

**The Independent Caucus:
Breaking the Rubber Stamp Mold**

**Chicago City Council Report
May 21, 2007 – May 13, 2008**

**Authored By:
Dick Simpson
Tom Kelly
Pasquale Neri**

**University of Illinois at Chicago
Department of Political Science**

and

Developing Government Accountability to the People (DGAP)

May 13, 2008

The 2007 election of eleven new aldermen in the Chicago City Council may indicate the beginning of the end of two decades of Daley administration domination. A new council was officially sworn in on May 21, 2007, and a solid bloc of opposition to Mayor Richard M. Daley, the Independent Caucus, has begun to form. They meet before each city council meeting to coordinate strategy and to support each other's efforts. As a result, more aldermen are voting more consistently against the mayor than in previous councils. The votes on critical issues are more polarized between supporters of the mayor and members of the Independent Caucus.

However, the new city council has yet to defeat any of the mayor's proposals, or to force the mayor to use his mayoral veto as they did over the 2006 "Big Box" ordinance to require large stores to pay living wages. They have been unable to defy the mayor's wishes as they did when they passed the foie gras ban in the previous council. Still, the Independent Caucus, which is still in the formative stage, may provide the foundation for constructing true democratic debate in the future.

There have been only thirteen divided roll call votes in the first eleven months, averaging 1.2 divided votes per month similar to approximately 1.8 per month during the last eleven months before the new council was elected in 2007. Despite the fact that eight incumbent aldermen were toppled in last year's elections, only eleven council members are new this year.¹ Nonetheless, the particular divided votes thus far demonstrate a starkly different pattern than that of the previous council. The opposition is more staunchly entrenched while mayoral supporters are more consistent in their support. In short, the council is more polarized in its voting patterns. It remains to be seen if this new oppositional bloc will undermine the rubber stamp city council that

Daley has carefully cultivated since his first election in 1989, or if they will merely be a thorn in the Mayor's side.

Labor Unions and Community Organizations versus the Mayor

The 2006 battle over the "Big Box" ordinance fomented the changes in the makeup of the new Council. On July 26, 2006, the Chicago City Council defied Mayor Daley by passing an ordinance requiring living wage compensation levels for all workers at all large retailers within the city, with a seemingly veto-proof majority of 35-14. After the mayor vetoed the ordinance, the council failed to override the veto when Aldermen George Cardenas (12th), Shirley Coleman (16th), and Danny Solis (25th) switched their votes to favor the Mayor's position. In response to the defeat of the "Big Box" ordinance, city union leaders targeted vulnerable aldermen in the 2007 elections.

Pronouncing openly that they were seeking a Council that was more independent of Mayor Daley, they primarily targeted six aldermen for defeat, including the three who had switched their votes on the issue. In addition, they targeted Burt Natarus (42nd), Bernard Stone (50th), and Dorothy Tillman (3rd). Tillman was hardly a cheerleader for the mayor, voting with him only 63% of the time on divided votes, but she had opposed the "Big Box" ordinance. Also targeted, but with less union effort, were Darcel Beavers (7th), Howard Brookins Jr. (21st), Emma Mitts (37th), Vi Daley (43rd), and the open seat vacated by Theodore Thomas (15th).²

The results of union efforts, although dramatic, were ultimately mixed. It was evident on the election night of February 27, 2007 that union muscle in collaboration with community organizations in different wards had claimed the seat of Darcel Beavers (7th), a Daley appointee to the Council. She was defeated by Sandi Jackson, the wife of

Congressman Jesse Jackson Jr. Also losing his seat was Burt Natarus (42nd), a long-time supporter of the Mayor, to union-backed Brendan Reilly. Twelve other wards were forced into runoff elections on April 17, 2007. Arenda Troutman (20th), who touted the third lowest level of agreement with Mayor Daley on divided votes, was also defeated handily that evening by Willie Cochran, who was supported by mayoral allies.³

Troutman had been indicted on charges of corruption seven weeks before the election. Thus, her defeat was unrelated to the battle between unions and the Mayor.

When the returns from the runoff elections were tallied, seven incumbents had been ejected from office, and the open 15th Ward was claimed by union-supported Toni Foulkes.⁴ Union firepower also helped Bob Fioretti (2nd), Pat Dowell (3rd), Joann Thompson (16th), and Scott Waguespack (32nd) replace Madeline Haithcock, Dorothy Tillman, Shirley Coleman, and Ted Matlak.⁵ Union and community organization support also helped to reelect Joe Moore in the 49th Ward. In the 24th Ward, Sharon Denise Dixon, backed by supporters of Jesse Jackson Jr., defeated incumbent Michael Chandler, despite Chandler's support from mayoral allies.⁶ Although Daley supporters and big businesses like Wal-Mart and Target provided hundreds of thousands of dollars to support Mayor-friendly candidates, the unions spent well over two million dollars in opposition, and handed more defeats to the Mayor's aldermen in the most fiercely contested races.⁷ In many of these wards community organizations joined the battle to defeat pro-Daley aldermen who had been unresponsive to their communities. Some aldermen like Dorothy Tillman had failed to promote economic development successfully in their wards. Others like Burt Natarus and Ted Matlak had been overly friendly to

developers. So community organizations in their wards along with the unions supported their opponents.

The New Council

The first shots of dissent in the new council were fired on June 13, 2007 over a seemingly innocuous issue, the methods used by the city to choose artwork for public buildings. The Council voted 38-11 to eliminate the formal selection process, and to give discretion to Cultural Affairs Commissioner Lois Weisberg, who would first consult local constituents chosen by their alderman.⁸ City officials claimed that the public art selection process had become bogged down in bureaucratic paperwork. Local Chicago artist Tony Fitzpatrick voiced the dissent of many artists to the new rules: “It doesn’t make sense that they’re taking the public out of public art.” Alderman Manny Flores (1st), who opposed the measure in the city council, described the new process as, “We’re taking a step backward, rather than taking a step forward.”⁹ Joining Flores in opposition to the change were Bob Fioretti (2nd), Pat Dowell (3rd), Toni Preckwinkle (4th), Leslie Hairston (5th), Sandy Jackson (7th), Ricardo Munoz (22nd), Scott Waguespack (32nd), Rey Colon (35th), Brandon Reilly (42nd), and Joe Moore (49th). Fioretti, Dowell, Jackson, Waguespack, and Reilly are all union-supported freshmen. Preckwinkle, Munoz, and Moore were among the most independent reform aldermen from the old council. However, this initial bloc of dissent did not remain united over the more pressing issue of administration corruption.

A long-running federal investigation has discovered various violations by the Daley administration of the Shakman rulings, which prohibited political hiring and firing. Also within the last four years, various scandals of corruption, bribery, and fraud have

surfaced within the Mayor's circle of influence. Mayor Daley proposed a new city Office of Compliance to monitor activities of city officials after the federal oversight ended. Critics viewed this new office as an attempt to circumvent oversight by the city Inspector General David Hoffman. Nonetheless, the council voted with the mayor to create the new office by a 43-6 vote. Alderman Joe Moore (49th) lamented that the office, "undermines whatever public confidence is left in the ability of this city government to police itself..." while Mayor Daley maintained that the office, "demonstrates the commitment [of the administration] to better manage government."¹⁰

The vote was not encouraging to those unionists and community leaders who had high hopes for dramatic change following the 2007 elections. A *Chicago Tribune* editorial blasted the new Council by comparing them to sheep: "The 43-6 vote demonstrates the City Council's commitment to (a) giving the mayor what he wants, lest he start punishing aldermen who don't play along, and (b) having someone other than Inspector General David Hoffman police the illicit exercise of clout at City Hall."¹¹ Of the eleven that had opposed the new art selection process, only Bob Fioretti (2nd), Toni Preckwinkle (4th), Leslie Hairston (5th), Sandi Jackson (7th), Ricardo Munoz (22nd), and Joe Moore (49th) challenged Mayor Daley's new Office of Compliance. Five of the aldermen who had opposed the art selection process abandoned the reform bloc on this issue.

The City Budget Battle

Six months after the new council was sworn into office, Mayor Daley on Wednesday, October 10, 2007 proposed massive across the board tax and fee increases for the 2008 budget. These included the largest property tax hike in Chicago history.

The mayor's proposal, among other increases, included \$108 million in property taxes, \$43.9 million in water fees, \$20.8 million in sewer fees, and \$13.1 million in liquor taxes. \$48 million more was to be raised by doubling the monthly phone surcharge. There were even to be new taxes on bottled water and DVD rentals. The total budget would hit Chicagoans with roughly \$293 million in increased and new taxes and fees, at a time when the Cook County Board and the State of Illinois had also decided to raise taxes and fees.¹² Opponents quickly pointed out the cost of the many scandals in the Mayor's administration and labeled the increases as the "corruption tax." Representative Jesse Jackson Jr., husband of Alderman Sandi Jackson (7th), "estimated that the [corruption] tax exceeded \$1.5 billion in recent years."¹³ Although political pressures eventually forced the Mayor to pare down some of the proposed increases, opponents of the measures were not expecting more than a moral victory in this fight.¹⁴

Even though many aldermen voiced concern about the tax increases, most tax increases and the city budget itself were only voted against by what appears to be the heart of the Independent Caucus in the Council. The 2008 budget ordinance passed on a 37-13 vote and was never in real danger of failing. Those who refused to support the Mayor's 2008 budget were Manny Flores (1st), Bob Fioretti (2nd), Toni Preckwinkle (4th), Sandi Jackson (7th), Toni Foulkes (15th), Ricardo Munoz (22nd), Sharon Denise Dixon (24th), Rey Colon (35th), Brian Doherty (41st), Brendan Reilly (42nd), Eugene Schulter (47th), Joe Moore (49th), and Bernard Stone (50th). The fact that 13 aldermen opposed the budget ordinance was extraordinary, considering that the previous council had unanimously endorsed the 2007 budget.

Even though 13 aldermen opposed the overall budget, fewer opposed the various tax and fee increases that did not include the major property tax hike. Three separate votes were taken on the multitude of new taxes, tax increases, and fee increases, but all three votes tallied 40 in favor of the Mayor's proposals, with only 10 aldermen dissenting. Just prior to enacting the Chicago's record property tax increase, the Council approved a new five cent tax per bottle of water, a doubling in the monthly telephone surcharge from \$1.25 to \$2.50, a 64% increase on the liquor tax, a 33% increase for SUV vehicle stickers, and a 25% increase on the DVD rental tax. In addition, fees and taxes were increased for water and sewer services, billboard usage, lease transactions, and natural gas usage on businesses and institutions.¹⁵ Fines on parking violations were increased across the board, and a new 25-cent per square foot fee was created for certain development projects. Aldermen Bob Fioretti (2nd), Toni Preckwinkle (4th), Sandi Jackson (7th), Toni Foulkes (15th), Howard Brookins Jr. (21st), Ricardo Munoz (22nd), Brian Doherty (41st), Brendan Reilly (42nd), and Joe Moore (49th) stood firm on all three votes. In a stinging reference to the "corruption tax" criticism and, more specifically, the settlement fund for city violations of the Shakman decrees, Alderman Moore inquired, "How many bottles of water must be sold to pay for the \$12 million fund created to compensate victims of the city's rigged hiring system?"¹⁶

Despite being politically very unpopular and despite the new opposition in the Council, a measure to increase property taxes by \$83.4 million was passed anyway on a 29-21 vote. Aldermen supporting the tax increase rallied around a mantra in which a massive tax increase was synonymous with "moving forward."¹⁷ Alderman Ricardo Munoz (22nd) voiced his frustration by asking, "They want us to find more money? For

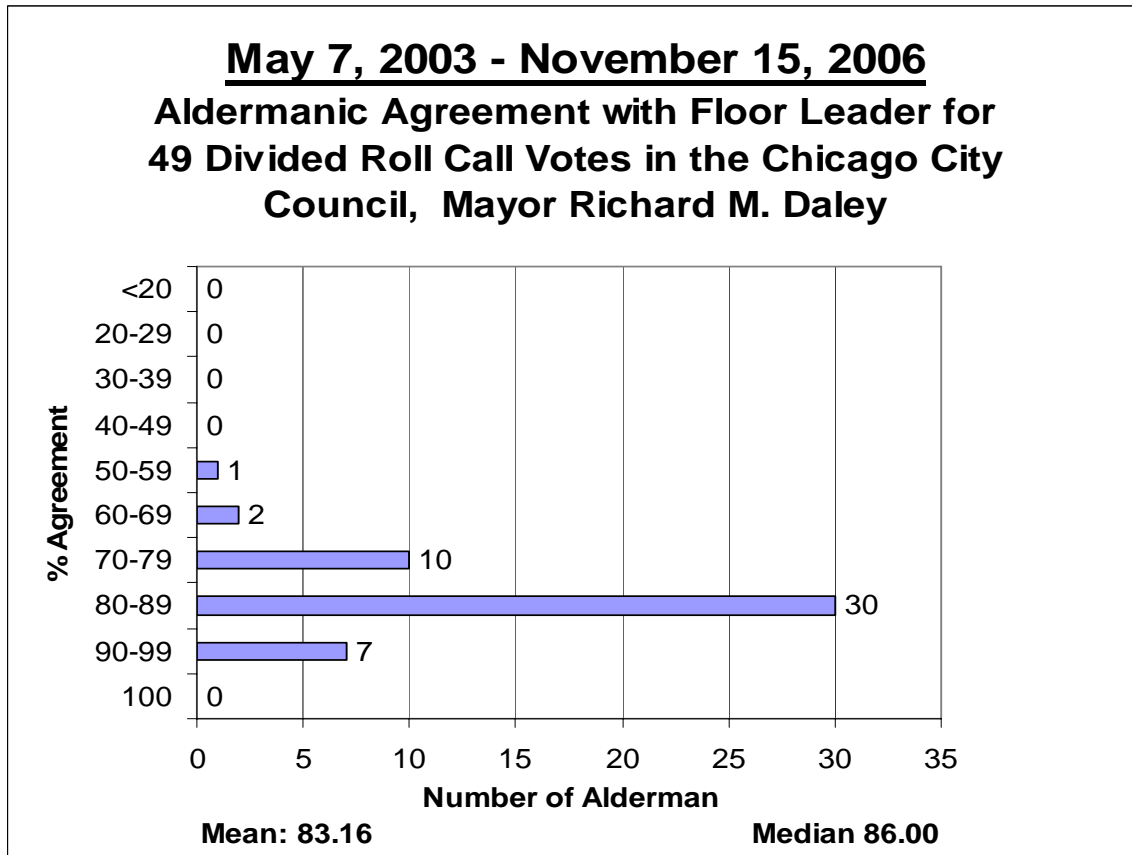
What? For a bloated administration that gets caught with its hand in the cookie jar?”¹⁸

Alderman Joe Moore (49th) also argued that the tax increases would weight heavily on the poor and working class. He said, “Nothing has eroded public confidence in our local government more than the constant drumbeat of criminal indictments and convictions of people who have enriched themselves at public expense. And nothing has made the public more cynical than the endless string of broken promises to end business as usual in city government.”¹⁹ Supporters of the mayor credited themselves with doing the “heavy lifting” required to pass the budget and the taxes, and the Mayor happily proclaimed after the vote that “weightlifters win.”²⁰

The Independent Caucus opened a major division in the city council over the realty transfer tax to fund the CTA. However, on February 6, 2008, the council voted to increase the real estate transfer tax by 40% to subsidize the CTA, with some exemptions for senior citizen buyers. Also included in the measure, that passed 41-6, was free ridership for active and disabled military personnel. Aldermen Bob Fioretti (2nd), Sandi Jackson (7th), Sharon Denise Dixon (24th), Rey Colon (35th), Brian Doherty (41st), and Bernard Stone (50th) voted against the new tax increase. Alderman Stone said that the senior exemption “isn’t worth a damn” because seniors are more likely to be selling than purchasing real estate. Despite winning another large tax increase easily, the Mayor sharply reacted to the lack of unanimity and snapped, “If Alderman Fioretti believes they don’t need the CTA in his ward, then stand up and say ‘CTA, bypass my people.’ You’ll last about a half a day. They’ll have to send . . . police and fire to protect you and your family.”²¹

Sizing up the New Council

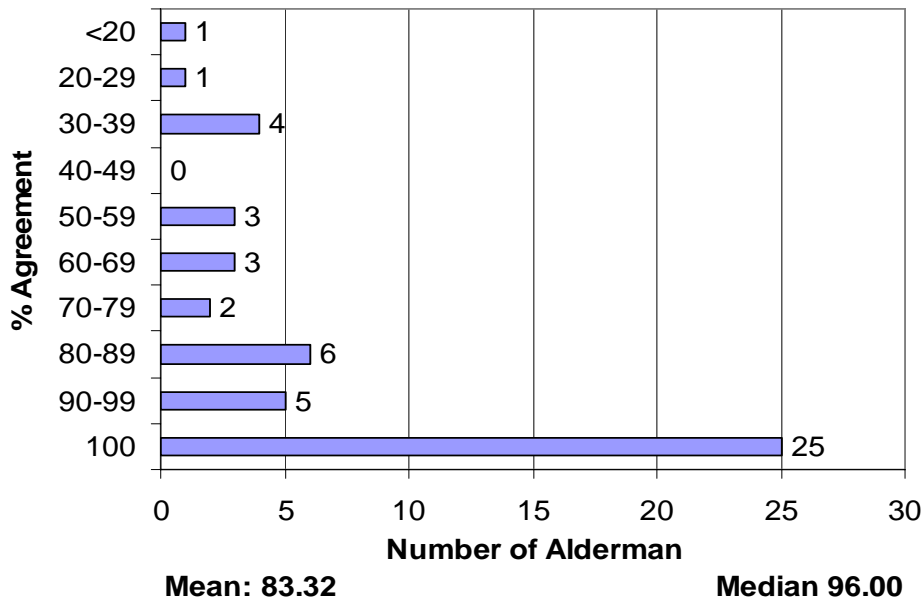
Even though it has been less than a year since the new Council was sworn in, histograms of the voting patterns show a striking new trend, along with a bit of a paradox. There is no doubt that the previous city council in office from 2003-2007 was a Rubber Stamp or compliant council even though in its last year it was beginning to show signs of some independence. The most prominent change in the current city council, has been the number of aldermen willing to dissent from the mayor on votes. In the prior session, 37 aldermen voted with the mayor between 80 – 99% of the time. Only three aldermen voted with Mayor Daley less than 70% of the time, and none voted against the Mayor for a majority of the divided roll call votes. Furthermore, not a single alderman voted with the Mayor 100% of the time.



The new council shows a greater streak of independence than the prior council. But simultaneously, a majority of aldermen continue to demonstrate rock solid loyalty to the mayor. Six aldermen have voted with the Mayor less than half the time, including some surprisingly low agreement percentages. Alderman Jackson (7th) has only voted with the Mayor on 17% of the divided votes, and Alderman Fioretti has agreed only slightly more often at 23%. Neither alderman has voted with the Mayor on a single vote related to the major issues of the term so far. In addition, four other aldermen have supported the Mayor less than 40% of the time, including Toni Preckwinkle (4th), Ricardo Munoz (22nd), Brian Doherty (41st), and Joe Moore (49th). Another eight alderman have agreed with the Mayor 50-79% of the time. In the end the six aldermen who have voted with the mayor less than 90% of the time and who might vote with the Independent Caucus more often that are key to increasing its influence.

June 13, 2007 - May 13, 2008

**Aldermanic Agreement with Floor Leader for
13 Divided Roll Call Votes in the Chicago City
Council, Mayor Richard M. Daley**



The dissent in the council may be irritating for the mayor, but it hardly has slowed his agenda. That is likely because 25 aldermen, half the Council, have rubberstamped every single proposal from the mayor. This is even more remarkable when considering that in the last previous council no aldermen had voted with the mayor 100% of the time. While it is likely that many of these 25 aldermen will eventually dissent on a vote, it is evident that the bloc loyal to Mayor Daley easily overcomes any independent voters. In the previous council, only seven aldermen voted with the mayor over 90% of the time. In this term, there are 30 thus far. This loyal bloc explains why the current council has been unable to defy the mayor on any single vote. The Foie Gras ban and the “Big Box” ordinance in the 2006 city council garnered a majority vote in defiance of the Mayor’s

wishes. So far, not even an issue as contentious and unpopular as the property tax increase could muster enough votes to defeat the mayor's loyal bloc.

Despite the best efforts of the Independent Caucus, the current council remains a rubber stamp. The 2003-2007 city council voted with the mayor on average 83.16% and the current 2007-2008 city council has so far continued to vote with the Mayor 83.32% of the time. However, a glance at the histograms of dissenting votes shows that the council remains polarized, split between now larger pro-mayor and anti-mayor voting blocs.

In the previous city council, there were powerful divisive issues such as the "big box ordinance" and the votes took place at a time of increased public scrutiny because of on-going corruption scandals such as the "Hired Truck" scandal and the patronage scandal centered around the Sorich trial.

Other than the property tax and budget votes, this last year's city council has so far seen less contentious issues. However, the upcoming votes on moving the Children's Museum to Millennium Park and the decision by the Federal Appeals Court to uphold the Sorich convictions may soon change the climate in the council. The Children's Museum votes raise the issue of Aldermanic Privilege, which is the right of the alderman representing the community to control the future developments in their wards. While the mayor does not have support of all of the aldermen on this issue, the bet is that he will be able to twist sufficient aldermen's arms with both promises of future city projects in their wards coupled with the fear that the mayor might oppose their reelection in three years if they cross him.

There have been two countervailing trends in the city council thus far. Some of the new aldermen who defeated pro-Daley incumbents are now voting like Daley

loyalists. Some examples of this trend are 3rd Ward Alderman Pat Dowell and 20th Ward Alderman Willie Cochran who have voted 85% and 100% of the time with Daley including yes votes on the city budget and higher taxes. Some previous Daley opponents like 46th Ward Alderman Hellen Shiller are now voting with Daley 100% of the time on these key votes. On the other hand, true Daley loyalists like 50th Ward Alderman Bernie Stone after a political falling out has dropped to only 67% support, and shows opposition on many key issues. And, of course, some true loyalists like 47th Ward Alderman Eugene Schuler, 38th Ward Tom Allen, and 36th Ward Alderman Bill Banks will split with the mayor when it comes to issues like increasing the property tax.

Conclusion

The success of union and community backed candidates in the 2007 elections bolstered the hopes and aspirations of progressive groups. However, despite the increase in the number of independent voices in the council, the mayor has yet to be defeated even when his policies like tax increases were not popular with most Chicagoans.

The most positive development has been the creation of the Independent Caucus that meets before each council meeting to plan strategy and to get information from outside experts. The caucus hopes soon to hire a staff member to help them analyze complicated issues like Tax Increment Finance districts in the city. The staff would allow the aldermen to conduct research in the same way that the Congressional Governmental Accountability office does. This worked particularly well when the unions were willing to fund experts to advise the independent aldermen before the budget hearings in 2007.

The members of the Independent Caucus have been able to begin to get some of the aldermen who have remained more loyal to the mayor to vote with them on critical issues such as the property tax increase. That 29-21 vote has been the high water mark of opposition thus far.

Supporters of the Mayor have so far been mostly unified in resisting the calls for change to the status quo in the city council. Even some of those aldermen who openly defied Mayor Daley in the previous city council on issues like the “Big Box” ordinance and racial issues such as city council redistricting have not yet been won over on a consistent basis. And some of the aldermen that the labor unions and community organizations helped to elect have strongly pro-Daley voting records in the first year of the new council.

The Independent Caucus had had up to 20 aldermen attend some of their meetings, but the core of the opposition bloc ranges from 6 to 14 aldermen. If the Independent Caucus cannot succeed in convincing more of the fence-sitters to join them, then the mayor may ultimately continue with his rubber stamp council. The new divisions of the city council are leading to more debate and new issues like the vote on the Children’s Museum may change the voting patterns that have emerged thus far. But it will take more courage than most of the aldermen have shown thus far to break the rubber stamp mold.

Table 1: Alderman Voting Records on Key Issues: May 21, 2007 – April 30, 2008

Ward	Alderman	Public Art Program	Office of compliance	2008 City Budget	*Increased Taxes and Fees	Property Tax Increase	*Real Estate Transfer Tax for CTA	**Percent Agreement with Mayor
1	Manuel Flores	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	77
2	Bob Fioretti	No	No	No	No	No	No	23
3	Pat Dowell	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	85
4	Toni Preckwinkle	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	38
5	Leslie Hairston	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	82
6	Freddrenna Lyle	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
7	Sandy Jackson	No	No	No	No	No	No	17
8	Michelle Harris	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
9	Anthony Beale	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
10	John Pope	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
11	James Balcer	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
12	George Cardenas	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
13	Frank Olivo	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
14	Edward Burke	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
15	Toni Foulkes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	54
16	Joann Thompson	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
17	Latasha Thomas	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
18	Lona Lane	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
19	Virginia Rugai	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
20	Willie Cochran	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
21	Howard Brookins Jr.	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	69
22	Ricardo Munoz	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	38
23	Michael Zalewski	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
24	Sharon Denise Dixon	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	62
25	Daniel Solis	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100

26	Billy Ocasio	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No Vote	70
27	Walter Burnett Jr.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No Vote	100
28	Ed Smith	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
29	Isaac Carothers	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
30	Ariel Reboyras	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
31	Regner "Ray" Suarez	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	85
32	Scott Waguespack	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	85
33	Richard Mell	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
34	Carrie Austin	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
35	Rey Colon	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	54
36	William J.P. Banks	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	92
37	Emma Mitts	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
38	Thomas Allen	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	92
39	Margaret Laurino	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	85
40	Patrick O'Connor	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	92
41	Brian Doherty	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	38
42	Brendan Reilly	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	54
43	Vi Daley	No Vote	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	92
44	Thomas Tunney	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
45	Patrick Levar	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	92
46	Helen Shiller	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
47	Eugene Schalter	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	85
48	Mary Ann Smith	Yes	Absent	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	100
49	Joe Moore	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	38
50	Bernard Stone	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	67
	Mayor	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	

*Multiple votes were cast on this issue with identical results from the Council.

**Percentage reflects agreement on all 13 divided roll call votes.

Table 2: Description of Divided Roll Call Votes

Issue #	Issue Synopsis	Date	Journal Page	Vote
1	Expression Of Support For Passage Of Illinois Senate Bill 1751 Concerning Uninsured And Unlicensed Immigrants	6/13/2007	3488	49-1
2	Further Regulation Of Public Art Program	6/13/2007	3560	38-11
3	Authorization For Corporation Counsel To Enter Into And Execute Settlement Agreement Regarding Case Of Stacy Walker-Talbert V. Duane Blackman, Aaron Long And The City Of Chicago	7/19/2007	4013	45-1
4	Establishing Office Of Compliance	9/5/2007	6544	43-6
5	Amendment Of Various Titles Of Municipal Code Of Chicago Concerning City Organization And Management	11/13/2007	14999	43-7
6	2008 Annual Appropriation Ordinance	11/13/2007	15221	37-13
7	Increasing Filing Fee For Real Property Transfer Declaration	11/13/2007	15810	40-10
8	Establishment Of Application Fee For Issuance Of Certificates Of Payments To Condominiums For Water And Sewer Assessments	11/13/2007	15812	40-10
9	Revenue Related Matters	11/13/2007	15814	40-10
10	Tax Levy On All Taxable Property Within City Of Chicago For Year 2008	11/13/2007	15845	29-21
11	Appointment Of Jody P. Weis As Superintendent Of Department Of Police	1/9/2008	18934	44-1
12	Imposition Of Supplemental Real Estate Transfer Tax For Benefit Of And Authorization For Execution Of Intergovernmental Agreement With Chicago	2/8/2008	19933	41-6

	Transit Authority			
13	Establishing Certain Requirements For Use Of Chicago Real Property Transfer Tax Funds By Chicago-Area Public Transit Systems	2/8/2008	19940	41-6

Table 3: Aldermanic Vote on Divided Roll Call Votes

Issue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	% Agree
Ald. 1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	77
Ald. 2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	23
Ald. 3	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	85
Ald. 4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	38
Ald. 5	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	82
Ald. 6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 7	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	17
Ald. 8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	100
Ald. 10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 15	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	54
Ald. 16	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 21	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	69
Ald. 22	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	38
Ald. 23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 24	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	62
Ald. 25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 26	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	2	3	3	70
Ald. 27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	100
Ald. 28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 31	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	85
Ald. 32	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	85
Ald. 33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 35	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	54
Ald. 36	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	92
Ald. 37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 38	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	92
Ald. 39	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	85
Ald. 40	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	92
Ald. 41	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	38
Ald. 42	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	54
Ald. 43	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	92
Ald. 44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100

Ald. 45	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	1	92
Ald. 46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	100
Ald. 47	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	85
Ald. 48	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
Ald. 49	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	38
Ald. 50	1	1	2	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	67
Mayor	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	X

0 = No Vote
1 = Yes Vote
2 = Abstain
3 = Absent

Chi-Square Test of Difference of Medians

	Median	Above Combined	Below/At Combined
Current	96	30	20
Old	86	15	35
Combined	87		

$X^2 = 10$ exceeds critical value of 6.635 at $\alpha = .01$

Table 4: Aldermen by Ward and Committee Assignments

Ward	Alderman	Committees	Office Address	Office Phone
1	Manuel Flores Since 2003	Committees, Rules & Ethics; Economic, Capital, & Technology Development; Historical Landmark Preservation; Parks & Recreation; Special Events & Cultural Affairs; Energy, Environmental Protection, & Public Utilities; Transportation & the Public Way	2058 N. Western Ave Chicago, IL 60647	773-278-0101
2	Robert Fioretti Since 2007	Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Energy, Environmental Protection, & Public Utilities; Health; License & Consumer Protection; Special Events & Cultural Affairs	429 S Dearborn St. Chicago, IL 60605	312-263-9273
3	Pat Dowell Since 2007	Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Health; Historical Landmark Preservation; Housing & Real Estate; Transportation & the Public Way	5046 S State St. Chicago, IL 60609	773-373-9273
4	Toni Preckwinkle Since 1991	Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Energy, Environmental Protection, & Public Utilities; Finance; Historical Landmark Preservation; Parks and Recreation	4659 S. Cottage Grove Ave. Suite 203 Chicago, IL 60653	773-536-8103
5	Leslie Hairston Since 1999	Buildings; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Energy, Environmental Protection, & Public Utilities; Finance; Human Relations; Parks & Recreation; Special Events & Cultural Affairs	1900 E 71st St Chicago, IL 60649	773-324-5555
6	Freddrenna Lyle Since 1999	Aviation; Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Parks & Recreation; Traffic Control & Safety	406 East 75th St. Chicago, IL 60619	773-846-7006
7	Sandy Jackson Since 2007	Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Education & Child Development; Human Relations; Traffic Control & Safety	7129 S. Yates Blvd. Chicago, IL 60649	773-375-9180
8	Michelle Harris Since 2007	Budget & Government Operations; Finance; Health; Special Events & Cultural Affairs; Traffic Control & Safety; Police & Fire	8539 S. Cottage Grove Ave. Chicago, IL 60619	773-874-3300
9	Anthony Beale Since 1999	Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Education & Child Development; Energy, Environmental Protection, & Public Utilities; Finance; Historical Landmark Preservation*; Transportation & the Public Way	34 East 112th Place Chicago, IL 60628	773-785-1100
10	John A. Pope Since 1999	Budget & Government Operations; Buildings^; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Energy, Environmental Protection, & Public Utilities; Finance; Housing & Real Estate; Human Relations; Police & Fire	3522 E. 106th St Chicago, IL 60617	773-721-1999
11	James A. Balcer Since 1997	Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Finance; Housing & Real Estate; Human Relations; Parks & Recreation^; Police	3659 S. Halsted St. Chicago,	773-254-6677

		& Fire^; Transportation & the Public Way	IL 60609	
12	George A. Cardenas Since 2003	Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Economic, Capital, & Technology Development; Education & Child Development; Finance; Health^; License and Consumer Protection	2458 W. 38th St Chicago, IL 60632	773-523-8250
13	Frank J. Olivo Since 1995	Aviation; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; License & Consumer Protection; Zoning	6500 S. Pulaski Rd. Chicago, IL 60629	773-581-8000
14	Edward M. Burke Since 1969	Aviation; Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics^; Finance*; Police & Fire; Zoning	2650 W. 51st St Chicago, IL 60632	773-471-1414
15	Toni Foulkes Since 2007	Buildings; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Historical Landmark Preservation; Parks & Recreation	3045 W. 63rd St Chicago, IL 60629	773-863-0220
16	Joann Thompson Since 2007	Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Energy, Environmental Protection, & Public Utilities; Parks & Recreation	5335 South Western Blvd Chicago, IL 60609	773-434-3399
17	Latasha R. Thomas Since 2000	Budget & Government Operations; Buildings; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Finance; Special Events & Cultural Affairs; Zoning; Education & Child Development*	7811 S. Racine Ave. Chicago, IL 60620	773-723-0908
18	Lona Lane Since 2006	Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Economic, Capital, & Technology Development; Education & Child Development; Housing & Real Estate; Parks & Recreation; Police & Fire; Special Events & Cultural Affairs	8146 S. Kedzie Chicago, IL 60652	773-471-1991
19	Virginia A. Rugai Since 1990	Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Economic, Capital, & Technology Development; Energy, Environmental Protection, & Public Utilities*; Finance; Historical Landmark Preservation; Police & Fire; Transportation & the Public Way;	10400 South Western Ave Chicago, IL 60643	773-238-8766
20	Willie Cochran Since 2007	Committees, Rules, & Ethics; License & Consumer Protection; Parks & Recreation; Transportation & the Public Way	6357 S. Cottage Grove Ave Chicago, IL 60637	773-955-5610
21	Howard Brookins Jr. Since 2003	Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Historical Landmark Preservation; Traffic Control & Safety; Special Events & Cultural Affairs	9612 South Halsted St Chicago, IL 60628	773-881-9300
22	Ricardo Munoz Since 1993	Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Education & Child Development; Finance; Parks & Recreation	2500 S. St Louis St Chicago, IL 60623	773-762-1771
23	Michael R. Zalewski Since 1995	Aviation^; Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Economic, Capital, & Technology Development^; Energy, Environmental Protection, & Public	6247 S. Archer Ave. Chicago, IL 60638	773-582-4444

		Utilities; License & Consumer Protection; Traffic Control & Safety		
24	Sharon Denise Dixon Since 2007	Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Education & Child Development; Health; Housing & Real Estate; Special Events & Cultural Affairs	2100 South Marshall Blvd. Suite 801 Chicago, IL 60623	773-522-2430
25	Daniel S. Solis Since 1995	Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Police & Fire; Education & Child Development^	2439 S. Oakley Blvd Chicago, IL 60608	773-523-4100
26	Billy Ocasio Since 1993	Aviation; Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics^; Education & Child Development; Finance; Housing & Real Estate; Human Relations*	3236 West Division St Chicago, IL 60651	773-276-4269
27	Walter Burnett Jr. Since 1995	Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Education & Child Development; Health; Special Events & Cultural Affairs*; Buildings	1463 W. Chicago Ave. Chicago, IL 60622	312-432-1995
28	Ed H. Smith Since 1983	Budget & Government Operations; Buildings; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Finance; Health*; Zoning; Aviation	259 N. Pulaski St Chicago, IL 60624	773-533-0900
29	Isaac S. Carothers Since 1999	Aviation; Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Finance; License & Consumer Protection^; Police & Fire*; Transportation & the Public Way; Zoning	5253 West. Madison Street Chicago, IL 60644	773-261-4646
30	Ariel E. Reboyras Since 2003	Buildings; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Police & Fire; Transportation & the Public Way	3348 N. Milwaukee Ave. Chicago, IL 60641	773-794-3095
31	Ray Suarez Since 1991	Aviation; Budget & Government Operations; Buildings; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Finance; Housing & Real Estate*; Zoning	4502 W. Fullerton Ave. Chicago, IL 60639	773-486-6488
32	Scott Waguespack Since 2007	Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Education & Child Development; Housing & Real Estate; Human Relations; Special Events & Cultural Affairs	2657 N. Clybourn St Chicago, IL 60614	773-248-1330
33	Richard F. Mell Since 1975	Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics*; Finance; Housing & Real Estate; Human Relations; Traffic Control & Safety	3649 N. Kedzie Ave Chicago, IL 60618	773-478-8040
34	Carrie M. Austin Since 1994	Committees, Rules, & Ethics^; Energy, Environmental Protection, & Public Utilities; Finance; Health; Housing & Real Estate; Police & Fire; Zoning; Budget & Government Operations*	507 W. 111th St Chicago, IL 60628	773-928-6961
35	Rey Colon Since 2003	Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Economic, Capital, & Technology Development; Finance; Health; Historical Landmark Preservation; Human Relations; Special Events &	2710 N. Sawyer Ave. Chicago, IL 60647	773-365-3535

		Cultural Affairs; Zoning		
36	William J.P. Banks Since 1983	Aviation; Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Economic, Capital, & Technology Development; Finance; Zoning*	6839 W. Belmont Ave. Chicago, IL 60634	773-622-3232
37	Emma Mitts Since 2000	Aviation; Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Economic, Capital, & Technology Development; Parks & Recreation; Police & Fire; Traffic Control & Safety; Energy, Environmental Protection, & Public Utilities^	5344 W. North Ave. Chicago, IL 60639	773-745-2894
38	Thomas R. Allen Since 1993	Aviation; Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Economic, Capital, & Technology Development; Zoning; Transportation & the Public Way*	5817 W. Irving Park Rd. Chicago, IL 60634	773-545-3838
39	Margaret Laurino Since 1995	Budget & Government Operations; Buildings; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Economic, Capital, & Technology Development*; Education & Child Development; Finance; Police & Fire; Zoning	4404 West Lawrence Avenue Chicago, IL 60630	773-736-5594
40	Patrick J. O'Connor Since 1983	Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Education & Child Development; Finance^; Human Relations; Traffic Control & Safety*	5850 N. Lincoln Ave. Chicago, IL 60659	773-769-1140
41	Brian G. Doherty Since 1991	Aviation; Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Finance; Historical Landmark Preservation; License & Consumer Protection; Traffic Control & Safety^; Transportation & the Public Way	6650 N. Northwest Highway Chicago, IL 60631	773 792-1991
42	Brendan Reilly Since 2007	Buildings; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Health; Transportation & the Public Way	311 West Superior Suite 212 Chicago, IL 60610	312-642-4242
43	Vi Daley Since 1999	Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Economic, Capital, & Technology Development; Finance; Historical Landmark Preservation^; Parks & Recreation; Special Events & Cultural Affairs; Zoning^	735 W. Wrightwood Chicago, IL 60614	773-327-9111
44	Thomas Tunney Since 2003	Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Economic, Capital, & Technology Development; Education & Child Development; Finance; License & Consumer Protection	1057 W. Belmont Ave. Chicago, IL 60657	773-525-6034
45	Patrick J. Levar Since 1987	Aviation*; Budget & Government Operations^; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Finance; Police & Fire; Special Events & Cultural Affairs; Transportation & the Public Way	5205 N. Milwaukee Ave Suite 100 Chicago, IL 60630	773 545-2545

46	Helen Shiller Since 1987	Budget & Government Operations; Buildings; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Finance; Health; Human Relations; License & Consumer Protection	4544 North Broadway Ave Chicago, IL 60640	773-878-4646
47	Eugene C. Schulter Since 1975	Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Finance; License & Consumer Protection*; Parks & Recreation; Transportation & the Public Way; Zoning	4237 North Lincoln Avenue Chicago, IL 60618	773-348-8400
48	Mary Ann Smith Since 1989	Budget & Government Operations; Buildings; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Finance; License & Consumer Protection; Traffic Control & Safety	5533 N. Broadway Ave. Chicago, IL 60640	773-784-5277
49	Joe Moore Since 1991	Budget & Government Operations; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Finance; Health; Historical Landmark Preservation; Energy, Environmental Protection, & Public Utilities	7356 N. Greenview Ave. Chicago, IL 60626	773-338-5796
50	Bernard L. Stone Since 1973	Budget & Government Operations; Buildings*; Committees, Rules, & Ethics; Finance; Historical Landmark Preservation; Housing & Real Estate; Traffic Control & Safety; Zoning	6199 N.Lincoln Ave. Chicago, IL 60659	773-764-5050

* **Committee Chair**

^ **Committee Vice-Chair**

Endnotes

- ¹ Scott Fornek. "Meet the Chicago City Council that was Sworn in Monday" *Chicago Tribune*. May 22, 2007. p. 8.
- ² Fran Spielman and Dave Newbart. "Big Box, Round 2" *Chicago Sun Times*. February 4, 2007. p. 10A.
- ³ Dan Mihalopoulos and Mickey Ciokajilo. "City Council: Veteran Natarus Heads for Defeat" *Chicago Tribune*. February 27, 2007.
- ⁴ Dan Mihalopoulos. "Outsider Funding an Issue in Runoff" *Chicago Tribune*. April 9, 2007.
- ⁵ Scott Fornek. "Voters Give Aldermen the Boot; Matlak, Coleman, Haithcock, out in Worst Showing for Incumbents Since '91" *Chicago Sun Times*. April 18, 2007. p. 3.
- ⁶ Mickey Ciokajilo. "Incumbents Try to Hold onto City Council Seats" *Chicago Tribune*. April 13, 2007.
- ⁷ Mickey Ciokajilo and Robert Becker. "Labor Wasn't the Only Big Player in Runoffs; Daley Groups also Funded Races" *Chicago Tribune*.
- ⁸ Fran Spielman. "Council Reduces Public Say-So in City's Art" *Chicago Sun Times*. June 14, 2007. p. 40.
- ⁹ Kevin Nance. "Public Art Peril? Chicago Artists Rally at the Picasso to Oppose Change in Art Ordinance" *Chicago Sun-Times*. June 12, 2007. p. 29.
- ¹⁰ Gary Washburn. "City Leaders OK Compliance Office" *Chicago Tribune*. September 9, 2007. p. 1,8.
- ¹¹ Editorial. *Chicago Tribune*. "The Chicago City Sheep" September 7, 2007.
- ¹² Fran Spielman. "Daley's Call for Record Property Tax Hike Stuns Aldermen" *Chicago Sun Times* October 11, 2007. p. 9.
- ¹³ Jesse Jackson Jr. "Don't Accept Daley's Taxes" *Chicago Tribune* October 17, 2007.
- ¹⁴ Mark Brown. "Aldermen Can Pick Poison on Budget Vote" *Chicago Sun Time*. November 13, 2007 p. 8.
- ¹⁵ Mickey Ciokajilo "City Council Passes Budget, as well as Tax and Fee Hikes: Property Hike Larges of Daley's Tenure" *Chicago Tribune*. November 13, 2007.
- ¹⁶ Mickey Ciokajilo "Daley Tax Hike Breezes: Aldermen Agree to \$86 Million Increase Despite Vocal Critics" *Chicago Tribune*. November 13, 2007.
- ¹⁷ Mark Brown "Aldermen Put Heavy Burden on Taxpayers" *Chicago Sun Times*. November 14, 2007 p. 8.
- ¹⁸ Editorial. *Chicago Sun Times* "Council Takes a Stand" November 15, 2007. p. 39.
- ¹⁹ Mickey Ciokajilo, "City Council Passes Budget..." *Chicago Tribune*, November 13, 2007.
- ²⁰ Mark Brown "Aldermen Put Heavy Burden on Taxpayers" *Chicago Sun Times*. November 14, 2007 p. 8.
- ²¹ Fran Spielman. "Realty Transfer Tax Hike Gives Seniors a Break" *Chicago Sun Times* February 7, 2008.