE Total				$250
		BOST, MIKE	R	H	115	$250
		BOST, MIKE Total				$250
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T	D	H	20	$250
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T Total				$250
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL	D	H	72	$250
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL Total				$250
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT	D	H	19	$250
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT Total				$250
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C	D	H	13	$250
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C Total				$250
		DANIELS, LEE	R	H	46	$1,500
		DANIELS, LEE Total				$1,500
		DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111	$250
		DAVIS, STEVE Total				$250
		DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10	$300
		DELEO, JAMES A Total				$300
		DEMUZIO, VINCE	D	S	49	$300
		DEMUZIO, VINCE Total				$300
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	41	$300
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$300
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W	R	S	7	$1,698
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W Total				$1,698
		DURKIN, JIM	R	H	44	$250
		DURKIN, JIM Total				$250
		GILES, CALVIN	D	H	8	$500
		GILES, CALVIN Total				$500
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	109	$550
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$550
		HARTKE, CHARLES A	D	H	108	$500
		HARTKE, CHARLES A Total				$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
BROWN & WILLIAMSON	2000	HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	83	$250
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$250
		HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112	$250
		HOFFMAN, JAY C Total				$250
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M	R	H	40	$250
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M Total				$250
		JACOBS, DENNIS J	D	S	36	$600
		JACOBS, DENNIS J Total				$600
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$1,500
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$1,500
		JONES, LOVANA S	D	H	5	$250
		JONES, LOVANA S Total				$250
		JONES, SHIRLEY M	D	H	6	$250
		JONES, SHIRLEY M Total				$250
		KENNER, HOWARD A	D	H	24	$500
		KENNER, HOWARD A Total				$500
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$250
		LANG, LOU Total				$250
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	93	$250
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$250
		LINDNER, PATRICIA REID	R	H	65	$250
		LINDNER, PATRICIA REID Total				$250
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$300
		LINK, TERRY Total				$300
		LYONS, JOSEPH M	D	H	15	$250
		LYONS, JOSEPH M Total				$250
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$5,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$5,000
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A	R	S	45	$500
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A Total				$500
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$500
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$500
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	14	$250
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
BROWN & WILLIAMSON	2000	MCGUIRE, JACK	D	H	86	$250
		MCGUIRE, JACK Total				$250
		MCKEON, LARRY	D	H	34	$250
		MCKEON, LARRY Total				$250
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	S	12	$600
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$600
		MORROW, CHARLES G	D	H	26	$250
		MORROW, CHARLES G Total				$250
		NOVAK, JOHN	D	H	85	$250
		NOVAK, JOHN Total				$250
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E	R	S	26	$300
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E Total				$300
		PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$1,500
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$1,500
		PUGH, COY	D	H	10	$200
		PUGH, COY Total				$200
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN	R	S	33	$300
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN Total				$300
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$250
		REITZ, DAN Total				$250
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$500
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$500
		SHADID, GEORGE P	D	S	46	$550
		SHADID, GEORGE P Total				$550
		SHAW, WILLIAM	D	S	15	$300
		SHAW, WILLIAM Total				$300
		STROGER, TODD H	D	H	31	$250
		STROGER, TODD H Total				$250
		TENHOUSE, ART	R	H	96	$250
		TENHOUSE, ART Total				$250
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$250
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$250
		TURNER, JOHN W	R	H	90	$450
		TURNER, JOHN W Total				$450

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
BROWN & WILLIAMSON	2000	VIVERITO, LOUIS S	D	S	11	$300
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S Total				$300
		WALSH, THOMAS J	R	S	22	$300
		WALSH, THOMAS J Total				$300
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	55	$500
		WATSON, FRANK Total				$500
		WEAVER, STANLEY B	R	S	52	$500
		WEAVER, STANLEY B Total				$500
	2000 Total					$28,098
	2002	BRUNSVOLD, JOEL	D	H	72	$250
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL Total				$250
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT	D	H	20	$250
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT Total				$250
		BURRELSMAN, MARCY	R	H	114	$250
		BURRELSMAN, MARCY Total				$250
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C	D	H	15	$250
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C Total				$250
		DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111	$250
		DAVIS, STEVE Total				$250
		DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10	$250
		DELEO, JAMES A Total				$250
		DEMUZIO, VINCE	D	S	49	$250
		DEMUZIO, VINCE Total				$250
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$250
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$250
		DUDYCZ, BOB	R	S	7	$250
		DUDYCZ, BOB Total				$250
		GILES, CALVIN	D	H	8	$250
		GILES, CALVIN Total				$250
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	107	$250
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$250
		HANNIG, GARY	D	H	98	$250
		HANNIG, GARY Total				$250
		HARTKE, CHARLES A	D	H	108	$1,250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
BROWN & WILLIAMSON	2002	HARTKE, CHARLES A Total				$1,250
		HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	85	$250
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$250
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M	R	H	95	$250
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M Total				$250
		JACOBS, DENNIS J	D	S	36	$250
		JACOBS, DENNIS J Total				$250
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$1,500
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$1,500
		JONES, LOVANA S	D	H	26	$250
		JONES, LOVANA S Total				$250
		JONES, SHIRLEY M	D	H	6	$250
		JONES, SHIRLEY M Total				$250
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	73	$250
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$250
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$250
		LINK, TERRY Total				$250
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$1,500
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$1,500
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$250
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$250
		MENDOZA, SUSANA	D	H	1	$250
		MENDOZA, SUSANA Total				$250
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	H	21	$250
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$250
		NOVAK, JOHN	D	H	79	$250
		NOVAK, JOHN Total				$250
		PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	44	$250
		PARKE, TERRY R Total				$250
		PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$500
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$500
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN	R	S	22	$250
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN Total				$250
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
BROWN & WILLIAMSON	2002	SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$250
		SHADID, GEORGE P	D	S	46	$250
		SHADID, GEORGE P Total				$250
		SHAW, WILLIAM	D	S	15	$250
		SHAW, WILLIAM Total				$250
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$250
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$250
		WALSH, LAWRENCE M	D	S	43	$250
		WALSH, LAWRENCE M Total				$250
		WEAVER, STANLEY B	R	S	52	$250
		WEAVER, STANLEY B Total				$250
	2002 Total					$12,500
	2004	MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$2,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$2,000
	2004 Total					$2,000
BROWN & WILLIAMSON Total						$48,598
BURNING LEAF CIGARS	2012	CROSS, TOM	R	H	97	$250
		CROSS, TOM Total				$250
	2012 Total					$250
BURNING LEAF CIGARS Total						$250
CARIBBEAN CIGARS	1996	RYAN, GEORGE H	R	SS	SW	$2,500
		RYAN, GEORGE H Total				$2,500
	1996 Total					$2,500
CARIBBEAN CIGARS Total						$2,500
CIGAR ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	1998	RYAN, GEORGE H	R	G	SW	$250
		RYAN, GEORGE H Total				$250
	1998 Total					$250
	2004	JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$2,000
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$2,000
	2004 Total					$2,000
	2006	TOPINKA, JUDY BAAR	R	G/LTG	SW	$750
		TOPINKA, JUDY BAAR Total				$750
	2006 Total					$750
	2012	TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	17	$300

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
CIGAR ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	2012	TROTTER, DONNE E Total				$300
	2012 Total					$300
CIGAR ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA Total						$3,300
CIGAR MONTHLY INC	1998	RYAN, GEORGE H	R	G	SW	$200
		RYAN, GEORGE H Total				$200
	1998 Total					$200
CIGAR MONTHLY INC Total						$200
CONSOLIDATED CIGAR	2000	DUDYCZ, WALTER W	R	S	7	$1,000
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W Total				$1,000
	2000 Total					$1,000
CONSOLIDATED CIGAR Total						$1,000
DISCOUNT SMOKE SHOP	2004	WATSON, JIM	R	H	97	$250
		WATSON, JIM Total				$250
	2004 Total					$250
	2006	WATSON, JIM	R	H	97	$500
		WATSON, JIM Total				$500
	2006 Total					$500
DISCOUNT SMOKE SHOP Total						$750
GEOFFREY TOBACCO IMPORTS	1998	DUDYCZ, WALTER W	R	S	7	$10,090
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W Total				$10,090
	1998 Total					$10,090
GEOFFREY TOBACCO IMPORTS Total						$10,090
ILLINOIS ASSOCIATION OF TOBACCO & CANDY DISTRI	2004	LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$1,210
		LINK, TERRY Total				$1,210
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$300
		REITZ, DAN Total				$300
		WATSON, JIM	R	H	97	$382
		WATSON, JIM Total				$382
	2004 Total					$1,892
	2006	REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$350
		REITZ, DAN Total				$350
	2006 Total					$350
ILLINOIS ASSOCIATION OF TOBACCO & CANDY DISTRIBUTORS Total						$2,242
L & D DISCOUNT TOBACCO SHOPS	2006	RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	SS	SW	$300

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
L & D DISCOUNT TOBACCO SHOPS	2006	RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$300
	2006 Total					$300
L & D DISCOUNT TOBACCO SHOPS Total						$300
LORILLARD	1998	RYAN, JIM	R	AG	SW	$500
		RYAN, JIM Total				$500
	1998 Total					$500
	2000	ACEVEDO, EDWARD	D	H	2	$300
		ACEVEDO, EDWARD Total				$300
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A	R	H	78	$300
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A Total				$300
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T	D	H	20	$300
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T Total				$300
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT	D	H	19	$300
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT Total				$300
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C	D	H	13	$300
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C Total				$300
		DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111	$300
		DAVIS, STEVE Total				$300
		DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10	$300
		DELEO, JAMES A Total				$300
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	41	$300
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$300
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	109	$300
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$300
		HARTKE, CHARLES A	D	H	108	$300
		HARTKE, CHARLES A Total				$300
		HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112	$300
		HOFFMAN, JAY C Total				$300
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M	R	H	40	$300
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M Total				$300
		JACOBS, DENNIS J	D	S	36	$300
		JACOBS, DENNIS J Total				$300
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$300
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$300

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
LORILLARD	2000	KENNER, HOWARD A	D	H	24	$300
		KENNER, HOWARD A Total				$300
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	93	$300
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$300
		LINDNER, PATRICIA REID	R	H	65	$300
		LINDNER, PATRICIA REID Total				$300
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A	R	S	45	$300
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A Total				$300
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	S	12	$300
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$300
		PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$1,300
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$1,300
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN	R	S	33	$300
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN Total				$300
		SHAW, WILLIAM	D	S	15	$300
		SHAW, WILLIAM Total				$300
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	55	$300
		WATSON, FRANK Total				$300
		WEAVER, STANLEY B	R	S	52	$300
		WEAVER, STANLEY B Total				$300
	2000 Total					$8,200
	2002	BRUNSVOLD, JOEL	D	H	72	$200
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL Total				$200
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C	D	H	15	$200
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C Total				$200
		DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111	$200
		DAVIS, STEVE Total				$200
		DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10	$200
		DELEO, JAMES A Total				$200
		DEMUZIO, VINCE	D	S	49	$200
		DEMUZIO, VINCE Total				$200
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$200
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$200
		DUDYCZ, BOB	R	S	7	$200

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
LORILLARD	2002	DUDYCZ, BOB Total				$200
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	107	$200
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$200
		HARTKE, CHARLES A	D	H	108	$200
		HARTKE, CHARLES A Total				$200
		HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	85	$3,200
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$3,200
		JACOBS, DENNIS J	D	S	36	$200
		JACOBS, DENNIS J Total				$200
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$5,500
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$5,500
		JOYCE, KEVIN	D	H	35	$1,500
		JOYCE, KEVIN Total				$1,500
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	73	$200
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$200
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$700
		LINK, TERRY Total				$700
		LYONS, JOSEPH M	D	H	19	$200
		LYONS, JOSEPH M Total				$200
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$4,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$4,000
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$200
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$200
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	H	21	$200
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$200
		NOVAK, JOHN	D	H	79	$200
		NOVAK, JOHN Total				$200
		PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	44	$200
		PARKE, TERRY R Total				$200
		PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$500
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$500
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN	R	S	22	$200
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN Total				$200
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$200

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
LORILLARD	2002	SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$200
		SHADID, GEORGE P	D	S	46	$200
		SHADID, GEORGE P Total				$200
		SHAW, WILLIAM	D	S	15	$1,200
		SHAW, WILLIAM Total				$1,200
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$200
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$200
		WEAVER, STANLEY B	R	S	52	$200
		WEAVER, STANLEY B Total				$200
	2002 Total					$20,800
	2004	AGUILAR, FRANK	R	H	24	$500
		AGUILAR, FRANK Total				$500
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52	$250
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total				$250
		BOST, MIKE	R	H	115	$250
		BOST, MIKE Total				$250
		BRAUER, RICH	R	H	100	$250
		BRAUER, RICH Total				$250
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY	R	S	35	$250
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY Total				$250
		CROSS, TOM	R	H	84	$2,750
		CROSS, TOM Total				$2,750
		DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111	$750
		DAVIS, STEVE Total				$750
		DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10	$1,500
		DELEO, JAMES A Total				$1,500
		DELGADO, WILLIAM	D	H	3	$500
		DELGADO, WILLIAM Total				$500
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$1,000
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$1,000
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	107	$750
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$750
		HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	85	$250
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
LORILLARD	2004	JACOBS, DENNIS J	D	S	36	$1,500
		JACOBS, DENNIS J Total				$1,500
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$15,000
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$15,000
		JOYCE, KEVIN	D	H	35	$500
		JOYCE, KEVIN Total				$500
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$750
		LANG, LOU Total				$750
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$250
		LINK, TERRY Total				$250
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$500
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$500
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	20	$750
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$750
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	H	21	$500
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$500
		PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	44	$250
		PARKE, TERRY R Total				$250
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E	R	S	26	$250
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E Total				$250
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN	R	S	22	$1,000
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN Total				$1,000
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$750
		REITZ, DAN Total				$750
		ROSKAM, PETER J	R	S	48	$500
		ROSKAM, PETER J Total				$500
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	S	53	$750
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$750
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$1,750
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$1,750
		SHADID, GEORGE P	D	S	46	$500
		SHADID, GEORGE P Total				$500
		SIEBEN, TODD	R	S	45	$250
		SIEBEN, TODD Total				$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
LORILLARD	2004	TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	17	$1,000
		TROTTER, DONNE E Total				$1,000
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$250
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$250
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S	D	S	11	$500
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S Total				$500
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	51	$6,000
		WATSON, FRANK Total				$6,000
		WATSON, JIM	R	H	97	$250
		WATSON, JIM Total				$250
	2004 Total					$42,750
	2006	TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	17	$500
		TROTTER, DONNE E Total				$500
	2006 Total					$500
	2008	MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$10,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$10,000
	2008 Total					$10,000
LORILLARD Total						$82,750
NATIONAL TOBACCO CO	2012	HARMON, DON	D	S	39	$2,500
		HARMON, DON Total				$2,500
	2012 Total					$2,500
NATIONAL TOBACCO CO Total						$2,500
PHILIP MORRIS	1996	BIGGERT, JUDY	R	H	81	$500
		BIGGERT, JUDY Total				$500
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A	R	H	78	$800
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A Total				$800
		BLACK, WILLIAM B	R	H	105	$1,000
		BLACK, WILLIAM B Total				$1,000
		BOST, MIKE	R	H	115	$300
		BOST, MIKE Total				$300
		BRADY, BILL	R	H	88	$300
		BRADY, BILL Total				$300
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL	D	H	72	$500
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL Total				$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	1996	BUGIELSKI, ROBERT	D	H	19	$750
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT Total				$750
		BURKE, DANIEL J	D	H	23	$500
		BURKE, DANIEL J Total				$500
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY	R	S	35	$900
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY Total				$900
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C	D	H	13	$550
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C Total				$550
		CARROLL, HOWARD W	D	S	8	$2,850
		CARROLL, HOWARD W Total				$2,850
		CHURCHILL, ROBERT W	R	H	62	$5,900
		CHURCHILL, ROBERT W Total				$5,900
		CIARLO, FLORA L	R	H	80	$300
		CIARLO, FLORA L Total				$300
		COWLISHAW, MARY LOU	R	H	41	$600
		COWLISHAW, MARY LOU Total				$600
		CROSS, TOM	R	H	84	$2,000
		CROSS, TOM Total				$2,000
		DANIELS, LEE	R	H	46	$80,000
		DANIELS, LEE Total				$80,000
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D	D	H	27	$250
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D Total				$250
		DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111	$750
		DAVIS, STEVE Total				$750
		DEANGELIS, ALDO A	R	S	40	$2,400
		DEANGELIS, ALDO A Total				$2,400
		DEERING, TERRY W	D	H	116	$500
		DEERING, TERRY W Total				$500
		DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10	$500
		DELEO, JAMES A Total				$500
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	41	$1,350
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$1,350
		DONAHUE, LAURA KENT	R	S	48	$1,400
		DONAHUE, LAURA KENT Total				$1,400

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	1996	DUDYCZ, WALTER W	R	S	7	$1,000
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W Total				$1,000
		DUNN, TOM	D	S	43	$850
		DUNN, TOM Total				$850
		DURKIN, JIM	R	H	44	$1,000
		DURKIN, JIM Total				$1,000
		EDGAR, JAMES	R	G	SW	$27,500
		EDGAR, JAMES Total				$27,500
		FARLEY, BRUCE A	D	S	17	$1,000
		FARLEY, BRUCE A Total				$1,000
		FAWELL, BEVERLY	R	S	20	$500
		FAWELL, BEVERLY Total				$500
		FITZGERALD, PETER G	R	S	27	$500
		FITZGERALD, PETER G Total				$500
		FRIAS, FERNANDO	D	H	1	$300
		FRIAS, FERNANDO Total				$300
		GEO-KARIS, ADELINE JAY	R	S	31	$500
		GEO-KARIS, ADELINE JAY Total				$500
		GIGLIO, MICHAEL	D	H	79	$500
		GIGLIO, MICHAEL Total				$500
		GILES, CALVIN	D	H	8	$600
		GILES, CALVIN Total				$600
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	109	$1,250
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$1,250
		HANNIG, GARY	D	H	98	$300
		HANNIG, GARY Total				$300
		HARTKE, CHARLES A	D	H	108	$500
		HARTKE, CHARLES A Total				$500
		HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	83	$1,050
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$1,050
		HENDON, RICKY	D	S	5	$500
		HENDON, RICKY Total				$500
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A	D	H	32	$300
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A Total				$300

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	1996	JACOBS, DENNIS J	D	S	36	$1,350
		JACOBS, DENNIS J Total				$1,350
		JOHNSON, TIMOTHY V	R	H	104	$400
		JOHNSON, TIMOTHY V Total				$400
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$9,000
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$9,000
		JONES, SHIRLEY M	D	H	6	$300
		JONES, SHIRLEY M Total				$300
		KARPIEL, DORIS C	R	S	25	$900
		KARPIEL, DORIS C Total				$900
		KENNER, HOWARD A	D	H	24	$500
		KENNER, HOWARD A Total				$500
		KRAUSE, CAROLYN H	R	H	56	$300
		KRAUSE, CAROLYN H Total				$300
		KUBIK, JACK L	R	H	43	$1,250
		KUBIK, JACK L Total				$1,250
		LACHNER, THOMAS	R	S	30	$400
		LACHNER, THOMAS Total				$400
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$500
		LANG, LOU Total				$500
		LAURINO, WILLIAM J	D	H	15	$300
		LAURINO, WILLIAM J Total				$300
		LAWFER, RONALD	R	H	74	$400
		LAWFER, RONALD Total				$400
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	93	$900
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$900
		LOPEZ, EDGAR	D	H	4	$700
		LOPEZ, EDGAR Total				$700
		LYONS, JOSEPH M	D	H	15	$300
		LYONS, JOSEPH M Total				$300
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$28,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$28,000
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A	R	S	45	$1,550
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A Total				$1,550

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	1996	MAITLAND, JOHN	R	S	44	$500
		MAITLAND, JOHN Total				$500
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$1,000
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$1,000
		MCAULIFFE, ROGER P	R	H	14	$750
		MCAULIFFE, ROGER P Total				$750
		MCKEON, LARRY	D	H	34	$250
		MCKEON, LARRY Total				$250
		MEYER, JAMES H	R	H	82	$800
		MEYER, JAMES H Total				$800
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	S	12	$500
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$500
		MOORE, ANDREA S	R	H	61	$300
		MOORE, ANDREA S Total				$300
		MOORE, EUGENE	D	H	7	$300
		MOORE, EUGENE Total				$300
		MURPHY, HAROLD	D	H	30	$300
		MURPHY, HAROLD Total				$300
		NOLAND, N DUANE	R	H	102	$600
		NOLAND, N DUANE Total				$600
		NOVAK, JOHN	D	H	85	$800
		NOVAK, JOHN Total				$800
		O'DANIEL, WILLIAM L	D	S	54	$500
		O'DANIEL, WILLIAM L Total				$500
		PANKAU, CAROLE	R	H	49	$300
		PANKAU, CAROLE Total				$300
		PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	53	$1,900
		PARKE, TERRY R Total				$1,900
		PARKER, KATHLEEN K	R	S	29	$1,300
		PARKER, KATHLEEN K Total				$1,300
		PERSICO, VINCENT A	R	H	39	$1,900
		PERSICO, VINCENT A Total				$1,900
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E	R	S	26	$500
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E Total				$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	1996	PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$17,640
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$17,640
		PUGH, COY	D	H	10	$300
		PUGH, COY Total				$300
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN	R	S	33	$1,500
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN Total				$1,500
		REA, JAMES F	D	S	59	$1,750
		REA, JAMES F Total				$1,750
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	H	87	$500
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$500
		RYAN, GEORGE H	R	SS	SW	$2,000
		RYAN, GEORGE H Total				$2,000
		RYAN, JIM	R	AG	SW	$5,000
		RYAN, JIM Total				$5,000
		RYDER, TOM	R	H	97	$1,900
		RYDER, TOM Total				$1,900
		SALTSMAN, DONALD L	D	H	92	$300
		SALTSMAN, DONALD L Total				$300
		SANTIAGO, MIGUEL A	D	H	3	$1,050
		SANTIAGO, MIGUEL A Total				$1,050
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$900
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$900
		SHAW, WILLIAM	D	S	15	$1,000
		SHAW, WILLIAM Total				$1,000
		SIEBEN, TODD	R	S	37	$900
		SIEBEN, TODD Total				$900
		SPANGLER, STEPHEN ALAN	R	H	75	$300
		SPANGLER, STEPHEN ALAN Total				$300
		STEPHENS, RON	R	H	110	$900
		STEPHENS, RON Total				$900
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$750
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$750
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S	D	S	11	$500
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S Total				$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	1996	WALSH, THOMAS J	R	S	22	$900
		WALSH, THOMAS J Total				$900
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	55	$900
		WATSON, FRANK Total				$900
		WEAVER, MICHAEL	R	H	106	$300
		WEAVER, MICHAEL Total				$300
		WINTERS, DAVE	R	H	69	$300
		WINTERS, DAVE Total				$300
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L	R	H	45	$2,730
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L Total				$2,730
		WOODYARD, HARRY	R	S	53	$400
		WOODYARD, HARRY Total				$400
	1996 Total					$245,320
	1998	ACEVEDO, EDWARD	D	H	2	$1,000
		ACEVEDO, EDWARD Total				$1,000
		BARNETTE, RANDY J	D	S	8	$1,000
		BARNETTE, RANDY J Total				$1,000
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52	$1,000
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total				$1,000
		BERGMAN, ROBERT	R	H	54	$300
		BERGMAN, ROBERT Total				$300
		BERMAN, ARTHUR L	D	S	9	$650
		BERMAN, ARTHUR L Total				$650
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A	R	H	78	$250
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A Total				$250
		BLACK, WILLIAM B	R	H	105	$1,400
		BLACK, WILLIAM B Total				$1,400
		BOLAND, MIKE	D	H	71	$300
		BOLAND, MIKE Total				$300
		BOST, MIKE	R	H	115	$250
		BOST, MIKE Total				$250
		BOWLES, EVELYN	D	S	56	$1,100
		BOWLES, EVELYN Total				$1,100
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T	D	H	20	$1,250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	1998	BRADLEY, RICHARD T Total				$1,250
		BRADY, BILL	R	H	88	$1,300
		BRADY, BILL Total				$1,300
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL	D	H	72	$1,300
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL Total				$1,300
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT	D	H	19	$1,500
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT Total				$1,500
		BURKE, DANIEL J	D	H	23	$1,500
		BURKE, DANIEL J Total				$1,500
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY	R	S	35	$600
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY Total				$600
		BUTLER, MARTIN J	R	S	28	$600
		BUTLER, MARTIN J Total				$600
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C	D	H	13	$1,750
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C Total				$1,750
		CHURCHILL, ROBERT W	R	SS	SW	$1,500
		CHURCHILL, ROBERT W Total				$1,500
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$1,000
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$1,000
		COULSON, ELIZABETH	R	H	57	$750
		COULSON, ELIZABETH Total				$750
		CULLERTON, JOHN	D	S	6	$250
		CULLERTON, JOHN Total				$250
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN	D	H	25	$1,500
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN Total				$1,500
		DANIELS, LEE	R	H	46	$20,000
		DANIELS, LEE Total				$20,000
		DART, THOMAS J	D	H	28	$250
		DART, THOMAS J Total				$250
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D	D	H	27	$500
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D Total				$500
		DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111	$1,400
		DAVIS, STEVE Total				$1,400
		DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10	$2,250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	1998	DELEO, JAMES A Total				$2,250
		DEMUZIO, VINCE	D	S	49	$300
		DEMUZIO, VINCE Total				$300
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	41	$2,000
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$2,000
		DONAHUE, LAURA KENT	R	S	48	$1,600
		DONAHUE, LAURA KENT Total				$1,600
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W	R	S	7	$1,600
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W Total				$1,600
		DURKIN, JIM	R	H	44	$1,500
		DURKIN, JIM Total				$1,500
		EDGAR, JAMES	R	G	SW	$1,500
		EDGAR, JAMES Total				$1,500
		FANTIN, ARLINE M	D	H	29	$800
		FANTIN, ARLINE M Total				$800
		FARLEY, BRUCE A	D	S	17	$500
		FARLEY, BRUCE A Total				$500
		FAWELL, BEVERLY	R	S	20	$700
		FAWELL, BEVERLY Total				$700
		FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA	D	H	12	$500
		FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA Total				$500
		FLOWERS, MARY E	D	H	21	$1,000
		FLOWERS, MARY E Total				$1,000
		FRITCHEY, JOHN A	D	H	33	$1,300
		FRITCHEY, JOHN A Total				$1,300
		GEO-KARIS, ADELINE JAY	R	S	31	$250
		GEO-KARIS, ADELINE JAY Total				$250
		GIGLIO, MICHAEL	D	H	79	$1,300
		GIGLIO, MICHAEL Total				$1,300
		GILES, CALVIN	D	H	8	$2,300
		GILES, CALVIN Total				$2,300
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	109	$1,500
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$1,500
		HANNIG, GARY	D	H	98	$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	1998	HANNIG, GARY Total				$500
		HARTKE, CHARLES A	D	H	108	$1,000
		HARTKE, CHARLES A Total				$1,000
		HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	83	$4,000
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$4,000
		HENDON, RICKEY R	D	S	5	$1,000
		HENDON, RICKEY R Total				$1,000
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS	D	H	113	$800
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS Total				$800
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A	D	H	32	$1,000
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A Total				$1,000
		JACOBS, DENNIS J	D	S	36	$1,750
		JACOBS, DENNIS J Total				$1,750
		JOHNSON, TIMOTHY V	R	H	104	$1,000
		JOHNSON, TIMOTHY V Total				$1,000
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$25,000
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$25,000
		JONES, JOHN O	R	H	107	$200
		JONES, JOHN O Total				$200
		JONES, LOVANA S	D	H	5	$1,000
		JONES, LOVANA S Total				$1,000
		JONES, SHIRLEY M	D	H	6	$1,200
		JONES, SHIRLEY M Total				$1,200
		KARPIEL, DORIS C	R	S	25	$1,300
		KARPIEL, DORIS C Total				$1,300
		KENNER, HOWARD A	D	H	24	$1,300
		KENNER, HOWARD A Total				$1,300
		KLEMM, DICK	R	S	32	$750
		KLEMM, DICK Total				$750
		KLINGLER, GWENN	R	H	100	$300
		KLINGLER, GWENN Total				$300
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$1,000
		LANG, LOU Total				$1,000
		LAWFER, RONALD	R	H	74	$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	1998	LAWFER, RONALD Total				$500
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	93	$1,000
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$1,000
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$1,000
		LINK, TERRY Total				$1,000
		LOPEZ, EDGAR	D	H	4	$1,500
		LOPEZ, EDGAR Total				$1,500
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$30,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$30,000
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A	R	S	45	$2,350
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A Total				$2,350
		MAHAR, WILLIAM F	R	S	19	$1,000
		MAHAR, WILLIAM F Total				$1,000
		MAITLAND, JOHN	R	S	44	$1,000
		MAITLAND, JOHN Total				$1,000
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$400
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$400
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	14	$1,250
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$1,250
		MCCARTHY, KEVIN A	D	H	37	$200
		MCCARTHY, KEVIN A Total				$200
		MCCAULEY, JOHN P	R	H	36	$500
		MCCAULEY, JOHN P Total				$500
		MCKEON, LARRY	D	H	34	$300
		MCKEON, LARRY Total				$300
		MENDOZA, SUSANA	D	H	1	$1,000
		MENDOZA, SUSANA Total				$1,000
		MEYER, JAMES H	R	H	82	$250
		MEYER, JAMES H Total				$250
		MITCHELL, JERRY	R	H	73	$250
		MITCHELL, JERRY Total				$250
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	S	12	$1,250
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$1,250
		MOORE, EUGENE	D	H	7	$1,700

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	1998	MOORE, EUGENE Total				$1,700
		MORROW, CHARLES G	D	H	26	$1,050
		MORROW, CHARLES G Total				$1,050
		MUÑOZ, ANTONIO	D	S	1	$1,000
		MUÑOZ, ANTONIO Total				$1,000
		MURPHY, HAROLD	D	H	30	$1,000
		MURPHY, HAROLD Total				$1,000
		MYERS, RICHARD P	R	H	95	$1,000
		MYERS, RICHARD P Total				$1,000
		NOLAND, N DUANE	R	S	51	$300
		NOLAND, N DUANE Total				$300
		NOVAK, JOHN	D	H	85	$1,750
		NOVAK, JOHN Total				$1,750
		O'DANIEL, WILLIAM L	D	S	54	$1,250
		O'DANIEL, WILLIAM L Total				$1,250
		O'MALLEY, PATRICK	R	S	18	$500
		O'MALLEY, PATRICK Total				$500
		PANKAU, CAROLE	R	H	49	$800
		PANKAU, CAROLE Total				$800
		PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	53	$1,300
		PARKE, TERRY R Total				$1,300
		PARKER, KATHLEEN K	R	S	29	$1,000
		PARKER, KATHLEEN K Total				$1,000
		PERSICO, VINCENT A	R	H	39	$1,500
		PERSICO, VINCENT A Total				$1,500
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E	R	S	26	$1,300
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E Total				$1,300
		PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$15,000
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$15,000
		POE, RAYMOND	R	H	99	$500
		POE, RAYMOND Total				$500
		POSHARD, GLENN W	D	G	SW	$500
		POSHARD, GLENN W Total				$500
		PUGH, COY	D	H	10	$1,200

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	1998	PUGH, COY Total				$1,200
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN	R	S	33	$2,250
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN Total				$2,250
		REA, JAMES F	D	S	59	$1,750
		REA, JAMES F Total				$1,750
		RODRIGUEZ, DAVID S	D	S	2	$1,000
		RODRIGUEZ, DAVID S Total				$1,000
		RODRIGUEZ, ELBA IRIS	D	H	3	$1,000
		RODRIGUEZ, ELBA IRIS Total				$1,000
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	H	87	$1,250
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$1,250
		RYAN, GEORGE H	R	G	SW	$32,500
		RYAN, GEORGE H Total				$32,500
		RYDER, TOM	R	H	97	$1,500
		RYDER, TOM Total				$1,500
		SANTIAGO, MIGUEL A	D	H	3	$750
		SANTIAGO, MIGUEL A Total				$750
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$1,500
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$1,500
		SHADID, GEORGE P	D	S	46	$750
		SHADID, GEORGE P Total				$750
		SHAW, WILLIAM	D	S	15	$2,750
		SHAW, WILLIAM Total				$2,750
		SIEBEN, TODD	R	S	37	$1,000
		SIEBEN, TODD Total				$1,000
		SMITH, MARGARET	D	S	3	$400
		SMITH, MARGARET Total				$400
		SOMMER, KEITH P	R	H	89	$500
		SOMMER, KEITH P Total				$500
		STEPHENS, RON	R	H	110	$1,300
		STEPHENS, RON Total				$1,300
		STROGER, TODD H	D	H	31	$250
		STROGER, TODD H Total				$250
		SYVERSON, DAVE	R	S	34	$1,300

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	1998	SYVERSON, DAVE Total				$1,300
		TENHOUSE, ART	R	H	96	$1,250
		TENHOUSE, ART Total				$1,250
		TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	16	$400
		TROTTER, DONNE E Total				$400
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$2,000
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$2,000
		TURNER, JOHN W	R	H	90	$500
		TURNER, JOHN W Total				$500
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S	D	S	11	$1,000
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S Total				$1,000
		WALSH, LAWRENCE M	D	S	43	$1,250
		WALSH, LAWRENCE M Total				$1,250
		WALSH, THOMAS J	R	S	22	$1,750
		WALSH, THOMAS J Total				$1,750
		WEAVER, STANLEY B	R	S	52	$1,250
		WEAVER, STANLEY B Total				$1,250
		WELCH, PATRICK D	D	S	38	$250
		WELCH, PATRICK D Total				$250
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L	R	H	45	$2,920
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L Total				$2,920
		WOOLARD, LARRY D	D	H	117	$700
		WOOLARD, LARRY D Total				$700
		YOUNGE, WYVETTER H	D	H	114	$500
		YOUNGE, WYVETTER H Total				$500
		ZICKUS, ANNE	R	H	48	$400
		ZICKUS, ANNE Total				$400
	1998 Total					$250,520
	2000	ACEVEDO, EDWARD	D	H	2	$1,500
		ACEVEDO, EDWARD Total				$1,500
		BASSI, SUZANNE	R	H	54	$1,000
		BASSI, SUZANNE Total				$1,000
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52	$500
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total				$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2000	BIGGINS, ROBERT A	R	H	78	$1,000
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A Total				$1,000
		BLACK, WILLIAM B	R	H	105	$750
		BLACK, WILLIAM B Total				$750
		BOLAND, MIKE	D	H	71	$1,300
		BOLAND, MIKE Total				$1,300
		BOST, MIKE	R	H	115	$750
		BOST, MIKE Total				$750
		BOWLES, EVELYN	D	S	56	$600
		BOWLES, EVELYN Total				$600
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T	D	H	20	$750
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T Total				$750
		BROSNAHAN, JAMES	D	H	36	$550
		BROSNAHAN, JAMES Total				$550
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL	D	H	72	$2,822
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL Total				$2,822
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT	D	H	19	$1,750
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT Total				$1,750
		BURKE, DANIEL J	D	H	23	$1,500
		BURKE, DANIEL J Total				$1,500
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY	R	S	35	$300
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY Total				$300
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C	D	H	13	$2,000
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C Total				$2,000
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$2,500
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$2,500
		COULSON, ELIZABETH	R	H	57	$1,750
		COULSON, ELIZABETH Total				$1,750
		CULLERTON, JOHN	D	S	6	$300
		CULLERTON, JOHN Total				$300
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN	D	H	25	$1,000
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN Total				$1,000
		DANIELS, LEE	R	H	46	$30,000
		DANIELS, LEE Total				$30,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2000	DART, THOMAS J	D	H	28	$250
		DART, THOMAS J Total				$250
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D	D	H	27	$300
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D Total				$300
		DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111	$1,750
		DAVIS, STEVE Total				$1,750
		DEL VALLE, MIGUEL	D	S	2	$850
		DEL VALLE, MIGUEL Total				$850
		DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10	$2,500
		DELEO, JAMES A Total				$2,500
		DEMUZIO, VINCE	D	S	49	$300
		DEMUZIO, VINCE Total				$300
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	41	$2,750
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$2,750
		DONAHUE, LAURA KENT	R	S	48	$2,500
		DONAHUE, LAURA KENT Total				$2,500
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W	R	S	7	$500
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W Total				$500
		DURKIN, JIM	R	H	44	$1,500
		DURKIN, JIM Total				$1,500
		FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA	D	H	12	$1,000
		FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA Total				$1,000
		FLOWERS, MARY E	D	H	21	$500
		FLOWERS, MARY E Total				$500
		FRITCHEY, JOHN A	D	H	33	$1,250
		FRITCHEY, JOHN A Total				$1,250
		GIGLIO, MICHAEL	D	H	79	$750
		GIGLIO, MICHAEL Total				$750
		GILES, CALVIN	D	H	8	$1,650
		GILES, CALVIN Total				$1,650
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	109	$2,845
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$2,845
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D	D	S	40	$750
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D Total				$750

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2000	HAMOS, JULIE	D	H	18	$450
		HAMOS, JULIE Total				$450
		HANNIG, GARY	D	H	98	$1,750
		HANNIG, GARY Total				$1,750
		HARRIS, WILLIS A	D	H	29	$1,250
		HARRIS, WILLIS A Total				$1,250
		HARTKE, CHARLES A	D	H	108	$2,353
		HARTKE, CHARLES A Total				$2,353
		HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	83	$2,175
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$2,175
		HENDON, RICKEY R	D	S	5	$750
		HENDON, RICKEY R Total				$750
		HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112	$1,750
		HOFFMAN, JAY C Total				$1,750
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS	D	H	113	$2,000
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS Total				$2,000
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A	D	H	32	$1,250
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A Total				$1,250
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M	R	H	40	$1,500
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M Total				$1,500
		JACOBS, DENNIS J	D	S	36	$2,000
		JACOBS, DENNIS J Total				$2,000
		JOHNSON, THOMAS LEE	R	H	50	$250
		JOHNSON, THOMAS LEE Total				$250
		JOHNSON, TIMOTHY V	R	H	104	$750
		JOHNSON, TIMOTHY V Total				$750
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$35,000
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$35,000
		JONES, JOHN O	R	H	107	$750
		JONES, JOHN O Total				$750
		JONES, LOVANA S	D	H	5	$1,750
		JONES, LOVANA S Total				$1,750
		JONES, SHIRLEY M	D	H	6	$1,250
		JONES, SHIRLEY M Total				$1,250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2000	JONES, WENDELL	R	S	27	$1,000
		JONES, WENDELL Total				$1,000
		KENNER, HOWARD A	D	H	24	$1,700
		KENNER, HOWARD A Total				$1,700
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$1,750
		LANG, LOU Total				$1,750
		LAWFER, RONALD	R	H	74	$250
		LAWFER, RONALD Total				$250
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	93	$1,500
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$1,500
		LIGHTFORD, KIMBERLY A	D	S	4	$250
		LIGHTFORD, KIMBERLY A Total				$250
		LINDNER, PATRICIA REID	R	H	65	$500
		LINDNER, PATRICIA REID Total				$500
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$2,250
		LINK, TERRY Total				$2,250
		LOPEZ, EDGAR	D	H	4	$2,000
		LOPEZ, EDGAR Total				$2,000
		LYONS, JOSEPH M	D	H	15	$1,500
		LYONS, JOSEPH M Total				$1,500
		MADIGAN, LISA	D	S	17	$150
		MADIGAN, LISA Total				$150
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$35,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$35,000
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A	R	S	45	$2,500
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A Total				$2,500
		MAITLAND, JOHN	R	S	44	$1,500
		MAITLAND, JOHN Total				$1,500
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$1,000
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$1,000
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	14	$2,250
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$2,250
		MCGUIRE, JACK	D	H	86	$1,000
		MCGUIRE, JACK Total				$1,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2000	MCKEON, LARRY	D	H	34	$1,000
		MCKEON, LARRY Total				$1,000
		MEYER, JAMES H	R	H	82	$750
		MEYER, JAMES H Total				$750
		MITCHELL, BILL	R	H	102	$500
		MITCHELL, BILL Total				$500
		MITCHELL, JERRY	R	H	73	$500
		MITCHELL, JERRY Total				$500
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	S	12	$1,000
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$1,000
		MOORE, EUGENE	D	H	7	$1,500
		MOORE, EUGENE Total				$1,500
		MORROW, CHARLES G	D	H	26	$1,950
		MORROW, CHARLES G Total				$1,950
		MUÑOZ, ANTONIO	D	S	1	$500
		MUÑOZ, ANTONIO Total				$500
		MYERS, RICHARD P	R	H	95	$1,000
		MYERS, RICHARD P Total				$1,000
		NOVAK, JOHN	D	H	85	$2,000
		NOVAK, JOHN Total				$2,000
		O'BRIEN, MARY K	D	H	75	$250
		O'BRIEN, MARY K Total				$250
		O'CONNOR, WILLIAM A	R	H	43	$500
		O'CONNOR, WILLIAM A Total				$500
		O'DANIEL, WILLIAM L	D	S	54	$2,000
		O'DANIEL, WILLIAM L Total				$2,000
		PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	53	$1,750
		PARKE, TERRY R Total				$1,750
		PARKER, KATHLEEN K	R	S	29	$2,000
		PARKER, KATHLEEN K Total				$2,000
		PERSICO, VINCENT A	R	H	39	$1,750
		PERSICO, VINCENT A Total				$1,750
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E	R	S	26	$750
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E Total				$750

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2000	PETKA, EDWARD F	R	S	42	$2,600
		PETKA, EDWARD F Total				$2,600
		PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$40,000
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$40,000
		POE, RAYMOND	R	H	99	$500
		POE, RAYMOND Total				$500
		PUGH, COY	D	H	10	$2,100
		PUGH, COY Total				$2,100
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN	R	S	33	$1,500
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN Total				$1,500
		REA, JAMES F	D	S	59	$500
		REA, JAMES F Total				$500
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$2,250
		REITZ, DAN Total				$2,250
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	H	87	$1,000
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$1,000
		RYAN, GEORGE H	R	G	SW	$20,000
		RYAN, GEORGE H Total				$20,000
		RYAN, ROBERT L	D	H	79	$500
		RYAN, ROBERT L Total				$500
		RYDER, THOMAS W	R	H	97	$3,250
		RYDER, THOMAS W Total				$3,250
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$3,250
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$3,250
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L	R	H	42	$1,000
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L Total				$1,000
		SHADID, GEORGE P	D	S	46	$600
		SHADID, GEORGE P Total				$600
		SHARP, WANDA J	D	H	7	$1,750
		SHARP, WANDA J Total				$1,750
		SHAW, WILLIAM	D	S	15	$1,750
		SHAW, WILLIAM Total				$1,750
		SIEBEN, TODD	R	S	37	$912
		SIEBEN, TODD Total				$912

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2000	SMITH, MARGARET	D	S	3	$200
		SMITH, MARGARET Total				$200
		SOMMER, KEITH P	R	H	89	$500
		SOMMER, KEITH P Total				$500
		STEPHENS, RON	R	H	110	$1,750
		STEPHENS, RON Total				$1,750
		STROGER, TODD H	D	H	31	$1,750
		STROGER, TODD H Total				$1,750
		TENHOUSE, ART	R	H	96	$2,250
		TENHOUSE, ART Total				$2,250
		TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	16	$950
		TROTTER, DONNE E Total				$950
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$2,650
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$2,650
		TURNER, JOHN W	R	H	90	$1,000
		TURNER, JOHN W Total				$1,000
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S	D	S	11	$1,000
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S Total				$1,000
		WALSH, LAWRENCE M	D	S	43	$1,000
		WALSH, LAWRENCE M Total				$1,000
		WALSH, THOMAS J	R	S	22	$1,250
		WALSH, THOMAS J Total				$1,250
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	55	$2,500
		WATSON, FRANK Total				$2,500
		WEAVER, STANLEY B	R	S	52	$1,250
		WEAVER, STANLEY B Total				$1,250
		WHITE, JESSE	D	SS	SW	$2,500
		WHITE, JESSE Total				$2,500
		WINTERS, DAVE	R	H	69	$500
		WINTERS, DAVE Total				$500
		WOOLARD, LARRY D	D	S	59	$1,800
		WOOLARD, LARRY D Total				$1,800
		YOUNGE, WYVETTER H	D	H	114	$1,000
		YOUNGE, WYVETTER H Total				$1,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2000 Total					$314,657
	2002	ACEVEDO, EDWARD	D	H	2	$500
		ACEVEDO, EDWARD Total				$500
		BASSI, SUZANNE	R	H	54	$1,500
		BASSI, SUZANNE Total				$1,500
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52	$2,000
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total				$2,000
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A	R	H	41	$500
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A Total				$500
		BLACK, WILLIAM B	R	H	104	$500
		BLACK, WILLIAM B Total				$500
		BLAGOJEVICH, ROD R	D	G	SW	$3,000
		BLAGOJEVICH, ROD R Total				$3,000
		BOLAND, MIKE	D	H	71	$1,250
		BOLAND, MIKE Total				$1,250
		BOST, MIKE	R	H	115	$250
		BOST, MIKE Total				$250
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T	D	H	40	$750
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T Total				$750
		BRADY, BILL	R	S	44	$750
		BRADY, BILL Total				$750
		BRAUER, RICH	R	H	100	$500
		BRAUER, RICH Total				$500
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL	D	H	72	$1,000
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL Total				$1,000
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT	D	H	20	$1,750
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT Total				$1,750
		BURKE, DANIEL J	D	H	23	$750
		BURKE, DANIEL J Total				$750
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY	R	S	35	$500
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY Total				$500
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C	D	H	15	$750
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C Total				$750
		CHAPA LAVIA, LINDA	D	H	83	$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2002	CHAPA LAVIA, LINDA Total				$500
		CHURCHILL, ROBERT W	R	H	62	$1,000
		CHURCHILL, ROBERT W Total				$1,000
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$1,700
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$1,700
		COLLINS, ANNAZETTE	D	H	10	$1,750
		COLLINS, ANNAZETTE Total				$1,750
		COULSON, ELIZABETH	R	H	17	$1,000
		COULSON, ELIZABETH Total				$1,000
		CULLERTON, JOHN	D	S	6	$1,000
		CULLERTON, JOHN Total				$1,000
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN	D	H	25	$1,200
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN Total				$1,200
		DANIELS, LEE	R	H	46	$28,760
		DANIELS, LEE Total				$28,760
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D	D	H	27	$1,700
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D Total				$1,700
		DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111	$750
		DAVIS, STEVE Total				$750
		DEL VALLE, MIGUEL	D	S	2	$250
		DEL VALLE, MIGUEL Total				$250
		DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10	$1,000
		DELEO, JAMES A Total				$1,000
		DEMUZIO, VINCE	D	S	49	$1,000
		DEMUZIO, VINCE Total				$1,000
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$2,000
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$2,000
		DONAHUE, LAURA KENT	R	S	47	$1,000
		DONAHUE, LAURA KENT Total				$1,000
		DUDYCZ, BOB	R	S	7	$1,000
		DUDYCZ, BOB Total				$1,000
		DUNN, JOHN F	D	S	51	$200
		DUNN, JOHN F Total				$200
		FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA	D	H	12	$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2002	FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA Total				$250
		FLOWERS, MARY E	D	H	31	$250
		FLOWERS, MARY E Total				$250
		FORBY, GARY	D	H	117	$250
		FORBY, GARY Total				$250
		FOWLER, JAMES D	D	H	18	$250
		FOWLER, JAMES D Total				$250
		FRITCHEY, JOHN A	D	H	11	$500
		FRITCHEY, JOHN A Total				$500
		GILES, CALVIN	D	H	8	$1,450
		GILES, CALVIN Total				$1,450
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	107	$2,000
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$2,000
		HAINE, WILLIAM R	D	S	56	$500
		HAINE, WILLIAM R Total				$500
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D	D	S	40	$2,000
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D Total				$2,000
		HAMOS, JULIE	D	H	18	$200
		HAMOS, JULIE Total				$200
		HANNIG, GARY	D	H	98	$750
		HANNIG, GARY Total				$750
		HARTKE, CHARLES A	D	H	108	$1,750
		HARTKE, CHARLES A Total				$1,750
		HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	85	$2,250
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$2,250
		HENDON, RICKEY R	D	S	5	$1,850
		HENDON, RICKEY R Total				$1,850
		HOEFT, DOUGLAS L	R	H	43	$250
		HOEFT, DOUGLAS L Total				$250
		HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112	$2,750
		HOFFMAN, JAY C Total				$2,750
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS	D	H	113	$1,750
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS Total				$1,750
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A	D	H	34	$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2002	HOWARD, CONSTANCE A Total				$250
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M	R	H	95	$750
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M Total				$750
		HYNES, DANIEL W	D	COMPT	SW	$500
		HYNES, DANIEL W Total				$500
		JACOBS, DENNIS J	D	S	36	$1,750
		JACOBS, DENNIS J Total				$1,750
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E	D	H	67	$1,350
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E Total				$1,350
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$47,400
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$47,400
		JONES, JOHN O	R	S	54	$250
		JONES, JOHN O Total				$250
		JONES, LOVANA S	D	H	26	$1,250
		JONES, LOVANA S Total				$1,250
		JONES, SHIRLEY M	D	H	6	$750
		JONES, SHIRLEY M Total				$750
		JONES, WENDELL	R	S	27	$1,250
		JONES, WENDELL Total				$1,250
		KARPIEL, DORIS C	R	S	28	$500
		KARPIEL, DORIS C Total				$500
		KENNER, HOWARD A	D	H	5	$500
		KENNER, HOWARD A Total				$500
		KLEMM, DICK	R	S	32	$1,500
		KLEMM, DICK Total				$1,500
		KLINGLER, GWENN	R	H	100	$500
		KLINGLER, GWENN Total				$500
		KRAUSE, CAROLYN H	R	H	66	$500
		KRAUSE, CAROLYN H Total				$500
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$500
		LANG, LOU Total				$500
		LAWFER, RONALD	R	H	74	$250
		LAWFER, RONALD Total				$250
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	73	$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2002	LEITCH, DAVID Total				$500
		LINDNER, PATRICIA REID	R	H	50	$1,500
		LINDNER, PATRICIA REID Total				$1,500
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$2,000
		LINK, TERRY Total				$2,000
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID	R	S	58	$1,000
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID Total				$1,000
		MADIGAN, LISA	D	AG	SW	$400
		MADIGAN, LISA Total				$400
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$15,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$15,000
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$1,750
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$1,750
		MCGUIRE, JACK	D	H	86	$250
		MCGUIRE, JACK Total				$250
		MCKEON, LARRY	D	H	13	$1,250
		MCKEON, LARRY Total				$1,250
		MENDOZA, SUSANA	D	H	1	$1,750
		MENDOZA, SUSANA Total				$1,750
		MEYER, JAMES H	R	H	48	$1,250
		MEYER, JAMES H Total				$1,250
		MILLER, DAVID E	D	H	29	$400
		MILLER, DAVID E Total				$400
		MILLNER, JOHN J	R	H	55	$500
		MILLNER, JOHN J Total				$500
		MINTON, MICHAEL	D	S	27	$5,000
		MINTON, MICHAEL Total				$5,000
		MITCHELL, JERRY	R	H	90	$250
		MITCHELL, JERRY Total				$250
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	H	21	$1,750
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$1,750
		MORROW, CHARLES G	D	H	32	$1,200
		MORROW, CHARLES G Total				$1,200
		MUÑOZ, ANTONIO	D	S	1	$1,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2002	MUÑOZ, ANTONIO Total				$1,000
		MURPHY, HAROLD	D	H	38	$750
		MURPHY, HAROLD Total				$750
		MYERS, JUDITH A	R	S	52	$500
		MYERS, JUDITH A Total				$500
		MYERS, RICHARD P	R	H	94	$1,250
		MYERS, RICHARD P Total				$1,250
		NOLAND, MICHAEL	D	H	43	$500
		NOLAND, MICHAEL Total				$500
		NOVAK, JOHN	D	H	79	$2,000
		NOVAK, JOHN Total				$2,000
		OBAMA, BARACK	D	S	13	$500
		OBAMA, BARACK Total				$500
		O'BRIEN, MARY K	D	H	75	$500
		O'BRIEN, MARY K Total				$500
		O'CONNOR, WILLIAM A	R	LTG	SW	$500
		O'CONNOR, WILLIAM A Total				$500
		O'DANIEL, WILLIAM L	D	S	54	$2,000
		O'DANIEL, WILLIAM L Total				$2,000
		OSMOND, TIMOTHY H	R	H	61	$1,000
		OSMOND, TIMOTHY H Total				$1,000
		PANKAU, CAROLE	R	H	45	$250
		PANKAU, CAROLE Total				$250
		PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	44	$1,500
		PARKE, TERRY R Total				$1,500
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E	R	S	26	$1,000
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E Total				$1,000
		PETKA, EDWARD F	R	S	42	$1,000
		PETKA, EDWARD F Total				$1,000
		PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$20,000
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$20,000
		PIHOS, SANDRA	R	H	42	$500
		PIHOS, SANDRA Total				$500
		POE, RAYMOND	R	H	99	$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2002	POE, RAYMOND Total				$250
		RADOGNO, CHRISTINE	R	S	41	$500
		RADOGNO, CHRISTINE Total				$500
		RAMEY, HARRY	R	H	55	$1,000
		RAMEY, HARRY Total				$1,000
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN	R	S	22	$1,000
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN Total				$1,000
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$500
		REITZ, DAN Total				$500
		ROSKAM, PETER J	R	S	48	$500
		ROSKAM, PETER J Total				$500
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	S	53	$2,000
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$2,000
		RYAN, ROBERT L	D	H	29	$500
		RYAN, ROBERT L Total				$500
		RYDER, TOM	R	H	97	$1,000
		RYDER, TOM Total				$1,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$2,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$2,000
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L	R	H	49	$250
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L Total				$250
		SHADID, GEORGE P	D	S	46	$3,000
		SHADID, GEORGE P Total				$3,000
		SHAW, WILLIAM	D	S	15	$2,700
		SHAW, WILLIAM Total				$2,700
		SIEBEN, TODD	R	S	45	$500
		SIEBEN, TODD Total				$500
		SMITH, MARGARET	D	S	3	$200
		SMITH, MARGARET Total				$200
		SMITH, MICHAEL K	D	H	91	$250
		SMITH, MICHAEL K Total				$250
		SOMMER, KEITH P	R	H	106	$750
		SOMMER, KEITH P Total				$750
		SOTO, CYNTHIA	D	H	4	$200

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2002	SOTO, CYNTHIA Total				$200
		STEPHENS, RON	R	H	102	$750
		STEPHENS, RON Total				$750
		SYVERSON, DAVE	R	S	34	$500
		SYVERSON, DAVE Total				$500
		TENHOUSE, ART	R	H	93	$1,500
		TENHOUSE, ART Total				$1,500
		TOBIN, JIM	BERTARIA	LTG	SW	$12,000
		TOBIN, JIM Total				$12,000
		TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	17	$2,750
		TROTTER, DONNE E Total				$2,750
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$1,000
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$1,000
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S	D	S	11	$2,000
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S Total				$2,000
		WAIT, RONALD A	R	H	69	$250
		WAIT, RONALD A Total				$250
		WALSH, LAWRENCE M	D	S	43	$2,200
		WALSH, LAWRENCE M Total				$2,200
		WALSH, THOMAS J	R	S	21	$1,000
		WALSH, THOMAS J Total				$1,000
		WALTERS, ED	R	H	62	$1,000
		WALTERS, ED Total				$1,000
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	51	$1,000
		WATSON, FRANK Total				$1,000
		WATSON, JIM	R	H	97	$1,500
		WATSON, JIM Total				$1,500
		WEAVER, STANLEY B	R	S	52	$500
		WEAVER, STANLEY B Total				$500
		WELCH, PATRICK D	D	S	38	$750
		WELCH, PATRICK D Total				$750
		WHITE, JESSE	D	SS	SW	$15,000
		WHITE, JESSE Total				$15,000
		WINTERS, DAVE	R	H	68	$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2002	WINTERS, DAVE Total				$250
		WIRSING, DAVID A	R	H	70	$250
		WIRSING, DAVID A Total				$250
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L	R	H	56	$500
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L Total				$500
		WOJCIK, MICHAEL A	D	S	20	$1,500
		WOJCIK, MICHAEL A Total				$1,500
		WOOLARD, LARRY D	D	S	59	$1,000
		WOOLARD, LARRY D Total				$1,000
		YARBROUGH, KAREN	D	H	7	$1,500
		YARBROUGH, KAREN Total				$1,500
		YOUNGE, WYVETTER H	D	H	114	$250
		YOUNGE, WYVETTER H Total				$250
		ZICKUS, ANNE	R	H	35	$250
		ZICKUS, ANNE Total				$250
	2002 Total					$277,610
	2004	ACEVEDO, EDWARD	D	H	2	$500
		ACEVEDO, EDWARD Total				$500
		BASSI, SUZANNE	R	H	54	$1,550
		BASSI, SUZANNE Total				$1,550
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52	$3,000
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total				$3,000
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA	D	H	39	$1,500
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA Total				$1,500
		BLACK, WILLIAM B	R	H	104	$1,000
		BLACK, WILLIAM B Total				$1,000
		BLUDORN, R SCOTT	BERTARI/	H	53	$4,000
		BLUDORN, R SCOTT Total				$4,000
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T	D	H	40	$1,250
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T Total				$1,250
		BURKE, DANIEL J	D	H	23	$500
		BURKE, DANIEL J Total				$500
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C	D	H	20	$250
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C Total				$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2004	CHAPA LAVIA, LINDA	D	H	83	$1,500
		CHAPA LAVIA, LINDA Total				$1,500
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$5,000
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$5,000
		COLLINS, ANNAZETTE	D	H	10	$500
		COLLINS, ANNAZETTE Total				$500
		COLVIN, MARLOW	D	H	33	$250
		COLVIN, MARLOW Total				$250
		CROSS, TOM	R	H	84	$25,000
		CROSS, TOM Total				$25,000
		CULLERTON, JOHN	D	S	6	$1,000
		CULLERTON, JOHN Total				$1,000
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN	D	H	25	$1,200
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN Total				$1,200
		DANIELS, LEE	R	H	46	$1,000
		DANIELS, LEE Total				$1,000
		DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111	$1,250
		DAVIS, STEVE Total				$1,250
		DAVIS, WILLIAM	D	H	30	$200
		DAVIS, WILLIAM Total				$200
		DEL VALLE, MIGUEL	D	S	2	$200
		DEL VALLE, MIGUEL Total				$200
		DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10	$3,500
		DELEO, JAMES A Total				$3,500
		DELGADO, WILLIAM	D	H	3	$1,000
		DELGADO, WILLIAM Total				$1,000
		DEMUZIO, DEANNA	D	S	49	$1,000
		DEMUZIO, DEANNA Total				$1,000
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$3,500
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$3,500
		DUNKIN, KENNETH	D	H	5	$200
		DUNKIN, KENNETH Total				$200
		FLOWERS, MARY E	D	H	31	$1,500
		FLOWERS, MARY E Total				$1,500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2004	GARRETT, SUSAN	D	S	29	$1,000
		GARRETT, SUSAN Total				$1,000
		GILES, CALVIN	D	H	8	$250
		GILES, CALVIN Total				$250
		GRAHAM, DEBORAH L	D	H	78	$450
		GRAHAM, DEBORAH L Total				$450
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	107	$2,500
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$2,500
		HAINE, WILLIAM R	D	S	56	$500
		HAINE, WILLIAM R Total				$500
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D	D	S	40	$3,500
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D Total				$3,500
		HARMON, DON	D	S	39	$2,500
		HARMON, DON Total				$2,500
		HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	85	$1,000
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$1,000
		HENDON, RICKEY R	D	S	5	$2,200
		HENDON, RICKEY R Total				$2,200
		HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112	$2,500
		HOFFMAN, JAY C Total				$2,500
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS	D	H	113	$1,500
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS Total				$1,500
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A	D	H	34	$300
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A Total				$300
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M	R	H	95	$1,250
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M Total				$1,250
		ILLINOIS CHAMBER PAC	UNK	JIE	SW	$20,000
		ILLINOIS CHAMBER PAC Total				$20,000
		JACOBS, DENNIS J	D	S	36	$1,000
		JACOBS, DENNIS J Total				$1,000
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E	D	H	67	$750
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E Total				$750
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$45,000
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$45,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2004	JONES, LOVANA S	D	H	26	$700
		JONES, LOVANA S Total				$700
		JOYCE, KEVIN	D	H	35	$250
		JOYCE, KEVIN Total				$250
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$1,000
		LANG, LOU Total				$1,000
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	73	$1,000
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$1,000
		LIGHTFORD, KIMBERLY A	D	S	4	$3,500
		LIGHTFORD, KIMBERLY A Total				$3,500
		LINDNER, PATRICIA REID	R	H	50	$1,000
		LINDNER, PATRICIA REID Total				$1,000
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$1,000
		LINK, TERRY Total				$1,000
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID	R	S	58	$1,000
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID Total				$1,000
		LYONS, EILEEN	R	H	82	$1,000
		LYONS, EILEEN Total				$1,000
		LYONS, JOSEPH M	D	H	19	$2,000
		LYONS, JOSEPH M Total				$2,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$3,500
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$3,500
		MALONEY, EDWARD D	D	S	18	$2,500
		MALONEY, EDWARD D Total				$2,500
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$2,000
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$2,000
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	20	$7,500
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$7,500
		MCKEON, LARRY	D	H	13	$500
		MCKEON, LARRY Total				$500
		MENDOZA, SUSANA	D	H	1	$1,500
		MENDOZA, SUSANA Total				$1,500
		MEYER, JAMES H	R	H	48	$500
		MEYER, JAMES H Total				$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2004	MILLER, DAVID E	D	H	29	$250
		MILLER, DAVID E Total				$250
		MILLNER, JOHN J	R	H	55	$1,500
		MILLNER, JOHN J Total				$1,500
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	H	21	$3,000
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$3,000
		MORROW, CHARLES G	D	H	32	$1,000
		MORROW, CHARLES G Total				$1,000
		MYERS, RICHARD P	R	H	94	$1,000
		MYERS, RICHARD P Total				$1,000
		OSTERMAN, HARRY	D	H	14	$150
		OSTERMAN, HARRY Total				$150
		PANKAU, CAROLE	R	S	23	$750
		PANKAU, CAROLE Total				$750
		PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	44	$1,500
		PARKE, TERRY R Total				$1,500
		PHELPS, BRANDON	D	H	118	$250
		PHELPS, BRANDON Total				$250
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN	R	S	22	$2,500
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN Total				$2,500
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$2,000
		REITZ, DAN Total				$2,000
		RIGHTER, DALE A	R	S	55	$2,500
		RIGHTER, DALE A Total				$2,500
		RISINGER, DALE E	R	S	37	$2,500
		RISINGER, DALE E Total				$2,500
		RITA, ROBERT	D	H	28	$1,000
		RITA, ROBERT Total				$1,000
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	S	53	$3,500
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$3,500
		SACIA, JIM	R	H	89	$250
		SACIA, JIM Total				$250
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$2,500
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$2,500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2004	SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L	R	H	49	$2,000
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L Total				$2,000
		SHADID, GEORGE P	D	S	46	$1,000
		SHADID, GEORGE P Total				$1,000
		SIEBEN, TODD	R	S	45	$2,000
		SIEBEN, TODD Total				$2,000
		SULLIVAN, DAVE	R	S	33	$1,000
		SULLIVAN, DAVE Total				$1,000
		TENHOUSE, ART	R	H	93	$500
		TENHOUSE, ART Total				$500
		TOPINKA, JUDY BAAR	R	TREAS	SW	$5,000
		TOPINKA, JUDY BAAR Total				$5,000
		TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	17	$3,000
		TROTTER, DONNE E Total				$3,000
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$4,500
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$4,500
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S	D	S	11	$1,000
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S Total				$1,000
		WALSH, LAWRENCE M	D	S	43	$1,000
		WALSH, LAWRENCE M Total				$1,000
		WASHINGTON, EDDIE	D	H	60	$250
		WASHINGTON, EDDIE Total				$250
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	51	$35,000
		WATSON, FRANK Total				$35,000
		WATSON, JIM	R	H	97	$2,000
		WATSON, JIM Total				$2,000
		WELCH, PATRICK D	D	S	38	$500
		WELCH, PATRICK D Total				$500
		WHITE, JESSE	D	SS	SW	$5,000
		WHITE, JESSE Total				$5,000
		YARBROUGH, KAREN	D	H	7	$500
		YARBROUGH, KAREN Total				$500
	2004 Total					$268,400
	2006	ACEVEDO, EDWARD	D	H	2	$600

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2006	ACEVEDO, EDWARD Total				$600
		AXLEY, CHERYL	R	S	33	$1,000
		AXLEY, CHERYL Total				$1,000
		BASSI, SUZANNE	R	H	54	$500
		BASSI, SUZANNE Total				$500
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52	$1,600
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total				$1,600
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA	D	H	39	$1,100
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA Total				$1,100
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A	R	H	41	$500
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A Total				$500
		BLACK, WILLIAM B	R	H	104	$1,100
		BLACK, WILLIAM B Total				$1,100
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T	D	H	40	$600
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T Total				$600
		BURKE, DANIEL J	D	H	23	$600
		BURKE, DANIEL J Total				$600
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$1,500
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$1,500
		CROSS, TOM	R	H	84	$40,000
		CROSS, TOM Total				$40,000
		CROTTY, M MAGGIE	D	S	19	$1,000
		CROTTY, M MAGGIE Total				$1,000
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D	D	H	27	$500
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D Total				$500
		DAVIS, WILLIAM	D	H	30	$500
		DAVIS, WILLIAM Total				$500
		DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10	$1,000
		DELEO, JAMES A Total				$1,000
		DELGADO, WILLIAM	D	H	3	$1,100
		DELGADO, WILLIAM Total				$1,100
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$1,000
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$1,000
		DUNKIN, KENNETH	D	H	5	$1,100

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2006	DUNKIN, KENNETH Total				$1,100
		FLOWERS, MARY E	D	H	31	$1,100
		FLOWERS, MARY E Total				$1,100
		FROEHLICH, PAUL	R	H	56	$1,100
		FROEHLICH, PAUL Total				$1,100
		GILES, CALVIN	D	H	8	$500
		GILES, CALVIN Total				$500
		GRAHAM, DEBORAH L	D	H	78	$1,100
		GRAHAM, DEBORAH L Total				$1,100
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	107	$1,000
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$1,000
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D	D	S	40	$1,500
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D Total				$1,500
		HANNIG, GARY	D	H	98	$600
		HANNIG, GARY Total				$600
		HARMON, DON	D	S	39	$1,000
		HARMON, DON Total				$1,000
		HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	85	$2,000
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$2,000
		HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112	$1,600
		HOFFMAN, JAY C Total				$1,600
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS	D	H	113	$1,100
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS Total				$1,100
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A	D	H	34	$1,100
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A Total				$1,100
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M	R	S	48	$1,500
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M Total				$1,500
		JACOBS, MIKE	D	S	36	$2,000
		JACOBS, MIKE Total				$2,000
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E	D	H	67	$1,100
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E Total				$1,100
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$60,000
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$60,000
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$600

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2006	LANG, LOU Total				$600
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	73	$1,100
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$1,100
		LIGHTFORD, KIMBERLY A	D	S	4	$2,000
		LIGHTFORD, KIMBERLY A Total				$2,000
		LINDNER, PATRICIA REID	R	H	50	$1,100
		LINDNER, PATRICIA REID Total				$1,100
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$5,500
		LINK, TERRY Total				$5,500
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID	R	S	58	$1,000
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID Total				$1,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$18,500
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$18,500
		MALONEY, EDWARD D	D	S	18	$2,000
		MALONEY, EDWARD D Total				$2,000
		MATHIAS, SIDNEY H	R	H	53	$1,100
		MATHIAS, SIDNEY H Total				$1,100
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$900
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$900
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	20	$500
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$500
		MENDOZA, SUSANA	D	H	1	$600
		MENDOZA, SUSANA Total				$600
		MILLNER, JOHN J	R	S	28	$1,500
		MILLNER, JOHN J Total				$1,500
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	H	21	$1,100
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$1,100
		MUÑOZ, ANTONIO	D	S	1	$1,000
		MUÑOZ, ANTONIO Total				$1,000
		MUNSON, RUTH	R	H	43	$600
		MUNSON, RUTH Total				$600
		OSMOND, JOANN D	R	H	61	$1,100
		OSMOND, JOANN D Total				$1,100
		PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	44	$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2006	PARKE, TERRY R Total				$500
		PHELPS, BRANDON	D	H	118	$600
		PHELPS, BRANDON Total				$600
		PIHOS, SANDRA	R	H	42	$500
		PIHOS, SANDRA Total				$500
		POE, RAYMOND	R	H	99	$600
		POE, RAYMOND Total				$600
		RADOGNO, CHRISTINE	R	TREAS	SW	$1,000
		RADOGNO, CHRISTINE Total				$1,000
		RAOUL, KWAME	D	S	13	$2,000
		RAOUL, KWAME Total				$2,000
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$500
		REITZ, DAN Total				$500
		RIGHTER, DALE A	R	S	55	$1,000
		RIGHTER, DALE A Total				$1,000
		RISINGER, DALE E	R	S	37	$2,000
		RISINGER, DALE E Total				$2,000
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	SS	SW	$1,000
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$1,000
		SACIA, JIM	R	H	89	$1,100
		SACIA, JIM Total				$1,100
		SANDOVAL, MARTIN A	D	S	12	$2,500
		SANDOVAL, MARTIN A Total				$2,500
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$1,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$1,000
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L	R	H	49	$1,100
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L Total				$1,100
		SCHOCK, AARON	R	H	92	$1,100
		SCHOCK, AARON Total				$1,100
		SIEBEN, TODD	R	S	45	$1,000
		SIEBEN, TODD Total				$1,000
		SILVERSTEIN, IRA I	D	S	8	$3,500
		SILVERSTEIN, IRA I Total				$3,500
		SMITH, MICHAEL K	D	H	91	$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2006	SMITH, MICHAEL K Total				$500
		SOTO, CYNTHIA	D	H	4	$500
		SOTO, CYNTHIA Total				$500
		SULLIVAN JR, ED	R	H	51	$600
		SULLIVAN JR, ED Total				$600
		TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	17	$3,000
		TROTTER, DONNE E Total				$3,000
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S	D	S	11	$1,500
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S Total				$1,500
		WASHINGTON, EDDIE	D	H	60	$250
		WASHINGTON, EDDIE Total				$250
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	51	$50,000
		WATSON, FRANK Total				$50,000
		WATSON, JIM	R	H	97	$500
		WATSON, JIM Total				$500
		WHITE, JESSE	D	SS	SW	$5,000
		WHITE, JESSE Total				$5,000
		WILHELMI, ARTHUR	D	S	43	$2,000
		WILHELMI, ARTHUR Total				$2,000
		YOUNGE, WYVETTER H	D	H	114	$500
		YOUNGE, WYVETTER H Total				$500
	2006 Total					$259,150
	2008	ACEVEDO, EDWARD	D	H	2	$1,000
		ACEVEDO, EDWARD Total				$1,000
		ALTHOFF, PAMELA	R	S	32	$4,000
		ALTHOFF, PAMELA Total				$4,000
		ARROYO, LUIS	D	H	3	$3,008
		ARROYO, LUIS Total				$3,008
		BASSI, SUZANNE	R	H	54	$1,500
		BASSI, SUZANNE Total				$1,500
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52	$3,000
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total				$3,000
		BEISER, DANIEL V	D	H	111	$500
		BEISER, DANIEL V Total				$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2008	BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA	D	H	39	$2,750
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA Total				$2,750
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A	R	H	41	$2,750
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A Total				$2,750
		BLACK, WILLIAM B	R	H	104	$1,500
		BLACK, WILLIAM B Total				$1,500
		BOND, MICHAEL	D	S	31	$3,000
		BOND, MICHAEL Total				$3,000
		BOST, MIKE	R	H	115	$1,250
		BOST, MIKE Total				$1,250
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T	D	S	20	$1,500
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T Total				$1,500
		BRADY, BILL	R	S	44	$1,500
		BRADY, BILL Total				$1,500
		BRADY, DAN	R	H	88	$1,750
		BRADY, DAN Total				$1,750
		BRAUER, RICH	R	H	100	$1,000
		BRAUER, RICH Total				$1,000
		BURKE, DANIEL J	D	H	23	$4,000
		BURKE, DANIEL J Total				$4,000
		BURNS, WILLIAM D	D	H	26	$1,500
		BURNS, WILLIAM D Total				$1,500
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY	R	S	35	$500
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY Total				$500
		BURZYNSKI, KEN W	R	S	59	$1,000
		BURZYNSKI, KEN W Total				$1,000
		CHAPA LAVIA, LINDA	D	H	83	$2,250
		CHAPA LAVIA, LINDA Total				$2,250
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$7,000
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$7,000
		COLADIPIETRO, FRANCO	R	H	45	$1,250
		COLADIPIETRO, FRANCO Total				$1,250
		COLVIN, MARLOW	D	H	33	$2,750
		COLVIN, MARLOW Total				$2,750

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2008	CRESPO, FRED	D	H	44	$1,250
		CRESPO, FRED Total				$1,250
		CROSS, TOM	R	H	84	$45,000
		CROSS, TOM Total				$45,000
		CULTRA, SHANE	R	H	105	$500
		CULTRA, SHANE Total				$500
		DAHL, GARY G	R	S	38	$1,250
		DAHL, GARY G Total				$1,250
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D	D	H	27	$600
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D Total				$600
		DAVIS, WILLIAM	D	H	30	$3,250
		DAVIS, WILLIAM Total				$3,250
		DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10	$3,000
		DELEO, JAMES A Total				$3,000
		DELGADO, WILLIAM	D	S	2	$3,500
		DELGADO, WILLIAM Total				$3,500
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$2,000
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$2,000
		DUNKIN, KENNETH	D	H	5	$500
		DUNKIN, KENNETH Total				$500
		DURKIN, JIM	R	H	82	$1,250
		DURKIN, JIM Total				$1,250
		EDDY, ROGER L	R	H	109	$1,000
		EDDY, ROGER L Total				$1,000
		FLOWERS, MARY E	D	H	31	$600
		FLOWERS, MARY E Total				$600
		FORBY, GARY	D	S	59	$1,500
		FORBY, GARY Total				$1,500
		FRERICHS, MICHAEL W	D	S	52	$3,000
		FRERICHS, MICHAEL W Total				$3,000
		FRITCHEY, JOHN A	D	H	11	$1,500
		FRITCHEY, JOHN A Total				$1,500
		FROEHLICH, PAUL	D	H	56	$2,000
		FROEHLICH, PAUL Total				$2,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2008	GOLAR, ESTHER	D	H	6	$600
		GOLAR, ESTHER Total				$600
		HAINE, WILLIAM R	D	S	56	$2,000
		HAINE, WILLIAM R Total				$2,000
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D	D	S	40	$1,000
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D Total				$1,000
		HANNIG, GARY	D	H	98	$1,750
		HANNIG, GARY Total				$1,750
		HARMON, DON	D	S	39	$2,500
		HARMON, DON Total				$2,500
		HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	85	$4,000
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$4,000
		HENDON, RICKEY R	D	S	5	$3,500
		HENDON, RICKEY R Total				$3,500
		HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112	$3,000
		HOFFMAN, JAY C Total				$3,000
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS	D	H	113	$1,500
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS Total				$1,500
		HOLMES, LINDA	D	S	42	$500
		HOLMES, LINDA Total				$500
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A	D	H	34	$1,000
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A Total				$1,000
		HUNTER, MATTIE	D	S	3	$1,000
		HUNTER, MATTIE Total				$1,000
		JACOBS, MIKE	D	S	36	$5,750
		JACOBS, MIKE Total				$5,750
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E	D	H	67	$1,500
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E Total				$1,500
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$110,000
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$110,000
		JONES, JOHN O	R	S	54	$2,000
		JONES, JOHN O Total				$2,000
		JOYCE, KEVIN	D	H	35	$1,500
		JOYCE, KEVIN Total				$1,500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2008	KOTOWSKI, DAN	D	S	33	$1,250
		KOTOWSKI, DAN Total				$1,250
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$1,000
		LANG, LOU Total				$1,000
		LAUZEN, CHRIS	R	S	25	$2,000
		LAUZEN, CHRIS Total				$2,000
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	73	$1,750
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$1,750
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$5,500
		LINK, TERRY Total				$5,500
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID	R	S	58	$2,000
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID Total				$2,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$45,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$45,000
		MALONEY, EDWARD D	D	S	18	$500
		MALONEY, EDWARD D Total				$500
		MATHIAS, SIDNEY H	R	H	53	$500
		MATHIAS, SIDNEY H Total				$500
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$4,000
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$4,000
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	20	$2,750
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$2,750
		MCCARTHY, KEVIN A	D	H	37	$1,600
		MCCARTHY, KEVIN A Total				$1,600
		MENDOZA, SUSANA	D	H	1	$2,500
		MENDOZA, SUSANA Total				$2,500
		MILLNER, JOHN J	R	S	28	$2,500
		MILLNER, JOHN J Total				$2,500
		MITCHELL, BILL	R	H	87	$750
		MITCHELL, BILL Total				$750
		MITCHELL, JERRY	R	H	90	$500
		MITCHELL, JERRY Total				$500
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	H	21	$2,000
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$2,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2008	MUÑOZ, ANTONIO	D	S	1	$1,000
		MUÑOZ, ANTONIO Total				$1,000
		MURPHY, MATT	R	S	27	$2,000
		MURPHY, MATT Total				$2,000
		MYERS, RICHARD P	R	H	94	$1,000
		MYERS, RICHARD P Total				$1,000
		NOLAND, MICHAEL	D	S	22	$3,000
		NOLAND, MICHAEL Total				$3,000
		OSMOND, JOANN D	R	H	61	$1,250
		OSMOND, JOANN D Total				$1,250
		PANKAU, CAROLE	R	S	23	$1,500
		PANKAU, CAROLE Total				$1,500
		PHELPS, BRANDON	D	H	118	$1,000
		PHELPS, BRANDON Total				$1,000
		PIHOS, SANDRA	R	H	42	$500
		PIHOS, SANDRA Total				$500
		POE, RAYMOND	R	H	99	$1,000
		POE, RAYMOND Total				$1,000
		PRITCHARD, ROBERT W	R	H	70	$750
		PRITCHARD, ROBERT W Total				$750
		RAMEY, HARRY	R	H	55	$500
		RAMEY, HARRY Total				$500
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$2,500
		REITZ, DAN Total				$2,500
		RIGHTER, DALE A	R	S	55	$3,000
		RIGHTER, DALE A Total				$3,000
		RILEY, AL	D	H	38	$1,000
		RILEY, AL Total				$1,000
		RISINGER, DALE E	R	S	37	$2,000
		RISINGER, DALE E Total				$2,000
		RITA, ROBERT	D	H	28	$2,000
		RITA, ROBERT Total				$2,000
		ROSE, CHAPIN	R	H	110	$2,000
		ROSE, CHAPIN Total				$2,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2008	RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	S	53	$2,750
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$2,750
		SACIA, JIM	R	H	89	$1,750
		SACIA, JIM Total				$1,750
		SANDOVAL, MARTIN A	D	S	12	$1,000
		SANDOVAL, MARTIN A Total				$1,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$6,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$6,000
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L	R	H	49	$2,500
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L Total				$2,500
		SILVERSTEIN, IRA I	D	S	8	$2,500
		SILVERSTEIN, IRA I Total				$2,500
		SMITH, MICHAEL K	D	H	91	$1,000
		SMITH, MICHAEL K Total				$1,000
		SOTO, CYNTHIA	D	H	4	$1,000
		SOTO, CYNTHIA Total				$1,000
		STEPHENS, RON	R	H	102	$2,000
		STEPHENS, RON Total				$2,000
		SULLIVAN JR, ED	R	H	51	$2,000
		SULLIVAN JR, ED Total				$2,000
		SULLIVAN, JOHN M	D	S	47	$3,000
		SULLIVAN, JOHN M Total				$3,000
		SYVERSON, DAVE	R	S	34	$1,000
		SYVERSON, DAVE Total				$1,000
		TRACY, JIL	R	H	93	$1,000
		TRACY, JIL Total				$1,000
		TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	17	$5,250
		TROTTER, DONNE E Total				$5,250
		TRYON, MICHAEL W	R	H	64	$1,000
		TRYON, MICHAEL W Total				$1,000
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$7,000
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$7,000
		VERSCHOORE, PATRICK	D	H	72	$2,500
		VERSCHOORE, PATRICK Total				$2,500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2008	VIVERITO, LOUIS S	D	S	11	$1,750
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S Total				$1,750
		WAIT, RONALD A	R	H	69	$500
		WAIT, RONALD A Total				$500
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	51	$50,000
		WATSON, FRANK Total				$50,000
		WATSON, JIM	R	H	97	$1,500
		WATSON, JIM Total				$1,500
		WILHELMI, ARTHUR	D	S	43	$2,000
		WILHELMI, ARTHUR Total				$2,000
		WINTERS, DAVE	R	H	68	$750
		WINTERS, DAVE Total				$750
		YOUNGE, WYVETTER H	D	H	114	$500
		YOUNGE, WYVETTER H Total				$500
	2008 Total					$467,408
	2010	ACEVEDO, EDWARD	D	H	2	$500
		ACEVEDO, EDWARD Total				$500
		ALTHOFF, PAMELA	R	S	32	$5,000
		ALTHOFF, PAMELA Total				$5,000
		ARROYO, LUIS	D	H	3	$4,000
		ARROYO, LUIS Total				$4,000
		BASSI, SUZANNE	R	H	54	$500
		BASSI, SUZANNE Total				$500
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52	$9,500
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total				$9,500
		BEISER, DANIEL V	D	H	111	$1,500
		BEISER, DANIEL V Total				$1,500
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA	D	H	39	$4,500
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA Total				$4,500
		BOMKE, LARRY	R	S	50	$2,000
		BOMKE, LARRY Total				$2,000
		BOND, MICHAEL	D	S	31	$3,000
		BOND, MICHAEL Total				$3,000
		BOST, MIKE	R	H	115	$1,500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2010	BOST, MIKE Total				$1,500
		BRADY, BILL	R	G	SW	$37,000
		BRADY, BILL Total				$37,000
		BRADY, DAN	R	H	88	$750
		BRADY, DAN Total				$750
		BRAUER, RICH	R	H	100	$1,250
		BRAUER, RICH Total				$1,250
		BURKE, DANIEL J	D	H	23	$7,000
		BURKE, DANIEL J Total				$7,000
		BURNS, WILLIAM D	D	H	26	$1,500
		BURNS, WILLIAM D Total				$1,500
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY	R	S	35	$3,000
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY Total				$3,000
		CAVALETTO, JOHN	R	H	107	$1,500
		CAVALETTO, JOHN Total				$1,500
		CHAPA LAVIA, LINDA	D	H	83	$2,000
		CHAPA LAVIA, LINDA Total				$2,000
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$3,000
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$3,000
		COLADIPIETRO, FRANCO	R	H	45	$1,250
		COLADIPIETRO, FRANCO Total				$1,250
		COLE, SANDY	R	H	62	$1,250
		COLE, SANDY Total				$1,250
		COLVIN, MARLOW	D	H	33	$500
		COLVIN, MARLOW Total				$500
		CONNELLY, MICHAEL G	R	H	48	$1,500
		CONNELLY, MICHAEL G Total				$1,500
		CRESPO, FRED	D	H	44	$500
		CRESPO, FRED Total				$500
		CROSS, TOM	R	H	84	$25,000
		CROSS, TOM Total				$25,000
		CULLERTON, JOHN	D	S	6	$20,000
		CULLERTON, JOHN Total				$20,000
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN	D	H	25	$1,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2010	CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN Total				$1,000
		D'AMICO, JOHN C	D	H	15	$750
		D'AMICO, JOHN C Total				$750
		DAHL, GARY G	R	S	38	$1,000
		DAHL, GARY G Total				$1,000
		DAVIS, WILLIAM	D	H	30	$1,750
		DAVIS, WILLIAM Total				$1,750
		DELGADO, WILLIAM	D	S	2	$2,000
		DELGADO, WILLIAM Total				$2,000
		DELUCA, ANTHONY	D	H	80	$1,500
		DELUCA, ANTHONY Total				$1,500
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$4,500
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$4,500
		DUFFY, DAN	R	S	26	$500
		DUFFY, DAN Total				$500
		DUGAN, LISA M	D	H	79	$1,750
		DUGAN, LISA M Total				$1,750
		DUNKIN, KENNETH	D	H	5	$500
		DUNKIN, KENNETH Total				$500
		DURKIN, JIM	R	H	82	$1,500
		DURKIN, JIM Total				$1,500
		EDDY, ROGER L	R	H	109	$1,250
		EDDY, ROGER L Total				$1,250
		FARNHAM, KEITH	D	H	43	$1,250
		FARNHAM, KEITH Total				$1,250
		FORBY, GARY	D	S	59	$2,000
		FORBY, GARY Total				$2,000
		FORTNER, MIKE	R	H	95	$500
		FORTNER, MIKE Total				$500
		FRERICHS, MICHAEL W	D	S	52	$5,000
		FRERICHS, MICHAEL W Total				$5,000
		GOLAR, ESTHER	D	H	6	$500
		GOLAR, ESTHER Total				$500
		GORDON, CAREEN M	D	H	75	$1,500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2010	GORDON, CAREEN M Total				$1,500
		GORDON, JEHAN	D	H	92	$1,000
		GORDON, JEHAN Total				$1,000
		HAINE, WILLIAM R	D	S	56	$3,500
		HAINE, WILLIAM R Total				$3,500
		HARMON, DON	D	S	39	$4,000
		HARMON, DON Total				$4,000
		HARRIS, GREGORY	D	H	13	$500
		HARRIS, GREGORY Total				$500
		HATCHER, KAY	R	H	50	$1,500
		HATCHER, KAY Total				$1,500
		HERNANDEZ, ELIZABETH	D	H	24	$500
		HERNANDEZ, ELIZABETH Total				$500
		HIGGINS, RYAN	R	H	56	$3,500
		HIGGINS, RYAN Total				$3,500
		HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112	$2,000
		HOFFMAN, JAY C Total				$2,000
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS	D	H	113	$1,500
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS Total				$1,500
		HOLMES, LINDA	D	S	42	$2,000
		HOLMES, LINDA Total				$2,000
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M	R	S	48	$750
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M Total				$750
		HUNTER, MATTIE	D	S	3	$1,000
		HUNTER, MATTIE Total				$1,000
		HUTCHINSON, TOI W	D	S	40	$3,500
		HUTCHINSON, TOI W Total				$3,500
		JACKSON, EDDIE LEE	D	H	114	$500
		JACKSON, EDDIE LEE Total				$500
		JACOBS, MIKE	D	S	36	$500
		JACOBS, MIKE Total				$500
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E	D	H	67	$1,000
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E Total				$1,000
		JONES III, EMIL	D	S	14	$3,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2010	JONES III, EMIL Total				$3,000
		JONES, JOHN O	R	S	54	$2,500
		JONES, JOHN O Total				$2,500
		JOYCE, KEVIN	D	H	35	$500
		JOYCE, KEVIN Total				$500
		KOTOWSKI, DAN	D	S	33	$2,000
		KOTOWSKI, DAN Total				$2,000
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$500
		LANG, LOU Total				$500
		LAUZEN, CHRIS	R	S	25	$4,000
		LAUZEN, CHRIS Total				$4,000
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	73	$1,000
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$1,000
		LIGHTFORD, KIMBERLY A	D	S	4	$1,750
		LIGHTFORD, KIMBERLY A Total				$1,750
		LINK, TERRY	D	LTG	SW	$4,500
		LINK, TERRY Total				$4,500
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID	R	S	58	$3,500
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID Total				$3,500
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$50,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$50,000
		MATHIAS, SIDNEY H	R	H	53	$1,000
		MATHIAS, SIDNEY H Total				$1,000
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$2,000
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$2,000
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	20	$1,000
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$1,000
		MCCARTER, KYLE	R	S	51	$2,500
		MCCARTER, KYLE Total				$2,500
		MELL, DEBORAH L	D	H	40	$500
		MELL, DEBORAH L Total				$500
		MENDOZA, SUSANA	D	H	1	$1,500
		MENDOZA, SUSANA Total				$1,500
		MILLER, DAVID E	D	COMPT	SW	$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2010	MILLER, DAVID E Total				$500
		MILLNER, JOHN J	R	S	28	$2,500
		MILLNER, JOHN J Total				$2,500
		MITCHELL, BILL	R	H	87	$1,000
		MITCHELL, BILL Total				$1,000
		MITCHELL, JERRY	R	H	90	$750
		MITCHELL, JERRY Total				$750
		MULLIGAN, ROSEMARY E	R	H	65	$500
		MULLIGAN, ROSEMARY E Total				$500
		MUÑOZ, ANTONIO	D	S	1	$2,000
		MUÑOZ, ANTONIO Total				$2,000
		MURPHY, MATT	R	S	27	$3,500
		MURPHY, MATT Total				$3,500
		MYERS, RICHARD P	R	H	94	$2,000
		MYERS, RICHARD P Total				$2,000
		NOLAND, MICHAEL	D	S	22	$3,000
		NOLAND, MICHAEL Total				$3,000
		NYBO, CHRIS	R	H	41	$1,000
		NYBO, CHRIS Total				$1,000
		OSMOND, JOANN D	R	H	61	$6,500
		OSMOND, JOANN D Total				$6,500
		PANKAU, CAROLE	R	S	23	$2,250
		PANKAU, CAROLE Total				$2,250
		PHELPS, BRANDON	D	H	118	$1,500
		PHELPS, BRANDON Total				$1,500
		POE, RAYMOND	R	H	99	$1,250
		POE, RAYMOND Total				$1,250
		PRITCHARD, ROBERT W	R	H	70	$1,000
		PRITCHARD, ROBERT W Total				$1,000
		QUINN, PAT	D	G	SW	$10,000
		QUINN, PAT Total				$10,000
		RADOGNO, CHRISTINE	R	S	41	$20,000
		RADOGNO, CHRISTINE Total				$20,000
		RAMEY, HARRY	R	H	55	$1,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2010	RAMEY, HARRY Total				$1,000
		REBOLETTI, DENNIS M	R	H	46	$1,000
		REBOLETTI, DENNIS M Total				$1,000
		REIS, DAVID	R	H	108	$1,250
		REIS, DAVID Total				$1,250
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$1,500
		REITZ, DAN Total				$1,500
		RIGHTER, DALE A	R	S	55	$4,000
		RIGHTER, DALE A Total				$4,000
		RILEY, AL	D	H	38	$500
		RILEY, AL Total				$500
		RISINGER, DALE E	R	S	37	$3,000
		RISINGER, DALE E Total				$3,000
		RITA, ROBERT	D	H	28	$1,250
		RITA, ROBERT Total				$1,250
		ROSE, CHAPIN	R	H	110	$500
		ROSE, CHAPIN Total				$500
		ROSENTHAL, WAYNE ARTHUR	R	H	98	$3,500
		ROSENTHAL, WAYNE ARTHUR Total				$3,500
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	TREAS	SW	$1,000
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$1,000
		SACIA, JIM	R	H	89	$1,750
		SACIA, JIM Total				$1,750
		SANDOVAL, MARTIN A	D	S	12	$1,000
		SANDOVAL, MARTIN A Total				$1,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$6,500
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$6,500
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L	R	H	49	$1,500
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L Total				$1,500
		SENTE, CAROL	D	H	59	$750
		SENTE, CAROL Total				$750
		SILVERSTEIN, IRA I	D	S	8	$1,000
		SILVERSTEIN, IRA I Total				$1,000
		SMITH, MICHAEL K	D	H	91	$1,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2010	SMITH, MICHAEL K Total				$1,000
		SOMMER, KEITH P	R	H	106	$1,250
		SOMMER, KEITH P Total				$1,250
		SOSNOWSKI, JOE	R	H	69	$1,000
		SOSNOWSKI, JOE Total				$1,000
		SOTO, CYNTHIA	D	H	4	$1,000
		SOTO, CYNTHIA Total				$1,000
		STEPHENS, RON	R	H	102	$500
		STEPHENS, RON Total				$500
		SULLIVAN JR, ED	R	H	51	$1,500
		SULLIVAN JR, ED Total				$1,500
		SULLIVAN, JOHN M	D	S	47	$3,500
		SULLIVAN, JOHN M Total				$3,500
		SYVERSON, DAVE	R	S	34	$3,500
		SYVERSON, DAVE Total				$3,500
		THAPEDI, ANDRÉ	D	H	32	$500
		THAPEDI, ANDRÉ Total				$500
		TRACY, JIL	R	H	93	$1,250
		TRACY, JIL Total				$1,250
		TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	17	$2,500
		TROTTER, DONNE E Total				$2,500
		TRYON, MICHAEL W	R	H	64	$1,500
		TRYON, MICHAEL W Total				$1,500
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	LTG	SW	$9,000
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$9,000
		UNES, MICHAEL D	R	H	91	$1,000
		UNES, MICHAEL D Total				$1,000
		VERSCHOORE, PATRICK	D	H	72	$1,750
		VERSCHOORE, PATRICK Total				$1,750
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S	D	S	11	$1,000
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S Total				$1,000
		WALKER, MARK	D	H	66	$1,250
		WALKER, MARK Total				$1,250
		WATSON, JIM	R	H	97	$2,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2010	WATSON, JIM Total				$2,000
		WILHELMI, ARTHUR	D	S	43	$2,500
		WILHELMI, ARTHUR Total				$2,500
		WINTERS, DAVE	R	H	68	$1,500
		WINTERS, DAVE Total				$1,500
		YARBROUGH, KAREN	D	H	7	$500
		YARBROUGH, KAREN Total				$500
		ZALEWSKI, MICHAEL J	D	H	21	$1,250
		ZALEWSKI, MICHAEL J Total				$1,250
	2010 Total					$407,750
	2012	ALTHOFF, PAMELA	R	S	32	$5,000
		ALTHOFF, PAMELA Total				$5,000
		ARROYO, LUIS	D	H	3	$7,000
		ARROYO, LUIS Total				$7,000
		BARICKMAN, JASON	R	S	53	$500
		BARICKMAN, JASON Total				$500
		BEISER, DANIEL V	D	H	111	$2,000
		BEISER, DANIEL V Total				$2,000
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA	D	H	39	$7,000
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA Total				$7,000
		BOST, MIKE	R	H	115	$1,000
		BOST, MIKE Total				$1,000
		BRADY, BILL	R	S	44	$2,500
		BRADY, BILL Total				$2,500
		BROWN, ADAM M	R	H	102	$2,000
		BROWN, ADAM M Total				$2,000
		BURKE, DANIEL J	D	H	1	$7,000
		BURKE, DANIEL J Total				$7,000
		CAVALETTO, JOHN	R	H	107	$1,000
		CAVALETTO, JOHN Total				$1,000
		CHAPA LAVIA, LINDA	D	H	83	$2,000
		CHAPA LAVIA, LINDA Total				$2,000
		COLE, SANDY	R	H	62	$2,000
		COLE, SANDY Total				$2,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2012	COLVIN, MARLOW	D	H	33	$1,000
		COLVIN, MARLOW Total				$1,000
		CONNELLY, MICHAEL G	R	S	21	$2,000
		CONNELLY, MICHAEL G Total				$2,000
		COSTELLO II, JERRY	D	H	116	$1,000
		COSTELLO II, JERRY Total				$1,000
		CRESPO, FRED	D	H	44	$2,000
		CRESPO, FRED Total				$2,000
		CROSS, TOM	R	H	97	$20,000
		CROSS, TOM Total				$20,000
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN	D	H	25	$1,000
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN Total				$1,000
		D'AMICO, JOHN C	D	H	15	$500
		D'AMICO, JOHN C Total				$500
		DAVIS, WILLIAM	D	H	30	$1,500
		DAVIS, WILLIAM Total				$1,500
		DELGADO, WILLIAM	D	S	2	$1,000
		DELGADO, WILLIAM Total				$1,000
		DELUCA, ANTHONY	D	H	80	$2,500
		DELUCA, ANTHONY Total				$2,500
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$9,000
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$9,000
		DUNKIN, KENNETH	D	H	5	$2,000
		DUNKIN, KENNETH Total				$2,000
		DURKIN, JIM	R	H	82	$2,000
		DURKIN, JIM Total				$2,000
		EVANS, PAUL J	R	H	108	$1,500
		EVANS, PAUL J Total				$1,500
		FORBY, GARY	D	S	59	$1,500
		FORBY, GARY Total				$1,500
		FRERICHS, MICHAEL W	D	S	52	$7,000
		FRERICHS, MICHAEL W Total				$7,000
		GAFFNEY, KENT	R	H	52	$1,500
		GAFFNEY, KENT Total				$1,500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2012	GORDON, JEHAN	D	H	92	$1,500
		GORDON, JEHAN Total				$1,500
		HARMON, DON	D	S	39	$1,000
		HARMON, DON Total				$1,000
		HARRIS, DAVID	R	H	53	$500
		HARRIS, DAVID Total				$500
		HATCHER, KAY	R	H	50	$2,000
		HATCHER, KAY Total				$2,000
		HAYS, CHAD D	R	H	104	$1,000
		HAYS, CHAD D Total				$1,000
		HERNANDEZ, ELIZABETH	D	H	24	$1,500
		HERNANDEZ, ELIZABETH Total				$1,500
		HURLEY, FRANCES ANN	D	H	35	$500
		HURLEY, FRANCES ANN Total				$500
		HUTCHINSON, TOI W	D	S	40	$2,500
		HUTCHINSON, TOI W Total				$2,500
		JACOBS, MIKE	D	S	36	$3,500
		JACOBS, MIKE Total				$3,500
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E	D	H	67	$2,000
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E Total				$2,000
		JOHNSON, CHRISTINE J	R	S	35	$1,000
		JOHNSON, CHRISTINE J Total				$1,000
		JONES III, EMIL	D	S	14	$6,000
		JONES III, EMIL Total				$6,000
		KAY, DWIGHT D	R	H	112	$2,000
		KAY, DWIGHT D Total				$2,000
		KLUNK-MCASEY, EMILY	D	H	85	$500
		KLUNK-MCASEY, EMILY Total				$500
		KOTOWSKI, DAN	D	S	28	$1,000
		KOTOWSKI, DAN Total				$1,000
		LAHOOD, DARIN M	R	S	37	$2,000
		LAHOOD, DARIN M Total				$2,000
		LANDEK, STEVEN	D	S	12	$1,000
		LANDEK, STEVEN Total				$1,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2012	LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	73	$3,500
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$3,500
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$1,000
		LINK, TERRY Total				$1,000
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID	R	S	58	$7,000
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID Total				$7,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$20,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$20,000
		MARTINEZ, IRIS Y	D	S	20	$500
		MARTINEZ, IRIS Y Total				$500
		MARTWICK JR, ROBERT F	D	H	19	$1,000
		MARTWICK JR, ROBERT F Total				$1,000
		MATHIAS, SIDNEY H	R	H	59	$1,000
		MATHIAS, SIDNEY H Total				$1,000
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$15,000
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$15,000
		MAYFIELD, RITA	D	H	60	$500
		MAYFIELD, RITA Total				$500
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	20	$11,000
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$11,000
		MCCANN, WILLIAM	R	S	50	$4,000
		MCCANN, WILLIAM Total				$4,000
		MITCHELL, BILL	R	H	101	$2,500
		MITCHELL, BILL Total				$2,500
		MORTHLAND, RICHARD	R	H	71	$3,000
		MORTHLAND, RICHARD Total				$3,000
		MOYLAN, MARTIN J	D	H	55	$500
		MOYLAN, MARTIN J Total				$500
		MULROE, JOHN G	D	S	10	$2,000
		MULROE, JOHN G Total				$2,000
		MUÑOZ, ANTONIO	D	S	1	$4,000
		MUÑOZ, ANTONIO Total				$4,000
		MURPHY, MATT	R	S	27	$7,000
		MURPHY, MATT Total				$7,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2012	NEAL, JOE	R	S	31	$1,000
		NEAL, JOE Total				$1,000
		NOLAND, MICHAEL	D	S	22	$1,000
		NOLAND, MICHAEL Total				$1,000
		OBERWEIS, JIM	R	S	25	$2,000
		OBERWEIS, JIM Total				$2,000
		OSMOND, JOANN D	R	H	61	$2,500
		OSMOND, JOANN D Total				$2,500
		PANKAU, CAROLE	R	S	23	$2,000
		PANKAU, CAROLE Total				$2,000
		PECK, GARRETT M	R	S	49	$500
		PECK, GARRETT M Total				$500
		PHELPS, BRANDON	D	H	118	$1,000
		PHELPS, BRANDON Total				$1,000
		PRITCHARD, ROBERT W	R	H	70	$1,000
		PRITCHARD, ROBERT W Total				$1,000
		RADOGNO, CHRISTINE	R	S	41	$20,000
		RADOGNO, CHRISTINE Total				$20,000
		REIS, DAVID	R	H	109	$1,000
		REIS, DAVID Total				$1,000
		RIGHTER, DALE A	R	S	55	$6,500
		RIGHTER, DALE A Total				$6,500
		RITA, ROBERT	D	H	28	$2,000
		RITA, ROBERT Total				$2,000
		ROSE, CHAPIN	R	S	51	$2,500
		ROSE, CHAPIN Total				$2,500
		ROSENTHAL, WAYNE ARTHUR	R	H	95	$2,000
		ROSENTHAL, WAYNE ARTHUR Total				$2,000
		ROTH, PAM	R	H	75	$2,000
		ROTH, PAM Total				$2,000
		SACIA, JIM	R	H	89	$1,000
		SACIA, JIM Total				$1,000
		SANDACK, RON	R	H	81	$2,000
		SANDACK, RON Total				$2,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2012	SANDOVAL, MARTIN A	D	S	11	$500
		SANDOVAL, MARTIN A Total				$500
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$9,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$9,000
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L	R	H	65	$16,000
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L Total				$16,000
		SILVERSTEIN, IRA I	D	S	8	$500
		SILVERSTEIN, IRA I Total				$500
		SIMS, ELGIE R	D	H	34	$2,000
		SIMS, ELGIE R Total				$2,000
		SMITH, DERRICK	D	H	10	$2,000
		SMITH, DERRICK Total				$2,000
		SOMMER, KEITH P	R	H	88	$1,500
		SOMMER, KEITH P Total				$1,500
		SOSNOWSKI, JOE	R	H	69	$500
		SOSNOWSKI, JOE Total				$500
		SOTO, CYNTHIA	D	H	4	$500
		SOTO, CYNTHIA Total				$500
		SULLIVAN JR, ED	R	H	51	$11,000
		SULLIVAN JR, ED Total				$11,000
		SULLIVAN, JOHN M	D	S	47	$5,000
		SULLIVAN, JOHN M Total				$5,000
		SYVERSON, DAVE	R	S	35	$3,000
		SYVERSON, DAVE Total				$3,000
		TABARES, SILVANA	D	H	21	$500
		TABARES, SILVANA Total				$500
		THAPEDI, ANDRÉ	D	H	32	$6,500
		THAPEDI, ANDRÉ Total				$6,500
		TRACY, JIL	R	H	94	$1,000
		TRACY, JIL Total				$1,000
		TRYON, MICHAEL W	R	H	66	$2,000
		TRYON, MICHAEL W Total				$2,000
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$3,000
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$3,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
PHILIP MORRIS	2012	UNES, MICHAEL D	R	H	91	$2,000
		UNES, MICHAEL D Total				$2,000
		VERSCHOORE, PATRICK	D	H	72	$2,000
		VERSCHOORE, PATRICK Total				$2,000
		WATSON, JIM	R	H	100	$4,000
		WATSON, JIM Total				$4,000
		WELCH, EMANUEL	D	H	7	$1,000
		WELCH, EMANUEL Total				$1,000
		WILHELMI, ARTHUR	D	S	43	$1,000
		WILHELMI, ARTHUR Total				$1,000
		ZALEWSKI, MICHAEL J	D	H	23	$1,500
		ZALEWSKI, MICHAEL J Total				$1,500
	2012 Total					$335,000
PHILIP MORRIS Total						$2,825,815
REPUBLIC TOBACCO	1998	CULLERTON, JOHN	D	S	6	$1,000
		CULLERTON, JOHN Total				$1,000
		RYAN, GEORGE H	R	G	SW	$21,000
		RYAN, GEORGE H Total				$21,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$500
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$500
	1998 Total					$22,500
	2002	FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA	D	H	12	$500
		FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA Total				$500
		PARKER, KATHLEEN K	R	S	29	$250
		PARKER, KATHLEEN K Total				$250
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$0
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$0
	2002 Total					$750
	2004	FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA	D	H	12	$1,000
		FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA Total				$1,000
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	20	$10,000
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$10,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$5,500
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$5,500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
REPUBLIC TOBACCO	2004 Total					$16,500
	2006	FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA	D	H	12	$500
		FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA Total				$500
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	20	$1,100
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$1,100
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$5,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$5,000
	2006 Total					$6,600
	2010	MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	20	$600
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$600
		RAOUL, KWAME	D	S	13	$1,000
		RAOUL, KWAME Total				$1,000
		REBOLETTI, DENNIS M	R	H	46	$500
		REBOLETTI, DENNIS M Total				$500
	2010 Total					$2,100
REPUBLIC TOBACCO Total						$48,450
RJ REYNOLDS	1998	BERMAN, ARTHUR L	D	S	9	$250
		BERMAN, ARTHUR L Total				$250
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A	R	H	78	$250
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A Total				$250
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL	D	H	72	$500
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL Total				$500
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY	R	S	35	$600
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY Total				$600
		CHURCHILL, ROBERT W	R	SS	SW	$1,000
		CHURCHILL, ROBERT W Total				$1,000
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN	D	H	25	$500
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN Total				$500
		DANIELS, LEE	R	H	46	$5,050
		DANIELS, LEE Total				$5,050
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W	R	S	7	$1,000
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W Total				$1,000
		FLOWERS, MARY E	D	H	21	$250
		FLOWERS, MARY E Total				$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	1998	GIGLIO, MICHAEL	D	H	79	$400
		GIGLIO, MICHAEL Total				$400
		JACOBS, DENNIS J	D	S	36	$250
		JACOBS, DENNIS J Total				$250
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$2,000
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$2,000
		KENNER, HOWARD A	D	H	24	$500
		KENNER, HOWARD A Total				$500
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	93	$250
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$250
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$1,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$1,000
		MAHAR, WILLIAM F	R	S	19	$500
		MAHAR, WILLIAM F Total				$500
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$400
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$400
		MCKEON, LARRY	D	H	34	$250
		MCKEON, LARRY Total				$250
		MOORE, EUGENE	D	H	7	$1,500
		MOORE, EUGENE Total				$1,500
		PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	53	$250
		PARKE, TERRY R Total				$250
		PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$7,000
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$7,000
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN	R	S	33	$750
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN Total				$750
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	H	87	$500
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$500
		RYAN, GEORGE H	R	G	SW	$5,000
		RYAN, GEORGE H Total				$5,000
		RYDER, TOM	R	H	97	$1,000
		RYDER, TOM Total				$1,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$1,500
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$1,500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	1998	TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	16	$250
		TROTTER, DONNE E Total				$250
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$1,000
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$1,000
		WALSH, THOMAS J	R	S	22	$250
		WALSH, THOMAS J Total				$250
		WELCH, PATRICK D	D	S	38	$500
		WELCH, PATRICK D Total				$500
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L	R	H	45	$1,000
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L Total				$1,000
	1998 Total					$35,450
	2000	BRADY, ED	R	H	88	$250
		BRADY, ED Total				$250
		CULLERTON, JOHN	D	S	6	$500
		CULLERTON, JOHN Total				$500
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN	D	H	25	$1,500
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN Total				$1,500
		DANIELS, LEE	R	H	46	$2,620
		DANIELS, LEE Total				$2,620
		DART, THOMAS J	D	H	28	$500
		DART, THOMAS J Total				$500
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D	D	H	27	$250
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D Total				$250
		DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10	$250
		DELEO, JAMES A Total				$250
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	41	$500
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$500
		DURKIN, JIM	R	H	44	$500
		DURKIN, JIM Total				$500
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	109	$500
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$500
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$2,500
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$2,500
		KENNER, HOWARD A	D	H	24	$750

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2000	KENNER, HOWARD A Total				$750
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	93	$250
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$250
		LINDNER, PATRICIA REID	R	H	65	$250
		LINDNER, PATRICIA REID Total				$250
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$250
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$250
		PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	53	$250
		PARKE, TERRY R Total				$250
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E	R	S	26	$500
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E Total				$500
		PETKA, EDWARD F	R	S	42	$500
		PETKA, EDWARD F Total				$500
		PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$1,500
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$1,500
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN	R	S	33	$600
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN Total				$600
		RYDER, THOMAS W	R	H	97	$1,250
		RYDER, THOMAS W Total				$1,250
		TENHOUSE, ART	R	H	96	$1,000
		TENHOUSE, ART Total				$1,000
		TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	16	$500
		TROTTER, DONNE E Total				$500
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$1,250
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$1,250
		WELCH, PATRICK D	D	S	38	$250
		WELCH, PATRICK D Total				$250
	2000 Total					$18,970
	2002	DEMUZIO, VINCE	D	S	49	$500
		DEMUZIO, VINCE Total				$500
		HARTKE, CHARLES A	D	H	108	$500
		HARTKE, CHARLES A Total				$500
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$6,000
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$6,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2002	LAUZEN, CHRIS	R	S	25	$2,000
		LAUZEN, CHRIS Total				$2,000
		WATSON, JIM	R	H	97	$250
		WATSON, JIM Total				$250
	2002 Total					$9,250
	2004	ACEVEDO, EDWARD	D	H	2	$800
		ACEVEDO, EDWARD Total				$800
		AGUILAR, FRANK	R	H	24	$250
		AGUILAR, FRANK Total				$250
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52	$500
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total				$500
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA	D	H	39	$750
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA Total				$750
		BOLAND, MIKE	D	H	71	$200
		BOLAND, MIKE Total				$200
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T	D	H	40	$300
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T Total				$300
		BRADY, DAN	R	H	88	$550
		BRADY, DAN Total				$550
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C	D	H	20	$500
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C Total				$500
		CHURCHILL, ROBERT W	R	H	62	$250
		CHURCHILL, ROBERT W Total				$250
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$500
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$500
		CROSS, TOM	R	H	84	$3,500
		CROSS, TOM Total				$3,500
		CULLERTON, JOHN	D	S	6	$500
		CULLERTON, JOHN Total				$500
		DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111	$1,300
		DAVIS, STEVE Total				$1,300
		DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10	$750
		DELEO, JAMES A Total				$750
		DELGADO, WILLIAM	D	H	3	$1,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2004	DELGADO, WILLIAM Total				$1,000
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$500
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$500
		FLOWERS, MARY E	D	H	31	$500
		FLOWERS, MARY E Total				$500
		GILES, CALVIN	D	H	8	$250
		GILES, CALVIN Total				$250
		GRAHAM, DEBORAH L	D	H	78	$300
		GRAHAM, DEBORAH L Total				$300
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	107	$800
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$800
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D	D	S	40	$1,500
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D Total				$1,500
		HARMON, DON	D	S	39	$500
		HARMON, DON Total				$500
		HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	85	$1,500
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$1,500
		HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112	$500
		HOFFMAN, JAY C Total				$500
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A	D	H	34	$500
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A Total				$500
		HUNTER, MATTIE	D	S	3	$500
		HUNTER, MATTIE Total				$500
		JACOBS, DENNIS J	D	S	36	$1,000
		JACOBS, DENNIS J Total				$1,000
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$3,000
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$3,000
		JONES, LOVANA S	D	H	26	$600
		JONES, LOVANA S Total				$600
		JOYCE, KEVIN	D	H	35	$1,500
		JOYCE, KEVIN Total				$1,500
		KOSEL, RENÉE	R	H	81	$250
		KOSEL, RENÉE Total				$250
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$800

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2004	LANG, LOU Total				$800
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	73	$500
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$500
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$1,000
		LINK, TERRY Total				$1,000
		LYONS, JOSEPH M	D	H	19	$1,000
		LYONS, JOSEPH M Total				$1,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$4,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$4,000
		MARTINEZ, IRIS Y	D	S	20	$250
		MARTINEZ, IRIS Y Total				$250
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$750
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$750
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	20	$750
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$750
		MENDOZA, SUSANA	D	H	1	$1,000
		MENDOZA, SUSANA Total				$1,000
		MILLNER, JOHN J	R	H	55	$300
		MILLNER, JOHN J Total				$300
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	H	21	$2,000
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$2,000
		MORROW, CHARLES G	D	H	32	$1,000
		MORROW, CHARLES G Total				$1,000
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E	R	S	26	$500
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E Total				$500
		PHELPS, BRANDON	D	H	118	$500
		PHELPS, BRANDON Total				$500
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$800
		REITZ, DAN Total				$800
		RISINGER, DALE E	R	S	37	$500
		RISINGER, DALE E Total				$500
		RITA, ROBERT	D	H	28	$2,000
		RITA, ROBERT Total				$2,000
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	S	53	$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2004	RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$500
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$1,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$1,000
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L	R	H	49	$800
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L Total				$800
		SHADID, GEORGE P	D	S	46	$500
		SHADID, GEORGE P Total				$500
		TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	17	$500
		TROTTER, DONNE E Total				$500
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$1,000
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$1,000
		VERSCHOORE, PATRICK	D	H	72	$500
		VERSCHOORE, PATRICK Total				$500
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S	D	S	11	$500
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S Total				$500
		WALSH, LAWRENCE M	D	S	43	$500
		WALSH, LAWRENCE M Total				$500
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	51	$500
		WATSON, FRANK Total				$500
		WATSON, JIM	R	H	97	$250
		WATSON, JIM Total				$250
	2004 Total					$49,550
	2006	ACEVEDO, EDWARD	D	H	2	$1,500
		ACEVEDO, EDWARD Total				$1,500
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52	$2,000
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total				$2,000
		BEISER, DANIEL V	D	H	111	$500
		BEISER, DANIEL V Total				$500
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A	R	H	41	$500
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A Total				$500
		BOLAND, MIKE	D	H	71	$1,000
		BOLAND, MIKE Total				$1,000
		BOST, MIKE	R	H	115	$500
		BOST, MIKE Total				$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2006	BRADLEY, RICHARD T	D	H	40	$500
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T Total				$500
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY	R	S	35	$500
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY Total				$500
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$1,000
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$1,000
		CROSS, TOM	R	H	84	$3,500
		CROSS, TOM Total				$3,500
		CROTTY, M MAGGIE	D	S	19	$500
		CROTTY, M MAGGIE Total				$500
		D'AMICO, JOHN C	D	H	15	$500
		D'AMICO, JOHN C Total				$500
		DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10	$500
		DELEO, JAMES A Total				$500
		DELGADO, WILLIAM	D	H	3	$1,500
		DELGADO, WILLIAM Total				$1,500
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$500
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$500
		DURKIN, JIM	R	H	82	$1,000
		DURKIN, JIM Total				$1,000
		FLOWERS, MARY E	D	H	31	$1,000
		FLOWERS, MARY E Total				$1,000
		FORBY, GARY	D	S	59	$500
		FORBY, GARY Total				$500
		FROEHLICH, PAUL	R	H	56	$500
		FROEHLICH, PAUL Total				$500
		GRAHAM, DEBORAH L	D	H	78	$500
		GRAHAM, DEBORAH L Total				$500
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	107	$1,500
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$1,500
		HAINE, WILLIAM R	D	S	56	$500
		HAINE, WILLIAM R Total				$500
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D	D	S	40	$1,000
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D Total				$1,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2006	HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	85	$1,500
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$1,500
		HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112	$500
		HOFFMAN, JAY C Total				$500
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS	D	H	113	$500
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS Total				$500
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A	D	H	34	$1,500
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A Total				$1,500
		JACOBS, MIKE	D	S	36	$500
		JACOBS, MIKE Total				$500
		JEFFERIES, ELGA L	D	H	26	$500
		JEFFERIES, ELGA L Total				$500
		JENISCH, ROGER A	R	H	45	$500
		JENISCH, ROGER A Total				$500
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$20,000
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$20,000
		JONES, JOHN O	R	S	54	$500
		JONES, JOHN O Total				$500
		KELLY, ROBIN	D	H	38	$500
		KELLY, ROBIN Total				$500
		KOSEL, RENÉE	R	H	81	$1,500
		KOSEL, RENÉE Total				$1,500
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$500
		LANG, LOU Total				$500
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	73	$1,000
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$1,000
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$1,000
		LINK, TERRY Total				$1,000
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID	R	S	58	$1,000
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID Total				$1,000
		LYONS, JOSEPH M	D	H	19	$1,000
		LYONS, JOSEPH M Total				$1,000
		MATHIAS, SIDNEY H	R	H	53	$500
		MATHIAS, SIDNEY H Total				$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2006	MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$1,500
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$1,500
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	20	$1,000
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$1,000
		MEYER, JAMES H	R	H	48	$500
		MEYER, JAMES H Total				$500
		MILLNER, JOHN J	R	S	28	$500
		MILLNER, JOHN J Total				$500
		MITCHELL, BILL	R	H	87	$500
		MITCHELL, BILL Total				$500
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	H	21	$1,000
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$1,000
		MYERS, RICHARD P	R	H	94	$500
		MYERS, RICHARD P Total				$500
		PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	44	$500
		PARKE, TERRY R Total				$500
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E	R	S	26	$500
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E Total				$500
		PHELPS, BRANDON	D	H	118	$500
		PHELPS, BRANDON Total				$500
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$1,000
		REITZ, DAN Total				$1,000
		RIGHTER, DALE A	R	S	55	$500
		RIGHTER, DALE A Total				$500
		RISINGER, DALE E	R	S	37	$500
		RISINGER, DALE E Total				$500
		RITA, ROBERT	D	H	28	$2,500
		RITA, ROBERT Total				$2,500
		ROSE, CHAPIN	R	H	110	$500
		ROSE, CHAPIN Total				$500
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	SS	SW	$500
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$500
		SANDOVAL, MARTIN A	D	S	12	$500
		SANDOVAL, MARTIN A Total				$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2006	SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$1,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$1,000
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L	R	H	49	$500
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L Total				$500
		SMITH, MICHAEL K	D	H	91	$500
		SMITH, MICHAEL K Total				$500
		SOMMER, KEITH P	R	H	106	$500
		SOMMER, KEITH P Total				$500
		STEPHENS, RON	R	H	102	$500
		STEPHENS, RON Total				$500
		SULLIVAN JR, ED	R	H	51	$1,000
		SULLIVAN JR, ED Total				$1,000
		TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	17	$500
		TROTTER, DONNE E Total				$500
		TRYON, MICHAEL W	R	H	64	$500
		TRYON, MICHAEL W Total				$500
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$1,000
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$1,000
		VERSCHOORE, PATRICK	D	H	72	$1,000
		VERSCHOORE, PATRICK Total				$1,000
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S	D	S	11	$1,000
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S Total				$1,000
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	51	$6,000
		WATSON, FRANK Total				$6,000
		WILHELMI, ARTHUR	D	S	43	$1,000
		WILHELMI, ARTHUR Total				$1,000
		WINTERS, DAVE	R	H	68	$500
		WINTERS, DAVE Total				$500
	2006 Total					$83,000
	2008	ACEVEDO, EDWARD	D	H	2	$1,000
		ACEVEDO, EDWARD Total				$1,000
		ALTHOFF, PAMELA	R	S	32	$1,500
		ALTHOFF, PAMELA Total				$1,500
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52	$1,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2008	BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total				$1,000
		BEISER, DANIEL V	D	H	111	$500
		BEISER, DANIEL V Total				$500
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA	D	H	39	$500
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA Total				$500
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A	R	H	41	$500
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A Total				$500
		BLACK, WILLIAM B	R	H	104	$500
		BLACK, WILLIAM B Total				$500
		BOST, MIKE	R	H	115	$750
		BOST, MIKE Total				$750
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T	D	S	20	$10,000
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T Total				$10,000
		BRADY, BILL	R	S	44	$1,500
		BRADY, BILL Total				$1,500
		BRADY, DAN	R	H	88	$1,000
		BRADY, DAN Total				$1,000
		BRAUER, RICH	R	H	100	$500
		BRAUER, RICH Total				$500
		BURKE, DANIEL J	D	H	23	$2,000
		BURKE, DANIEL J Total				$2,000
		BURNS, WILLIAM D	D	H	26	$2,500
		BURNS, WILLIAM D Total				$2,500
		CHAPA LAVIA, LINDA	D	H	83	$500
		CHAPA LAVIA, LINDA Total				$500
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$1,500
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$1,500
		COLADIPIETRO, FRANCO	R	H	45	$1,000
		COLADIPIETRO, FRANCO Total				$1,000
		COLVIN, MARLOW	D	H	33	$500
		COLVIN, MARLOW Total				$500
		CRESPO, FRED	D	H	44	$500
		CRESPO, FRED Total				$500
		CROSS, TOM	R	H	84	$21,500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2008	CROSS, TOM Total				$21,500
		CROTTY, M MAGGIE	D	S	19	$500
		CROTTY, M MAGGIE Total				$500
		CULTRA, SHANE	R	H	105	$1,000
		CULTRA, SHANE Total				$1,000
		D'AMICO, JOHN C	D	H	15	$500
		D'AMICO, JOHN C Total				$500
		DAHL, GARY G	R	S	38	$2,000
		DAHL, GARY G Total				$2,000
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D	D	H	27	$2,500
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D Total				$2,500
		DELGADO, WILLIAM	D	S	2	$500
		DELGADO, WILLIAM Total				$500
		DEMUZIO, DEANNA	D	S	49	$500
		DEMUZIO, DEANNA Total				$500
		DUGAN, LISA M	D	H	79	$500
		DUGAN, LISA M Total				$500
		DUNKIN, KENNETH	D	H	5	$1,500
		DUNKIN, KENNETH Total				$1,500
		DURKIN, JIM	R	H	82	$500
		DURKIN, JIM Total				$500
		EDDY, ROGER L	R	H	109	$500
		EDDY, ROGER L Total				$500
		FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA	D	H	12	$500
		FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA Total				$500
		FORBY, GARY	D	S	59	$1,000
		FORBY, GARY Total				$1,000
		FRANKS, JACK D	D	H	63	$500
		FRANKS, JACK D Total				$500
		FRERICHS, MICHAEL W	D	S	52	$2,000
		FRERICHS, MICHAEL W Total				$2,000
		FROEHLICH, PAUL	D	H	56	$250
		FROEHLICH, PAUL Total				$250
		GORDON, CAREEN M	D	H	75	$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2008	GORDON, CAREEN M Total				$500
		GRAHAM, DEBORAH L	D	H	78	$1,000
		GRAHAM, DEBORAH L Total				$1,000
		HAINE, WILLIAM R	D	S	56	$1,000
		HAINE, WILLIAM R Total				$1,000
		HANNIG, GARY	D	H	98	$9,000
		HANNIG, GARY Total				$9,000
		HARRIS, GREGORY	D	H	13	$500
		HARRIS, GREGORY Total				$500
		HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	85	$3,500
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$3,500
		HENDON, RICKEY R	D	S	5	$500
		HENDON, RICKEY R Total				$500
		HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112	$500
		HOFFMAN, JAY C Total				$500
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS	D	H	113	$1,000
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS Total				$1,000
		HOLMES, LINDA	D	S	42	$500
		HOLMES, LINDA Total				$500
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A	D	H	34	$500
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A Total				$500
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M	R	S	48	$500
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M Total				$500
		JACOBS, MIKE	D	S	36	$2,500
		JACOBS, MIKE Total				$2,500
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E	D	H	67	$500
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E Total				$500
		JONES, JOHN O	R	S	54	$1,500
		JONES, JOHN O Total				$1,500
		KOSEL, RENÉE	R	H	81	$750
		KOSEL, RENÉE Total				$750
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$8,000
		LANG, LOU Total				$8,000
		LAUZEN, CHRIS	R	S	25	$1,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2008	LAUZEN, CHRIS Total				$1,000
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	73	$250
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$250
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID	R	S	58	$500
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID Total				$500
		LYONS, JOSEPH M	D	H	19	$500
		LYONS, JOSEPH M Total				$500
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$10,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$10,000
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$1,500
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$1,500
		MAYER, G ALLEN	D	H	92	$5,000
		MAYER, G ALLEN Total				$5,000
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	20	$1,500
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$1,500
		MCCARTHY, KEVIN A	D	H	37	$500
		MCCARTHY, KEVIN A Total				$500
		MENDOZA, SUSANA	D	H	1	$500
		MENDOZA, SUSANA Total				$500
		MILLNER, JOHN J	R	S	28	$2,000
		MILLNER, JOHN J Total				$2,000
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	H	21	$250
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$250
		MULCAHEY, MARTY	D	S	45	$500
		MULCAHEY, MARTY Total				$500
		MUÑOZ, ANTONIO	D	S	1	$1,000
		MUÑOZ, ANTONIO Total				$1,000
		MURPHY, MATT	R	S	27	$1,000
		MURPHY, MATT Total				$1,000
		MYERS, RICHARD P	R	H	94	$750
		MYERS, RICHARD P Total				$750
		NOLAND, MICHAEL	D	S	22	$500
		NOLAND, MICHAEL Total				$500
		OSMOND, JOANN D	R	H	61	$750

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2008	OSMOND, JOANN D Total				$750
		PHELPS, BRANDON	D	H	118	$750
		PHELPS, BRANDON Total				$750
		RAMEY, HARRY	R	H	55	$250
		RAMEY, HARRY Total				$250
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$1,000
		REITZ, DAN Total				$1,000
		RIGHTER, DALE A	R	S	55	$1,500
		RIGHTER, DALE A Total				$1,500
		RILEY, AL	D	H	38	$12,500
		RILEY, AL Total				$12,500
		RISINGER, DALE E	R	S	37	$1,000
		RISINGER, DALE E Total				$1,000
		RITA, ROBERT	D	H	28	$5,500
		RITA, ROBERT Total				$5,500
		ROSE, CHAPIN	R	H	110	$1,250
		ROSE, CHAPIN Total				$1,250
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	S	53	$1,000
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$1,000
		SANDOVAL, MARTIN A	D	S	12	$500
		SANDOVAL, MARTIN A Total				$500
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$1,500
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$1,500
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L	R	H	49	$2,000
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L Total				$2,000
		SMITH, MICHAEL K	D	H	91	$1,500
		SMITH, MICHAEL K Total				$1,500
		SOMMER, KEITH P	R	H	106	$1,000
		SOMMER, KEITH P Total				$1,000
		STEPHENS, RON	R	H	102	$750
		STEPHENS, RON Total				$750
		SYVERSON, DAVE	R	S	34	$500
		SYVERSON, DAVE Total				$500
		THAPEDI, ANDRÉ	D	H	32	$2,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2008	THAPEDI, ANDRÉ Total				$2,000
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$14,500
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$14,500
		VERSCHOORE, PATRICK	D	H	72	$500
		VERSCHOORE, PATRICK Total				$500
		WAIT, RONALD A	R	H	69	$1,000
		WAIT, RONALD A Total				$1,000
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	51	$23,678
		WATSON, FRANK Total				$23,678
		WATSON, JIM	R	H	97	$500
		WATSON, JIM Total				$500
		WILHELMI, ARTHUR	D	S	43	$500
		WILHELMI, ARTHUR Total				$500
	2008 Total					$199,428
	2010	ACEVEDO, EDWARD	D	H	2	$2,500
		ACEVEDO, EDWARD Total				$2,500
		ALTHOFF, PAMELA	R	S	32	$500
		ALTHOFF, PAMELA Total				$500
		ARROYO, LUIS	D	H	3	$500
		ARROYO, LUIS Total				$500
		BASSI, SUZANNE	R	H	54	$1,000
		BASSI, SUZANNE Total				$1,000
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52	$500
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total				$500
		BEISER, DANIEL V	D	H	111	$500
		BEISER, DANIEL V Total				$500
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA	D	H	39	$500
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA Total				$500
		BOLAND, MIKE	D	LTG	SW	$500
		BOLAND, MIKE Total				$500
		BOND, MICHAEL	D	S	31	$500
		BOND, MICHAEL Total				$500
		BOST, MIKE	R	H	115	$500
		BOST, MIKE Total				$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2010	BRADLEY, JOHN	D	H	117	$1,000
		BRADLEY, JOHN Total				$1,000
		BRADY, BILL	R	G	SW	$10,000
		BRADY, BILL Total				$10,000
		BRAUER, RICH	R	H	100	$1,000
		BRAUER, RICH Total				$1,000
		BURKE, DANIEL J	D	H	23	$15,500
		BURKE, DANIEL J Total				$15,500
		BURNS, WILLIAM D	D	H	26	$500
		BURNS, WILLIAM D Total				$500
		COLLINS, ANNAZETTE	D	H	10	$2,500
		COLLINS, ANNAZETTE Total				$2,500
		CROSS, TOM	R	H	84	$40,000
		CROSS, TOM Total				$40,000
		CULTRA, SHANE	R	H	105	$250
		CULTRA, SHANE Total				$250
		DAHL, GARY G	R	S	38	$1,000
		DAHL, GARY G Total				$1,000
		DAVIS, WILLIAM	D	H	30	$500
		DAVIS, WILLIAM Total				$500
		DELUCA, ANTHONY	D	H	80	$500
		DELUCA, ANTHONY Total				$500
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$1,000
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$1,000
		DUGAN, LISA M	D	H	79	$500
		DUGAN, LISA M Total				$500
		EDDY, ROGER L	R	H	109	$250
		EDDY, ROGER L Total				$250
		FARLEY, DAN	D	H	11	$2,000
		FARLEY, DAN Total				$2,000
		FARNHAM, KEITH	D	H	43	$500
		FARNHAM, KEITH Total				$500
		FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA	D	H	12	$500
		FEIGENHOLTZ, SARA Total				$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2010	FLOWERS, MARY E	D	H	31	$500
		FLOWERS, MARY E Total				$500
		FLYNN, MOLLY MCAVOY	R	H	37	$2,750
		FLYNN, MOLLY MCAVOY Total				$2,750
		FRANKS, JACK D	D	H	63	$500
		FRANKS, JACK D Total				$500
		FRERICHS, MICHAEL W	D	S	52	$1,000
		FRERICHS, MICHAEL W Total				$1,000
		HENDON, RICKEY R	D	LTG	SW	$500
		HENDON, RICKEY R Total				$500
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS	D	H	113	$500
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS Total				$500
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M	R	S	48	$500
		HULTGREN, RANDALL M Total				$500
		HUTCHINSON, TOI W	D	S	40	$500
		HUTCHINSON, TOI W Total				$500
		JACKSON, EDDIE LEE	D	H	114	$4,000
		JACKSON, EDDIE LEE Total				$4,000
		JACOBS, MIKE	D	S	36	$500
		JACOBS, MIKE Total				$500
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E	D	H	67	$500
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E Total				$500
		JONES III, EMIL	D	S	14	$500
		JONES III, EMIL Total				$500
		JONES, JOHN O	R	S	54	$1,000
		JONES, JOHN O Total				$1,000
		JONES, THADDEUS	D	H	29	$3,250
		JONES, THADDEUS Total				$3,250
		JOYCE, KEVIN	D	H	35	$1,750
		JOYCE, KEVIN Total				$1,750
		KOSEL, RENÉE	R	H	81	$500
		KOSEL, RENÉE Total				$500
		KYLE, ANGELO	D	H	60	$3,000
		KYLE, ANGELO Total				$3,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2010	LANDERS, CHARLES	D	H	98	$3,000
		LANDERS, CHARLES Total				$3,000
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$500
		LANG, LOU Total				$500
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	73	$500
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$500
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID	R	S	58	$250
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID Total				$250
		LYONS, JOSEPH M	D	H	19	$500
		LYONS, JOSEPH M Total				$500
		MACELLAIO, MICHAEL B	D	H	36	$7,000
		MACELLAIO, MICHAEL B Total				$7,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$15,500
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$15,500
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$1,000
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$1,000
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	20	$1,000
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$1,000
		MCCARTER, KYLE	R	S	51	$500
		MCCARTER, KYLE Total				$500
		MILLNER, JOHN J	R	S	28	$500
		MILLNER, JOHN J Total				$500
		MURPHY, MATT	R	S	27	$500
		MURPHY, MATT Total				$500
		MYERS, RICHARD P	R	H	94	$250
		MYERS, RICHARD P Total				$250
		NOLAND, MICHAEL	D	S	22	$250
		NOLAND, MICHAEL Total				$250
		OFFICER, CARL E	D	H	114	$2,500
		OFFICER, CARL E Total				$2,500
		OSMOND, JOANN D	R	H	61	$250
		OSMOND, JOANN D Total				$250
		PHELPS, BRANDON	D	H	118	$500
		PHELPS, BRANDON Total				$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2010	POE, RAYMOND	R	H	99	$250
		POE, RAYMOND Total				$250
		RADOGNO, CHRISTINE	R	S	41	$5,000
		RADOGNO, CHRISTINE Total				$5,000
		RAMEY, HARRY	R	H	55	$250
		RAMEY, HARRY Total				$250
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$500
		REITZ, DAN Total				$500
		RISINGER, DALE E	R	S	37	$250
		RISINGER, DALE E Total				$250
		RITA, ROBERT	D	H	28	$1,000
		RITA, ROBERT Total				$1,000
		ROSE, CHAPIN	R	H	110	$250
		ROSE, CHAPIN Total				$250
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	TREAS	SW	$1,000
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$1,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$1,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$1,000
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L	R	H	49	$500
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L Total				$500
		SCHROEDER, DAVID	D	H	5	$2,500
		SCHROEDER, DAVID Total				$2,500
		SMITH, MICHAEL K	D	H	91	$500
		SMITH, MICHAEL K Total				$500
		SOMMER, KEITH P	R	H	106	$250
		SOMMER, KEITH P Total				$250
		STEPHENS, RON	R	H	102	$250
		STEPHENS, RON Total				$250
		SULLIVAN JR, ED	R	H	51	$500
		SULLIVAN JR, ED Total				$500
		SULLIVAN, JOHN M	D	S	47	$500
		SULLIVAN, JOHN M Total				$500
		THAPEDI, ANDRÉ	D	H	32	$15,000
		THAPEDI, ANDRÉ Total				$15,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2010	TRACY, JIL	R	H	93	$250
		TRACY, JIL Total				$250
		TRYON, MICHAEL W	R	H	64	$250
		TRYON, MICHAEL W Total				$250
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$3,000
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$3,000
		VERSCHOORE, PATRICK	D	H	72	$500
		VERSCHOORE, PATRICK Total				$500
		WASHINGTON, EDDIE	D	H	60	$1,000
		WASHINGTON, EDDIE Total				$1,000
		WATSON, JIM	R	H	97	$250
		WATSON, JIM Total				$250
		WINTERS, DAVE	R	H	68	$250
		WINTERS, DAVE Total				$250
		ZALEWSKI, MICHAEL J	D	H	21	$7,500
		ZALEWSKI, MICHAEL J Total				$7,500
	2010 Total					$183,750
	2012	ACEVEDO, EDWARD	D	H	2	$4,000
		ACEVEDO, EDWARD Total				$4,000
		ALTHOFF, PAMELA	R	S	32	$500
		ALTHOFF, PAMELA Total				$500
		ARROYO, LUIS	D	H	3	$500
		ARROYO, LUIS Total				$500
		BARICKMAN, JASON	R	S	53	$250
		BARICKMAN, JASON Total				$250
		BEISER, DANIEL V	D	H	111	$500
		BEISER, DANIEL V Total				$500
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA	D	H	39	$4,000
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA Total				$4,000
		BOST, MIKE	R	H	115	$500
		BOST, MIKE Total				$500
		BRADLEY, JOHN	D	H	117	$500
		BRADLEY, JOHN Total				$500
		BRADY, BILL	R	S	44	$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2012	BRADY, BILL Total				$250
		BRAUER, RICH	R	H	87	$500
		BRAUER, RICH Total				$500
		BROWN, ADAM M	R	H	102	$250
		BROWN, ADAM M Total				$250
		BURKE, DANIEL J	D	H	1	$500
		BURKE, DANIEL J Total				$500
		CHAPA LAVIA, LINDA	D	H	83	$500
		CHAPA LAVIA, LINDA Total				$500
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$500
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$500
		COLLINS, ANNAZETTE	D	S	5	$500
		COLLINS, ANNAZETTE Total				$500
		CONROY, DEBORAH	D	H	46	$3,000
		CONROY, DEBORAH Total				$3,000
		CRESPO, FRED	D	H	44	$500
		CRESPO, FRED Total				$500
		CROSS, TOM	R	H	97	$16,500
		CROSS, TOM Total				$16,500
		CULTRA, SHANE	R	S	53	$250
		CULTRA, SHANE Total				$250
		CUNNINGHAM, BILL	D	S	18	$500
		CUNNINGHAM, BILL Total				$500
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D	D	H	27	$5,000
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D Total				$5,000
		DELUCA, ANTHONY	D	H	80	$500
		DELUCA, ANTHONY Total				$500
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$500
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$500
		DUNKIN, KENNETH	D	H	5	$2,500
		DUNKIN, KENNETH Total				$2,500
		DURKIN, JIM	R	H	82	$250
		DURKIN, JIM Total				$250
		EVANS, PAUL J	R	H	108	$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2012	EVANS, PAUL J Total				$500
		FRANKS, JACK D	D	H	63	$500
		FRANKS, JACK D Total				$500
		FRERICHS, MICHAEL W	D	S	52	$1,000
		FRERICHS, MICHAEL W Total				$1,000
		GABEL, ROBYN	D	H	18	$500
		GABEL, ROBYN Total				$500
		GAFFNEY, KENT	R	H	52	$1,000
		GAFFNEY, KENT Total				$1,000
		HAINE, WILLIAM R	D	S	56	$500
		HAINE, WILLIAM R Total				$500
		HAMMOND, NORINE K	R	H	93	$250
		HAMMOND, NORINE K Total				$250
		HAYS, CHAD D	R	H	104	$250
		HAYS, CHAD D Total				$250
		HERNANDEZ, ELIZABETH	D	H	24	$5,000
		HERNANDEZ, ELIZABETH Total				$5,000
		HUTCHINSON, TOI W	D	S	40	$500
		HUTCHINSON, TOI W Total				$500
		JACOBS, MIKE	D	S	36	$500
		JACOBS, MIKE Total				$500
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E	D	H	67	$4,500
		JEFFERSON, CHARLES E Total				$4,500
		KIFOWIT, STEPHANIE A	D	H	84	$5,500
		KIFOWIT, STEPHANIE A Total				$5,500
		KOSEL, RENÉE	R	H	37	$1,750
		KOSEL, RENÉE Total				$1,750
		LANDEK, STEVEN	D	S	12	$500
		LANDEK, STEVEN Total				$500
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	73	$250
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$250
		LILLY, CAMILLE	D	H	78	$4,000
		LILLY, CAMILLE Total				$4,000
		LUECHTEFELD, DAVID	R	S	58	$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2012	LUECHTEFELD, DAVID Total				$250
		MATHIAS, SIDNEY H	R	H	59	$250
		MATHIAS, SIDNEY H Total				$250
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$500
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$500
		MAYFIELD, RITA	D	H	60	$500
		MAYFIELD, RITA Total				$500
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	20	$500
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$500
		MCCANN, WILLIAM	R	S	50	$250
		MCCANN, WILLIAM Total				$250
		MITCHELL, CHRISTIAN L	D	H	26	$5,000
		MITCHELL, CHRISTIAN L Total				$5,000
		MORRISON, THOMAS R	R	H	54	$250
		MORRISON, THOMAS R Total				$250
		MUÑOZ, ANTONIO	D	S	1	$500
		MUÑOZ, ANTONIO Total				$500
		MURPHY, MATT	R	S	27	$500
		MURPHY, MATT Total				$500
		NIXON, GLENN	R	H	79	$500
		NIXON, GLENN Total				$500
		NOLAND, MICHAEL	D	S	22	$500
		NOLAND, MICHAEL Total				$500
		NYBO, CHRIS	R	S	24	$250
		NYBO, CHRIS Total				$250
		OSMOND, JOANN D	R	H	61	$250
		OSMOND, JOANN D Total				$250
		PHELPS, BRANDON	D	H	118	$1,500
		PHELPS, BRANDON Total				$1,500
		POE, RAYMOND	R	H	99	$250
		POE, RAYMOND Total				$250
		RADOGNO, CHRISTINE	R	S	41	$12,500
		RADOGNO, CHRISTINE Total				$12,500
		RAMEY, HARRY	R	S	23	$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2012	RAMEY, HARRY Total				$250
		REBOLETTI, DENNIS M	R	H	45	$250
		REBOLETTI, DENNIS M Total				$250
		REIS, DAVID	R	H	109	$250
		REIS, DAVID Total				$250
		REZIN, SUSAN	R	S	38	$250
		REZIN, SUSAN Total				$250
		RIGHTER, DALE A	R	S	55	$500
		RIGHTER, DALE A Total				$500
		RITA, ROBERT	D	H	28	$11,000
		RITA, ROBERT Total				$11,000
		ROSE, CHAPIN	R	S	51	$500
		ROSE, CHAPIN Total				$500
		ROTH, PAM	R	H	75	$250
		ROTH, PAM Total				$250
		SACIA, JIM	R	H	89	$250
		SACIA, JIM Total				$250
		SANDACK, RON	R	H	81	$500
		SANDACK, RON Total				$500
		SANDOVAL, MARTIN A	D	S	11	$1,000
		SANDOVAL, MARTIN A Total				$1,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$1,500
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$1,500
		SCHERER, SUE	D	H	96	$500
		SCHERER, SUE Total				$500
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L	R	H	65	$1,500
		SCHMITZ, TIMOTHY L Total				$1,500
		SIMS, ELGIE R	D	H	34	$1,000
		SIMS, ELGIE R Total				$1,000
		SMITH, DERRICK	D	H	10	$7,000
		SMITH, DERRICK Total				$7,000
		SOMMER, KEITH P	R	H	88	$250
		SOMMER, KEITH P Total				$250
		SOSNOWSKI, JOE	R	H	69	$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RJ REYNOLDS	2012	SOSNOWSKI, JOE Total				$250
		SULLIVAN JR, ED	R	H	51	$750
		SULLIVAN JR, ED Total				$750
		SYVERSON, DAVE	R	S	35	$500
		SYVERSON, DAVE Total				$500
		TRACY, JIL	R	H	94	$250
		TRACY, JIL Total				$250
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$500
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$500
		UNES, MICHAEL D	R	H	91	$250
		UNES, MICHAEL D Total				$250
		VERSCHOORE, PATRICK	D	H	72	$3,500
		VERSCHOORE, PATRICK Total				$3,500
		WATSON, JIM	R	H	100	$250
		WATSON, JIM Total				$250
		WILHELMI, ARTHUR	D	S	43	$1,000
		WILHELMI, ARTHUR Total				$1,000
		ZALEWSKI, MICHAEL J	D	H	23	$500
		ZALEWSKI, MICHAEL J Total				$500
	2012 Total					$129,000
RJ REYNOLDS Total						$708,398
RYO CIGAR ASSOCIATION	2010	CROSS, TOM	R	H	84	$1,000
		CROSS, TOM Total				$1,000
		CULLERTON, JOHN	D	S	6	$2,000
		CULLERTON, JOHN Total				$2,000
		HAINE, WILLIAM R	D	S	56	$500
		HAINE, WILLIAM R Total				$500
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$2,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$2,000
		RADOGNO, CHRISTINE	R	S	41	$1,000
		RADOGNO, CHRISTINE Total				$1,000
		TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	17	$500
		TROTTER, DONNE E Total				$500
	2010 Total					$7,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
RYO CIGAR ASSOCIATION	2012	DUNKIN, KENNETH	D	H	5	$1,000
		DUNKIN, KENNETH Total				$1,000
		GOLAR, ESTHER	D	H	6	$1,500
		GOLAR, ESTHER Total				$1,500
		MAYFIELD, RITA	D	H	60	$1,000
		MAYFIELD, RITA Total				$1,000
	2012 Total					$3,500
RYO CIGAR ASSOCIATION Total						$10,500
SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	1996	BOST, MIKE	R	H	115	$200
		BOST, MIKE Total				$200
		BRADY, BILL	R	H	88	$150
		BRADY, BILL Total				$150
		DEANGELIS, ALDO A	R	S	40	$500
		DEANGELIS, ALDO A Total				$500
		DEMUZIO, VINCE	D	S	49	$200
		DEMUZIO, VINCE Total				$200
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	109	$1,000
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$1,000
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$500
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$500
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$1,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$1,000
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$150
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$150
		MURPHY, MAUREEN	R	H	36	$250
		MURPHY, MAUREEN Total				$250
		SANTIAGO, MIGUEL A	D	H	3	$250
		SANTIAGO, MIGUEL A Total				$250
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$250
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$250
	1996 Total					$4,450
	1998	GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	109	$500
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$500
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	1998	JONES JR, EMIL Total				$500
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$1,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$1,000
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A	R	S	45	$250
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A Total				$250
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$250
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$250
		PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$750
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$750
		RYAN, GEORGE H	R	G	SW	$250
		RYAN, GEORGE H Total				$250
	1998 Total					$3,500
	2000	DUDYCZ, WALTER W	R	S	7	$500
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W Total				$500
	2000 Total					$500
	2002	MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$2,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$2,000
		MCGUIRE, JACK	D	H	86	$250
		MCGUIRE, JACK Total				$250
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$500
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$500
	2002 Total					$2,750
	2004	BLAGOJEVICH, ROD R	D	G	SW	$1,000
		BLAGOJEVICH, ROD R Total				$1,000
	2004 Total					$1,000
SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL Total						$12,200
SWEDISH MATCH NORTH AMERICA INC	2008	MADIGAN, LISA	D	AG	SW	$1,000
		MADIGAN, LISA Total				$1,000
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	51	$844
		WATSON, FRANK Total				$844
	2008 Total					$1,844
SWEDISH MATCH NORTH AMERICA INC Total						$1,844
TOBACCO INSTITUTE	1996	BIGGERT, JUDY	R	H	81	$250
		BIGGERT, JUDY Total				$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
TOBACCO INSTITUTE	1996	BIGGINS, ROBERT A	R	H	78	$200
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A Total				$200
		BLACK, WILLIAM B	R	H	105	$200
		BLACK, WILLIAM B Total				$200
		BOWLES, EVELYN	D	S	56	$200
		BOWLES, EVELYN Total				$200
		BRADY, BILL	R	H	88	$650
		BRADY, BILL Total				$650
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL	D	H	72	$450
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL Total				$450
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT	D	H	19	$200
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT Total				$200
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C	D	H	13	$400
		CAPPARELLI, RALPH C Total				$400
		CARROLL, HOWARD W	D	S	8	$450
		CARROLL, HOWARD W Total				$450
		CHURCHILL, ROBERT W	R	H	62	$1,150
		CHURCHILL, ROBERT W Total				$1,150
		CLAYTON, VERNA L	R	H	51	$200
		CLAYTON, VERNA L Total				$200
		CROSS, TOM	R	H	84	$450
		CROSS, TOM Total				$450
		DANIELS, LEE	R	H	46	$3,800
		DANIELS, LEE Total				$3,800
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D	D	H	27	$200
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D Total				$200
		DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111	$700
		DAVIS, STEVE Total				$700
		DEANGELIS, ALDO A	R	S	40	$1,350
		DEANGELIS, ALDO A Total				$1,350
		DEERING, TERRY W	D	H	116	$250
		DEERING, TERRY W Total				$250
		DEL VALLE, MIGUEL	D	S	2	$200
		DEL VALLE, MIGUEL Total				$200

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
TOBACCO INSTITUTE	1996	DELEO, JAMES A	D	S	10	$350
		DELEO, JAMES A Total				$350
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	41	$300
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$300
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W	R	S	7	$1,150
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W Total				$1,150
		DUNN, TOM	D	S	43	$450
		DUNN, TOM Total				$450
		FANTIN, ARLINE M	D	H	29	$400
		FANTIN, ARLINE M Total				$400
		FARLEY, BRUCE A	D	S	17	$500
		FARLEY, BRUCE A Total				$500
		FLOWERS, MARY E	D	H	21	$200
		FLOWERS, MARY E Total				$200
		FRIAS, FERNANDO	D	H	1	$350
		FRIAS, FERNANDO Total				$350
		FRIAS, RAFAEL	D	H	1	$500
		FRIAS, RAFAEL Total				$500
		GEO-KARIS, ADELINE JAY	R	S	31	$200
		GEO-KARIS, ADELINE JAY Total				$200
		GIGLIO, MICHAEL	D	H	79	$300
		GIGLIO, MICHAEL Total				$300
		GILES, CALVIN	D	H	8	$400
		GILES, CALVIN Total				$400
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	109	$1,150
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$1,150
		HARTKE, CHARLES A	D	H	108	$250
		HARTKE, CHARLES A Total				$250
		HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	83	$400
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$400
		HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112	$200
		HOFFMAN, JAY C Total				$200
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS	D	H	113	$250
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS Total				$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
TOBACCO INSTITUTE	1996	HOWE, LUKE J	D	H	34	$250
		HOWE, LUKE J Total				$250
		HUGHES, ANN	R	H	63	$400
		HUGHES, ANN Total				$400
		JACOBS, DENNIS J	D	S	36	$750
		JACOBS, DENNIS J Total				$750
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$2,000
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$2,000
		JONES, LOVANA S	D	H	5	$200
		JONES, LOVANA S Total				$200
		KENNER, HOWARD A	D	H	24	$200
		KENNER, HOWARD A Total				$200
		KOTLARZ, JOSEPH S	D	H	20	$800
		KOTLARZ, JOSEPH S Total				$800
		KUBIK, JACK L	R	H	43	$200
		KUBIK, JACK L Total				$200
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$200
		LANG, LOU Total				$200
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	93	$450
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$450
		LOPEZ, EDGAR	D	H	4	$200
		LOPEZ, EDGAR Total				$200
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$5,200
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$5,200
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A	R	S	45	$250
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A Total				$250
		MAHAR, WILLIAM F	R	S	19	$200
		MAHAR, WILLIAM F Total				$200
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$500
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$500
		MCAULIFFE, ROGER P	R	H	14	$200
		MCAULIFFE, ROGER P Total				$200
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	S	12	$500
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
TOBACCO INSTITUTE	1996	MOORE, EUGENE	D	H	7	$400
		MOORE, EUGENE Total				$400
		MURPHY, HAROLD	D	H	30	$200
		MURPHY, HAROLD Total				$200
		MURPHY, MAUREEN	R	H	36	$200
		MURPHY, MAUREEN Total				$200
		NOVAK, JOHN	D	H	85	$700
		NOVAK, JOHN Total				$700
		O'MALLEY, PATRICK	R	S	18	$200
		O'MALLEY, PATRICK Total				$200
		PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	53	$200
		PARKE, TERRY R Total				$200
		PERSICO, VINCENT A	R	H	39	$750
		PERSICO, VINCENT A Total				$750
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E	R	S	26	$250
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E Total				$250
		PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$3,000
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$3,000
		RAICA, ROBERT	R	S	24	$600
		RAICA, ROBERT Total				$600
		REA, JAMES F	D	S	59	$250
		REA, JAMES F Total				$250
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	H	87	$200
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$200
		RYDER, TOM	R	H	97	$250
		RYDER, TOM Total				$250
		SALTSMAN, DONALD L	D	H	92	$650
		SALTSMAN, DONALD L Total				$650
		SANTIAGO, MIGUEL A	D	H	3	$550
		SANTIAGO, MIGUEL A Total				$550
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$200
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$200
		SHAW, WILLIAM	D	S	15	$650
		SHAW, WILLIAM Total				$650

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
TOBACCO INSTITUTE	1996	STEPHENS, RON	R	H	110	$200
		STEPHENS, RON Total				$200
		STROGER, TODD H	D	H	31	$200
		STROGER, TODD H Total				$200
		TENHOUSE, ART	R	H	96	$200
		TENHOUSE, ART Total				$200
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$200
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$200
		TURNER, JOHN W	R	H	90	$200
		TURNER, JOHN W Total				$200
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S	D	S	11	$200
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S Total				$200
		WEAVER, STANLEY B	R	S	52	$500
		WEAVER, STANLEY B Total				$500
		WENNLUND, LARRY	R	H	38	$200
		WENNLUND, LARRY Total				$200
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L	R	H	45	$200
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L Total				$200
	1996 Total					$42,500
	1998	ACEVEDO, EDWARD	D	H	2	$200
		ACEVEDO, EDWARD Total				$200
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52	$200
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total				$200
		BERGMAN, ROBERT	R	H	54	$200
		BERGMAN, ROBERT Total				$200
		BIGGERT, JUDY	R	H	81	$250
		BIGGERT, JUDY Total				$250
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A	R	H	78	$450
		BIGGINS, ROBERT A Total				$450
		BLACK, WILLIAM B	R	H	105	$200
		BLACK, WILLIAM B Total				$200
		BOLAND, MIKE	D	H	71	$200
		BOLAND, MIKE Total				$200
		BRADFORD, GLENN	D	H	112	$200

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
TOBACCO INSTITUTE	1998	BRADFORD, GLENN Total				$200
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T	D	H	20	$200
		BRADLEY, RICHARD T Total				$200
		BRADY, BILL	R	H	88	$450
		BRADY, BILL Total				$450
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL	D	H	72	$600
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL Total				$600
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT	D	H	19	$400
		BUGIELSKI, ROBERT Total				$400
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY	R	S	35	$200
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY Total				$200
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$450
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$450
		DANIELS, LEE	R	H	46	$1,250
		DANIELS, LEE Total				$1,250
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D	D	H	27	$400
		DAVIS, MONIQUE D Total				$400
		DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111	$200
		DAVIS, STEVE Total				$200
		DEMUZIO, VINCE	D	S	49	$200
		DEMUZIO, VINCE Total				$200
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	41	$950
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$950
		DURKIN, JIM	R	H	44	$250
		DURKIN, JIM Total				$250
		FANTIN, ARLINE M	D	H	29	$200
		FANTIN, ARLINE M Total				$200
		FARLEY, BRUCE A	D	S	17	$250
		FARLEY, BRUCE A Total				$250
		FLOWERS, MARY E	D	H	21	$200
		FLOWERS, MARY E Total				$200
		GEO-KARIS, ADELINE JAY	R	S	31	$250
		GEO-KARIS, ADELINE JAY Total				$250
		GIGLIO, MICHAEL	D	H	79	$200

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
TOBACCO INSTITUTE	1998	GIGLIO, MICHAEL Total				$200
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	109	$700
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$700
		HANNIG, GARY	D	H	98	$600
		HANNIG, GARY Total				$600
		HARTKE, CHARLES A	D	H	108	$550
		HARTKE, CHARLES A Total				$550
		HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	83	$500
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$500
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A	D	H	32	$200
		HOWARD, CONSTANCE A Total				$200
		JACOBS, DENNIS J	D	S	36	$800
		JACOBS, DENNIS J Total				$800
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$1,000
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$1,000
		JONES, LOVANA S	D	H	5	$1,000
		JONES, LOVANA S Total				$1,000
		JONES, SHIRLEY M	D	H	6	$200
		JONES, SHIRLEY M Total				$200
		KENNER, HOWARD A	D	H	24	$200
		KENNER, HOWARD A Total				$200
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	93	$700
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$700
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$700
		LINK, TERRY Total				$700
		LYONS, JOSEPH M	D	H	15	$200
		LYONS, JOSEPH M Total				$200
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$2,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$2,000
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A	R	S	45	$1,000
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A Total				$1,000
		MAHAR, WILLIAM F	R	S	19	$250
		MAHAR, WILLIAM F Total				$250
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$200

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
TOBACCO INSTITUTE	1998	MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$200
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	14	$200
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$200
		MOLARO, ROBERT S	D	S	12	$200
		MOLARO, ROBERT S Total				$200
		MOORE, EUGENE	D	H	7	$200
		MOORE, EUGENE Total				$200
		MORROW, CHARLES G	D	H	26	$200
		MORROW, CHARLES G Total				$200
		NOVAK, JOHN	D	H	85	$1,000
		NOVAK, JOHN Total				$1,000
		O'DANIEL, WILLIAM L	D	S	54	$200
		O'DANIEL, WILLIAM L Total				$200
		PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	53	$200
		PARKE, TERRY R Total				$200
		PERSICO, VINCENT A	R	H	39	$1,000
		PERSICO, VINCENT A Total				$1,000
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E	R	S	26	$200
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E Total				$200
		PETKA, EDWARD F	R	S	42	$200
		PETKA, EDWARD F Total				$200
		PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$1,500
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$1,500
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN	R	S	33	$400
		RAUSCHENBERGER, STEVEN Total				$400
		REA, JAMES F	D	S	59	$450
		REA, JAMES F Total				$450
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$200
		REITZ, DAN Total				$200
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	H	87	$200
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$200
		RYAN, GEORGE H	R	G	SW	$1,000
		RYAN, GEORGE H Total				$1,000
		RYDER, TOM	R	H	97	$300

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
TOBACCO INSTITUTE	1998	RYDER, TOM Total				$300
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$1,500
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$1,500
		SCOTT, DOUGLAS P	D	H	67	$200
		SCOTT, DOUGLAS P Total				$200
		SHADID, GEORGE P	D	S	46	$200
		SHADID, GEORGE P Total				$200
		SHAW, WILLIAM	D	S	15	$250
		SHAW, WILLIAM Total				$250
		STEPHENS, RON	R	H	110	$200
		STEPHENS, RON Total				$200
		STROGER, TODD H	D	H	31	$500
		STROGER, TODD H Total				$500
		TENHOUSE, ART	R	H	96	$200
		TENHOUSE, ART Total				$200
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$500
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$500
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S	D	S	11	$500
		VIVERITO, LOUIS S Total				$500
		WALSH, LAWRENCE M	D	S	43	$200
		WALSH, LAWRENCE M Total				$200
		WALSH, THOMAS J	R	S	22	$200
		WALSH, THOMAS J Total				$200
		WEAVER, STANLEY B	R	S	52	$200
		WEAVER, STANLEY B Total				$200
		WELCH, PATRICK D	D	S	38	$250
		WELCH, PATRICK D Total				$250
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L	R	H	45	$500
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L Total				$500
		WOOLARD, LARRY D	D	H	117	$500
		WOOLARD, LARRY D Total				$500
	1998 Total					$32,900
TOBACCO INSTITUTE Total						$75,400
US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	2002	BOLAND, MIKE	D	H	71	$200

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	2002	BOLAND, MIKE Total				$200
		BOMKE, LARRY	R	S	50	$100
		BOMKE, LARRY Total				$100
		BRAUER, RICH	R	H	100	$250
		BRAUER, RICH Total				$250
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$200
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$200
		CRONIN, DAN	R	S	21	$200
		CRONIN, DAN Total				$200
		DANIELS, LEE	R	H	46	$1,000
		DANIELS, LEE Total				$1,000
		DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111	$500
		DAVIS, STEVE Total				$500
		DEMUZIO, VINCE	D	S	49	$500
		DEMUZIO, VINCE Total				$500
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$250
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$250
		FORBY, GARY	D	H	117	$300
		FORBY, GARY Total				$300
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	107	$850
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$850
		HANNIG, GARY	D	H	98	$300
		HANNIG, GARY Total				$300
		HARTKE, CHARLES A	D	H	108	$800
		HARTKE, CHARLES A Total				$800
		HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112	$300
		HOFFMAN, JAY C Total				$300
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS	D	H	113	$300
		HOLBROOK, THOMAS Total				$300
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$1,500
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$1,500
		KARPIEL, DORIS C	R	S	28	$212
		KARPIEL, DORIS C Total				$212
		LAUZEN, CHRIS	R	S	25	$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	2002	LAUZEN, CHRIS Total				$500
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$300
		LINK, TERRY Total				$300
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$5,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$5,000
		NOVAK, JOHN	D	H	79	$300
		NOVAK, JOHN Total				$300
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E	R	S	26	$450
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E Total				$450
		PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$2,000
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$2,000
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$300
		REITZ, DAN Total				$300
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$450
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$450
		VALLAS, PAUL G	D	G	SW	$1,000
		VALLAS, PAUL G Total				$1,000
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	51	$250
		WATSON, FRANK Total				$250
		WATSON, JIM	R	H	97	$500
		WATSON, JIM Total				$500
		WELCH, PATRICK D	D	S	38	$300
		WELCH, PATRICK D Total				$300
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L	R	H	56	$250
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L Total				$250
	2002 Total					$19,362
	2004	ALTHOFF, PAMELA	R	S	32	$250
		ALTHOFF, PAMELA Total				$250
		BLACK, WILLIAM B	R	H	104	$200
		BLACK, WILLIAM B Total				$200
		BOMKE, LARRY	R	S	50	$200
		BOMKE, LARRY Total				$200
		BRAUER, RICH	R	H	100	$250
		BRAUER, RICH Total				$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	2004	CHURCHILL, ROBERT W	R	H	62	$200
		CHURCHILL, ROBERT W Total				$200
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$700
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$700
		CRONIN, DAN	R	S	21	$200
		CRONIN, DAN Total				$200
		CROSS, TOM	R	H	84	$1,000
		CROSS, TOM Total				$1,000
		DAVIS, STEVE	D	H	111	$450
		DAVIS, STEVE Total				$450
		DELGADO, WILLIAM	D	H	3	$250
		DELGADO, WILLIAM Total				$250
		DEMUZIO, DEANNA	D	S	49	$3,000
		DEMUZIO, DEANNA Total				$3,000
		FLOWERS, MARY E	D	H	31	$200
		FLOWERS, MARY E Total				$200
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	107	$450
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$450
		HARMON, DON	D	S	39	$1,000
		HARMON, DON Total				$1,000
		HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112	$500
		HOFFMAN, JAY C Total				$500
		JACOBS, DENNIS J	D	S	36	$700
		JACOBS, DENNIS J Total				$700
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$14,500
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$14,500
		LAUZEN, CHRIS	R	S	25	$750
		LAUZEN, CHRIS Total				$750
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$450
		LINK, TERRY Total				$450
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$7,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$7,000
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$250
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	2004	PETERSON, WILLIAM E	R	S	26	$250
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E Total				$250
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$700
		REITZ, DAN Total				$700
		RITA, ROBERT	D	H	28	$450
		RITA, ROBERT Total				$450
		ROSKAM, PETER J	R	S	48	$500
		ROSKAM, PETER J Total				$500
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	S	53	$250
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$250
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$1,750
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$1,750
		SHADID, GEORGE P	D	S	46	$250
		SHADID, GEORGE P Total				$250
		SIEBEN, TODD	R	S	45	$250
		SIEBEN, TODD Total				$250
		SULLIVAN, JOHN M	D	S	47	$500
		SULLIVAN, JOHN M Total				$500
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	51	$1,848
		WATSON, FRANK Total				$1,848
		WATSON, JIM	R	H	97	$650
		WATSON, JIM Total				$650
	2004 Total					$39,898
	2006	AXLEY, CHERYL	R	S	33	$500
		AXLEY, CHERYL Total				$500
		BLACK, WILLIAM B	R	H	104	$250
		BLACK, WILLIAM B Total				$250
		BOMKE, LARRY	R	S	50	$100
		BOMKE, LARRY Total				$100
		BRAUER, RICH	R	H	100	$200
		BRAUER, RICH Total				$200
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$5,000
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$5,000
		COLVIN, MARLOW	D	H	33	$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	2006	COLVIN, MARLOW Total				$500
		CRONIN, DAN	R	S	21	$200
		CRONIN, DAN Total				$200
		CROSS, TOM	R	H	84	$3,000
		CROSS, TOM Total				$3,000
		DAHL, GARY G	R	S	38	$250
		DAHL, GARY G Total				$250
		DEMUZIO, DEANNA	D	S	49	$250
		DEMUZIO, DEANNA Total				$250
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$500
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$500
		FRANKS, JACK D	D	H	63	$250
		FRANKS, JACK D Total				$250
		GIANNOULIAS, ALEXANDER	D	TREAS	SW	$2,000
		GIANNOULIAS, ALEXANDER Total				$2,000
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	107	$1,250
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$1,250
		HAINE, WILLIAM R	D	S	56	$250
		HAINE, WILLIAM R Total				$250
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D	D	S	40	$500
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D Total				$500
		HARMON, DON	D	S	39	$6,500
		HARMON, DON Total				$6,500
		HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112	$7,000
		HOFFMAN, JAY C Total				$7,000
		JACOBS, MIKE	D	S	36	$250
		JACOBS, MIKE Total				$250
		LAUZEN, CHRIS	R	S	25	$250
		LAUZEN, CHRIS Total				$250
		LEITCH, DAVID	R	H	73	$200
		LEITCH, DAVID Total				$200
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$250
		LINK, TERRY Total				$250
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$6,000

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	2006	MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$6,000
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$200
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$200
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	20	$1,250
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$1,250
		MILLNER, JOHN J	R	S	28	$250
		MILLNER, JOHN J Total				$250
		MYERS, JUDITH A	R	S	52	$250
		MYERS, JUDITH A Total				$250
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E	R	S	26	$750
		PETERSON, WILLIAM E Total				$750
		POE, RAYMOND	R	H	99	$500
		POE, RAYMOND Total				$500
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$250
		REITZ, DAN Total				$250
		RISINGER, DALE E	R	S	37	$250
		RISINGER, DALE E Total				$250
		RITA, ROBERT	D	H	28	$250
		RITA, ROBERT Total				$250
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	SS	SW	$450
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$450
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$1,750
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$1,750
		SIEBEN, TODD	R	S	45	$700
		SIEBEN, TODD Total				$700
		SMITH, MICHAEL K	D	H	91	$200
		SMITH, MICHAEL K Total				$200
		SULLIVAN JR, ED	R	H	51	$200
		SULLIVAN JR, ED Total				$200
		TRACY, JIL	R	H	93	$500
		TRACY, JIL Total				$500
		WAIT, RONALD A	R	H	69	$250
		WAIT, RONALD A Total				$250
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	51	$3,250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	2006	WATSON, FRANK Total				$3,250
	2006 Total					$46,700
	2008	ARROYO, LUIS	D	H	3	$250
		ARROYO, LUIS Total				$250
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52	$750
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total				$750
		BELLOCK, PATRICIA R	R	H	47	$750
		BELLOCK, PATRICIA R Total				$750
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA	D	H	39	$250
		BERRIOS, MARIA ANTONIA Total				$250
		BURNS, WILLIAM D	D	H	26	$225
		BURNS, WILLIAM D Total				$225
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY	R	S	35	$250
		BURZYNSKI, J BRADLEY Total				$250
		CAVALETTO, JOHN	R	H	107	$250
		CAVALETTO, JOHN Total				$250
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$1,000
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$1,000
		COLVIN, MARLOW	D	H	33	$225
		COLVIN, MARLOW Total				$225
		CROSS, TOM	R	H	84	$2,500
		CROSS, TOM Total				$2,500
		CULLERTON, JOHN	D	S	6	$2,000
		CULLERTON, JOHN Total				$2,000
		DAHL, GARY G	R	S	38	$250
		DAHL, GARY G Total				$250
		DELGADO, WILLIAM	D	S	2	$250
		DELGADO, WILLIAM Total				$250
		DEMUZIO, DEANNA	D	S	49	$500
		DEMUZIO, DEANNA Total				$500
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	24	$1,500
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$1,500
		DUFFY, DAN	R	S	26	$250
		DUFFY, DAN Total				$250

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	2008	FORBY, GARY	D	S	59	$250
		FORBY, GARY Total				$250
		FRANKS, JACK D	D	H	63	$750
		FRANKS, JACK D Total				$750
		FRERICHS, MICHAEL W	D	S	52	$250
		FRERICHS, MICHAEL W Total				$250
		GIANNOULIAS, ALEXANDER	D	TREAS	SW	$1,750
		GIANNOULIAS, ALEXANDER Total				$1,750
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D	D	S	40	$500
		HALVORSON, DEBBIE D Total				$500
		HARMON, DON	D	S	39	$10,000
		HARMON, DON Total				$10,000
		HASSERT, BRENT	R	H	85	$250
		HASSERT, BRENT Total				$250
		HENDON, RICKEY R	D	S	5	$750
		HENDON, RICKEY R Total				$750
		HOFFMAN, JAY C	D	H	112	$1,500
		HOFFMAN, JAY C Total				$1,500
		JACOBS, MIKE	D	S	36	$250
		JACOBS, MIKE Total				$250
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$1,000
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$1,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$2,500
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$2,500
		MAUTINO, FRANK J	D	H	76	$750
		MAUTINO, FRANK J Total				$750
		MELL, DEBORAH L	D	H	40	$225
		MELL, DEBORAH L Total				$225
		MURPHY, MATT	R	S	27	$250
		MURPHY, MATT Total				$250
		PANKAU, CAROLE	R	S	23	$250
		PANKAU, CAROLE Total				$250
		REITZ, DAN	D	H	116	$500
		REITZ, DAN Total				$500

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	2008	RITA, ROBERT	D	H	28	$250
		RITA, ROBERT Total				$250
		RUTHERFORD, DAN	R	S	53	$250
		RUTHERFORD, DAN Total				$250
		SMITH, MICHAEL K	D	H	91	$500
		SMITH, MICHAEL K Total				$500
		SULLIVAN, JOHN M	D	S	47	$1,000
		SULLIVAN, JOHN M Total				$1,000
		TROTTER, DONNE E	D	S	17	$250
		TROTTER, DONNE E Total				$250
		WATSON, FRANK	R	S	51	$3,300
		WATSON, FRANK Total				$3,300
	2008 Total					$38,475
US SMOKELESS TOBACCO Total						$144,435
US TOBACCO	1996	DANIELS, LEE	R	H	46	$4,000
		DANIELS, LEE Total				$4,000
		DEANGELIS, ALDO A	R	S	40	$1,700
		DEANGELIS, ALDO A Total				$1,700
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	109	$3,000
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$3,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$1,000
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$1,000
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A	R	S	45	$500
		MADIGAN, ROBERT A Total				$500
		PARKE, TERRY R	R	H	53	$1,000
		PARKE, TERRY R Total				$1,000
		PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$3,500
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$3,500
		RYAN, JIM	R	AG	SW	$500
		RYAN, JIM Total				$500
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$1,000
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$1,000
	1996 Total					$16,200
	1998	DANIELS, LEE	R	H	46	$1,100

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
US TOBACCO	1998	DANIELS, LEE Total				$1,100
		DEERING, TERRY W	D	H	116	$250
		DEERING, TERRY W Total				$250
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	41	$200
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$200
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	109	$250
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$250
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$200
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$200
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$1,300
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$1,300
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P	R	H	14	$200
		MCAULIFFE, MICHAEL P Total				$200
		NOVAK, JOHN	D	H	85	$200
		NOVAK, JOHN Total				$200
		PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$1,200
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$1,200
		RYAN, GEORGE H	R	G	SW	$2,600
		RYAN, GEORGE H Total				$2,600
		RYDER, TOM	R	H	97	$200
		RYDER, TOM Total				$200
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$100
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$100
		WHITE, JESSE	D	SS	SW	$250
		WHITE, JESSE Total				$250
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L	R	H	45	$250
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L Total				$250
	1998 Total					$8,300
	2000	BEAUBIEN, MARK H	R	H	52	$200
		BEAUBIEN, MARK H Total				$200
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL	D	H	72	$500
		BRUNSVOLD, JOEL Total				$500
		BURKE, DANIEL J	D	H	23	$200
		BURKE, DANIEL J Total				$200

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
US TOBACCO	2000	CLAYBORNE, JAMES F	D	S	57	$200
		CLAYBORNE, JAMES F Total				$200
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN	D	H	25	$200
		CURRIE, BARBARA FLYNN Total				$200
		DANIELS, LEE	R	H	46	$1,750
		DANIELS, LEE Total				$1,750
		DILLARD, KIRK W	R	S	41	$600
		DILLARD, KIRK W Total				$600
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W	R	S	7	$435
		DUDYCZ, WALTER W Total				$435
		GRANBERG, KURT M	D	H	109	$800
		GRANBERG, KURT M Total				$800
		JONES JR, EMIL	D	S	14	$1,700
		JONES JR, EMIL Total				$1,700
		JONES, WENDELL	R	S	27	$200
		JONES, WENDELL Total				$200
		KARPIEL, DORIS C	R	S	25	$519
		KARPIEL, DORIS C Total				$519
		KENNER, HOWARD A	D	H	24	$200
		KENNER, HOWARD A Total				$200
		LANG, LOU	D	H	16	$500
		LANG, LOU Total				$500
		LINK, TERRY	D	S	30	$200
		LINK, TERRY Total				$200
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J	D	H	22	$3,500
		MADIGAN, MICHAEL J Total				$3,500
		NOLAND, N DUANE	R	S	51	$200
		NOLAND, N DUANE Total				$200
		O'MALLEY, PATRICK	R	S	18	$200
		O'MALLEY, PATRICK Total				$200
		PHILIP, JAMES	R	S	23	$4,400
		PHILIP, JAMES Total				$4,400
		PUGH, COY	D	H	10	$300
		PUGH, COY Total				$300

Contributor	Cycle	Recipient	Party	Office	District	Total
US TOBACCO	2000	RADOGNO, CHRISTINE	R	S	24	$200
		RADOGNO, CHRISTINE Total				$200
		SAVIANO, ANGELO	R	H	77	$250
		SAVIANO, ANGELO Total				$250
		SULLIVAN, DAVE	R	S	28	$400
		SULLIVAN, DAVE Total				$400
		TOPINKA, JUDY BAAR	R	TREAS	SW	$1,000
		TOPINKA, JUDY BAAR Total				$1,000
		TURNER, ARTHUR L	D	H	9	$200
		TURNER, ARTHUR L Total				$200
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L	R	H	45	$250
		WOJCIK, KATHLEEN L Total				$250
		WOOLARD, LARRY D	D	S	59	$600
		WOOLARD, LARRY D Total				$600
	2000 Total					$19,704
US TOBACCO Total						$44,204

Appendix C: Tobacco Industry Contributions to Political Party Organizations, 1997-2012

Recipient	Cycle	Contributor	Total
HOUSE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE OF ILLINOIS	1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$15,000
		RJ REYNOLDS	$3,000
		SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$1,750
		TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$2,000
		US TOBACCO	$400
	1998 Total		$22,150
	2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$2,500
		LORILLARD	$3,000
		PHILIP MORRIS	$17,500
		RJ REYNOLDS	$6,000
		US TOBACCO	$300
	2000 Total		$29,300
	2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$15,000
		RJ REYNOLDS	$5,500
		US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$2,500
	2002 Total		$23,000
	2012	ARANGO CIGAR CO	$500
		PHILIP MORRIS	$40,000
		RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
	2012 Total		$41,500
HOUSE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE OF ILLINOIS Total			$115,950
HOUSE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION OF ILLINOIS	2004	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$1,000
		PHILIP MORRIS	$30,000
		RJ REYNOLDS	$3,500
	2004 Total		$34,500
	2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$20,000
		RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
		US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$2,000
	2006 Total		$23,000
	2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$18,000
		US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$250
	2008 Total		$18,250
	2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$42,000
	2010 Total		$42,000
HOUSE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION OF ILLINOIS Total			$117,750
ILLINOIS DEMOCRATIC PARTY	1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$10,000
		TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$8,000
		US TOBACCO	$300
	1998 Total		$18,300
	2000	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$1,000
		LORILLARD	$1,000
		PHILIP MORRIS	$2,500

Recipient	Cycle	Contributor	Total
ILLINOIS DEMOCRATIC PARTY	2000	RJ REYNOLDS	$6,500
	2000 Total		$11,000
	2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$15,000
		RJ REYNOLDS	$5,000
	2002 Total		$20,000
	2004	PHILIP MORRIS	$3,500
	2004 Total		$3,500
	2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$18,500
	2006 Total		$18,500
	2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$4,000
		RJ REYNOLDS	$20,000
	2008 Total		$24,000
	2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$32,500
		RJ REYNOLDS	$10,000
	2010 Total		$42,500
	2012	ARANGO CIGAR CO	$500
		PHILIP MORRIS	$40,000
		RJ REYNOLDS	$5,500
		RYO CIGAR ASSOCIATION	$1,000
	2012 Total		$47,000
ILLINOIS DEMOCRATIC PARTY Total			$184,800
ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN PARTY	1998	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$5,000
		PHILIP MORRIS	$25,000
		TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$1,000
		US TOBACCO	$10,000
	1998 Total		$41,000
	2004	US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,000
	2004 Total		$1,000
	2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$25,000
	2006 Total		$25,000
ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN PARTY Total			$67,000
ILLINOIS SENATE DEMOCRATIC VICTORY FUND	1998	PHILIP MORRIS	$15,000
		RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
	1998 Total		$16,500
	2000	LORILLARD	$1,000
		PHILIP MORRIS	$12,500
		RJ REYNOLDS	$3,500
	2000 Total		$17,000
	2002	PHILIP MORRIS	$50,000
		RJ REYNOLDS	$1,500
	2002 Total		$51,500
	2004	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$2,000
		PHILIP MORRIS	$20,000

Recipient	Cycle	Contributor	Total
ILLINOIS SENATE DEMOCRATIC VICTORY FUND	2004	RJ REYNOLDS	$4,000
		SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$3,000
		US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$5,000
	2004 Total		$34,000
	2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$15,000
		RJ REYNOLDS	$11,000
		US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$11,000
	2006 Total		$37,000
	2008	PHILIP MORRIS	$19,000
		US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$2,500
	2008 Total		$21,500
	2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$19,000
	2010 Total		$19,000
	2012	ARANGO CIGAR CO	$500
		NATIONAL TOBACCO CO	$10,000
		PHILIP MORRIS	$15,000
		RJ REYNOLDS	$10,000
	2012 Total		$35,500
ILLINOIS SENATE DEMOCRATIC VICTORY FUND Total			$232,000
REPUBLICAN STATE SENATE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE OF ILLINOIS	1998	ARANGO CIGAR CO	$1,250
		CIGAR ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	$500
		PHILIP MORRIS	$25,000
		RJ REYNOLDS	$1,000
		SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$500
		TOBACCO INSTITUTE	$5,500
		US TOBACCO	$2,250
	1998 Total		$36,000
	2000	PHILIP MORRIS	$10,000
		RJ REYNOLDS	$2,500
		SMOKELESS TOBACCO COUNCIL	$1,000
		US TOBACCO	$750
	2000 Total		$14,250
	2002	RJ REYNOLDS	$2,500
	2002 Total		$2,500
	2004	BROWN & WILLIAMSON	$1,000
		LORILLARD	$1,000
		PHILIP MORRIS	$25,000
		US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$3,000
	2004 Total		$30,000
	2006	PHILIP MORRIS	$20,000
		RJ REYNOLDS	$500
		US SMOKELESS TOBACCO	$1,000
	2006 Total		$21,500

Recipient	Cycle	Contributor	Total
REPUBLICAN STATE SENATE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE OF ILLINOIS	2008	LORILLARD	$5,000
		PHILIP MORRIS	$8,000
	2008 Total		$13,000
	2010	PHILIP MORRIS	$19,500
		RJ REYNOLDS	$10,000
	2010 Total		$29,500
	2012	ARANGO CIGAR CO	$500
		PHILIP MORRIS	$40,000
	2012 Total		$40,500
REPUBLICAN STATE SENATE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE OF ILLINOIS Total			$187,250