

# **The Cook County Board in the Preckwinkle Era**

**Cook County Board of Commissioners Report  
December 16, 2010 – April 16, 2014**

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In November of 2010, Cook County elected its first female Board of Commissioners President. Toni Preckwinkle, then an alderman and former school teacher, promised to bring reform to the county government and restore its fiscal health after four of the most tumultuous years it had seen in decades. Preckwinkle, who is often considered the most formidable possible opponent to Mayor Rahm Emanuel, has fulfilled her promises. She has rolled back the hated county sales tax, cut down to size a bloated county government, and fought the high level of corruption in the government she inherited. Most of all, she has seized and maintained control of the previous fractured and rebellious 17-member Cook County Board.

By the time Preckwinkle assumed office, Cook County, the second largest county in the nation, had the highest sales tax and the largest county jail population in the nation, a bloated payroll, a serious pension dilemma, and a high level of corruption. While there is still much to do, county government is considerably improved after her first three and a half years in office. The Board of Commissioners has consistently supported her initiatives and she has passed all three of her budgets with never more than a single dissenting vote.

Preckwinkle took over a board that in the previous four years under former President Todd Stroger had a level of conflict approaching that of the "Council Wars" period of the Chicago City Council. Since she has been in office, the board now looks more like the "Rubber Stamp" City Council of Rahm Emanuel, with Preckwinkle rarely losing a vote and with more agreement and cooperation with the board on issues. In the instances in which she lacks support, it is most often due to long-standing political feuds rather than concerns over a substantive policy issue.

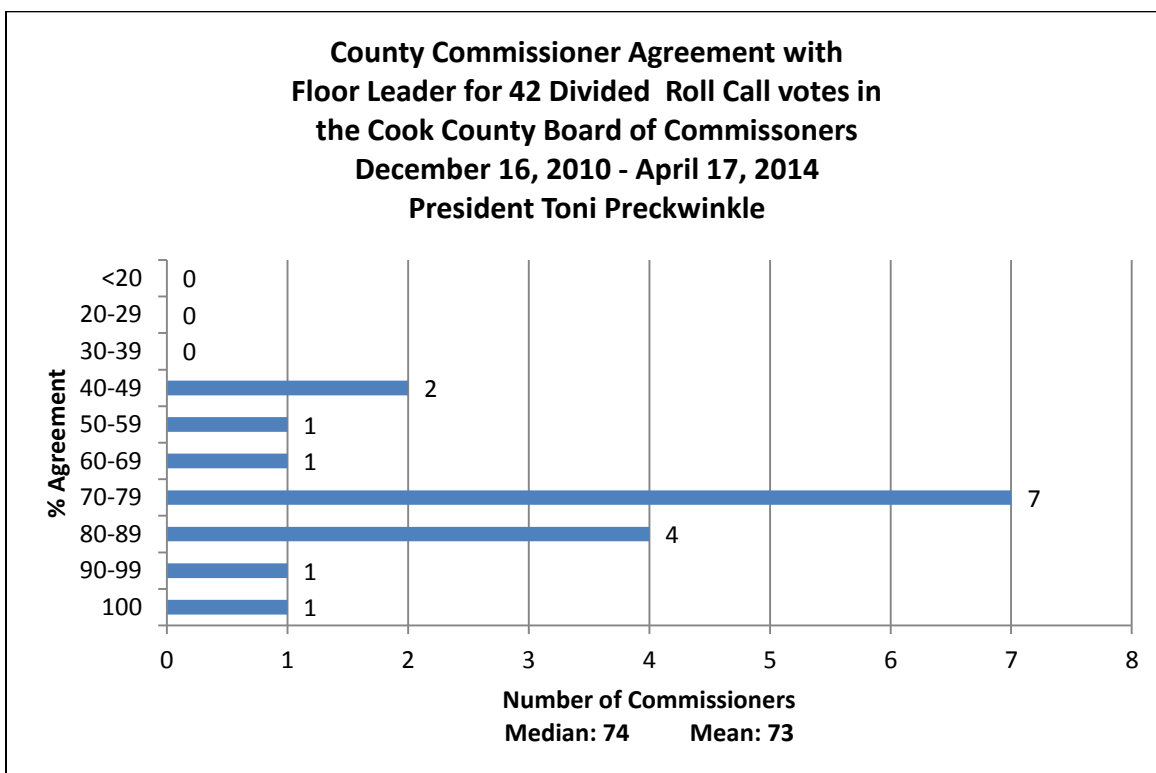
Politically, Preckwinkle sits comfortably in the Cat Bird's Seat. She ran unopposed in the March 2014 Democratic Party primary. The Republican Party did not run a candidate in its primary and no independent challenger has qualified for the November election ballot. Both John and Todd Stroger had opponents in their primary elections.

In this report we have compiled the most critical county board votes for the news media, civic organizations, and voters so that they may better hold commissioners accountable for their representation of their districts and the county as a whole.

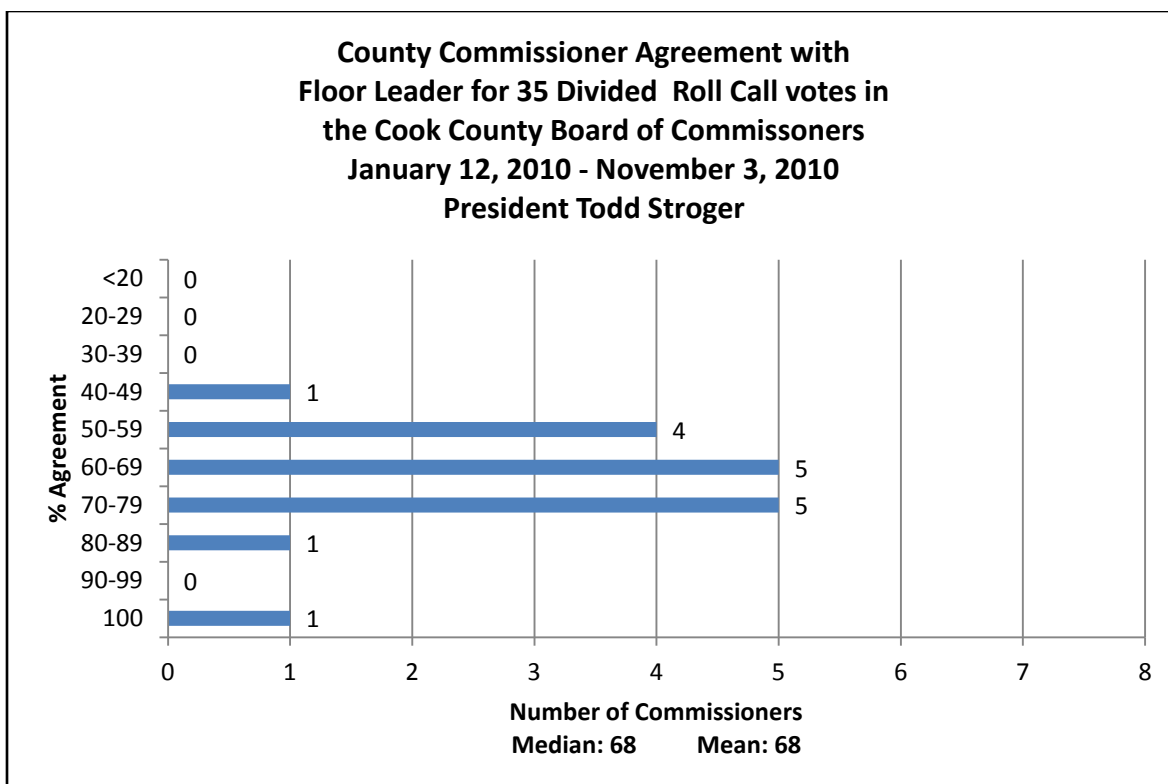
### **Vote Analysis – Comparison to Previous Administration**

Figure 1 is a histogram showing the level of county commissioner agreement with President Preckwinkle since she was elected, using Commissioner Jesus Garcia as the Floor Leader. Figure 2 shows the voting pattern under the previous President, Todd Stroger, using Commissioner and Finance Committee Chairman John Daley as the Floor Leader. For comparison, Figure 3 shows the level of aldermanic agreement under Mayor Rahm Emanuel, calculated in the same fashion and using 40<sup>th</sup> Ward Alderman Patrick O'Connor as floor leader.

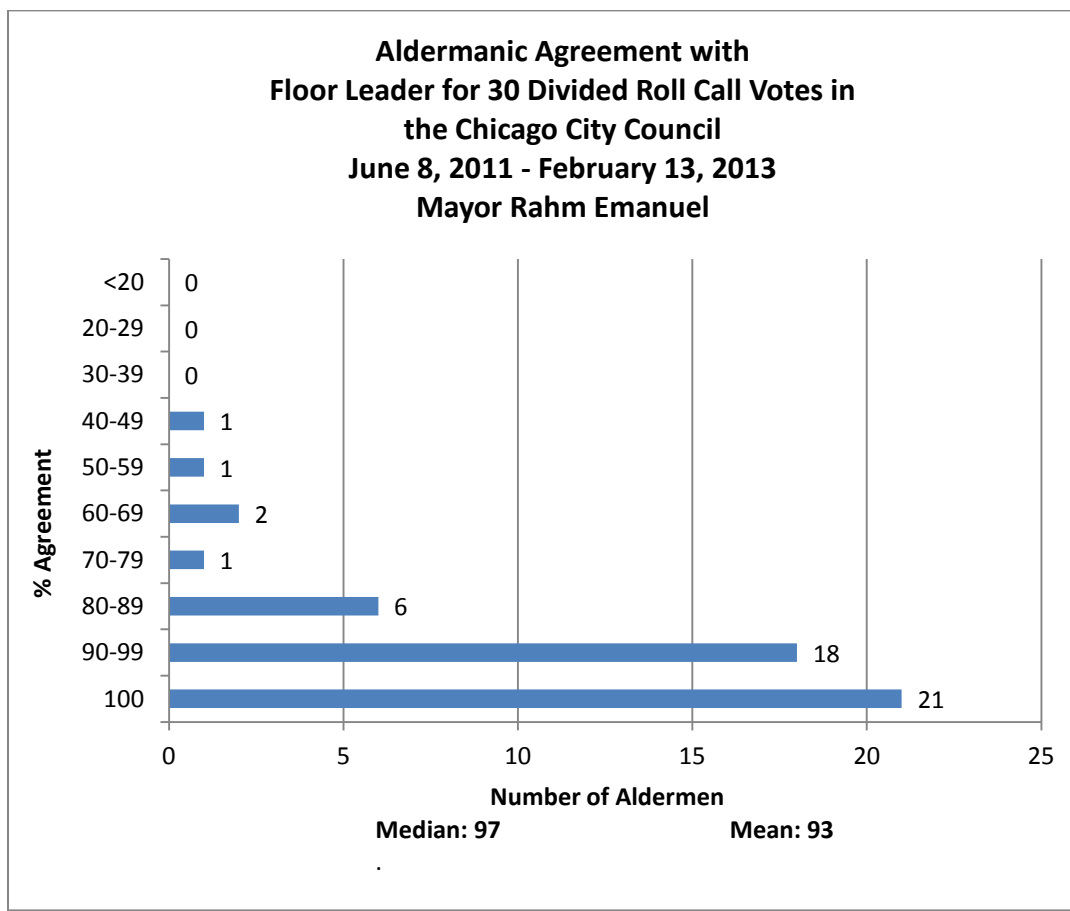
**Figure 1: County Commissioner Voting Under President Preckwinkle**



**Figure 2: County Commissioner Voting Under President Todd Stroger**



**Figure 3: Aldermanic Voting Under Mayor Rahm Emanuel**



Cook County Board President Toni Preckwinkle has enjoyed more support for her policies and programs than did her predecessor, Todd Stroger. Commissioners have voted with her 73% of the time in comparison to 88% for Mayor Emanuel and a lower 68% for Todd Stroger. She was able to quell the dissention, particularly around Todd Stroger's efforts to increase the sales tax which other commissioners fought to roll back. Under Preckwinkle's almost four years there were only 42 divided roll call votes, yet in just one year under Stroger there were 35 – about three times as many per year. But even this is misleading. In 2011, Toni Preckwinkle's first full year as Cook County Board President, there were only 22 divided roll call

votes. Furthermore, in 2012 there were only nine; in 2013 there only eight; and there have only been three through April 2014. Increasingly she faces fewer challenges to her agenda. When there is opposition, it is from the same few dissenting commissioners. And unlike President Todd Stroger, President Preckwinkle has not lost any significant votes.<sup>1</sup>

Six commissioners voted with Preckwinkle's floor leader 80% of the time or more, while Stroger only had this level of support from two commissioners. Of course, Preckwinkle did not enjoy as much support as Rahm Emanuel, who had about the same number of divided roll call votes per year, had 39 aldermen-- almost 80% of the council-- voting with him 80% of the time or more.

In the appendices detailing all of the divided roll call votes, Todd Stroger's board was usually split in two, while Preckwinkle regularly had only one or a few commissioners voting against her. Ten of the roll call votes under Stroger were decided by one or two vote majorities where the winning side had a narrow majority of eight or nine votes (in several instances the majority was less when commissioners chose to vote present). Preckwinkle had five roll call votes with narrow majorities, but in quadruple the amount of time.

The composition of Preckwinkle's board is different than Todd Stroger's. Three of the board's independents and reformers were no longer on the Board when the new term began in December, 2010. In 2009, Commissioner Mike Quigley left the board after he won special election to the 5<sup>th</sup> United States Congressional District. He was replaced with Bridget Gainer who won reelection in 2010. In early 2010, Commissioner Forrest Claypool did not run for reelection but instead ran in the primary as an independent for the Cook County Assessor's post, which he lost to Joseph Berrios. In the spring of 2011, Claypool was tapped to head the Chicago

Transit Authority by newly elected Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel. John Fritchey was elected to replace Claypool. Finally, Commissioner Tony Peraica, a Republican, lost his bid for reelection to Democrat Jeffrey Tobolski in the general election of 2010. Thus, the board under President Preckwinkle is different from the one that opposed Stroger so strenuously.

### **Vote Analysis – Least Support**

Below, Table 1 shows the voting patterns of all 17 board members, and Table 2 shows the voting patterns of only the four Republican commissioners. Because Toni Preckwinkle is a Democrat and pursues mostly Democratic policies, one would expect the Democratic members of the Board to consistently vote with her. Yet former Democratic Commissioner Bill Beavers actually voted with Preckwinkle the least, only 41% of the time. He was followed by Democratic Commissioners Earlean Collins at 42% and Joan Patricia Murphy at 54%. Commissioner Collins, who did not run for re-election, will retire at the end of the year and will likely be replaced by Democratic nominee Richard Boykin who is expected to support Preckwinkle more frequently than Collins did.

**Table 1: All Commissioners in Order of Support for President Preckwinkle**

District	Commissioner	%
District 7	Jesus Garcia (D) (Floor Leader)	100
District 8	Edwin Reyes (D)	90
District 2	Robert B. Steele (D)	86
District 10	Bridget Gainer (D)	83
District 12	John A. Fritchey (D)	83
District 11	John P. Daley (D)	81
District 3	Jerry Butler (D)	76
District 5	Deborah Sims (D)	76
District 16	Jeffrey R. Tobolski (D)	74
District 13	Larry Suffredin (D)	73
District 9	Peter Silvestri (R)	73
District 14	Gregg Goslin (R)	71
District 15	Timothy O. Schneider (R)	70
District 17	Elizabeth "Liz" Doody Gorman (R)	63
District 6	Joan Patricia Murphy (D)	54
District 1	Earlean Collins (D)*	42
District 4	William Beavers/Eugene Moore(D)**	41

\* D = Democrat, R = Republican

\*\* William Beavers was replaced by Stanley Moore on March 21, 2013

**Table 2: Republican Commissioners**

District	Commissioner	%
District 9	Peter Silvestri	73
District 14	Gregg Goslin	71
District 15	Timothy O. Schneider	70
District 17	Elizabeth "Liz" Doody Gorman	63

The case of Commissioner Beavers is atypical of the other commissioners. He had been a staunch ally of former Board President Todd Stroger, who was elected to the presidency after a stroke incapacitated his father, John H. Stroger, Jr. The elder Stroger was elected Cook County



Board President in 1994 and became the first African-American to hold the post. John Stroger was a strong member of the Cook County Democratic Organization and made his way up to become 8<sup>th</sup> Ward Committeeman. He had many allies, including former Chicago Mayors Richard M. Daley and Richard J. Daley, and had many ties to other powerful party organizations. John was elected to the county board in 1970 and chaired the powerful Finance Committee for 24 years before becoming Board President. For his last 12 years he was both a Commissioner and Board President.. While John Stroger accomplished goals such as initially balancing the county budget, building the new County Hospital, and creating a new AIDs research facility, in later years he was accused of self-dealing, crony contracting, patronage hiring, waste, and presiding over an inefficient government.

In 2006, John Stroger sought reelection to his fourth term when he had a massive stroke on Tuesday, March 14, exactly one week before the primary elections.<sup>2</sup> He had been locked in a battle for the nomination with County Commissioner Forrest Claypool who ran as a reform candidate who promised to clean up waste and end patronage politics. Public opinion polls showed a close race at the time. Immediately after his stroke became known, Stroger's campaign announced he would not pull out of the race. For days after the stroke, the Stroger camp was accused of downplaying its severity.

On Election Day, Stroger defeated Claypool with 52% of the vote. Claypool cited low turnout and "...just an outpouring of affection and love for John Stroger" as the reasons for his defeat.<sup>3</sup> Yet, over the weeks as the severity of Stroger's condition was revealed, political observers began to say that Stroger could not make it through the general elections, and if he won, he would not be able to fulfill his duties. Many individual commissioners also began to

lose patience with an incapacitated County Board President who refused to step aside. Almost three months after he won the primary election, John Stroger announced he would resign as Cook County Board President effective July 31, 2006.<sup>4</sup>

With the announcement also came news of a complex deal to replace Stroger. After backroom negotiations by party leaders, John Stroger's son, Chicago's 8<sup>th</sup> Ward Alderman Todd Stroger, was chosen to replace his father on the ballot. Close family friend and ally, 7<sup>th</sup> Ward Alderman Bill Beavers, would then be appointed to John Stroger's County Commissioner's seat. Beavers' daughter, Darcel Beavers, would be appointed in turn to fill her father's vacated aldermanic post.<sup>5</sup> Commissioner Bobbie Steele was selected in August to be interim County Board President. When she resigned after the general election so Todd Stroger could take the presidency, her son, Robert Steele, was appointed to her county board seat. It was a cynical backroom deal of musical chairs. The insiders chose the participants and positioned the chairs. They also controlled when the music started and stopped. The public was kept in the dark until the deal was done.

Bill Beavers remained close to the Stroger family and was a strong ally of Todd Stroger. He remained so throughout Todd Stroger's tumultuous four years as County Board President. This period was characterized by some of the worst patronage and waste abuses the county had seen. Beyond the corruption, the voting public turned against Todd Stroger because of the 1% sales tax hike he and the Board enacted in 2008 making Cook County's sales tax the highest in the nation.

In 2010, 4<sup>th</sup> Ward Chicago Alderman Toni Preckwinkle announced that she was going to seek the Democratic nomination for Cook County Board President. Beavers opposed her and continued to campaign for his friend Todd Stroger.

Preckwinkle ultimately won. She did not receive the customary cooperation from outgoing President Stroger in the transition process. She had announced in her campaign that she was going to cut as much waste and inefficiency as she could. That meant many of Stroger's political appointees would lose their jobs. As a result, her transition team reported problems working with the Stroger camp. Beavers defended his friend against complaints of non-cooperation saying, "If she'd quit playing politics and threatening everybody about how many people she's gonna fire -- she's gonna get rid of this and gonna get rid of that. And then she expects somebody to bend over backwards to help her? People are not crazy. They're not going to help her if she's going to fire them the next day...Listen, shut up and get over here and try to do some work."<sup>6</sup>

Given the antagonism between these two political figures, it is no surprise that Beavers voted against most of her measures before the county board. That opposition ended in November 2012 when Beavers was sentenced to federal prison on tax evasion charges. Stanley Moore, a former Illinois Department of Transportation employee, who admitted to being fired from his post and paying a \$3,000 fine in connection with a state ethics investigation, was chosen to replace Beavers.<sup>7</sup> In April 2013, Moore took over the seat and since then has consistently voted with President Preckwinkle in contrast to Beavers' constant opposition.

Earlean Collins and Joan Murphy also opposed Preckwinkle and the Board majority. Collins voted only 42% and Joan Murphy voted only 54% of the time with Preckwinkle. Both had

been Stroger allies. Earlean Collins did not seek reelection in 2014. She will be replaced after the November election by Democratic nominee, Richard Boykin, who likely will be a more supportive commissioner. However, Murphy ran in the March primary unopposed and is expected to continue on the board and to vote with Preckwinkle only about half the time.

Commissioners Gainer and Tobolski, who replaced Stroger opponents, Commissioners Quigley and Peraica, have voted most of the time with President Preckwinkle (83% and 74% respectively). Commissioner Gainer's support for the President also increased under Preckwinkle. In 2010 she voted 74% of the time with Todd Stroger but 83% of the time with Preckwinkle. Commissioner Tobolski's support for the President represents a more significant increase compared to Tony Peraica's opposition to Stroger. Peraica voted only 44% of the time with Stroger but Tobolski voted nearly 74% with Preckwinkle.

### **Vote Analysis – Most Support**

Voting the most with President Preckwinkle were fellow Democrats, Jesus Garcia, her floor leader at 100%; Commissioner Edwin Reyes at 90% support; Commissioner Steele at 86%; Commissioner John Fritchey at 83%; and Commissioner John Daley at 83%. All four Republicans voted more often with Toni Preckwinkle than did her three strongest Democratic opponents, Beavers, Collins, and Murphy.

Although Commissioner Steele initially was nominated to run for his seat as part of the complicated deal that arranged for Todd Stroger to replace his father, Steele has been a supporter of Preckwinkle's policies. When Preckwinkle was first elected, Steele was chosen as

the Boards President Pro-Tempore which meant that he would chair the board meetings if she were absent.<sup>8</sup>

Commissioner Fritchey replaced reformer Forrest Claypool, who regularly voted against President Stroger. Claypool only voted with President Stroger 58% of the time in 2010, compared to Fritchey who voted with President Preckwinkle 83% of the time. But this does not necessarily signify a loss of independence for the district. Forrest Claypool endorsed and campaigned for both Commissioner Fritchey and President Preckwinkle.

### **Sales Tax Increase and Rollback**

Todd Stroger's regime was characterized by pitched battles and a lack of consensus on the Cook County Board. The greatest controversy was over budget expenditures and the additional taxes needed to pay for them.

When Todd Stroger took over the Board at the end of 2006 he inherited a very large deficit of almost \$500 million that he rectified by 17% in cuts across the entire 2007 budget.<sup>9</sup> Faced with another \$307 million budget deficit for 2008, Stroger proposed increases to the sales, gasoline, and parking taxes. Otherwise, according to Stroger, the county would face deep cuts in its medical and health services that would severely hamstring its ability to perform its basic functions. Stroger initially proposed a 2% sales tax increase in the fall of 2007. For the next five months stalemate ensued and the county was unable to pass its budget. On February 28, 2008, the Cook County Board of Commissioners finally passed a budget that included a 1% sales tax increase, a 7% increase in spending, and over 1100 new county jobs.<sup>10</sup> The Cook

County Home Rule Sales Tax went from .75% to 1.75%, making the total sales tax for Chicago 10.25% -- the highest in the nation.

Attempts were made by Commissioner Tony Peraica and others to repeal the tax, yet even when they could get enough votes to pass the resolution to do so, President Todd Stroger vetoed it. Attempts to override the veto were unsuccessful since 14 of 17 votes, or a super majority, was needed to do so. This changed in December of 2009, because of a severe backlash by county voters and nationwide criticism. On November 17, 2009, the commissioners voted 12 – 5 to repeal half of the tax. Commissioners Claypool, Collins, Daley, Gainer, Gorman, Goslin, Peraica, Reyes, Schneider, Silvestri, Steele, and Suffredin voted for the resolution, and Commissioners Beavers, Butler, Moreno, Murphy, and Sims voted against it.<sup>11</sup> The resolution was approved and the tax was lowered to 1.25% on July 1, 2010.

At the December 1, 2009 meeting of the board, President Stroger vetoed the resolution, continuing to cite the necessity of the additional tax revenues.<sup>12</sup> The commissioners overrode the veto by a vote of 12-5. This time -- aided by a change in state law that required only a three-fifths majority and not a three-fourths majority – they successfully overrode the President's veto.<sup>13</sup> This meant an override could be achieved with only 11 commissioners instead of 14 which previously was required. Voting to override were Commissioners Claypool, Collins, Daley, Gainer, Gorman, Goslin, Peraica, Reyes, Schneider, Silvestri, Steele, and Suffredin. Voting against the override were Commissioners Beavers, Butler, Moreno, Murphy and Sims.

Even with that half percentage point rollback, Chicago at that time still had one of the highest sales taxes in the nation. Further attempts were made to repeal the remaining .5%, but

many believed that the county needed the tax revenue in order to function. In 2010 during her campaign, Toni Preckwinkle pledged that if elected, she would through a combination of frugality, spending cuts, and layoffs, erase the last of what had become known as the “Stroger Sales Tax.” Her plan was to repeal .25% in fiscal year 2012 and the final .25% in fiscal year 2013 so that the home rule sales tax rate in Cook County would be .75%, where it was in 2008 when Todd Stroger and the board raised it.

Unlike the controversies during the Stroger era, the budget for fiscal year 2012 was approved by a 16 - 1 vote, with Commissioner Beavers as the lone dissenter. The lost revenue was to be made up by a combination of layoffs and fee hikes, including a large increase of liquor and tobacco taxes.<sup>14</sup> The rollback of the final quarter percent came with the budget for fiscal year 2013. Again the budget passed 16-1. Once again the lone dissenter was Commissioner Beavers. This budget also made up for part of the loss of sales tax revenue with increased cigarette taxes and new firearm and gambling taxes.<sup>15</sup>

President Preckwinkle was successful in finding the combination of layoffs and alternative tax increases to repeal the “Stroger Sales Tax.” Her budget for fiscal year 2014 added no new taxes and passed unanimously.

### **February 2011 Ethics Ordinances**

The second most controversial set of ordinances in the Preckwinkle era were about ethics. During the Stroger regime, the county government had been mired in ethical problems. Our earlier report on massive corruption in county government can be found at <http://www.pols.las.uic.edu/ChicagoPolitics/anticorruption.htm>. In response in February 2011,

the Cook County Board of Commissioners voted to send six separate ethics ordinances back to the rules committee because of disputes over their wording and content. These ethics ordinances dealt with sharpening the definition of conflict of interest (including economic interests and representational interests), forbidding financial interest of an employee in county business, nepotism, and solicitation of political donations between employees. One of the sticking points was a requirement that Commissioner Collins proposed that commissioners would have to state what their specific conflict of interest was and then commissioners would be precluded from voting on those matters.

The ordinances were the Board's response to two scandals. The first involved the Clerk of the Circuit Court of Cook County, who had been accused of improperly soliciting donations from her employees for her reelection campaign.

In January 2010 the *Chicago Sun-Times* also published an article describing what was known as "Jeans Day." Employees were allowed to wear jeans to work in exchange for a few dollars in charity contribution. According to the *Sun-Times*, "It happens every week on Friday. It's cash only. You write your name on a list, pay two or three dollars, and you can wear jeans to work. Sometimes they send an administrative assistant around to pick up the cash and take it to the director...Nobody knows where the money goes. It's a political slush fund."<sup>16</sup> Brown's office issued a statement in response stating that it was part of the office culture before she took office, and that the money goes to charitable and "employee morale" causes.<sup>17</sup> Cook County Inspector General Patrick Blanchard confirmed the next day that there was an ongoing investigation into the program, but that he couldn't comment.<sup>18</sup> The next day Brown told reporters that she asked Blanchard to investigate because she was overwhelmed with the



inquiries the story brought and wanted insight.<sup>19</sup> In August Blanchard's office released a report saying, "[t]he evidence reviewed failed to support the existence of fraud, embezzlement, theft, or misuse of funds in relation to the Jeans Day collections process...The evidence however did reveal an internal control weakness in the Jeans Day Collection process."<sup>20</sup>

The second scandal involved Cook County Assessor Joe Berrios. Before he ran for Assessor, Berrios, a member of the Board of Tax Appeals, was criticized for hiring many of his relatives and for political fundraising from tax appeal lawyers. His son, daughter, sister, and sister-in-law, as well as several political associates, worked for him in the Tax Appeals office.<sup>21</sup>

In November 2010, Berrios was elected as Cook County Assessor. Almost immediately he hired his son and sister-in-law. About a month later, the Cook County Ethics Board issued an advisory opinion reminding employees of the ethics ordinance "...which prohibits county elected officials and other employees from hiring or immediately supervising a relative."<sup>22</sup> It also opened an investigation in January 2011.<sup>23</sup>

Each of the six ordinances passed initially, but with a vote of six in favor (Commissioners Collins, Beavers, Murphy, Gainer, Suffredin, and Tobolski), four against (Commissioners Steele, Goslin, Schneider, and Gorman), and another six voting present (Commissioners Sims, Garcia, Reyes, Silvestri, Daley, and Fritchey). Commissioner Butler was absent for all these votes.

In each instance, a motion to reconsider was moved by Commissioner Beavers and seconded by Commissioner Steele. A motion to reconsider the ethics ordinances was overwhelmingly passed with ten voting "yes" (Commissioners Daley, Fritchey, Garcia, Gorman, Goslin, Reyes, Schneider, Silvestri, Sims and Steele) and six against (Commissioners Beavers, Collins, Gainer, Murphy, Suffredin and Tobolski). This vote was followed by a motion to send

these ordinances to the rules committee by Commissioner Fritchey and seconded by Commissioner Steele, in which nine voted "yes" (Commissioners Steele, Sims, Garcia, Reyes, Silvestri, Fritchey, Goslin, Schneider, and Tobolski) and seven voted against (Commissioners Collins, Beavers, Murphy, Gainer, Daley, Sufredin, and Gorman). These ethics ordinances were then revised and finally passed at a March meeting of the board.

In an interview with the authors, Commissioner Garcia pointed out that "one of the outcomes of the adoption of new ethics ordinance amendments was that the Cook County Assessor was fined for employing relatives after the adoption of new ethics ordinance. Assessor Berrios took this decision to court and lost but he has been arguing that the ethics ordinance doesn't apply to him because he is part of a state government structure and not strictly the county government."<sup>24</sup>

### **September 2011 Release of Undocumented Suspects**

As is true nationally, immigration issues have become important in county government and politics as well. On September 7, 2011, in a 10 - 5 vote, the County Board voted to ignore requests from the federal government to hold County jail suspects an extra two days so that their immigration status could be verified.<sup>25</sup> In many municipalities if there is a question as to the immigration status of suspects, they will be held an extra 48 hours to give the federal government time to investigate, even if the suspect was ordered released on bail or their crimes were adjudicated. The Cook County's policy to ignore Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) Agency requests applies to all suspects who were eligible for release, including those charged with felonies.

Voting for the ordinance were Commissioners Butler, Collins, Fritchey, Gainer, Garcia, Murphy, Reyes, Sims, Suffredin, and Tobolski. Voting against the ordinance were Commissioners Daley, Gorman, Goslin, Schneider, and Silvestri. Voting present was Commissioner Beavers. Commissioner Steele was absent. This vote was mostly divided along party lines; however Commissioner Daley, who usually supports Preckwinkle, voted in opposition. His vote on this issue was unusual but reflects his more conservative district.

Immigration groups supported this ordinance because it would treat all criminals as equal under the law, and not single out undocumented individuals for extra prosecution.<sup>26</sup> Preckwinkle stated that the ordinance would also improve public safety.<sup>27</sup> While she was criticized in the press for her remark that releasing undocumented felony suspects was a good thing, many citizens didn't realize that the cost of the extra two days detention is borne by the local, not the national, government. Preckwinkle and the commissioners said that they would comply with the requests, if the federal government reimbursed the county for the cost. The federal government refused to do so. Every year this extra detention costs the county \$15 million that the commissioners say it can ill afford.<sup>28</sup>

Commissioner Beavers, who voted present, was concerned that this ordinance applied to all suspects and criminals, not just those being held for misdemeanors. Commissioner Garcia, Preckwinkle's floor leader, told the *Chicago Sun-Times* that he had "confidence in the judges and the judicial system – if someone constitutes a threat to the community, they won't go free."<sup>29</sup>

This ordinance caused Cook County to make national news when four U.S. Senators on the Senate Judicial Committee wrote a letter directly appealing to Janet Napolitano, then

Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security. In the letter they said the ordinance was a “serious threat to public safety.”<sup>30</sup>

### **January 2014 Regulation of Waste Transfer Stations**

Other issue conflicts also came to the Cook County Board. On January 15, 2014, the Board voted to approve a new Solid Waste and Recycling Ordinance that “...will give the County significant new tools to protect the environment.”<sup>31</sup> The overhaul was part of the County’s larger plan to reduce waste and increase recycling efforts over the next few years. Specifically it allowed the collection of information about current waste to understand how to encourage reduction and recycling. It allowed for more frequent inspections of landfills and waste transfer stations, increased monitoring of recycling facilities and an enhanced ability to prosecute environmental violations.<sup>32</sup> It also provided fee increases to fund future reforms.<sup>33</sup>

Voting for the measure were Commissioners Steele, Butler, Moore, Garcia, Reyes, Daley, Suffredin, and Goslin. Voting against it were Collins, Murphy, Silvestri, Fritchey, Schneider, Tobolski, and Gorman. Commissioner Sims voted present and Commissioner Gainer was absent. Commissioner Tobolski told the *Northwest Indiana Times* that he voted against it because it exempted the City of Chicago and certain other municipalities. Since fee increases were part of the ordinance, this meant that Chicago residents and the residents of exempted municipalities would pay less in waste taxes. “How do I explain to my constituents that some of them are going to be taxed more, while others are not[?]”<sup>34</sup> The Department of Environment defended these exemptions saying that the other municipalities had their own regulations in place.<sup>35</sup>

## **Method**

To assess support of the Cook County Board of Commissioners for President Preckwinkle and President Stroger, voting records of all 17 commissioners were examined on all divided roll call votes in the periods indicated. The votes of the commissioners were compared to Commissioner John Daley during the last year of Stroger's reign and to Commissioner Jesus Garcia, President Preckwinkle's floor leader, during her first three and a half years. If a commissioner voted the same way as Daley or Garcia, they were given a score of 1. If they did not, they were given a score of 0. The number of times the commissioners voted with Commissioner Daley or Commissioner Garcia was divided by the total number of times they voted, giving them a "score." This score represents the percentage of agreement with Commissioner Daley or Commissioner Garcia. The percentage agreement with Daley in 2010 also measures the percent of agreement with President Stroger. The percentage voting with Garcia measures the percentage of agreement with President Preckwinkle.

## **Conclusion**

A new era has begun at the Cook County Board of Commissioners. A kind of "Council Wars" had begun at the board under President Todd Stroger. This changed to a more supportive board under President Toni Preckwinkle. The election that brought in President Preckwinkle also saw the Board lose some of its most independent commissioners who had provided much of the opposition to President Stroger when Commissioner Claypool decided not to seek reelection and Commissioner Peraica lost his election. Commissioner Beavers who was most opposed to President Preckwinkle was removed after he was convicted of political

corruption. These changes resulted in a more cooperative board with even Republican Commissioners frequently supporting the floor leader and the president. Each year of the Preckwinkle era has seen fewer divided roll call votes and more unanimity. The 2014 elections are likely to increase this trend.

**Appendix I: Description of 35 Divided Roll Call Votes for the year 2010  
Cook County Board of Commissioners - Todd Stroger, President**

Issue #	Issue Synopsis	Date	Item Type/#	Vote*	Pass/Fail
1	Contract increase and extension with USI Midwest for excess liability coverage	1/12/2010	Agenda #10	12-1-4	Pass
2	Contract increase and extension with Johnson Controls, Inc for Project Shield Phases I, II, III support services	1/12/2010	New #2	11-2-4	Pass
3	Home Rule County Retailers' Occupation (Sales) Tax	1/26/2010	Agenda #1	11-6	Pass
4	Home Rule County Service Occupation(Sales) Tax	1/26/2010	Agenda #2	11-6	Pass
5	Proposed Resolution urging passage of the Comprehensive Immigration Reform for America's Security and Prosperity	1/26/2010	New #2	13-3-1	Pass
6	Proposed Contract with USI Midwest for broker services and placement of excess liability insurance	1/26/2010	New #3	9-6-2	Pass
7	Authorization for Settlement and Payment of the Outstanding 2007 Pension Obligation in lump sum	2/9/2010	New #2	13-1-3	Pass
8	Proposed Second Amendment to lease between County of Cook and RML Health Providers	3/2/2010	Agenda #27	15-2	Pass
9	Proposed resolution calling on Governor and General Assembly to grant authorization to Cook County Hospitals to levy own taxes to provide healthcare in Cook County	3/16/2010	Agenda #2	6-11	Fail
10	Divide the question to consider contract with Digby's Detective and Security Agency separately	3/16/2010	Agenda #13	6-8-3	Fail
11	Motion to Approve the Contract with Digby's Detective and Security Agency	3/16/2010	Agenda #13	6-8-3	Fail
12	Reconsideration of previously denied contract with Digby's Detective & Security Agency	4/6/2010	Agenda #5	11-5-1	Pass
13	Ordinance amending Chapter 32 Fees, Section 32-1 of Cook County Code increasing the Law Library Fee	4/6/2010	Communication #305674	15-1-1	Pass
14	Ordinance amending the Master Bond Ordinance	4/6/2010	Communication #305686	11-5-1	Pass
15	Proposed ordinance amendment – Procurement and Contracts	5/4/2010	New #4	16-1	Pass
16	Proposed Ordinance mandating a salary and hiring freeze through November 30, 2010	5/4/2010	New #6	16-1	Pass
17	Reconsideration of Previously approved substitute ordinance amendment mandating salary and hiring freeze through November 20, 2010	5/18/2010	New #2	9-6-2	Pass
18	Proposed Contract with Infrastructure Engineering, Inc for parking lock and entrance at Hawthorne Warehouse	5/18/2010	Agenda #25	9-7-1	Pass
19	Proposed Resolution imposing countywide hiring freeze	5/18/2010	New #4	15-1-1	Pass
20	Proposed ordinance – Grade 24 salary adjustments	5/18/2010	New #5	12-4-1	Pass
21	Reconsideration of previously approved ordinance for Grade 24 salary adjustments	6/1/2010	Agenda #2	9-6-2	Pass
22	Proposed ordinance amendment – automated red light traffic safety system	6/15/2010	Agenda #5	9-4-4	Pass
23	Chicago Board of Election Commissioners transfer of funds	7/13/2010	Agenda #97	13-1-3	Pass

24	Reappointment of Mr. Frank Zuccarelli to the Cook County Employee Appeals Board	7/13/2010	New #1	10-4-3	Pass
25	Fifth Letter of Supplemental Agreement Resolution between County and McDonough Associates for engineering services	7/27/2010	Agenda #36	6-5-6	Pass
26	Prevailing wage ordinance	7/27/2010	Agenda #61	12-1-4	Pass
27	Proposed intergovernmental agreement between Cook County Sheriff's Police Department and Village of Ford Heights for law enforcement services	7/27/2010	Agenda #69	14-1-2	Pass
28	Proposed Contract with Raymond Harris, Sr. for specialized consulting services	7/27/2010	New #7	10-2-5	Pass
29	Reconsideration of the Vote on Report of the Committee of Finance and the Report of the Committee on Legislation, Intergovernmental & Veterans Relations	9/15/2010	Agenda #10	8-7-2	Pass
30	Proposed ordinance amendment – limitations of contributions to candidates and elected officials	10/5/2010	Agenda #3	4-12-1	Fail
31	Proposed ordinance amendment requiring 3/5 super majority vote for new taxes and tax increases	10/5/2010	Agenda #4	7-9-1	Fail
32	Home Rule County Retailers' Occupation (Sales)Tax	10/5/2010	Agenda #5	6-10-1	Fail
33	Home Rule Service Occupation (Sales) Tax	10/5/2010	Agenda #6	6-10-1	Fail
34	Proposed ordinance amendment eliminating contingency funds	10/19/2010	New #4	6-7-4	Fail
35	Contract extension with Finer Foods for the purchase of frozen foods	11/3/2010	Agenda #31	7-6-4	Pass

\*The votes are listed as Yea-Nay. A third number represents either commissioners voting present or were absent or excused.



**Appendix II: Commissioner Voting Records for 35 Divided Roll Call Votes**  
**(Key: 1 – Yes, 0 – No, 2 – Present, 3 – Absent, 4 – Excused from voting)**

	Issue Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Date	1/12/10	1/12/10	1/26/10	1/26/10	1/26/10	1/26/10	2/9/10	3/2/10
District 1	Earlean Collins	3	3	1	1	1	1	3	1
District 2	Robert B. Steele	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
District 3	Jerry Butler	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
District 4	William Beavers	3	3	1	1	3	1	3	1
District 5	Deborah Sims	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
District 6	Joan Patricia Murphy	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
District 7	Joe Moreno	1	3	1	1	1	0	1	1
District 8	Edwin Reyes	1	1	1	1	1	0	3	1
District 9	Peter Silvestri	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
District 10	Bridget Gainer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 11	John P. Daley	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
District 12	Forrest Claypool	3	3	0	0	1	1	1	1
District 13	Larry Suffredin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 14	Gregg Goslin	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
District 15	Timothy O. Schneider	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
District 16	Tony Peraica	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0
District 17	Elizabeth Gorman	3	1	0	0	0	1	1	1

	Issue Number	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	Date	3/16/10	3/16/10	3/16/10	4/6/10	4/6/10	4/6/10	5/4/10	5/4/10
District 1	Earlean Collins	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
District 2	Robert B. Steele	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 3	Jerry Butler	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 4	William Beavers	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
District 5	Deborah Sims	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 6	Joan Patricia Murphy	0	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
District 7	Joe Moreno	1	3	3	3	3	3	1	1
District 8	Edwin Reyes	1	0	2	1	1	1	1	1
District 9	Peter Silvestri	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
District 10	Bridget Gainer	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 11	John P. Daley	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
District 12	Forrest Claypool	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 13	Larry Suffredin	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
District 14	Gregg Goslin	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
District 15	Timothy O. Schneider	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
District 16	Tony Peraica	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
District 17	Elizabeth Gorman	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1

**Appendix II (Continued): Voting Records for 35 Divided Roll Call Votes**  
**(Key: 1 – Yes, 0 – No, 2 – Present, 3 – Absent, 4 – Excused from voting)**

	Issue Number	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	Date	5/18/10	5/18/10	5/18/10	5/18/10	6/1/10	6/15/10	7/15/10	7/15/10
District 1	Earlean Collins	0	1	1	1	0	0	3	3
District 2	Robert B. Steele	0	1	1	1	3	2	1	1
District 3	Jerry Butler	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
District 4	William Beavers	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
District 5	Deborah Sims	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	1
District 6	Joan Patricia Murphy	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	1
District 7	Joe Moreno	3	3	3	3	0	0	1	1
District 8	Edwin Reyes	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 9	Peter Silvestri	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 10	Bridget Gainer	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3
District 11	John P. Daley	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 12	Forrest Claypool	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
District 13	Larry Suffredin	1	0	1	1	1	1	3	3
District 14	Gregg Goslin	1	0	1	1	3	1	1	0
District 15	Timothy O. Schneider	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
District 16	Tony Peraica	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
District 17	Elizabeth Gorman	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0

	Issue Number	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
	Date	7/27/10	7/27/10	7/27/10	7/27/10	9/15/10	10/5/10	1/5/10
District 1	Earlean Collins	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
District 2	Robert B. Steele	2	1	1	1	0	1	0
District 3	Jerry Butler	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
District 4	William Beavers	3	3	1	3	0	0	0
District 5	Deborah Sims	1	1	1	1	0	3	3
District 6	Joan Patricia Murphy	3	3	3	3	0	0	0
District 7	Joe Moreno	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
District 8	Edwin Reyes	2	1	1	1	2	1	0
District 9	Peter Silvestri	3	3	3	3	1	0	1
District 10	Bridget Gainer	0	1	1	3	2	0	0
District 11	John P. Daley	2	1	1	1	1	0	0
District 12	Forrest Claypool	1	1	1	3	1	0	1
District 13	Larry Suffredin	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
District 14	Gregg Goslin	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
District 15	Timothy O. Schneider	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
District 16	Tony Peraica	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
District 17	Elizabeth Gorman	0	3	1	1	1	0	1

**Appendix II (Continued): Voting Records for 35 Divided Roll Call Votes  
(Key: 1 – Yes, 0 – No, 2 – Present, 3 – Absent, 4 – Excused from voting)**

	Issue Number	32	33	34	35
	Date	10/5/10	10/5/10	10/19/10	11/3/10
District 1	Earlean Collins	0	0	0	3
District 2	Robert B. Steele	0	0	0	0
District 3	Jerry Butler	0	0	3	1
District 4	William Beavers	0	0	3	0
District 5	Deborah Sims	3	3	0	0
District 6	Joan Patricia Murphy	0	0	0	3
District 7	Joe Moreno	0	0	0	1
District 8	Edwin Reyes	0	0	0	0
District 9	Peter Silvestri	1	1	1	2
District 10	Bridget Gainer	0	0	1	1
District 11	John P. Daley	0	0	1	1
District 12	Forrest Claypool	1	1	3	1
District 13	Larry Suffredin	0	0	0	0
District 14	Gregg Goslin	1	1	1	1
District 15	Timothy O. Schneider	1	1	1	1
District 16	Tony Peraica	1	1	1	0
District 17	Elizabeth Gorman	1	1	3	2

**Appendix III: Description of 42 Divided Roll Call Votes for the time period  
December 16, 2010 – April 16, 2014  
Cook County Board of Commissioners - Toni Preckwinkle, President**

Issue #	Issue Synopsis	Date	Item Type/#	Vote*	Pass/Fail
1	Ordinance Amendment to the Code of Ethical Conduct**	2/15/2011	Agenda #1	6-4-7	Pass
2	Motion to reconsider vote for Agenda item #1**	2/15/2011	Reconsider	10-6-1	Pass
3	Motion to refer to Committee on Rules and Administration**	2/15/2011	Refer	9-7-1	Pass
4	Contract increase with International Business Machines Corporation (IBM) for purchase of mainframe computer	2/15/2011	Agenda #27	15-1-1	Pass
5	Home Rule County Retailer's Occupation (Sales) Tax	2/25/2011	Agenda #2	12-5	Pass
6	Motion to reconsider vote for Agenda item #2	2/25/2011	Reconsider	5-12	Fail
7	Home Rule County Service Occupation (Sales) Tax	2/25/2011	Agenda #3	12-5	Pass
8	Motion to reconsider vote for Agenda item #3	2/25/2011	Reconsider	5-12	Fail
9	Levy of Taxes for Fiscal Year 2011 Resolution	3/15/2011	Agenda #1	16-1	Pass
10	Contract Amendment and Extension with Linebarger Goggan Blair & Sampson, LLP for debt Collections	3/15/2011	New #8	4-13	Fail
11	Contract with Accenture LLP	4/6/2011	Agenda #17	15-1-1	Pass
12	Proposed resolution opposing conceal carry laws in Illinois and Cook County	4/20/2011	New #2	10-4-3	Pass
13	Proposed resolution supporting the preservation of Medicaid funding	7/12/2011	New #2	11-3-3	Pass
14	Motion to approve and adopt New item #2	7/12/2011	Approve	10-4-3	Pass
15	Proposed ordinance amendment-possession of cannabis	9/7/2011	Agenda #3	8-8-1	Fail
16	Motion to amend Agenda item #3	9/7/2011	Amend	14-2-1	Pass
17	Proposed ordinance – policy for responding to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) detainees	9/7/2011	Agenda #6	10-5-1	Pass
18	Contract Increase and Extension with DDW & Associates/REB Storage System International for rental of shelving	11/15/2011	Agenda #16	10-7	Pass
19	Motion to approve Budget for Fiscal Year 2012	11/18/2011	Agenda #1	16-1	Pass
20	Contract increase and extension with Whitfield Security Service for unarmed security guards	12/1/2011	Agenda #30	9-4-4	Pass
21	Annual Levy of Taxes for Fiscal Year 2012	12/14/2011	Agenda #5	13-2-2	Pass
22	Motion to Reconsider Annual Levy	12/14/2011		2-13-2	Fail
23	Proposed Ordinance Amendment amending the policy for responding to ICE detainees	1/18/2012	Agenda #7	15-1-1	Pass
24	Agreement to participate in the City of Chicago Job Order Contract (JOC) program	4/3/2012	Agenda #31	9-4-4	Pass
25	Contract with Homewood Memorial Gardens, Inc. for cartage and burial of human cadavers	10/2/2012	Agenda #20	11-3-3	Pass
26	Proposed Ordinance creating the Cook County Violence Prevention, Intervention and Reduction Advisory Committee	11/2/2012	Agenda #2	12-2-3	Pass
27	Motion to reconsider vote on Agenda Item #2	11/2/2012		2-12-3	Fail
28	Finance Committee Report from October 18, 2012	11/9/2012	Agenda #3	16-1	Pass

29	Motion to reconsider vote on Agenda #3	11/9/2012		1-16	Fail
30	Cook County Resolution and Annual Appropriation Bill for fiscal year 2013	11/9/2012	Agenda #4	16-1	Pass
31	Motion to reconsider vote on Agenda item #4	11/9/2012		1-16	Fail
32	Proposed resolution urging the Illinois General Assembly to adopt legislation banning assault weapons	1/16/2013	New #1	10-2-5	Pass
33	Motion to not approve Report of the Committee on Environmental Control	4/17/2013	Agenda #12	8-8-1	Fail
34	Motion to approve Report of the Committee on Environmental Control	4/17/2013		11-2-4	Pass
35	Substitute ordinance amendment affirmatively furthering fair housing by extending source of income protection to housing choice voucher holder	5/8/2013	Agenda #15	9-6-2	Pass
36	Motion to approve the Report of the Committee on Human Relations	5/8/2013	Agenda #15	9-6-2	Pass
37	Motion to reconsider vote approving the Report of the Committee on Human Relations	5/8/2013		6-9-2	Fail
38	Proposed protection of minors substitute ordinance	7/17/2013	Agenda #23	11-3-3	Pass
39	Proposed Blair Holt Assault Weapons Ban Ordinance Amendment	7/17/2013	New #1	9-4-4	Pass
40	Proposed ordinance amendment amending the solid waste article of the Environmental Chapter of the County's Code	1/15/2014	Agenda #13	10-1-6	Pass
41	Motion to amend violence prevention ordinance	1/15/2014	Agenda #14	8-7-2	Pass
42	Amendment to Cook County Violence Prevention, Intervention and Reduction Advisory Committee	2/9/2014	Agenda #1	14-2-1	Pass

\*The votes are listed as Yea-Nay. A third number represents either commissioners voting present or were absent or excused.

\*\*Six separate ethics ordinances were voted on (as described in the text). Because they all addressed the same essential issue and all of the commissioners voted the same on all six ordinances; therefore, they have been condensed down to three votes: one for the vote on the ordinances, one for the vote to reconsider, and one for the votes to refer it to the rules committee.

**Appendix IV: Commissioner Voting Records for 42 Divided Roll Call Votes**  
**(Key: 1 – Yes, 0 – No, 2 – Present, 3 – Absent, 4 – Excused from voting)**

	Issue Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Date	2/15/11	2/15/11	2/15/11	2/15/11	2/25/11	2/25/11	2/25/11
District 1	Earlean Collins	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
District 2	Robert B. Steele	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
District 3	Jerry Butler	3	3	3	3	1	0	1
District 4	William Beavers	1	1	0	1	0	1	0
District 5	Deborah Sims	2	2	1	1	0	1	0
District 6	Joan Murphy	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
District 7	Jesus Garcia	2	2	1	1	1	0	1
District 8	Edwin Reyes	2	2	1	1	1	0	1
District 9	Peter Silvestri	2	2	1	1	1	0	1
District 10	Bridget Gainer	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
District 11	John P. Daley	2	2	0	1	1	0	1
District 12	John A. Fritchey	2	2	1	1	1	0	1
District 13	Larry Suffredin	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
District 14	Gregg Goslin	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
District 15	Timothy Schneider	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
District 16	Jeffrey R. Tobolski	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
District 17	Elizabeth Gorman	0	0	0	1	1	0	1

	Issue Number	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	Date	2/25/11	3/15/11	3/15/11	4/6/11	4/20/11	7/12/11	7/12/11
District 1	Earlean Collins	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
District 2	Robert B. Steele	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
District 3	Jerry Butler	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
District 4	William Beavers	1	0	1	2	0	1	0
District 5	Deborah Sims	1	1	1	1	3	3	3
District 6	Joan Murphy	1	1	1	1	3	1	1
District 7	Jesus Garcia	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
District 8	Edwin Reyes	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
District 9	Peter Silvestri	0	1	0	1	3	1	1
District 10	Bridget Gainer	0	1	0	1	1	3	3
District 11	John P. Daley	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
District 12	John A. Fritchey	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
District 13	Larry Suffredin	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
District 14	Gregg Goslin	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
District 15	Timothy Schneider	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
District 16	Jeffrey R. Tobolski	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
District 17	Elizabeth Gorman	0	1	0	1	0	0	0

**Appendix IV (Continued): Voting Records for 42 Divided Roll Call Votes  
(Key: 1 – Yes, 0 – No, 2 – Present, 3 – Absent, 4 – Excused from voting)**

	Issue Number	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	Date	9/7/11	9/7/11	9/7/11	11/15/11	11/18/11	12/1/11	12/14/11
District 1	Earlean Collins	0	1	1	1	1	1	3
District 2	Robert B. Steele	3	3	3	1	1	3	1
District 3	Jerry Butler	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
District 4	William Beavers	0	1	2	1	0	3	0
District 5	Deborah Sims	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 6	Joan Murphy	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 7	Jesus Garcia	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
District 8	Edwin Reyes	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
District 9	Peter Silvestri	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
District 10	Bridget Gainer	0	1	1	0	1	3	1
District 11	John P. Daley	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
District 12	John A. Fritchey	0	1	1	0	1	0	2
District 13	Larry Suffredin	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 14	Gregg Goslin	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
District 15	Timothy Schneider	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
District 16	Jeffrey R. Tobolski	1	1	1	1	1	3	0
District 17	Elizabeth Gorman	1	0	0	0	1	1	1

	Issue Number	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	Date	12/14/11	1/18/12	4/3/12	10/2/12	11/2/12	11/2/12	11/9/12
District 1	Earlean Collins	3	1	0	0	2	2	1
District 2	Robert B. Steele	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
District 3	Jerry Butler	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
District 4	William Beavers	1	1	3	1	0	1	0
District 5	Deborah Sims	0	1	1	3	1	0	1
District 6	Joan Murphy	0	1	0	3	3	3	1
District 7	Jesus Garcia	0	1	3	1	1	0	1
District 8	Edwin Reyes	0	1	3	3	1	0	1
District 9	Peter Silvestri	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
District 10	Bridget Gainer	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
District 11	John P. Daley	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
District 12	John A. Fritchey	2	1	3	0	1	0	1
District 13	Larry Suffredin	0	3	1	1	0	1	1
District 14	Gregg Goslin	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
District 15	Timothy Schneider	0	1	1	1	3	3	1
District 16	Jeffrey R. Tobolski	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
District 17	Elizabeth Gorman	0	0	0	1	1	0	1

**Appendix IV (Continued): Voting Records for 42 Divided Roll Call Votes**  
**(Key: 1 – Yes, 0 – No, 2 – Present, 3 – Absent, 4 – Excused from voting)**

	Issue Number	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
	Date	11/9/12	11/9/12	11/9/12	1/16/13	4/17/13	4/17/13	4/17/13
District 1	Earlean Collins	0	1	1	1	0	2	3
District 2	Robert B. Steele	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 3	Jerry Butler	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
District 4	William Beavers	1	0	0	1	1	0	1
District 5	Deborah Sims	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 6	Joan Murphy	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
District 7	Jesus Garcia	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
District 8	Edwin Reyes	0	1	1	1	0	2	1
District 9	Peter Silvestri	0	1	1	2	0	1	0
District 10	Bridget Gainer	0	1	1	1	0	1	0
District 11	John P. Daley	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 12	John A. Fritchey	0	1	1	2	1	2	1
District 13	Larry Suffredin	0	1	1	3	0	1	1
District 14	Gregg Goslin	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
District 15	Timothy Schneider	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
District 16	Jeffrey R. Tobolski	0	1	1	2	3	2	3
District 17	Elizabeth Gorman	0	1	1	3	1	1	0

	Issue Number	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
	Date	4/17/13	4/17/13	7/17/13	7/17/13	1/15/14	1/15/14	2/19/14
District 1	Earlean Collins	3	3	1	3	3	0	1
District 2	Robert B. Steele	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
District 3	Jerry Butler	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
District 4	William Beavers	1	0	1	1	3	1	1
District 5	Deborah Sims	1	0	1	1	3	2	1
District 6	Joan Murphy	0	1	1	1	1	0	3
District 7	Jesus Garcia	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
District 8	Edwin Reyes	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
District 9	Peter Silvestri	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
District 10	Bridget Gainer	1	0	3	3	3	3	1
District 11	John P. Daley	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
District 12	John A. Fritchey	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
District 13	Larry Suffredin	1	0	3	3	3	1	0
District 14	Gregg Goslin	0	1	0	0	1	1	1
District 15	Timothy Schneider	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
District 16	Jeffrey R. Tobolski	3	3	3	3	3	0	1
District 17	Elizabeth Gorman	0	1	0	0	1	0	1



## ENDNOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Preckwinkle lost three votes during this period. The first on November 15, 2011 was to extend a contract for rental shelving. According to her Floor Leader Jesus Garcia, those who voted no did so because they wanted the county to end the practice of paper record storage. Instead, they wanted electronic records (based on a phone conversation with Dick Simpson May 29, 2014). The second was a contract increase for a security firm on December 1, 2011. The third was a motion not to approve a report by the Committee on Environmental Control on April 17, 2013. This report contained a proposed ordinance that would prohibit new landfills in unincorporated Cook County.

<sup>2</sup> Brown, Mark. "Stroger's Political Diagnosis a Mystery as Election Nears." *Chicago Sun-Times*. March 14, 2006.

<sup>3</sup> Patterson, Steve, Abdon Pallasch and Mark Konkol. "Claypool Concedes to Stroger: Cites 'Affection and Love' for Ill President." *Chicago Sun-Times*. March 23, 2006.

<sup>4</sup> Spielman, Fran. "Stroger May Step Aside for Son: If Plan Works, Domino Effect of Successions Would Follow." *Chicago Sun-Times*. June 28, 2006; Spielman, Fran. "Stroger to Resign as County Chief: Son To Run for the Job." *Chicago Sun-Times*. June 30, 2006; Lipman, Jonathan. "Cook County: Stroger to Replace Stroger." *Daily Southtown*. July 19, 2006.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Donovan, Lisa. "Beavers to New County Board President: 'Shut Up'." *Chicago Sun-Times*. November 16, 2010.

<sup>7</sup> Dardick, Hal and Ray Long. "William Beavers' Likely Replacement Faced Ethics Charges." *Chicago Sun-Times*. April 10, 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Donovan, Lisa. "Steele Picked to Stand in When Preckwinkle Absent." *Chicago Sun-Times*. December 15, 2010.

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