Cook County Wars

Cook County Board of Commissioners Report February 23, 2007 – December 1, 2009

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Over the last three years, the Cook County Commissioners have been embroiled in bitter battles over budgets, taxes, and spending. Since February 2007, there have been fourteen major divided roll call votes, twelve of which have involved the operating budget and sales tax to fund it. One was about reorganizing and adding to the county government's debt, and one had to do with the appointment of Patrick Blanchard as the new Inspector General charged with ferreting out corruption and waste. While not as vicious or racially divided as Chicago's famous "Council Wars" under Mayor Harold Washington, "County Wars" over budgets, debt, and taxes have been highly emotionally charged with plenty of heated rhetoric and many angry taxpayers.

It is expected that the votes on these issues will play a prominent role in the February 2, 2010 primary election of the Cook County Board President and County Board members. While the news media have covered the individual votes of the county board meetings, there is no easy way to obtain the voting record of each commissioner. The Cook County Clerk does not post the controversial divided role call votes of commissioners on his website as the Chicago City Clerk does for the Chicago City Council.

Therefore, we have compiled fourteen of the most critical votes for the news media, civic organizations, and voters so that they may hold commissioners accountable for their representation of their districts and the county as a whole. Since two of the commissioners have been appointed or elected to other offices, and new commissioners have replaced them, we have compiled the voting patterns both by district and by individual commissioner.

Either way, the voting pattern is the exact reverse of the Chicago City Council voting pattern for the same years. In the city council since 2007, 46% of the aldermen voted 100% of the time with Mayor Daley, and another 14% voted with him more than 90% of the time on controversial divided roll call votes. Only eight aldermen provided a consistent opposition bloc.

By contrast in the county, only four commissioners voted from 76-100% of the time with President Stroger. Ten districts, represented by eleven commissioners, a significant majority, voted against him more than 50% of the time. This is greater than the five Republicans on the board who might be expected to vote against Stroger on key votes because he is a Democrat. President Stroger's first budget passed overwhelmingly in February 2007 by a vote of 13-4. His later budgets would be much more controversial.

In short, Stroger was dealing with a full blown rebellion while Daley had a "Rubber Stamp" city council. It is highly likely that President Stroger will be defeated in the upcoming election. A number of commissioners who have steadfastly supported high county budgets and sales tax increases are likely to be defeated as well.

2008 Budget and The Sales Tax Increase

According to Stroger's chief of staff Lance Tyson, "in the February 2007 budget, President Stroger obtained a 17% across the board cut of all departments and elected officials to fill an inherited \$500 million deficit caused by a structural deficit first identified by President Steele. The 2007 Budget, for the first time in Cook County's history, (1) fired or unfunded union and politically appointed employees; (2) consolidated clinics by half from 26 to 13 which continued to serve fully 96% of the system's patient base; (3) eliminated \$10 million in costs from ambulatory health care system and (4)

made opponents of fired sheriffs, states attorneys, nurses, union members, doctors and administrators – many of whom supported Stroger in his election over Peraica. County and union workers protested outside the county building over these cuts. The 2007 Budget was forged from a lot of hard work, sacrifice and dedication from Democrats, reformers and Republicans to fill a \$500 million deficit without cutting essential services. More importantly, however, that budget laid the foundation for why new revenue was needed to continue such services at such levels under such economic conditions."

In September 2007, Cook County Board President Todd Stroger then had to announce a \$307 million budget deficit for the 2008 fiscal year. The solution proposed by the Stroger administration was a \$750 million fix by increasing the Cook County sales tax (through amending the Retailer's Occupation Tax ordinance from 0.75% to 2.75%, and collecting an additional \$140 million by doubling gasoline and parking taxes). This proposal would result in some County municipalities having a total sales tax of 11%, the highest in the United States. Stroger claimed the revenue was needed to avoid deep cuts in provided county medical services through its hospital, clinic, and ambulatory network. The proposal for a major tax increase before a new 2008 budget was even unveiled did not sit well with some commissioners, including Roberto Maldonado (County Board 8th District), who claimed that President Stroger had threatened a crackdown on illegal immigration if the commissioner failed to support the measure.²

Stroger submitted his Fiscal Year 2008 budget proposal on September 17, 2007, and a budget stalemate ensued for the next five months, primarily over the tax increases.

Of the 17 commissioners on the County Board, Stroger was only able to get the support

of eight for his budget proposal, just one vote short needed for passage. The \$3.3 billion proposal would fund an annual spending increase of almost 7% and add 1,130 new jobs.

With a state-mandated budget deadline looming, court orders were drafted to keep essential services (criminal courts, hospital emergency rooms, and the jail) operating in the case that government services shut down if the county lost its authority to spend money. Stroger promised Commissioner Larry Suffredin (13th) that the county health bureau would be turned over to an independent review board for the next three years, and consequently gained Suffredin's necessary ninth vote to pass the sales tax increase just in time to avert a shutdown. After initially being against any tax hikes, Suffredin defended his vote because President Stroger would lose his control over the Bureau of Health and turn control over to a newly created independent governance board, which could restore the health resource from being a "piggybank for jobs and contracts to serve political needs."

The sales tax increase passed 9-8 early on Saturday morning of March 1, 2008. In addition to Suffredin, also voting for the measure were Commissioners Collins (1st), Steele (2nd), Butler (3rd), Beavers (4th), Sims (5th), Murphy (6th), Moreno (7th), and Daley (11th), all of whom are Democrats. All Republicans on the Board voted in opposition to Stroger including Commissioners Silvestri (9th), Goslin (14th), Schneider (15th), Peraica (16th), and Gorman (17th). The three Democrats joining the Republicans in opposition were Commissioners Maldonado (8th), Quigley (10th) and Claypool (12th). The compromised sales tax hike increased the practical retail rate for suburban Cook County to 9%, and the effective rate in Chicago to 10.25%, the highest in the country. Despite his public misgivings about a major tax increase, Commissioner Maldonado switched

sides and voted for President Stroger's overall budget proposal, which passed 10-7 the same day.

President Stroger welcomed his victory saying that, "Cook County remains open for business. With the passage of this budget, we are now able to bridge our moral responsibility with our fiscal responsibility." Civic Federation President Laurence Msall reacted strongly to the new budget declaring, "The taxpayers and citizens are not convinced that the county is spending the \$3 billion it already receives as effectively and efficiently as possible..." He continued "That is not only an undue burden on the citizens of Cook County, but we are fearful that it will be used by other metropolitan areas to take convention and tourism business from Chicago."

A Chance to Repeal

The 1% increase to the sales tax took affect on July 1, 2008. By July 22, 2008, the tax increase came front and center to the Board once again as a vote was taken to repeal the tax increases, after the budget they supported was already in effect. The charge was led by Commissioner Tony Peraica who had dubbed the tax increase as Stroger's "Corruption Tax." Standing firmly against a possible repeal, Commissioner Larry Suffredin referred to the likely cuts to health services that would result and said, "These two ordinances are probably the most irresponsible ordinances that I have ever seen." Peraica was criticized for grandstanding to gain public visibility for his upcoming run for Cook County State's Attorney. The July 2008 repeal of the sales tax failed 7-10 with the same commissioners who voted against the 2008 budget voting to repeal the tax.

Borrowing to Fill the Budget Gap

After the failure of the repeal, Stroger worked out a deal to allow his Chief Financial Officer and first cousin, Donna Dunnings, to renegotiate \$3 billion of debt and to add another \$740 million to the debt. The additional borrowing and bond issuance was passed on September 17, 2008 by a 12-4 vote, with surprisingly support of four of the five Republican Commissioners. Republicans Silvestri, Goslin, Schneider, and Gorman joined Democrats Collins, Steele, Butler, Beavers, Sims, Murphy, Moreno, and Daley to pass the measure. Voting against the measure was lone Republican Peraica and Democrats Quigley, Claypool, and Suffredin. Reformer Forrest Claypool reacted to alleged backroom deals made with the Republicans, "Responsible governments don't borrow money to pay the bills especially after raising taxes to record levels." This was the only county finance vote examined in which Silvestri, Goslin, Schneider, and Gorman voted with Stroger.

The Inspector General

On September 17, 2008, Commissioners voted on approval of a new Cook County Inspector General. The selection process of an Inspector General involved the Board President, both the Chicago and Cook County Bar Associations, Director of the Board of Ethics, and the State's Attorney. The Selection Committee proposed Patrick Blanchard, which was a controversial appointment. Michael Shakman, famous for suing the Democratic Party of Cook County and Cook County for its political patronage system, claimed that Blanchard's then current position as a Cook County Assistant State's Attorney compromised his appointment. Shakman contended that Blanchard's selection would undermine the integrity of the Inspector General's investigations because as Assistant States Attorney he had defended Cook County against patronage claims.

Despite the possibility of a conflict of interest, the Board approved Blanchard by a vote of 10-3. The Commissioners voting against his appointment were Quigley, Schneider, and Gorman. Commissioners voting for the appointment were Butler, Claypool, Daley, Goslin, Maldonado, Moreno, Murphy, Silvestri, Sims, and Suffredin. Despite voicing opposition to the appointment, Collins voted present on the measure. Peraica voiced strong opposition, but left the Board room before the vote.

2009 Budget

President Stroger proposed 2009 budget introduced on November 25, 2008 was criticized as a "reelection" budget for fiscal year. The spending plan included modest spending cuts, no new taxes hikes, and a plan to borrow \$360 million for recurring expenses. On February 20, 2009, the Board passed by 14-3 the \$2.9 billion budget that included a 2% cut to the hospital and clinics system and a 4% cut for all other county offices. This shaved \$37 million from the budget. The three commissioners voting against the budget included Butler, Quigley, and Suffredin.

Commissioner Moreno, voted for the budget after the cuts were secured. He explained, "We realized we needed to make the cuts to bring the board together." The proposed \$360 million borrowing plan did not have enough votes for passage and was deferred. Having led the revolt a week earlier in the finance committee against more borrowing, Commissioner Claypool bragged, "The upshot to me is that it's a victory to taxpayers because Todd Stroger's massive borrowing plan was defeated."

Move to Repeal Sales Tax

By 2009, the county sales tax increase was beginning to have negative implications on suburban municipalities. The Illinois Policy Institute found that Cook

County suburbs were being hit much harder by the recession than suburbs in neighboring counties. Northbrook saw an 8.6% dip in revenue, but neighboring Deerfield in bordering Lake County saw a revenue dip of 1.8%. Riverside revenue dropped 19.7% while neighboring Oakbrook in Dupage County dropped 5.1%. John Tillman of the Illinois Policy Institute said, "People are getting in cars and driving out of Cook County to do purchasing to save money."

Cook County residents were paying the increased sales tax while at the same time suffering from an economic recession. There was a countywide increase in unemployment and foreclosure rates. The anger of their constituents began to affect the decisions of some Commissioners. Discussions of a possible staggered repeal of the sales tax increase commenced again in the spring of 2009, less than a year after it had gone into affect. On May 5, 2009, the Board voted 12-3 to repeal a portion of the increase to the sales tax. Steele, Butler, and Beavers were the only commissioners who had voted to increase the sales tax in 2008 who voted to keep it in place. Commissioners who had changed their votes about the tax and approved the decreased tax rate were Murphy, Moreno, Daley, and Suffredin. Commissioners Collins and Sims were both absent from the vote. Newly appointed Commissioner Bridget Gainer had replaced Mike Quigley on the Board since his election to U.S. Congress. However, Gainer continued Quigley's pattern of voting against the sales tax increase.

The Aftermath

President Stroger vetoed the repeal of the sales tax increase arguing, "The commissioners who came up with this and voted on it, they have no idea what they would do if we were \$245 million in the hole, so this was not thought out at all." Cook County

was the only county in Illinois to have a veto override threshold of over 80% of commissioners, or 14 of the 17 legislators. The move to repeal did not end with Stroger's initial veto, so most of President Stroger's veto was upheld until late 2009. In 2009, the Board of Commissioners voted on a measure to reduce the increase to the sales tax increase by amending the Retailer's Occupation Tax ordinance a total of four additional times. Each was met with a presidential veto from Stroger, a move that sustained the sales tax increase at the 1.75% rate until December, 2009.

The first attempt at overriding Stroger's presidential veto failed by a margin of 11-4, with Commissioners Butler, Beavers, Sims, and Moreno voting to not support the override and, thus, to keep the sales tax increase. Commissioner Butler, who based ote his vote on support for the Cook County Health Services, explained, "Never had one penny meant so much to so many." Responding to critics about the sales tax being the most regressive tax and killing jobs in Cook County, Commissioner Moreno retorted, "The sales tax applies to things that most poor people don't buy," and Commissioner Sims asserted, "We don't have any businesses in my district to leave." Some County Board observers saw a racial divide based in the repeal votes. As noted by Chicago Sun-Times columnist Mark Brown, of the May 19th override attempt, "all the African-American commissioners either backed Stroger or voted present, while all the white commissioners opposed him." 14

June 2, 2009, the Board failed a second time to override Stroger's veto by a larger margin of 9-6. Commissioner Steele had changed from voting "present" on the first override to "no," and Commissioner Murphy switched from "yes" to "no."

Commissioner Maldonado was absent. 15

On July 21, 2009, the Board voted a third time to override Stroger's veto on an amendment to slash the sales tax by 0.05% or half of the 2008 increase. Once again, the Board had failed to muster the veto-proof 14-vote majority, with the roll call yielding 12 yays, 2 nays, 1 present, and 2 absent. Commissioners Butler and Moreno voted "no," and Beavers voted "present." ¹⁶

On September 1st, the fourth vote to override a veto failed by one vote, 13-4. Supporting the veto were Commissioners Butler, Beavers, Sims, and Moreno. Stroger claimed any reduction to the sales tax would, "make very little difference to most consumers. It will devastate our public-health system." By this time, Commissioner

Maldonado had resigned from the Board to be appointed as an alderman in the Chicago City Council. Maldonado's replacement Commissioner Edwin Reyes informed his District that he would follow in his predecessor and vote to reduce the sales tax. In sum, each of the four veto override votes between May and September 2009 were unable to overcome the 14 Commissioner override threshold. The needed fourth-fifths majority had proven to be an insurmountable obstacle to challenging President Stroger's power.

Illinois Intervenes

In October, 2009, during a fall legislative session, both houses of the Illinois

General Assembly approved a bill to reduce the number of commissioners required to
override the county board president's veto from 14 commissioners to 11. The override
margin of 65% fell in line with the same rules as other county boards in the state.

Despite Stroger's letter to state lawmakers and appearance in Springfield lobbying
against the measure, on November 7, 2009, Governor Quinn signed the bill into law.

Quinn believed that the override reform would make the Cook County government more

responsive to the people declaring, "We must have fair rules for everyone. That's the basis of our democracy." ¹⁹

With newfound legal authority, the Cook County Board met on November 16 with several proposed reduction plans on their agenda. Emotions flared in the debate, especially on the amendment to repeal the entire 1% increase, which had garnered 10 votes. Commissioner Gorman, who supported the full repeal stated, "We cannot continue to bite the hand that feeds us, our communities, our businesses. We need to stop giving consumers excuses to shop outside Cook County." The amendment that was approved finally reduced the sales tax from 1.75% to 1.25%. It passed by a vote of 12-5, with an effective date of July 1, 2010. Commissioners voting "no" on the 0.05% reduction were Butler, Beavers, Sims, Murphy, and Moreno. In opposing any tax rate decrease Commissioner Sims exclaimed, "We're going to see a county government that's going to go to hell."

At the November 16 meeting, the debate became very heated. Commissioner Peraica's microphone was cut off when he began complaining about the Commissioner John Daley's family, including Chicago's Mayor Richard M. Daley.²¹

Following the usual pattern, President Stroger vetoed the sales tax cut amendment within five days of its Board approval.²² Prior to the fifth override vote, Stroger pleaded with Commissioners not to reduce the sales tax because it would decimate the county health bureau. Separately elected officials would not reduce the budgets of their own offices to make up the difference. Stroger claimed, "Some people will die needlessly for lack of the health care our system provides today."²³

The Board voted to override the veto at its next Board meeting on December 1, 2009. Those Commissioners voting to approve the amended 0.05% roll back at the November 16 meeting upheld their votes. The 12-5 result was one vote above the 11 vote minimum established by the new Illinois law. Commissioner Claypool called the rollback the culmination of a "full-fledged voter revolt" adding that "what people see… is a county government that is too often a friends and family plan, a jobs machine for the politically connected."

The December 1, 2009 vote was unprecedented and represented the first time in Cook County's 179-year history that Commissioners had successfully overrode a presidential veto. The vote amended the Retailers' Occupation ordinance to decrease the county sales tax from 1.75% to 1.25% on July 1st, 2010.

Conclusion

In general, Cook County government has been in turmoil since President Stroger was elected in 2006. The voting pattern in the County Board has been much closer to the "Council Wars" period under Mayor Harold Washington than the "Rubber Stamp" council under Richard M. Daley. Only four commissioners have steadfastly supported Stroger from 90-100% of the time. They are William Beavers (100%), Jerry Butler (93%), Deborah Sims (93%), and Joseph Moreno (93%).

The battles have most often concerned the sales tax increase but other budget matters such as the approval of the budget and borrowing have also been controversial. So has the appointment of the Inspector General. New Ordinances recently passed on ethics reform also seek to curb the influence of the political machine and President Stroger.

President Todd Stroger, now that his veto power has been weakened by state law seems to be following the path of Mayor Eugene Sawyer. He was elevated to power by replacing his father, John Stroger, on the ballot, has been a weak chief executive, and now faces an election which he probably cannot win.

In the meantime, the major reforms needed to streamline and bring county government into the 21^{st} Century can not be made while the "County Wars" continue.

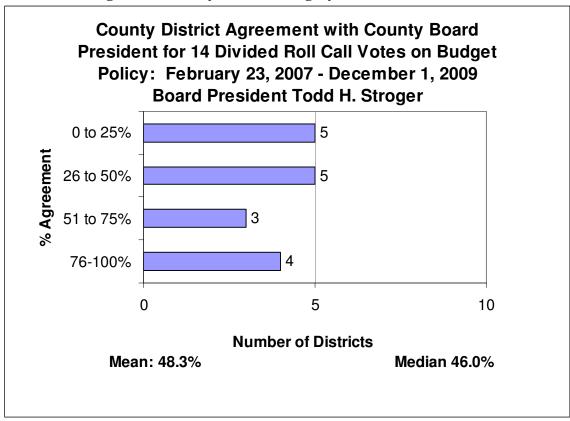


Figure 1 - County Board Voting By Districts*

^{*}The voting records for Commissioners Maldonado and Reyes were merged for the 8th district, and the records for Commissioners Quigley and Gainer were merged for the 10th District.

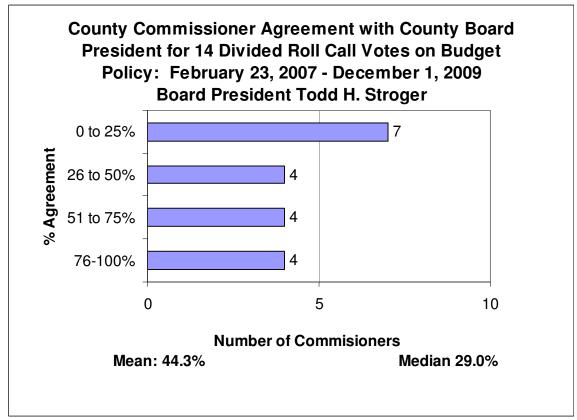


Figure 2 – County Commissioner Voting**

^{**}The voting records of Commissioners Maldonado & Reyes (8th), and Quigley & Gainer (10th) were calculated separately. The chart represents the voting records of all 19 board members over the period.

Figure 3 – Descriptions of Votes

Issue	Description	Date	Result	Vote
#				
1	Approval for 2007 County Budget	2/23/2007	Pass	13-4
2	County Retail Sales Tax Increased from 0.75% to 1.75%	3/1/2008	Pass	9-8
3	Approval for 2008 County Budget	3/1/2008	Pass	10-7
4	First Attempt to Repeal Retail Sales Tax Increase	7/22/2008	Fail	7-10
5	Reorganization of debt, including \$700 million of new debt	9/17/2008	Pass	12-4
6	Confirm Blanchard as new Inspector General	9/17/2008	Pass	10-3
7	Approval for 2009 County Budget	2/20/2009	Pass	14-3
8	Second Attempt to Repeal Retail Sales Tax Increase	5/5/2009	Pass	12-3
9	First Attempt to Override Veto of Repeal (14 "yes" votes needed)	5/19/2009	Fail	11-4
10	Second Attempt to Override Veto of Repeal (14 "yes" votes needed)	6/2/2009	Fail	9-6
11	First Attempt at Partial Rollback of Sales Tax from 1.75% to 1.25%	7/21/2009	Pass	12-2
12	Attempt to Override Veto of Partial Rollback (14 "yes" votes needed)	9/1/2009	Fail	13-4
13	Second Attempt at Partial Rollback of Sales Tax from 1.75% to 1.25%	11/16/2009	Pass	12-5
14	Attempt to Override Veto of Partial Rollback (11 "yes" votes needed)	12/1/2009	Pass	12-5

Figure 4 – Overall District Votes on all Collected Divided Roll Call Votes

Issue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	%
															Agree
District 1	1	1	1	0	1	2	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	60
District 2	1	1	1	0	3	3	1	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	64
District 3	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	93
District 4	1	1	1	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	100
District 5	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	92
District 6	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	71
District 7	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	93
District 8*	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	46
District 9	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	29
District 10**	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
District 11	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	50
District 12	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	15
District 13	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	29
District 14	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	29
District 15	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14
District 16	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	8
District 17	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	21

0 = No

**Quigley voted Issues 1-7 and Issues Gainer 8-14

1 = Yes

*Maldonado voted Issues 1-11 and Reyes Issues 12-14

2 = Present

3 = Absent

Figure 5: Commissioners Voting Record on Divided Roll Call Votes

Issue	Collins (D) 1	Steele (D) 2	Butler (D) 3	Beavers (D) 4	Sims (D) 5	Murphy (D) 6	Moreno (D) 7	Maldonado (D) 8	Reyes (D) 8	Silvestri (R) 9
2007 Budget Approval 2/23/2007	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	Yes
Sales Tax Increase 3/1/2008	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	-	No
2008 Budget Approval 3/1/2008	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	No
Repeal Sales Tax Increase 7/22/2008	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	-	Yes
Reorganization of debt 9/17/2008	Yes	Absent	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	Yes
Inspector General 9/17/2008	Present	Absent	Yes	Absent	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	Yes
2009 Budget Approval 2/20/2009	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Absent	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	Yes
Repeal Sales Tax Increase 5/5/2009	Absent	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	Yes
Override Veto of Repeal 5/19/2009	Present	Present	No	No	No	Yes	No	Absent	-	Yes
Override Veto of Repeal 6/2/2009	Present	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	-	Yes
Reduce Sales Tax by 0.5% 7/21/2009	Yes	Yes	No	Present	No	Yes	No	-	-	Yes
Override Veto of reduction 9/1/2009	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	-	Yes	Yes
Reduce Sales Tax by 0.5 % 11/16/2009	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	-	Yes	Yes
Override Veto of reduction 12/1/2009	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	-	Yes	Yes
% Voting with President Stroger	60	64	93	100	92	71	93	60	0	29

Issue	Quigley	Gainer	Daley	Claypool	Suffredin	Goslin	Schneider	Peraica	Gorman	STROGER
2007 D 1 4	(D) 10	(D) 10	(D) 11	(D) 12	(D) 13	(R) 14	(R) 15	(R) 16	(R) 17	(D)
2007 Budget Approval	Yes	-	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	YES
2/23/2007										
Sales Tax	No	-	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	YES
Increase 3/1/2008										
2008 Budget	No	-	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	YES
Approval 3/1/2008										
Repeal Sales Tax	Yes	-	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	NO
Increase 7/22/2008										
Reorganization	No	-	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	YES
of debt 9/17/2008										
Inspector	No	_	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Absent	No	YES
General	110		103	103	103	103	110	Hosent	110	1 LS
9/17/2008										
2009 Budget	No	-	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	YES
Approval										
2/20/2009		V.	37	37	37	37	37	X 7	V	NO
Repeal Sales Tax Increase	-	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	NO
5/5/2009										
Override Veto of	-	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	NO
Repeal										
5/19/2009										
Override Veto of	-	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	NO
Repeal 6/2/2009										
Reduce Sales Tax by	-	Yes	Yes	Absent	Yes	Yes	Yes	Absent	Yes	NO
0.5%										
7/21/2009										
Override Veto of	-	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	NO
reduction										
9/1/2009 Reduce Sales Tax by		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	NO
0.5%	-	res	res	res	res	res	res	res	res	NO
11/16/2009										
Override Veto of	-	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	NO
reduction 12/1/2009										
% Voting with President Stroger	14	0	50	15	29	29	14	8	21	-

Successfully passed measures are listed in bold print

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¹ Email from Lance Tyson to Dick Simpson.

² Sarah Schulte "Cook County Board to Vote on Proposed Sales Tax Increase" ABC News 7. September 30, 2007. http://abclocal.go.com/wls/story?section=news/local&id=5683415

³ Suffredrin, Larry. "A Hope to Reform Cook County" *The Chicago Tribune*. March 4, 2008

⁴ Hal Dardick "County Deal Hikes Taxes; Facing Deadline, Stroger and Board Deal on the Budget" *Chicago Tribune*. March 2, 2008.

⁵ Steve Patterson and Monifa Thomas "Ramp Up the Pain?; Board talks of doubling parking tax" *The Chicago Sun-Times* March 2, 2008

⁶ Hal Dardick "Move Fails to Undo Sales-Tax Hike; Cook Officials Say Sponsor Used Political Operation to Boost County Office Bid" *Chicago Tribune*. July 23, 2008.

⁷ Mark Konkol "What's Behind Door No. 1 for Stroger? Extra \$740 million; Gets OK to Borrow Funds" *The Chicago Sun Times* September 18, 2008.

⁸ Hal Dardick "Fingers Crossed on Cook budget; Tentative Deal Relies on Federal Money Not Yet Guaranteed" *Chicago Tribune* February 11, 2009

⁹ Rob Olmstead "No County Borrowing After All" *Chicago Daily Herald* February 13, 2009

¹⁰ Jay Levine and Mike Flannery "Stroger Vows Veto on County Board Tax Hike Repeal" CBS 2 News. May 5, 2009. http://cbs2chicago.com/politics/cook.county.tax.2.1001905.html

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¹² Hal Dardick "Cook County Sales Tax Hike to Stay in Place as Commissioners Fail to Override Stroger's Veto" *Chicago Tribune* May 19, 2009

¹³ Chicago Tribune Company "Loving Stroger's Tax" Chicago Tribune May 20, 2009.

¹⁴ Mark Brown "Commissioners' Vote No 'present' to Taxpayers; Battle Lines Hardening in Fight Over County Sales Tax Increase" *Chicago Sun Times* May 20, 2009

¹⁵ Rob Olmstead "Commissioners Ready to Deal on Sales Tax" Chicago Daily Herald June 3, 2009

¹⁶ Chicago Tribune Company Editorial "When Taxpayers Rebel" Chicago Tribune July 22, 2009.

¹⁷ Hal Dardick "Cook Commissioners Fail Again to Cut Sales Tax" *Chicago Tribune* September 1, 2009.

¹⁸ Abdon Pallasch "State Trooper Named New Cook County Commissioner" CBS 2 News. August 31, 2009. http://cbs2chicago.com/local/new.county.commissioner.2.1154739.html

¹⁹ State News Service "Governor Quinn Signs Veto Override Bill: New Law Reforms Cook County Board Voting Practice" *State News Service* November 7, 2009

²⁰ Ted Cox "Cook County Board Passes Sales Tax Cut Tax: 1-Point Cut Doesn't Get Enough Votes" *Chicago Daily Herald* November 18, 2009.

²¹ Ted Cox "Cook County Board Passes Sales Tax Cut Tax: 1-Point Cut Doesn't Get Enough Votes" *Chicago Daily Herald* November 18, 2009.

²² Lisa Donovan "Stroger Says No Again to County Tax Rollback; But this time, Commissioners Confident They Have Override Vote" *Chicago Sun Times* November 24, 2009.

²³ Hal Dardick. "Cook County Board Votes to Cut Sales Tax Despite Stroger's Plea" *Chicago Tribune* December 1, 2009

²⁴ Hal Dardick "How Cook County Commissioners Voted on Sales Tax Cut" *Chicago Tribune* December 1, 2009

²⁵ Lisa Donovan "Some People Will Die Needlessly: Stroger" *Chicago Sun Times* December 2, 2009.