



**Chicago's Evolving City Council
Chicago City Council Report #9
June 17, 2015 – March 29, 2017**

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Since Mayor Rahm Emanuel and the new Chicago City Council were sworn in two years ago, there have been 67 divided roll call votes or roughly three per month. A divided roll call vote is not unanimous because at least one or more aldermen votes against the mayor and his administration.

The rate of divided roll call votes – twice the rate in Emanuel’s first four year term – combined with an increase in the number of aldermen voting against the mayor – are indications that the aldermen are becoming more independent.

Clearly, the city council is less of a predictable “rubber stamp” than it was during Mayor Richard M. Daley’s 22 years and Emanuel’s first four year term from 2011-2015. However, this movement away from an absolute rubber stamp is small and city council is only glacially evolving.

The increase in aldermanic independence is confirmed by a downward trend in the vote agreement with the mayor, with only five aldermen voting **with** him 100% of the time and another 22 voting **with** him 90%. The number of aldermen voting **with** the mayor less than 90% of the time on divided votes has risen to 23 over the last two years. Aldermen are also more willing to produce their own legislation and proposed solutions to critical city problems than in the past rather than wait for, or to clear their proposals with, the 5th floor.

Despite the slippage in aldermanic support, Mayor Emanuel remains dominant. He is still able to pass his legislation, although his proposed ordinances sometimes have to be modified in negotiations with the aldermen. He is undeniably weaker than in his first term in office.

There are several reasons for this. In 2015, he was forced into a runoff election with Cook County Commissioner Chuy Garcia; whereas, he won outright in 2011. The public release of the Laquan McDonald shooting videotape caused months of protest demonstrations. Chicago

continues to merit national headlines due to the crisis levels of gun violence that plague its streets, as well as endemic police misconduct, corruption, and abuse. All of this has caused Mayor Emanuel's public approval rating to plummet to as low as 25%, although it has since recovered to as high as 40%. More telling, only a small number of black Chicagoans (as little as 8%) believe that the mayor "cares a lot about people like them."¹ In short, the mayor doesn't have as much clout as before. Aldermen are freer to act on their own and to oppose him.

In addition, there is evidence of growing strength by the Progressive Caucus of aldermen which could develop into a permanent independent bloc. The Progressive Caucus currently includes 10 aldermen whose voting patterns indicate that they are committed to improving socioeconomic equity and creating a more responsive and publically inclusive government. They have been more vocal over the past six months and more aldermen are seeking to join the caucus to make their own reelection more likely in 2019.²

This Progressive Caucus is more effective when it is able to join together with the City Council's Black Caucus and Hispanic Caucus on issues such as equal access to contractor jobs for minorities at the city airports. The Black Caucus is a coalition of 18 aldermen who advocate for the interests of African-American city residents. Satisfying all three of these caucuses has made the mayor's attempt to maintain a Rubber Stamp City Council progressively more difficult as he has lost popularity and the city's social problems like the public schools, crime, shootings, and police misconduct have become more visible and pressing.

The number of divided roll call votes has increased from 32 in 2015-2016 to 35 this last year and they are expected to continue or increase in the next two years. Even though an increase in divided votes signals rising independence of aldermen, the mayor has still not lost a vote. He has not needed to use his veto and he still has overall control of the council.

In addition to equity in contractor job opportunities for minorities at the airports, the most contentious issues with the closest divided roll calls include:

- police misconduct;
- regulation of ‘shared economy’ services like Uber and AirBnB;
- massive increases in taxes in the 2016 city budget;
- appropriation of tax increment finance (TIF) funds;
- implementation of the Water and Sewer Tax;
- giving the Chicago Inspector General investigative powers and oversight of aldermen and their staff; and
- the approval of flavored tobacco sales within 500 feet of elementary schools.

The way aldermen vote and what they say about these contentious issues shows the pressure they receive from their constituents and causes increased aldermanic independence.

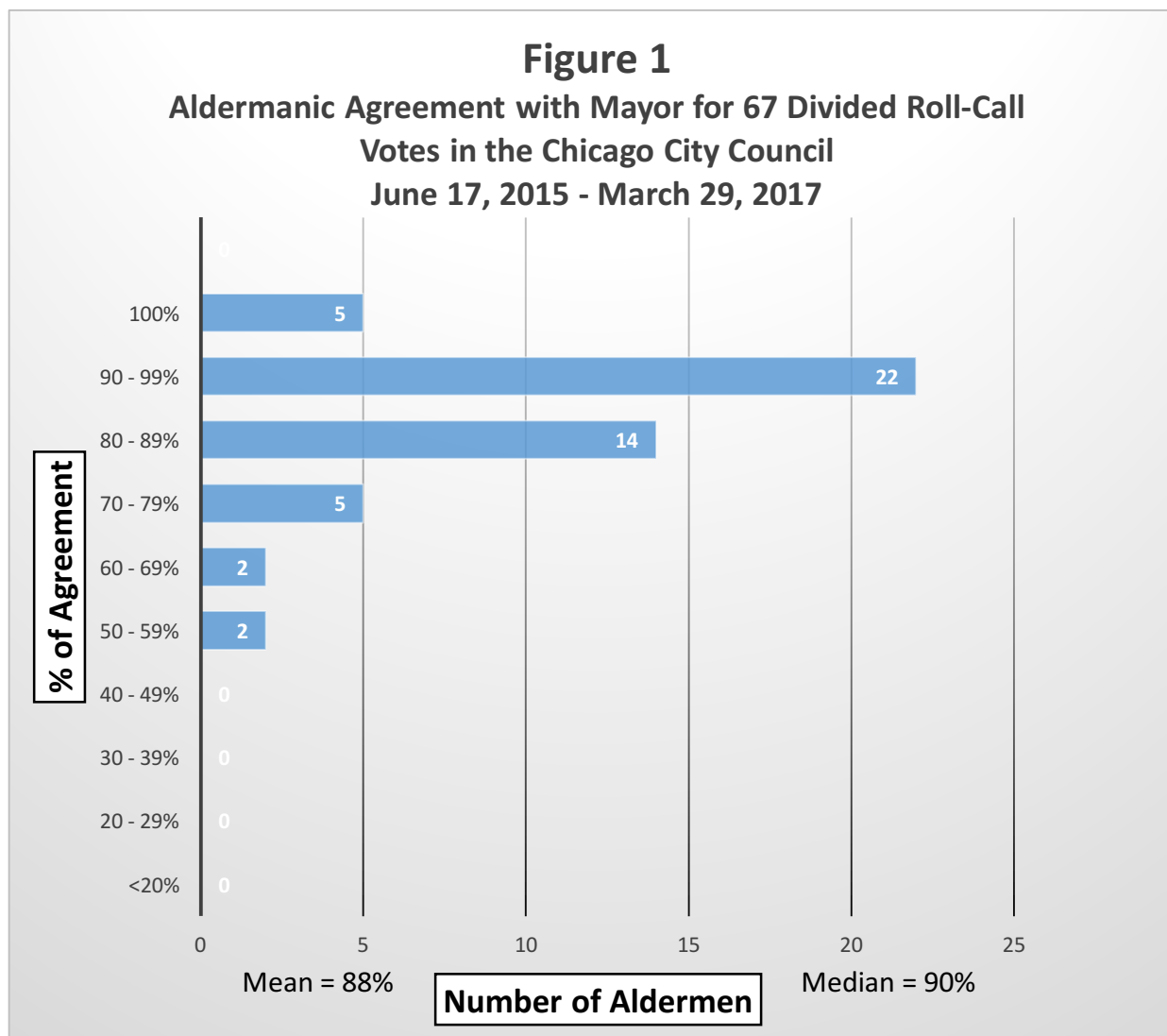
City Hall reporters have noted a definite change of tone in the current council. Fran Spielman of the *Chicago Sun-Times* January 2016 noted in reporting on a Finance Committee meeting that: “Routine matters that once sailed through without a whimper were placed under the microscope... [and predicted] that aldermen were likely to question virtually everything Emanuel does for the next 3½ years...”³ So, for instance, Mayor Emanuel cut in half his plan to issue \$1.25 billion in general obligation bonds because of aldermanic opposition. General obligation bonds are used to fund the capital improvements which the city makes and to be paid back over 20-40 years.

Support for Mayor Emanuel

To assess the degree of independence of the current city council, a review of all of the divided roll call votes was conducted. Each year aldermen cast more than 1,000 votes although most are noncontroversial and pass unanimously. For instance, from April 2015 until April 2016, a total of 1,224 votes were taken. Of those, only 32 were divided.

In this report, the voting records for all 50 aldermen were recorded over the last two years since the mayor and the aldermen won their elections and were sworn into office. All YES votes were recorded as 1 and all NAY votes as 0. Abstentions, absences, and vacant council seats were recorded from 2-4. From this information, we were able to calculate the number of times each alderman voted with the administration. Since the mayor does not vote, except in the case of a tie, the votes of Alderman Pat O'Connor, his political floor leader, and Alderman Edward Burke, Chairman of the Finance Committee, were used as proxies for the administration's position. If the floor leader votes did not provide a clear indication, we used press reports of the mayor's statements on the issues to determine the administration's position.

Based on this information, we were able to develop the histogram in Figure 1 of aldermanic support for the mayor and his administration. Five aldermen voted 100% of the time with the mayor and another 22 voted more than 90% of the time with the city administration on the divided roll call votes. This bloc of supporters gave the mayor his majority. He is beginning to lose some of his absolute control, but despite community pressures over issues like the high crime, shooting, and murder rates, he has kept the majority he needs to govern at least for the time being.



As Figure 1 indicates, during the last two years, 23 of the 50 aldermen voted with the mayor less than 90% of the time. Table 1 shows the number of aldermen who the vote at different percentages with the mayor. It shows two aldermen, Anthony V. Napolitano (41st) and Scott Waguespack (32nd), voted against the administration about half the time on divided roll call votes. Other aldermen showing the most independence from the mayor include John Arena (45th) and David Moore (17th) 68%-69% of the time with the

administration. At the other end of the spectrum, Aldermen Ed Burke (14th), Pat O'Connor (40th), Daniel Solis (25th), Ariel Reboyras (30th), and Margaret Laurino (39th) voted 100% of the time in complete support of the mayor.

**Table 1: Voting Patterns
Aldermanic Agreement with Administration
67 Divided Roll Call Votes from June 17, 2015 - March 29, 2017**

Ward	Alderman	% Agreement 2015 - 2017	Ward	Alderman	% Agreement 2015 - 2017
14	Edward M. Burke	100%	4	William D. Burns*/Sophia King	90%
25	Daniel Solis	100%	11	Patrick Thompson	90%
30	Ariel Reboyras	100%	18	Derrick G. Curtis	90%
39	Margaret Laurino	100%	26	Roberto Maldonado	89%
40	Patrick O'Connor	100%	36	Gilbert Villegas	89%
46	James Cappleman	99%	47	Ameya Pawar	89%
48	Harry Osterman	98%	20	Willie Cochran	88%
49	Joseph Moore	98%	2	Brian Hopkins	87%
8	Michelle A. Harris	97%	5	Leslie A. Hairston	87%
9	Anthony Beale	97%	16	Toni Foulkes	87%
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	97%	28	Jason C. Ervin	85%
37	Emma Mitts	97%	43	Michele Smith	85%
34	Carrie Austin	96%	50	Debra L. Silverstein	85%
7	Gregory I. Mitchell	95%	31	Milagros S. Santiago	84%
21	Howard Brookins, Jr.	95%	33	Deborah Mell	84%
6	Roderick T. Sawyer	94%	3	Pat Dowell	82%

12	George A. Cardenas	94%	35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	79%
15	Raymond A. Lopez	94%	42	Brendan Reilly	78%
24	Michael Scott, Jr.	94%	10	Susan Sadlowski Garza	75%
13	Marty Quinn	93%	38	Nicholas Sposato	74%
22	Ricardo Muñoz	93%	29	Chris Taliaferro	73%
1	Proco Joe Moreno	92%	45	John Arena	69%
23	Michael R. Zalewski	92%	17	David Moore	68%
44	Thomas Tunney	92%	32	Scott Waguespack	59%
19	Matthew J. O'Shea	91%	41	Anthony V. Napolitano	52%

*Alderman William Burns resigned and was replaced by Sophia King in April 2016. This percentage reflects the combined voting for that ward.

Annual Appropriation Ordinance Year 2016 Amendments, Property Tax Levy, Tax Increases, New Fines and Fees.

Some of the earliest controversies to split the council of 2015 in ways that the mayor could not fully control — although he managed to have his way in the end — were votes on the proposed 2016 city budget. There were the same or similar divisions on amendments to motor fuel taxes, the Community Development Block Grant Funds, debt relief program, and installation and removal of parking meetings and bus shelters. These all occurred in a series of votes at the meeting on October 28, 2015.

The Mayor's budget required the largest property tax increase in Chicago's history. Altogether, the Chicago City Council approved \$755 million in various tax hikes including a record-breaking property tax increase of \$543 million. Thirty-five aldermen voted in favor of the budget, taxes, and raising fines such as a booted car fine increase from \$60 to \$100. To soften the blow, however, the city council also approved an amnesty program that would help Chicagoans pay their parking tickets without the risk of higher penalties.

First Ward Alderman Joe Moreno was among those who supported the spending plan and the tax hikes. During the October 28th meeting, he defended his position saying, “I just wanted to point out that this vote on this budget was a big deal, obviously . . . a huge deal, and . . . [35th ward Alderman Carlos Ramierz-Rosa argued] that we should be going to large corporations and getting higher taxes.”⁴ He said that corporations were getting a \$5.5 million tax break today. “So, again, let’s keep it real. [Aldermen who were] going to be against it, fine. But the hypocrisy of voting against this budget because we're not raising taxes and supporting \$5.5 million in tax breaks today is unconscionable.”⁵ Moreno, like 33 other aldermen, voted for the tax hike.

Alderman Ramirez-Rosa (35th) opposed the property tax hike. He argued that, “it was a sad day in Chicago. It's a sad day when we can't look at cutting our own six-figure salaries. It's a sad day when we can't look at meaningful TIF [Tax Increment Financing] reform. It's easy to go to those with the least power and say, 'Give me more out of your pocket.' What's tough is turning to your political campaign contributors and asking them to pay their fair share.”⁶

Like many of her colleagues, Deborah Mell (32nd), who usually supports the city administration voted against the tax hike. “My ward [will have to] foot the bill for this. Some of [my constituents] are just getting back on their feet and are going to take a big hit from this. I think we could have explored other options.”⁷

Alderman David Moore (17th) was the only council member to vote for Emanuel’s \$7.8 billion spending plan but not for the \$755 million revenue increase to fund it. He explained that he voted against the revenue packet because “98% of his constituents opposed the \$9.50 a month per unit fee for city trash pickup at single family homes, duplexes, and 3-4 flat apartment buildings.”⁸ According to the *Chicago Tribune*, Alderman Moore wanted a higher property tax

increase that would have raised the property tax hike to \$62.7 million instead of imposing the garbage tax.

Before the Chicago City Council convened for the meeting, Paris Schutz, a WTTW TV reporter, asked if the mayor needed the budget to pass with a large majority? Emmanuel replied that he would like to have a majority vote on this to “stand together.” He predicted, “There would be a majority and the majority will clearly stand for Chicago’s future.”⁹

The alderman who voted against the tax increases were strongly opposed to the hikes. They stood their ground despite heavy pressure from the administration. They voted against the budget because their constituents would suffer from these increased taxes. They said other options should have been explored before voting for a record-breaking property tax hike which their constituents were sure to hate and might hold against them at the next election.

The same 35-15 budget vote occurred on the revenue ordinance designed to raise money to pay for it, which included an unpopular \$9.50-a-month garbage collection fee already mentioned, higher fees for building permits, a \$1 million tax on e-cigarettes, \$49 million in fees and surcharges on taxicabs and ride-sharing services, and a 15 percent increase in taxicab fares in exchange for allowing Uber, Lyft, and Sidecar to pick up at the airports and McCormick Place.

Mayor Emanuel urged the city council to go down in history “as the men and women who pulled Chicago back from the financial brink and vowed to stand behind aldermen who stand with him – whether or not a second term is his last.”¹⁰ He declared, “Now is the time. This is the council. Let us commit to finishing this job. Don’t worry about my re-election. Worry about the future of Chicago”¹¹

Equal Access to Contract Jobs for Minorities

During 2016, city council members were strongly divided on four proposed ordinances regarding equal access to contract jobs for minorities in the development and expansion of O'Hare airport.

In the meeting on June 22, 2016, an ordinance was passed by a vote of 44 to 5 approving the development plan of the Northeast Cargo Center for O'Hare airport. The mayor's office said in a press release that approval of the plan would create thousands of new jobs and increase the airport's efficiency.¹² But both the Council's Black and Progressive Caucuses voiced concern about the low rates of minority hiring and contracting at the airport and the city generally. Leslie Hairston (5th) said, "we voted no to drive home the point that we remain deeply unsatisfied with the level of commitment to ensuring African-American workers and contractors are treated fairly by the Department of Aviation."¹³

In the council meeting on September 14, 2016, two more ordinances were passed by a close vote of 26 to 21 to approve the issuance of \$3.5 billion in revenue bonds for the further expansion of O'Hare airport. The closeness of this vote demonstrated that the city council's Black and Progressive caucuses would no longer allow either minority exclusion in city contracts or the infamous "gravey train of pinstripe patronage tied to city borrowings."¹⁴ This was a landmark vote for Chicago's City Council, as the mayor's ordinance squeaked by with the bare minimum of 26 votes needed to pass a bond ordinance. Ald. Pat Dowell (3rd) and Ald. Roderick Sawyer (6th) explained that this was a message intended for Aviation Commissioner Ginger Evans that the aldermen want to see dramatic increases in minority participation -- especially for African-Americans.¹⁵

In the council meeting on February 22, 2017, another ordinance was passed by a vote of 32 to 14 approving the development of a new western entrance to O'Hare airport via Route 390.

According to the Daily Herald, passengers can expect a new facility with security, baggage checks, and a people mover.¹⁶ The total expected cost of the project is \$3.4 billion. Nearly all of the Black Caucus voted against the ordinance which approved a contract agreement with the Illinois Tollway. While the Tollway has had a long history of exclusionary hiring practices with minorities, they are now investing \$4 billion in increasing their diversity which is more than most government agencies but the caucus is demanding better results from all agencies.

Police Misconduct

There were eight police misconduct settlements over the course of the past year that sparked negative aldermanic comments but were ultimately overwhelmingly approved. The total cost of these settlements was \$9,448,500. Two settlements were approved in the meeting on June 22, 2016. The first approved by a vote of 49 to 1 was \$925,000 for police misconduct in the wrongful death of 15-year-old Dakota Bright who was fatally shot by police in 2012. The second settlement, approved by a vote of 48 to 2, was \$450,000 for the unjustified police shooting that injured Levail Smith, a decorated U.S. Marine veteran. The officers involved in that shooting claimed they fired shots in self-defense.¹⁷

In the meeting on September 14, 2016, a settlement was approved by a vote of 49 to 1 for \$1.375 million for the family of 32-year-old Eugene Ratliff who was fatally hit by a car being pursued by police in an unmarked car without lights and sirens, contrary to Chicago Police Department policy.

Two more settlements were approved in the meeting on December 14th of 2016. The first, approved by a vote of 42 to 3, was \$3 million for the wrongful death of 17-year-old Cedrick Chatman who was fatally shot after allegedly pointing a “black object” at police who stopped him on suspicion of carjacking.¹⁸ The officer who shot Chatman later was found to have made

false statements regarding the incident. The second settlement approved by a vote of 43 to 2 was \$2.365 million for the wrongful death of Darius Pinex who was fatally shot by police during a traffic stop. The officers involved were later found guilty of lying and covering up their reasons for stopping Pinex.

In the meeting on January 25, 2017, a settlement for the wrongful death of 25 year-old Willie Miller was approved for \$750,000. Miller was fatally shot by police in April of 2010 after he allegedly pointed a gun at police approaching a crowd which the police said were causing “a disturbance” in East Garfield Park. This was another Burge-era torture case.¹⁹

There were two settlements cases approved in the meeting on February 22nd of 2017. The first approved by a vote of 41 to 1 was for \$370,000 for the wrongful arrest of Hugo Holmes, a field service supervisor for the Chicago Department of Transportation (CDOT). Holmes was wrongfully arrested for solicitation. The second settlement of \$213,500 was approved by a vote of 41 to 1 for Carmen Carrillo, a pedestrian who was hit by a police vehicle and suffered a broken arm, torn rotator cuff, and broken leg.

Ald. Sposato (38th) and Ald. Napolitano (41st) voted against police misconduct settlements in four of the eight cases. Ald. Sposato expressed frustration over the fact that “everybody is talking about [reforms] but no one is really doing anything about it.”²⁰ He agrees that there is some need for addressing occasional police negligence and misconduct, but he believes that need can be met by providing “better education and training” to adequately prepare officers for handling combative situations and to keep things from escalating.²¹ Ald. Sposato stressed that he is confident in voting against a settlement only when the facts presented suggest the settlement is unwarranted. He believes that if more equipment like body cameras were

distributed to more police officers, it would help resolve some of these incidents by providing a clear breakdown of events and that would cut down undue settlement costs.

While the votes on the settlement cases were not close, there was deep unhappiness among the public and the aldermen that these police abuse cases keep happening. Since 2004 the city has paid out over \$650 million dollars on police misconduct, including judgments, settlements and outside legal fees.²² But the crime rate, shootings, murders, and police abuse still continue.

Lucas Museum Rezoning

The zoning reclassification of the areas along Museum Campus Drive and surrounding properties was to make way for the George Lucas Museum of Narrative Art. Getting the go ahead from the city council was not the only hurdle that George Lucas faced. Friends of the Park sued the proposed museum and the city claiming that the 300,000 square foot museum violated public trust and was not in the public interest. The lakefront area along Lake Michigan received special protection from private development via city ordinances, state law, federal legislation, and previous lawsuits. Friends of the Park did not object to the museum itself, but only to it being located on the lakefront.

Nine Aldermen voted against adding the museum to the lakefront despite Mayor Emanuel's argument that doing so would actually add green space as well as a museum to what is now a parking lot. While the proposal was passed with minimal debate in the council, it was later blocked in federal court.

Office of Inspector General and Board of Ethics authorized to investigate aldermen and their staffs but prevented from investigating city council programs for waste and corruption

These were the closest votes in the first year of the second Emanuel administration. After being established in 2010, the Chicago Inspector General has been in charge of reviewing all city officials, departments, and agencies other than the legislative branch. Public outrage over the long history of aldermanic misconduct led first to the creation instead of a separate office of Legislative Inspector General. Aldermen argued at the time that this separate inspector general was necessary to protect the legislative branch of government from executive control and to maintain a separation of powers. So they created a separate council watchdog with limited authority. The legislative inspector general had much less power and staff than the Chicago Inspector General. An example of the council's watchdog's limited authority was that he could not launch an investigation into aldermanic wrongdoing without a signed, sworn complaint. Also, he did not have the power to examine waste and fraud through the normal audit and review process that is enforced at every other City Hall office.²³

Originally, the proposed new ethics ordinance gave the Chicago Inspector General the power to investigate the aldermen and their staffs and to examine city council programs. It was supposed to be voted on in January 2016 but some aldermen strongly opposed it. Thus, the ordinance was split into two separate ordinances and considered at February's meeting. One of these new ordinances, which gave the inspector general the ability to investigate the aldermen and their staffs, passed 29 to 19.

The other ordinance, which would have brought the aldermen under the oversight that they have been avoiding for years and subjected them to the same scrutiny that all other parts of the municipal government face, did not pass. Had it passed, it would have given the Chicago Inspector General, Joseph Ferguson, the authority to examine city council programs that spend

hundreds of millions of dollars a year. Instead, there were restrictions placed on the inspector general's investigations.

Just the month before, the sponsors of the stronger original ordinance were confident that they had acquired enough support to pass it. Then Aldermen Burke (14th) and Carrie Austin (34th) moved to delay the vote until February and some aldermen who supported the original ordinance backed down.²⁴ A number of supporting organizations claimed that this measure to prevent oversight was passed because a majority of aldermen did not want to deal with the scrutiny or because they did not want to stand up to Ald. Burke.²⁵ On the other hand, Fourth Ward Alderman Will Burns claimed that the original ordinance would have given too much power to the Inspector General. Burns said, "Some law enforcement officers -- and don't mistake it, IG's consider themselves prosecutors -- we know there have been people railroaded and falsely convicted and on death row."²⁶ The supposition was that aldermen and their staff members could be falsely accused and prosecuted by the Chicago Inspector General.

Support for broader power for the Inspector General came from Michele Smith (43rd), Ameya Pawar (47th), and George Cardenas (12th). They argued that it is important to make sure Chicago public servants are accountable and working toward a more open, transparent, and ethical government.²⁷ "This ordinance was drafted with an eye to bringing equity to ethical oversight of City Council," Alderman Smith said.²⁸

Opposing the original ordinance were Aldermen Burke and Austin. Burke did not speak in the debate but Alderman Austin said she would like to see the powers separated between the council and the mayor who appoints the city inspector general. She may have had a personal reason for opposing Ferguson's increased oversight. Her son resigned from his \$72,000-a-year

job with the Department of Streets and Sanitation after Inspector General Ferguson found that he had crashed a city vehicle and tried to cover it up.²⁹

After this vote, Inspector General Ferguson commented, "Instead of embracing oversight for itself consonant with that for the rest of city government and operations, [the council] retreated."³⁰ He pointed out that the aldermen prevented this oversight "at a moment when our City is under intense national scrutiny,"³¹ because of the Laquan McDonald and other police shootings.

The aldermen passed the substitute ordinance that allowed the inspector general oversight over the aldermen and their staffs but they did not pass the second ordinance that would have allowed the inspector general more investigative ability over city council programs. Also the Inspector General can only investigate aldermen if he has a signed complaint. These two votes give Inspector General Ferguson restricted investigative ability over the city council but it is still a step forward.

Regulation of ‘Shared Economy’ Services

There were three ordinances approved over the past year regarding regulation of ‘shared economy’ services like AirBnB and Uber. In the meeting on June 22, 2016, the council approved two amendments to the municipal code regulating ‘shared economy’ services. The first allowed for the operation of more online home rentals and AirBnB units in the city, as well as implemented a 4% tax on these services to raise \$3 million to combat homelessness in Chicago.³² Seven aldermen opposed the code amendment. Ald. Michele Smith (43rd) voiced concerns that with more AirBnB units cropping up in the city, areas like Lincoln Park would be destroyed by “party houses” on “quiet neighborhood streets.”³³ Smith advocated placing a cap on how many of these units could exist on one street. Other aldermen were concerned that shared housing

services would turn “entire residential blocks...into quasi-hotel districts with transient visitors replacing neighborhood residents.”³⁴ The mayor’s ordinance which passed mandated that all AirBnB hosts register their units and acquire a license to operate in Chicago, though many units have been operating without said license. Aside from aldermen representing the concerns of their constituents, hotels were the biggest opponents of AirBnB in Chicago.

Another “shared economy” code amendment allowed the city to license Uber and Lyft drivers, but Mayor Emanuel decided to hold off on fingerprinting the drivers for six months while conducting an independent study.³⁵ Ald. Scott Waguespack (32nd) was the most vocal opponent of the ordinance. Waguespack was upset both by the delay on fingerprinting drivers as well as the last-minute presentation of the ordinance by the mayor. He said, “Your ordinance for the ride-share came to us...early this morning. It removed all of the protections...To come forward with an ordinance that takes all of that out...and expect aldermen to vote on it is not the way to run the City Council.”³⁶ Ald. John Arena (45th) argued against the amendment as well, concerned that this kind of leeway for corporations to “self-regulate” and bend city laws to their benefit was hurting communities.³⁷ Arena also questioned the mayor’s ordinance because Emanuel’s brother is an Uber investor.³⁸ Ald. Sposato agreed with Waguespack and Arena when he pointed out that, “we’re fingerprinting taxi drivers, why not Uber drivers?”³⁹ Sposato maintains that this leeway in the screening process would put rideshare services at an even further advantage over the taxicab industry.

At a later council meeting on February 22, 2017, an amendment to the municipal code was approved by a vote of 33 to 13 that modified the legal obligations for hosts of AirBnB and other home-sharing platforms. As it was initially introduced, the ordinance required the owners of home-sharing units to keep registration records of their guests on file for three years, and

“make them available for inspection upon request from the city.”⁴⁰ In addition to the 13 council members who voted against the ordinance, opponents included Keep Chicago Livable (KCL), a local advocacy group that defends the rights of homeowners to participate in home-sharing services. The city’s final revision “removed the requirement that would have forced hosts to turn over the names of their guests to city officials.”⁴¹ However, hosts will still be required to maintain guest registration records on file for three years.

Appropriation of TIF Funds

Two ordinances allowing the use of tax increment finance (TIF) funds to develop the Montrose-Clarendon Park area on the Northside of Chicago were approved by a vote of 37 to 13. Ald. Harry Osterman (48th) argued against the use of TIF funds for the development project that provided only limited affordable housing and did not appear to be “in the public’s interest,” especially when there were more pressing funding issues that would benefit the public, like the CPS budget crisis.⁴² Ald. Osterman said the idea of using TIF funds to build “luxury units” when TIF funds were denied to Chicago Public Schools was troubling.⁴³ After initial opposition, Ald. James Cappleman (46th) supported the redevelopment plan because many of his constituents welcomed the development since the vacant lot had become a regular spot for drug dealers. According to the city’s development report, the total project will cost roughly \$125 million and of that, \$15.8 million will come from TIF funding.⁴⁴

Water and Sewer Tax

In the meeting on September 14, 2016, the city council voted 40 to 10 to approve a 29.5% tax on water and sewer bills to be phased in incrementally over the next four years. Homeowners will pay an additional \$53.16 in 2017, \$115.20 more in 2018, \$180.96 more

in 2019, and an additional \$225.96 in 2020. Mayor Emanuel claimed this tax hike was needed in order to save the pension fund.⁴⁵ According to Ald. Sposato, aldermen that opposed the tax were representing the concerns of their constituents who argued that “the more valuable the property, the more tax you should pay.”⁴⁶ Ald. Leslie Hairston (5th) opposed the uniform tax for this reason arguing against “going to the same well” and punishing taxpayers that are already struggling.⁴⁷ The Civic Federation, an independent, non-partisan government organization that provides analysis and recommendations on government finance issues said, “while the new water-sewer tax does not increase the water usage rate, it will increase the total amount charged for water usage.”⁴⁸ By 2020, Chicago households will be charged \$10.13 per 1,000 gallons of water used.⁴⁹

Approval of Flavored Tobacco Sales Near Elementary Schools

In the meeting on December 14, 2016, an amendment of the municipal code restricting the sale of tobacco near schools was approved by a vote of 31 to 14. It allowed the sale of flavored tobacco within 500 feet of elementary schools while keeping the ban of such sales within 500 feet of high schools. Opposing aldermen believed that the decision prioritized the profits of small businesses who sold these tobacco products over the safety of the children. Vocal opponents of the rollback included Ald. Raymond Lopez (15th) who argued that the city’s goal was “to keep cigarettes as far away from children as possible,” and that lifting this ban would heighten the chances of children being exposed to cigarettes in neighborhoods where street sales of loose cigarettes occurs.⁵⁰ Aldermen who supported the rollback argued that elementary school children could not be mistaken for legal-age individuals by store clerks so they would be safe. Eleven of the 18 Black Caucus aldermen voted in support of the rollback based on complaints from constituents who were convenient store owners.

The Missing Aldermen

While a majority of city council members regularly support the mayor's proposals without much dissent, even more aldermen routinely miss committee meetings. This low rate of committee meeting attendance, first reported by John Corrigan in *South Side Weekly*, is a neglect of their duty by many aldermen.⁵¹ This allows legislation to be pushed through committees with no input from their wards. As shown in Table 2, only two aldermen, Michael Scott Jr. (24th) and Ariel Reboyras (30th) have committee attendance rates over 90%. To break with the rubber stamp council of past years, aldermen need to show up. Attending committee meetings allow aldermen to stay on top of legislation, find opportunities to help their ward and the city, learn the complexity of city business, serve as a check on committee chairs that routinely push their preferences through sparsely attended meetings, and engage in the nitty-gritty business of governing.

Roberto Maldonado (26th) holds the prize for attending the least committee meetings of any current alderman – only 38% of them. The failure to show up cedes more power to others.

Alderman Burke, Chairman of the powerful Finance Committee hasn't missed a any of its meetings (although overall his committee attendance record stands at 53%). He has served as Finance Committee chair for more than three decades and his power increases if other aldermen miss those critical meetings or fail to question administration proposals there.

Leaving the rubber stamp legacy behind will require Chicago's aldermen actively to engage in committee work, to propose their own legislation, and to stand up to the administration when it is in the interest of their constituents. As Table 2 indicates, 10 of the 50 aldermen managed to make only 50% or less of their assigned committee meetings. Their wards arguably

had less representation than those wards whose aldermen show up. Only five aldermen attended 85% or more of their committee meetings.

Because gathering information on committee attendance is cumbersome, most people have no idea that their aldermen are failing to attend. While city council meetings attract press coverage, the business of legislating at committee meetings mostly goes under the radar. Thus, many aldermen take a lackadaisical approach to attendance, knowing few are watching.

**Table 2: Alderman Committee Meeting Attendance Rates
January 2011 – January 2017**

Ward	Alderman	% Attendance at Committee Meetings	Ward	Alderman	% Attendance at Committee Meetings
24	Michael Scott, Jr.	92%	35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	66%
30	Ariel Reboyras	92%	9	Anthony Beale	66%
7	Gregory I. Mitchell	89%	39	Margaret Laurino	65%
15	Raymond Lopez	88%	20	Willie Cochran	65%
2	Brian Hopkins	85%	37	Emma Mitts	64%
38	Nicholas Sposato	83%	31	Milagros S. Santiago	60%
3	Pat Dowell	82%	42	Brendan Reilly	60%
28	Jason C. Ervin	82%	6	Roderick T. Sawyer	59%
13	Marty Quinn	81%	5	Leslie A. Hairston	59%
44	Thomas Tunney	80%	47	Ameya Pawar	57%
33	Deborah Mell	80%	48	Harry Osterman	55%
43	Michele Smith	79%	8	Michelle A. Harris	54%

45	John Arena	79%	16	Toni Foulkes	53%
41	Anthony V. Napolitano	79%	14	Edward M. Burke	53%
4	*Sophia King William Burns	78% 59%	49	Joseph Moore	51%
29	Chris Taliaferro	76%	25	Daniel Solis	50%
50	Debra L. Silverstein	75%	34	Carrie Austin	48%
11	Patrick D. Thompson	73%	1	Proco Joe Moreno	47%
32	Scott Waguespack	73%	40	Patrick O'Connor	46%
18	Derrick G. Curtis	72%	23	Michael Zalewski	46%
19	Matthew J. O'Shea	72%	10	Susan Sadlowski Garza	43%
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	71%	22	Ricardo Muñoz	41%
17	David H. Moore	71%	21	Howard Brookins, Jr.	40%
46	James Cappleman	69%	12	George Cardenas	40%
36	Gilbert Villegas	66%	26	Roberto Maldonado	38%

*Alderman William Burns resigned and was replaced by Sophia King in April 2016.
Data provided courtesy of John Corrigan⁵²

Conclusion: Increasing Independence?

Chicago's troubles run deep and require governing that is responsive to communities and the people of our city. The city's tradition of machine politics and rubber stamp city councils undermines representative government and subverts democracy. Building responsive institutions depends on transparency, participation at the grassroots level, and alderman who are willing to vote independently of the administration when necessary. These past two years have seen slightly more independent voting in the council. However, cynicism is rising as the city fails to develop a plan for comprehensive police reform and accountability; as TIF funds are often misused; as violence, poverty and unemployment continue to blanket vast portions of the city while other areas flourish in the global economy; and as new tax hikes turn voters against city leadership. While a more independent legislative voice does not automatically mean these deeply entrenched problems will be solved, it is a fundamental precondition for progress.

Appendix 1: Description of the Divided Roll Call Votes

Issue #	Issue Synopsis	Date	Document #	Vote
1	Issuance of 2015 General Obligation Bonds and associated authority to select dissemination agent	6/17/2015	SO2015-4194	41-3
2	An ordinance regarding sundry amendments and corrections to the City of Chicago Ethics Ordinance	7/29/2015	O2015-4685	46-2
3	A substitute ordinance amending Chapter 7 of the Municipal Code of Chicago relating to Refuse Removal	7/29/2015	SO2015-4701	47-1
4	Recommendation of an ordinance to issue City of Chicago general (municipal) Obligation bonds series for 2015	9/24/2015	O2015-5438	46-2
5	An ordinance authorizing the issuance of Chicago O'Hare International Airport General Airport Senior Lien Revenue Bonds, Series 2015A and 2015B	9/24/2015	O2015-6123	46-2
6	Ordinance authorizing securities in the form of a bond of the City of Chicago wastewater transmission revenue bonds for project and refunding series	9/24/2015	SO2015-6215	46-2
7	Intergovernmental agreement with Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) for additional police services	9/24/2015	O2015-5964	48-1
8	Annual Appropriation Ordinance Year 2016 amendment regarding appropriate use of motor fuel taxes	10/28/2015	SO2015-6371	36-14

9	2016 Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) Ordinance regarding urban housing and expanding economic opportunity	10/28/2015	SO2015-6372	36-14
10	Establishment of debt relief program, and installation and removal of parking meters and bus shelters	10/28/2015	O2015-7390	36-14
11	2016 Revenue Ordinance concerning various fines and fees	10/28/2015	SO2015-7403	35-15
12	2015 -- 2018 Property Tax Levies	10/28/2015	O2015-7393	35-15
13	Amendment of Municipal Code Titles 9 and 10 by further regulating transportation network services and public chauffeur licenses	10/28/2015	SO2015-7989	38-11
14	Zoning Reclassification Map No. 4-E at 1410 Museum Campus Dr, 458 E 18th St, 600 E Waldron Dr, 1559 S Lake Shore Dr and properties with address ranges of 414-508 E 18th St, 415-509 E 18th St, 1600-1800 S Museum Campus Dr and 1800-1930 S Burnham Harbor Dr - App No. 18482 (Lucas Museum of Narrative Art)	10/28/2015	SO2015-6360	40-9
15	Support of Class 7(c) tax incentive for property at 825 W 47th St	12/9/2015	O2015-8054	49-1
16	Sale of City-owned property at 5709 South State Street	12/9/2015	O2015-8174	49-1

17	Amendment of Municipal Code Section 9-68-020(c) to increase maximum allowable number of one-day parking permits available for purchase for each residential address per month	12/9/2015	O2015-7191	49-1
18	Authorizing Issuance of Sales Tax Revenue Bonds, Series 2016	1/13/2016	O2015-8872	43-2
19	Authorizing Issuance of City of Chicago General Obligation Bonds	1/13/2016	SO2015-8692	40-2
20	Authorizing Issuance of Chicago Midway Airport Revenue Bonds, Series 2016	1/13/2016	O2015-8874	42-2
21	Authorizing Issuance of City of Chicago Second Lien Wastewater Transmission Revenue Bonds, Project and Refunding Series 2016	1/13/2016	SO2015-8871	43-2
22	Authorizing Issuance of City of Chicago Second Lien Water Revenue Project and Refunding Bonds, Series 2016B	1/13/2016	SO2015-8870	42-2
23	Office of Inspector General and Board of Ethics for examining city council programs	2/10/2016		25-23
24	Office of Inspector General and Board of Ethics for investigating aldermen and their staffs	2/10/2016	SO2015-4229	29-19
25	Settlement agreement regarding United States Department of Justice allegations against Chicago Police Department for National Origin Discrimination before 2011	2/10/2016	Or2016-40	45-3

26	Negotiated sale and conveyance of City-owned property to The University of Chicago and The University of Chicago Charter School Corporation	2/10/2016	O2016-467	46-1
27	Amendment of Municipal Code Section 17-9-0129 concerning medical cannabis dispensing organizations and cultivation centers	2/10/2016	O2015-8241	46-2
28	Zoning Reclassification Map at N Clarendon Ave and N Clarendon Ave - App No.	2/10/2016	SO2013-2478	45-3
29	Amend Title 3 and Chapter 4-64 of the Municipal Code of Chicago concerning a tax on non-cigarette tobacco products and associated tobacco-regulated regulations	3/16/2016	SO2016-105	35-12
30	Zoning Reclassification Map at W 47th St and S Richmond St - App No. 18607	3/16/2016	O2015-8498	46-1
31	Zoning Reclassification Map at N Clybourn Ave, W Diversey Pkwy, W Diversey Pkwy, N Leavitt Ave, N Leavitt Ave, N Hoyne Ave, N Hoyne Ave, N Damen Ave and W Oakdale Ave - App No. 18535	3/16/2016	O2015-6430	45-2
32	Home Rule Powers in Relation to Special Assessment Proceedings	4/13/2016	O2016-1599	45-5
33	Appointment of Richard C. Ford II as member of Chicago Emergency Telephone System Board to oversee the city's emergency 911 System.	4/13/2016	A2016-15	49-1
34	Amendment of code detailing Police Board powers/duties in recommending candidates for Superintendent of Police. Code allowed Eddie Johnson to be named permanent Superintendent of Police without further vetting and background review by Police Board and it waived the	4/13/2016	O2016-2590	49-1

	requirement that the Mayor choose a candidate nominated by the Police Board.			
35	Substitute ordinance approving redevelopment agreement with Montrose-Clarendon Partners LLC. This was a controversial vote that requires the developer to fund the improvements in Clarendon Park as a requirement to get City approval and TIF funding for Montrose/Clarendon mixed-use and mixed-income development.	6/22/2016	SO2016-4219	37-13
36	Substitute ordinance approving redevelopment with Montrose-Clarendon Partners LLC for constructing residential units, retail space, and parking facilities. This was a controversial vote about the use of TIF finances for this redevelopment on key lakefront land. The development is slated to be mixed-income.	6/22/2016	SO2016-4370	37-13
37	Approval of police misconduct settlement in the case of Dakota Bright for 925,000.	6/22/2016	Or2016-327	49-1
38	Approval of police misconduct settlement in the case of Levail Smith for 450,000.	6/22/2016	Or2016-328	48-2
39	This vote approved the granting of a facility lease to Aero Chicago LLC at Chicago O'Hare International Airport to develop the planned Northeast Cargo Center as part of the O'Hare modernization plan.	6/22/2016	O2016-3928	44-5
40	Amendment of Municipal Code to allow gender identity access to public accommodations. This ordinance allows transgender persons to access public bathrooms that correspond to their gender identity.	6/22/2016	O2016-3973	45-5
41	Amendment to a code allowing for more online home rentals such as Airbnb. Taxes will also be placed on the companies to fund homeless services.	6/22/2016	O2016-5111	43-7
42	Amendment of code regulating ride-sharing companies such as Uber and Lyft. City agreed to do a study on need for fingerprinting and delayed implementation of protections for disabled riders.	6/22/2016	SO2016-1729	36-12
43	New Chicago Water and Sewer Tax approved. Will increase Chicagoans bill over a 4 year period. Funds will be used for the Municipal pension fund.	9/14/2016	SO2016-7090	40-10

44	Waiver of building and facility-related permit and license fees for Chicago Board of Education	9/14/2016	O2016-5603	49-1
45	A settlement agreement for 1.375 million dollars to the estate of Eugene Ratliff due to a police chase.	9/14/2016	Or2016-436	49-1
46	11 million dollars approved in tax increment finance assistance (TIF) for new South Loop Elementary school	9/14/2016	O2016-5951	48-2
47	Ordinance authorizing the issuance of bonds for Chicago O'Hare International Airport.	9/14/2016	O2016-5592	26-21
48	Ordinance authorizing the issuance of bonds for Chicago O'Hare International Airport.	9/14/2016	O2016-6083	26-21
49	Support of Class 6(b) tax incentive for property at 4237 W. Ann Lurie Pl. This incentive is designed to encourage industrial development.	9/14/2016	R2016-544	48-1
50	Support of Class 6(b) tax incentive for property at 717 S. Desplaines St. designed to encourage industrial development.	9/14/2016	R2016-545	49-1
51	Amendment of code regulating retail tobacco dealers allowing the sale of flavored tobacco products within 500 ft. of an elementary or middle school.	12/14/2016	SO2016-9123	31-14
52	Approval of a settlement agreement regarding gender discrimination in the fire department physical test in the amount of 3.8 million dollars.	12/14/2016	Or2016-677	44-1
53	Settlement agreement approved in the police misconduct case concerning Cedrick Chatman for \$3 million dollars.	12/14/2016	Or2016-678	42-3
54	Settlement agreement approved in the police shooting of Darius Pinex for 2.365 million dollars.	12/14/2016	Or2016-679	43-2
55	Approval of 1.3 million dollars to the establishment of Legal Protection Fund to increase protection for immigrants in Chicago.	12/14/2016	O2016-9126	42-3
56	Waiver of a demolition fee for the Jobs for the Future Training Center, a workforce training center.	1/25/2017	O2016-8676	<i>Voice vote</i> 48-1

57	Settlement agreement approved in the police shooting of Willie Miller for \$750,000 dollars.	1/25/2017	Or2017-7	47-2
58	Affirmation of City of Chicago's support to honor and protect rights of all residents regardless of race, ethnicity, country of origin, religion, age, immigration status, criminal record, sexual orientation and gender identity especially in light of new political climate.	1/25/2017	SR2016-978	47-2
59	Amendment to appropriation of funds for certain services under category 'Corporate Fund 100' for fiscal year 2017	2/22/2017	SO2017-171	35-10
60	Amendment to the municipal code regarding the legal duties of vacation rental and shared housing units	2/22/2017	SO2016-8627	33-13
61	Approval of \$75 million development plan for concessions in Midway Airport	2/22/2017	O2017-695	39-3
62	Intergovernmental agreement between Illinois State Toll Highway Authority regarding Elgin O'Hare Western Access Project	2/22/2017	O2017-234	32-12
63	Approval of \$370,000 settlement regarding wrongful arrest, Hugo Holmes v. City of Chicago and Officer Michelle Acosta	2/22/2017	Or2017-52	41-1
64	Approval of \$213,500 settlement- Carmen Carrillo v. City of Chicago and Alan Roberts	2/22/2017	Or2017-54	41-1
65	Amendment of Municipal Code Chapter 2-8 by adding new Section 2-8-040 entitled "Honorary Street Name Designation"	2/22/2017	SO2016-8426	44-2
66	Honorary street designation as "Oscar Lopez Rivera Way"	2/22/2017	O2017-110	37-9
67	Approval of raising meter rates from \$2 per hour to \$4 per hour at 1,100 spaces around Wrigley Field during stadium events.	3/29/2017	O2017-912	46-2

Appendix 2: Divided Roll Call Votes 2015-2017

	Issue #	1	2	3	4
	Date	6/17/2015	7/29/2015	7/29/2015	9/24/2015
Ward	Alderman	SO2015-4194	0215-4685	S0215-4701	0215-5438

1	Proco Joe Moreno	1	1	1	1
2	Brian Hopkins	1	1	1	1
3	Pat Dowell	1	1	1	1
4	William D. Burns * /Sophia King	3	1	1	1
5	Leslie A. Hairston	1	1	1	1
6	Roderick T. Sawyer	1	1	0	1
7	Gregory I. Mitchell	1	1	1	1
8	Michelle A. Harris	1	1	1	1
9	Anthony Beale	1	1	1	1
10	Susan Sadlowski Garza	1	1	1	1
11	Patrick D. Thompson	4	1	1	1
12	George A. Cardenas	3	1	1	1
13	Marty Quinn	1	1	1	1
14	Edward M. Burke	4	1	1	4
15	Raymond A. Lopez	1	1	1	1
16	Toni Foulkes	1	1	1	1
17	David H. Moore	1	1	1	1
18	Derrick G. Curtis	1	1	1	1
19	Matthew J. O'Shea	1	1	1	1
20	Willie Cochran	1	3	3	1
21	Howard Brookins, Jr.	1	1	1	1
22	Ricardo Munoz	1	1	1	1
23	Michael R. Zalewski	1	1	1	1
24	Michael Scott, Jr.	1	1	1	1
25	Daniel Solis	1	1	1	1
26	Roberto Maldonado	3	1	1	1
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	1	1	1	1
28	Jason C. Ervin	1	1	1	1
29	Chris Taliaferro	1	1	1	1
30	Ariel Reboyras	1	1	1	1
31	Milagros S. Santiago	1	1	1	1
32	Scott Waguespack	0	1	1	0
33	Deborah Mell	1	1	1	1
34	Carrie M. Austin	1	3	3	3
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	0	1	1	1
36	Gilbert Villegas	1	1	1	1
37	Emma Mitts	1	1	1	1
38	Nicholas Sposato	1	0	1	1
39	Margaret Laurino	1	1	1	1
40	Patrick O'Connor	1	1	1	1
41	Anthony V. Napolitano	1	0	1	1
42	Brendan Reilly	1	1	1	1
43	Michele Smith	1	1	1	1
44	Thomas Tunney	1	1	1	1
45	John Arena	0	1	1	0
46	James Cappleman	1	1	1	1
47	Ameya Pawar	1	1	1	1
48	Harry Osterman	1	1	1	1
49	Joseph Moore	3	1	1	1
50	Debra L. Silverstein	1	1	1	1

(Key: 1 –Yes, 0 –No, 2 –Not Voting, 3 –Absent, 4 –Excused from Voting, 5 –Vacancy)

Appendix 2: Divided Roll Call Votes 2015-2017

	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	9/24/2015	9/24/2015	9/24/2015	10/28/2015	10/28/2015	10/28/2015	10/28/2015
Ward	0215-6123	S0215-6215	0215-5964	SO2015-6371	SO2015-6372	O2015-7390	SO2015-7403

1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
11	1	4	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
29	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
32	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
33	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
34	3	3	3	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
36	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
42	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	0	0	0	0

(Key: 1 –Yes, 0 –No, 2 –Not Voting, 3 –Absent, 4 –Excused from Voting, 5 –Vacancy)

Appendix 2: Divided Roll Call Votes 2015-2017

	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	10/28/2015	10/28/2015	10/28/2015	12/9/2015	12/9/2015	12/9/2015	1/13/2016
Ward	O2015-7393	SO2015-7989	SO2015-6360	O2015-8054	O2015-8174	O2015-7191	O2015-8872

1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
6	1	0	1	1	1	1	4
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	1	1	4	1	1	1	1
15	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	0	1	1	1	1	1	3
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
29	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
33	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
36	0	4	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
38	1	0	1	1	1	1	3
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	0	0	1	1	1	1	0
42	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
43	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
45	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
48	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	0	0	1	1	1	1	1

(Key: 1 –Yes, 0 –No, 2 –Not Voting, 3 –Absent, 4 –Excused from Voting, 5 –Vacancy)

Appendix 2: Divided Roll Call Votes 2015-2017

	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
	1/13/2016	1/13/2016	1/13/2016	1/13/2016	2/10/2016	2/10/2016	2/10/2016

Ward	SO2015-8692	O2015-8874	SO2015-8871	SO2015-8870	SO2015-4229 (A)	SO2015-4229 (B)	Or2016-40
1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
11	1	4	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
14	1	4	1	4	1	1	1
15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
20	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	3	3	3	3	0	0	1
24	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
33	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	3	3	3
35	0	1	1	1	0	0	1
36	0	1	4	4	1	1	1
37	3	3	3	3	1	1	1
38	3	3	3	3	0	1	0
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
42	2	1	1	1	0	0	1
43	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
46	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
48	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	0	0	1

(Key: 1 –Yes, 0 –No, 2 –Not Voting, 3 –Absent, 4 –Excused from Voting, 5 –Vacancy)

Appendix 2: Divided Roll Call Votes 2015-2017

	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
	2/10/2016	2/10/2016	2/10/2016	3/16/2015	3/16/2016	3/16/2016	4/13/2016
Ward	O2016-467	O2016-8241	SO2013-2478	SO2016-105	O2015-8498	O2015-6430	O2016-1599
1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	5	5	5	1*
5	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	1	1	1	1	4	4	1
15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	3	3	3	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	3	3	3	2	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
42	1	1	1	3	3	3	0
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
44	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
45	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	4	1	0	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

(Key: 1 –Yes, 0 –No, 2 –Not Voting, 3 –Absent, 4 –Excused from Voting, 5 –Vacancy)

Appendix 2: Divided Roll Call Votes 2015-2017

	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
	4/13/16	4/13/16	6/22/16	6/22/16	6/22/16	6/22/16	6/22/16
Ward	A2016-15	O2016-2590	SO2016-4219	SO2016-4370	Or2016-327	Or2016-328	O2016-3928
1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
2	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
11	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
33	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
42	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
43	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	0	1	0	0	1	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
48	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

(Key: 1 –Yes, 0 –No, 2 –Not Voting, 3 –Absent, 4 –Excused from Voting, 5 –Vacancy)

Appendix 2: Divided Roll Call Votes 2015-2017

	40	41	42	43	44	45	46
	6/22/16	6/22/16	6/22/16	9/14/16	9/14/16	9/14/16	9/14/16
Ward	O2016-3973	O2016-5111	SO2016-1729	SO2016-7090	O2016-5603	Or2016-436	O2016-5951
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
11	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
16	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
17	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
18	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	4	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
32	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	4	0	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
42	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
43	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

(Key: 1 –Yes, 0 –No, 2 –Not Voting, 3 –Absent, 4 –Excused from Voting, 5 –Vacancy)

Appendix 2: Divided Roll Call Votes 2015-2017

	47	48	49	50	51	52	53
	9/14/16	9/14/16	9/14/16	9/14/16	12/14/16	12/14/16	12/14/16
Ward	O2016-5592	O2016-6083	R2016-544	R2016-545	SO2016-9123	Or2016-677	Or2016-678
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
3	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
4	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
5	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
6	4	4	1	1	1	1	1
7	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
8	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
10	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
11	4	4	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	4	4	4	1	1	1	1
15	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
16	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
17	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
18	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	0	0	1	1	2	2	2
21	0	0	1	1	3	3	3
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
28	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
29	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
32	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
33	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
34	0	0	1	1	3	3	3
35	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
42	1	1	1	1	3	3	3
43	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	3	3	3

(Key: 1 –Yes, 0 –No, 2 –Not Voting, 3 –Absent, 4 –Excused from Voting, 5 –Vacancy)

Appendix 2: Divided Roll Call Votes 2015-2017

	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
	12/14/16	12/14/16	1/25/17	1/25/17	1/25/17	2/22/17	2/22/17
Ward	Or2016-679	O2016-9126	O2016-8676	Or2017-7	SR2016-978	SO2017-171	SO2016-8627
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
3	1	1	0	1	1	0	0
4	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
12	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
19	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
20	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
21	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	3	3	3	3	3	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
41	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
42	3	3	1	1	1	1	0
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
44	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
45	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	3	3	1	1	1	3	3

(Key: 1 –Yes, 0 –No, 2 –Not Voting, 3 –Absent, 4 –Excused from Voting, 5 –Vacancy)

Appendix 2: Divided Roll Call Votes 2015-2017

	61	62	63	64	65	66	67
	2/22/17	2/22/17	2/22/17	2/22/17	2/22/17	2/22/17	3/29/17
Ward	O2017-695	O2017-234	Or2017-52	Or2017-54	SO2016-8426	O2017-110	O2017-912
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
6	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
7	2	0	2	2	1	1	1
8	2	1	2	2	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
17	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
18	2	0	2	2	1	0	3
19	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
20	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
21	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	3	3	3	3	3	3	1
28	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	3	3	3	3	3	3	1
41	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
42	2	1	2	2	1	1	1
43	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
44	3	3	3	3	3	3	1
45	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	3	3	3	3	3	3	1

(Key: 1 –Yes, 0 –No, 2 –Not Voting, 3 –Absent, 4 –Excused from Voting, 5 –Vacancy)

Appendix 3: Progressive Caucus Members

Ald. Sophia King (4th)

Ald. Leslie Hairston (5th)

Ald. Roderick T. Sawyer (6th)

Ald. Susan Sadlowski Garza (10th)

Ald. Toni Foulkes (16th)

Ald. David Moore (17th)

Ald. Ricardo Muñoz (22th)

Ald. Chris Taliaferro (29th)

Ald. Scott Waguespack (32th)

Ald. Carlos Ramirez-Rosa (35th)

Ald. John Arena (45th).

Source: <http://chicagoprogressivecaucus.com/>

Appendix 4: Black Caucus Members

Ald. Pat Dowell (3rd)

Ald. Sophia King (4th)

Ald. Leslie Hairston (5th)

Ald. Roderick Sawyer (6th)

Ald. Greg Mitchell (7th)

Ald. Michele Harris (8th)

Ald. Anthony Beale (9th)

Ald. Toni Foulkes (16th)

Ald. David Moore (17th)

Ald. Derrick Curtis (18th)

Ald. Willie Cochran (20th)

Ald. Howard Brookins, Jr. (21st)

Ald. Michael Scott, Jr. (24th)

Ald. Walter Burnett (27th)

Ald. Jason Ervin (28th)

Ald. Chris Taliaferro (29th)

Ald. Carrie Austin (34th)

Ald. Emma Mitts (37th)

(Some aldermen belong to both the Progressive and the Black Caucus)

Source: https://www.facebook.com/pg/CABCAucus/about/?ref=page_internal

Endnotes

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