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| **From Rubber Stamp to a Divided City Council****Chicago City Council Report #11****June 12, 2019 – April 24, 2020** |

**Authored By:**

**Dick Simpson**

**Marco Rosaire Rossi**

 **Thomas J. Gradel**

**University of Illinois at Chicago**

**Department of Political Science**

**April 28, 2020**

The Chicago Municipal Elections of 2019 sent earthquake-like tremors through the Chicago political landscape. The biggest shock waves caused a major upset in the race for Mayor. Chicago voters rejected Toni Preckwinkle, President of the Cook County Board President and Chair of the Cook County Democratic Party. Instead they overwhelmingly elected former federal prosecutor Lori Lightfoot to be their new Mayor. Lightfoot is a black lesbian woman and was a partner in a major downtown law firm. While Lightfoot had been appointed head of the Police Board, she had never previously run for any political office. More startling was the fact that Lightfoot received 74 % of the vote and won all 50 Chicago's wards.

In the same elections, Chicago voters shook up and rearranged the Chicago City Council. seven incumbent Aldermen lost their seats in either the initial or run-off elections. A total of 12 new council members were victorious and were sworn in on May 20, 2019 along with the new Mayor. The new aldermen included five Socialists, five women, three African Americans, five Latinos, two council members who identified as LGBT, and one conservative Democrat who formally identified as an Independent.

Before, the victory parties and swearing-in ceremonies were completed, politically interested members of the general public, politicians, and the news media began speculating about how the relationship between the new Mayor and the new city council would play out. Would the newly elected members smoothly meld with the re-elected Aldermen to become yet another "Rubber Stamp" city council, which had been the familiar model in Chicago politics for most of the past 70 years? Or would the council split into two roughly equal factions as it did during the "Council Wars," which disrupted Mayor Harold Washington's agenda in the first three years of his first term?

Our study of the City Council's voting patterns since Mayor Lightfoot and the 50 Aldermen took office last May confirms that we are witnessing something totally new. It is neither **Council Wars** nor a **Rubber Stamp**. The Lightfoot era has a **Divided Council** in which Mayor Lightfoot has a shifting majority.

The Council is evolving into four significant voting blocs, whose members frequently but do not always vote together. The four voting blocs consist of two ideological, three identity caucuses, and two informal groupings or contingents. Some Aldermen belong to two or more of these voting blocs. The four principal voting blocs which structure council debate and voting are: 1) Center-Liberal Bloc, 2) Progressive-Socialist Bloc, 3) Conservative Bloc, and 4) Chicago Machine Bloc. These voting blocs pull and tag, pressure and push the Lightfoot administration but the mayor is able to cobble together a working majority in the face of multiple crises from the city budget to the Covid-19 pandemic.

Through an analysis of the divided roll call votes since Mayor Lightfoot was elected, along with the announced alliances and positions of aldermen, we have been able to determine that the Chicago City Council has four significant political divisions. While those divisions were sidelined during the early months of the COVID-19 pandemic when the mayor ruled by herself, they are reemerging as the city council has resumed its now “virtual” city council meetings.

1. **Center- Liberal Bloc**

The first of the council four voting blocs is a center-liberal faction, which is closely aligned with Mayor Lightfoot and has enable her to win every one of the policies and issues that the council has voted on. This is largely because a majority within the Aldermanic Black Caucus and the Progressive Reform Caucus—the two largest caucuses in the Chicago City Council—support Lightfoot. Despite these high levels of support, these caucuses have seen some members diverge from Mayor Lightfoot on critical issues, such as marijuana legalization, the budget, and the request for temporary emergency powers to respond to the COVID-19 pandemic. Lightfoot has also benefited from exceptionally strong support from the aldermen she chose as chairmen of Chicago City Council's 19 Committees (18 Standing Committees and 1 Special Committee). Of those 19 Committees, 14 of the Chairs have voted with Mayor Lightfoot more than 90% of the time, with eight voting with her 100% of the time.

1. **Progressive-Socialist Bloc**

 On several economic issues, Mayor Lightfoot has been challenged from her Left by recently elected socialist aldermen. The existence of the Socialist Caucus is the first time that self-identified socialists have represented a distinct political group within the City Council in more than over 100 years. While the six members of this caucus do not have the numbers or the political strength to pass their own agenda, their criticisms of Lightfoot’s mayoralty have been successful in altering the parameters of political debates in Chicago. Also, there is evidence that by working as a cohesive group, individual aldermen have felt supported and thus were willing to take more radical positions. For example, Ald. Ramirez-Rosa was the only self-identified socialist on the Council before the 2019 election. Despite his outspoken rhetoric, Ramirez-Rosa supported Mayor Rahm Emanuel’s 2018 budget, even though it only modestly increased spending for social services.[[1]](#endnote-1) However, Ald. Ramirez-Rosa joined his Socialist Caucus members in vigorously challenging Mayor Lightfoot’s 2020 budget, despite her budget being more progressive than any that Mayor Emanuel produced.

1. **Chicago Machine Bloc**

Members of this voting bloc are either stalwarts of the Chicago Machine or are associated with that once powerful organization. The word “associated” is used because the label "Machine" connotes an organization steeped in patronage, cronyism, political favors, and even corruption. No politician today wants to defend a machine. Members of this contingent cannot meet under that banner and they often deny its existence or any connections to it.

Several members of this faction, however, seem to be trying to delegitimize Lightfoot’s mayoralty. They consistently vote against her in the council and they seek opportunities to criticize her in the news media in order to sabotage her good government reforms.

1. **The Conservative Bloc**

 The conservative bloc opposes Mayor Lightfoot’s social liberalism and spending priorities. The three members of this contingent, identify as Independents or Conservative Democrats. They espouse moderate to conservative political positions and would likely be members of the GOP if the Republican Party in Chicago had an organization capable rivaling the Democrats. Both the 38th Ward Alderman Nicolas Sposato and 41st Ward Alderman Anthony Napolitano are registered Independents. However, Napolitano ran for his aldermanic seat as a registered Republican[[2]](#endnote-2) but switched his party affiliation to an Independent after being elected. The 45th Ward Alderman James Gardiner was an Independent but joined the Democratic Party before running for office.

**City Council Voting Analyzed**

To analyze City Council voting, this report focuses on divided roll call votes defined as any vote which is not unanimous, which by definition are controversial matters. We compared each alderman’s vote to the mayor’s position and then calculated the percentage of agreement with the mayor. We also calculated the percentage of agreement for the five Chicago City Council caucuses and for the two informal voting blocs.

Currently, the Chicago City Council has five official caucuses: the [Aldermanic Black Caucus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chicago_Aldermanic_Black_Caucus), the Latino Caucus, the LGBT Caucus, the Progressive Reform Caucus, and the Socialist Caucus. Because some political alliances form outside of the formal structure of a caucus, newspaper reports, council votes, and candidates’ public statements are used to determine informal voting blocs. Based on an analysis of these sources, informal voting blocs include the Conservatives and aldermen associated with the Chicago Machine.

The mayor does not vote in the city council, except to break a tie, which almost never happens. Because of this, the votes of Mayor Lightfoot’s political floor leader and Finance Committee Chair are designated as proxies for the Mayor's votes. Lightfoot’s political floor leader is 36th Ward Alderman Gilbert Villegas and the Chair of the Finance Committee is 32nd Ward Alderman Scott Waguespack. If the floor leader’s votes did not provide a clear indication of the mayor’s stand on the issue, we used press reports of the mayor’s statements to determine the administration’s position.

Finally, this report covers an approximately eleven-month period from June 12, 2019 until April 24, 2020. In those eleven months, 34 divided roll call votes were recorded. Note that the city council did not meet much of March and April because of the COVID-19 pandemic. During most of these two months the mayor ruled by executive power without Council action. In the past month, the council voted unanimously on new rules for holding “virtual” meetings on April 15th and resumed substantive meetings on April 22nd, and 24th. We included all the substantive divided roll call votes of the last two meetings in our calculations but not the voting on procedural issues for both April 22nd and April 24th.

**Support for the Mayor**

This report reviews all the divided roll call votes during the mayor and city council’s first year in office to assess the degree of independence of the current council. Each year aldermen cast more than a thousand votes but most votes are noncontroversial and pass unanimously. There are only a few which cause dissent within the council and this report focuses on those as they are the most revealing.

For this report, the vote cast by for all 50 aldermen were recorded for the 11 months. All “YES” votes were recorded as 1 and all “NAY” votes as 0. Absents were recorded as 2. No-votes, where the alderman was present but did not cast a vote, were recorded as 3. If any aldermen recused themselves from the vote because of a conflict of interest, it was recorded as 4.

From this information, we were able to calculate the number of times each alderman voted with the administration on the divided roll call votes before the council. We then developed a table of overall aldermanic support for the mayor (Table1), along with support based on caucus or voting bloc (Tables 2 - 9).

Because the Democratic Party dominates Chicago politics, ideological differences and political alliances cannot be determined based on party labels. Instead, the caucuses within the city council are essentially voting blocs that allow us to study political cleavages within the context of a single-party city.

 The Chicago City Council currently has five caucuses. Three of them are identity-based: The Black Caucus, Latino Caucus, and the LGBT Caucus. The remaining two are based on political ideology: The Progressive-Reform Caucus and the Socialist Caucus. Formal caucuses are an extremely recent phenomenon on the Chicago City Council although there have been voting blocs in the council throughout its history.

The first caucus to form in the current era was the Progressive-Reform Caucus in 2013. It was followed by the Black Caucus, Latino Caucus, and the LGBT Caucus in 2015, and eventually the Socialist Caucus in 2019. The proliferation of caucuses is a sign that members of the Chicago City Council are working together with allies to shape legislation more to their liking, and to develop an independent identity separate from the mayor's and from the confines of the local Democratic Party.

**Table 1**

 **Aldermanic Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2020**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Ward** | **Aldermen** | **% of Agreement** | **Ward** | **Aldermen** | **% of Agreement** |
| 8 | Michelle A. Harris\* | 100% | 19 | Matthew O'Shea\* | 88% |
| 10 | Susan Sadlowski Garza\* | 100% | 21 | Howard Brookins\* | 88% |
| 27 | Walter Burnett, Jr.\* | 100% | 31 | Felix Cardona | 88% |
| 32 | Scott Waguespack\* | 100% | 42 | Brendan Reilly | 88% |
| 36 | Gilbert Villegas\* | 100% | 49 | Maria Hadden | 87% |
| 37 | Emma Mitts\* | 100% | 11 | Patrick Daley Thompson | 85% |
| 44 | Thomas Tunney\* | 100% | 14 | Edward Burke | 85% |
| 46 | James Cappleman | 100% | 28 | Jason Ervin | 85% |
| 48 | Harry Osterman\* | 100% | 29 | Chris Taliaferro\* | 85% |
| 12 | George Cardenas\* | 97% | 40 | Andres Vasquez | 85% |
| 26 | Roberto Maldonado | 96% | 47 | Matthew Martin | 85% |
| 6 | Roderick Sawyer\* | 94% | 1 | [Daniel La Spata](https://chicago.legistar.com/PersonDetail.aspx?ID=217135&GUID=67B0CCE6-7542-4177-A3B8-4A3A91B4484C&Search=) | 82% |
| 24 | Michael Scott, Jr.\* | 94% | 13 | Marty Quinn | 82% |
| 34 | Carrie Austin\* | 94% | 17 | David Moore | 82% |
| 43 | Michele Smith\* | 94% | 23 | Silvana Tabares | 82% |
| 50 | Debra Silverstein | 94% | 25 | Byron Sigcho-Lopez | 82% |
| 7 | Gregory Mitchell | 93% | 30 | Ariel Reboyras+ | 82% |
| 2 | Brian Hopkins | 91% | 33 | Rossana Rodriguez Sanchez | 82% |
| 3 | Pat Dowell\* | 91% | 35 | Carlos Ramirez-Rosa | 82% |
| 16 | Stephanie Coleman | 91% | 38 | Nicholas Sposato\* | 76% |
| 22 | Michael Rodriguez | 91% | 45 | James Gardiner | 76% |
| 39 | Samantha Nugent | 91% | 20 | Jeanette Taylor | 75% |
| 18 | Derrick Curtis | 90% | 41 | Anthony Napolitano | 67% |
| 4 | Sophia King | 88% | 9 | Anthony Beale | 64% |
| 5 | Leslie Hairston | 88% | 15 | Raymond Lopez | 26% |
|  |
| **Chicago City Council Mean** | **87%** | **Chicago City Council Median** | **63%** |
| **\*Chair of Standing Committee** |
| **+Chair of Special Committee** |

As Table 1 shows, of the 50 aldermen on the council, 23 voted with the mayor 90% or more of the time. Of those 37 who did not, only 6 have voted with the mayor less than 80% of the time. They are 9th Ward Alderman the Anthony Beale, 15th Ward Alderman Raymond Lopez, 38th Ward Alderman Nicholas Sposato, 41st Ward Alderman Anthony Napolitano, 45th Ward Alderman James Gardiner, and 20th Ward Alderman Jeannette Taylor. Of these dissenters, Aldermen Beale and Lopez are not conservatives, but both have been extremely critical of Mayor Lori Lightfoot’s good government reforms, especially her willingness to curb aldermanic prerogative. Ald. Jeannette Taylor is part of the Socialist Caucus and represents the far leftwing of the Chicago City Council.

**Table 2**

 **Progressive Caucus Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2020**

|  |
| --- |
| **Progressive Reform Caucus** |
| **Ward** | **Aldermen** | **% of Agreement** |
| 10 | [Susan Sadlowski Garza](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Susie_Sadlowski_Garza) (Chair) | 100% |
| 32 | [Scott Waguespack](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scott_Waguespack) | 100% |
| 6 | [Roderick Sawyer](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roderick_Sawyer) | 94% |
| 16 | Stephanie Coleman | 91% |
| 22 | Michael Rodriguez | 91% |
| 4 | [Sophia King](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sophia_King) (Vice-Chair) | 88% |
| 5 | [Leslie Hairston](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leslie_Hairston) | 88% |
| 31 | [Felix Cardona](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Felix_Cardona_Jr.)  | 88% |
| 29 | [Chris Taliaferro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chris_Taliaferro) | 87% |
| 49 | [Maria Hadden](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maria_Hadden) | 87% |
| 40 | [Andre Vasquez](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andre_Vasquez) (Secretary) | 85% |
| 47 | [Matt Martin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Matt_Martin_%28politician%29) (Treasurer) | 85% |
| 1 | [Daniel La Spata](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel_La_Spata) | 82% |
| 25 | [Byron Sigcho-Lopez](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Byron_Sigcho-Lopez) | 82% |
| 33 | [Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rossana_Rodriguez-Sanchez) | 82% |
| 35 | [Carlos Ramirez-Rosa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos_Ramirez-Rosa) | 82% |
| 17 | [David Moore](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_H._Moore) | 82% |
| 20 | [Jeanette Taylor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeanette_Taylor) | 75% |
|  |
| **Progressive Reform Caucus Mean** | **87%** | **Progressive Reform Caucus Median** | **87%** |

**Table 3**

**Black Caucus Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2020**

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| --- |
| **Aldermanic Black Caucus** |
| **Ward** | **Aldermen** | **% of Agreement** |
| 8 | [Michelle A. Harris](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michelle_A._Harris) | 100% |
| 27 | [Walter Burnett Jr.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walter_Burnett_Jr.) | 100% |
| 37 | [Emma Mitts](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emma_Mitts) | 100% |
| 6 | [Roderick Sawyer](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roderick_Sawyer) | 94% |
| 24 | [Michael Scott Jr.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_Scott_Jr.) (Secretary) | 94% |
| 34 | [Carrie Austin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carrie_Austin) | 94% |
| 7 | [Gregory Mitchell](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gregory_Mitchell) (Treasurer) | 93% |
| 16 | Stephanie Coleman (Vice Chair) | 91% |
| 3 | [Pat Dowell](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pat_Dowell) | 91% |
| 18 | [Derrick Curtis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Derrick_Curtis) | 90% |
| 4 | [Sophia King](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sophia_King) | 88% |
| 5 | [Leslie Hairston](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leslie_Hairston) | 88% |
| 21 | [Howard Brookins](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Howard_Brookins) | 88% |
| 49 | [Maria Hadden](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maria_Hadden) | 87% |
| 28 | [Jason Ervin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jason_Ervin) (Chair)  | 85% |
| 47 | [Matt Martin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Matt_Martin_%28politician%29) | 85% |
| 29 | [Chris Taliaferro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chris_Taliaferro) | 85% |
| 17 | [David Moore](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_H._Moore) | 82% |
| 20 | [Jeanette Taylor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeanette_Taylor) | 75% |
| 9 | [Anthony Beale](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anthony_Beale) | 64% |
|  |
| **Aldermanic Black Caucus Mean** | **89%** | **Aldermanic Black Caucus Median** | **82%** |

**Table 4**

 **Latino Caucus Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2020**

|  |
| --- |
| **Latino Caucus** |
| **Ward** | **Aldermen** | **% of Agreement** |
| 10 | [Susan Sadlowski Garza](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Susie_Sadlowski_Garza) | 100% |
| 36 | [Gilbert Villegas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert_Villegas) | 100% |
| 12 | [George Cardenas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Cardenas) | 97% |
| 26 | [Roberto Maldonado](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roberto_Maldonado) (Chair) | 96% |
| 22 | [Michael Rodriguez](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_Rodriguez_%28politician%29) (Secretary) | 91% |
| 31 | [Felix Cardona](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Felix_Cardona%2C_Jr.)  | 88% |
| 40 | [Andre Vasquez](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andre_Vasquez) | 85% |
| 25 | [Byron Sigcho-Lopez](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Byron_Sigcho-Lopez) (Treasurer)  | 82% |
| 33 | [Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rossana_Rodriguez-Sanchez) | 82% |
| 35 | [Carlos Ramirez-Rosa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos_Ramirez-Rosa) (Vice-Chair) | 82% |
| 23 | [Silvana Tabares](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Silvana_Tabares) | 82% |
| 30 | [Ariel Reboyras](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ariel_Reboyras) | 82% |
|  |
| **Latino Caucus Mean** | **89%** | **Latino Caucus Median** | **91%** |

**Table 5**

 **LGBT Caucus Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2020**

|  |
| --- |
| **LGBT Caucus** |
| **Ward** | **Aldermen** | **% of Agreement** |
| 44 | [Tom Tunney](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tom_Tunney) | 100% |
| 46 | [James Cappleman](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Cappleman) (Chair) | 97% |
| 49 | [Maria Hadden](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maria_Hadden) | 87% |
| 35 | [Carlos Ramirez-Rosa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos_Ramirez-Rosa) | 82% |
| 15 | [Raymond Lopez](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raymond_Lopez) | 26% |
|  |
| **LGBT Caucus Mean** | **78%** | **LGBT Caucus Median** | **63%** |
|  |
| **LGBT Caucus Mean without Ward 15** | **91%** | **LGBT Caucus Median without Ward 15** | **91%** |

**Table 6**

**Socialist Caucus Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2020**

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| --- |
| **Socialist Caucus** |
| **Ward** | **Aldermen** | **% of Agreement** |
| 40 | [Andre Vasquez](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andre_Vasquez) | 85% |
| 1 | [Daniel La Spata](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel_La_Spata) | 82% |
| 25 | [Byron Sigcho-Lopez](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Byron_Sigcho-Lopez) | 82% |
| 33 | [Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rossana_Rodriguez-Sanchez) | 82% |
| 35 | [Carlos Ramirez-Rosa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos_Ramirez-Rosa) (Chair) | 82% |
| 20 | [Jeanette Taylor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeanette_Taylor) | 75% |
|  |
| **Socialist Caucus Mean** | **81%** | **Socialist Caucus Median** | **80%** |

As Tables 2-6 shows, most of the caucuses vote with the mayor more than 85% of the time. There are two exceptions. The first is the LGBT Caucus, which has a mean percentage of agreement of 78%, the lowest of any caucus. This number requires an explanation. Driving the caucus’s mean downward is the vote percentages of 15th Ward Alderman Raymond Lopez. Ald. Lopez has been the most vocal critic of Mayor Lightfoot and has nearly taken every opportunity possible to vote against her. Once the 15th Ward is removed from the LGBT Caucus, the caucus’s mean moves to 91% agreement, the highest of any caucus. The second lowest agreement with the mayor is the Socialist Caucus, which has a mean agreement with the mayor of 81%. The Socialist Caucus has been critical of Mayor Lightfoot for not doing more to address economic inequality in the city, and have openly challenged her, especially on her city budget, to spend more on social services. That is to say, that while Socialist have supported Mayor Lightfoot’s reform agenda, they have pushed hard for a stronger progressive agenda on affordable housing, increased social services, and greater economic development in the neighborhoods.

While caucuses are a formal means for determining political division, many political divisions within the council are less overt. For this reason, three other tables are constructed. Table 7 shows the percentage of agreement with the mayor for all aldermen who are not a member of any caucus.

**Table 7**

**Non-Caucus Aldermanic Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2020**

|  |
| --- |
| **Non-Caucus Members** |
| **Ward** | **Aldermen** | **% of Agreement** |
| 48 | Harry Osterman | 100% |
| 43 | Michele Smith | 94% |
| 50 | Debra Silverstein  | 94% |
| 2 | Brian Hopkins | 91% |
| 39 | Samantha Nugent | 91% |
| 19 | Matthew O’Shea | 88% |
| 42 | Brendan Reilly | 88% |
| 11 | Patrick Daley Thompson | 85% |
| 14 | Edward Burke | 85% |
| 13 | Marty Quinn | 82% |
| 38 | Nicholas Sposato | 76% |
| 45 | James Gardiner | 76% |
| 41 | Anthony Napolitano | 67% |
|  |
| **Non-Caucus Mean** | **86%** | **Non-Caucus Median** | **83%** |

The Chicago City Council’s leftwing is organized into caucuses, because of this, the non-caucus membership combines conservatives, political centrists, and Chicago Machine supporters. This brings the mean agreement with the mayor of non-caucus aldermen to 86%, only slightly below the mean for the Chicago City Council as a whole.

**Table 8**

**Conservative Opposition to Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2020**

|  |
| --- |
| **Non-Caucus Conservatives** |
| **Ward** | **Aldermen** | **% of Agreement** |
| 38 | Nicholas Sposato | 76% |
| 45 | James Gardiner | 76% |
| 41 | Anthony Napolitano | 67% |
|  |
| **Non-Caucus Conservative Mean** | **73%** | **Non-Caucus Conservative Median** | **71%** |

Table 8 shows the voting average of members who are outspoken conservatives. As mentioned above, 38th Ward Alderman Nicholas Sposato and 41st Ward Alderman Anthony Napolitano are self-identified Independents. The 45th Ward Alderman James Gardiner is a registered Democrat but only joined the Democratic Party in 2019 before running for office. Prior to that, he also identified as an Independent.[[3]](#endnote-3) The Conservative voting bloc has a mean agreement with the mayor at 73%. This is far lower than any of the official caucuses, especially the Progressive Reform Caucus, and the dominant center-liberal faction of the Chicago City Council which largely agrees with the mayor.

**Table 9**

**Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2020**

|  |
| --- |
| **“Chicago Machine”**  |
| **Ward** | **Aldermen** | **% of Agreement** |
| 14 | Edward Burke | 85% |
| 11 | Patrick Daley Thompson | 85% |
| 13 | Marty Quinn | 82% |
| 9 | [Anthony Beale](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anthony_Beale) | 64% |
| 15 | [Raymond Lopez](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raymond_Lopez) | 26% |
|  |
| **“Chicago Machine” Mean** | **68%** | **“Chicago Machine” Median** | **55%** |

Table 9 shows the mean agreement with the mayor of members associated with the Chicago Machine. Since no aldermen would ever admit to being part of a political machine, the aldermen on this list are here because of their associations, scandals, and public statement against Mayor Lightfoot’s good government reforms. The 9th Ward Alderman Anthony Beale and the 15th Ward Alderman Raymond Lopez have been the most outspoken critics of Mayor Lori Lightfoot. They have continually criticized her for ending aldermanic prerogative and routinely voted against her in city council chambers on rather trivial issues.

11th Ward Alderman Patrick Daley Thompson is included in this group because he is the nephew of Cook County Commissioner and Democratic Party Committeeman John. Daley. John is the son of former mayor Richard J. Daley and brother of former mayor Richard M. Daley. In April of 2019, Thompson came under scrutiny after he received an $80,000 loan from Washington Federal Bank for Savings in October of 2017. The loan was to make repairs to a building that acted as the political headquarters for Thompson, John Daley, and the 11th Ward Regular Democratic Organization. Two months after receiving the loan, the bank’s president was found dead in an apparent suicide. Federal investigators found numerous irregularities in the bank records, including the fact that the loan secured by Alderman Thompson was granted without any collateral.[[4]](#endnote-4)

13th Ward Alderman Marty Quinn is included on the list because of his close ties to longtime Speaker of the Illinois State House of Representatives Michael Madigan. Alderman Quinn is also the brother of ousted Madigan political operative Kevin Quinn. Kevin Quinn was removed from Madigan’s office after being accused of sexual harassment. Prior to firing Kevin Quinn, Madigan spent $600,000 in legal fees defending him from the harassment allegation.[[5]](#endnote-5) Despite eventually being fired, Kevin Quinn continued to receive $10,000 in payments from current and former ComEd lobbyists close to Speaker Madigan.[[6]](#endnote-6) In January of 2020, the Chicago Inspector General Joe Ferguson strongly suggested that Alderman Quinn had engaged in “prohibitive political activity” for using city resources to promote his and Representative Madigan’s campaigns.[[7]](#endnote-7)

Finally, 14th Ward Alderman Edward Burke is included because of his long association with the Chicago Machine and his recent federal extortion charges. Considering that Burke led the campaign against reform Mayor Washington, it is surprising that he has the highest percentage of agreement of any of the machine caucus alderman. He votes with the mayor at 85%. However, this high percentage of agreement with the mayor seems to be a tactical retreat to avoid the limelight while federal charges against him are pending. In 2019, Ald. Burke was reelected to the Chicago City Council, but the extortion charges forced him to step down as Chair of the Finance Committee. He also lost re-election for 14th Ward Democratic Committeeperson in the March 2020 election.

During the first city council meeting with Lightfoot as mayor, Burke attempted to unnerve the new mayor and delay passage of new council rules by raising the point that the rules were not written in a gender-neutral manner. The move backfired. Mayor Lightfoot promptly took control of the situation, cut Burke off, and told him to sit down. Burke sulked away while applause was heard among the audience.[[8]](#endnote-8)

 The aldermen associated with the Chicago Machine have one of the lowest means of any group analyzed, at 68% agreement with the mayor. Considering that Mayor Lightfoot’s campaign focused on good government reforms, this is not surprising. More than any other voting bloc in the council, Chicago Machine aldermen have sought to delegitimize Mayor Lightfoot by voting against her.

**Divided Roll Call Votes**

To determine the most substantive divisions in the council, we studied the most contentious votes. Contentious divided roll call votes in this report are defined empirically as any vote that had four or more aldermen voting opposed to the majority. Within the first full year of office of Mayor Lightfoot and the newly elected city council these votes include:

* Appointments and Court Settlements
* Marijuana Legalization
* The City Budget
* Temporary Emergency Powers due to Coronavirus pandemic

**Appointments and Court Settlements**

Despite being opposed to Mayor Lightfoot’s good government reforms, aldermen associated with the Chicago Machine have been reluctant to vote against them due to their immense popularity with the voters. Regardless of justification they might offer, a vote against Lightfoot’s ethics reforms would be seen as a vote for corruption. Therefore, instead of voting against these reforms, these aldermen have resorted to routinely opposing Mayor Lightfoot through proxy votes on other issues.

The first form of opposition is voting against court settlements. There can be ideological opposition to court settlements. For example, the conservative 38th Ward Alderman Nicolas Sposato and 41st Ward Alderman Anthony Napolitano are more likely to vote against court settlements in cases involving police misconduct because of their opposition to police accountability reforms, but in most cases, court settlements are noncontroversial votes. During the Lightfoot mayoralty, some aldermen have used voting against civil court settlements to delegitimize Mayor Lightfoot.

The more direct focus of opposition is voting against appointments. Like Mayor Washington, Lightfoot has experienced frequent opposition to her staff appointments. This constant opposition has led to an exceptionally low percentage of agreement with the mayoral appointments among some aldermen. The extreme case is 15th Ward Alderman Raymond Lopez. Ald. Lopez has only a 29% overall agreement with Mayor Lightfoot and has opposed nearly all her appointments. While Lopez has found various reasons to oppose Lightfoot’s appointments, he has also decried Mayor Lightfoot’s attack on aldermanic prerogative as nothing but a power grab by city bureaucrats who wish to reduce the aldermen to “bobble-heads.” [[9]](#endnote-9)

Amendment of Municipal Code Title 17 Regarding Cannabis-Related Activities

SO2019-6926 on 10/16/19 and SO2019-8063 on 12/18/19

The legalization of marijuana has provided Chicago with new business opportunities along with new challenges. Mayor Lightfoot was supportive of the new recreational marijuana market but initially opposed cannabis shops in Chicago’s Loop area.[[10]](#endnote-10) Pressure from council members forced her to back down from her opposition to Loop shops.[[11]](#endnote-11) While the zoning requirements for new marijuana businesses was controversial, most of opposition to the legalized recreational marijuana market rollout came from the council’s Black Caucus. In October of 2019, Caucus Chair, 28th Ward Alderman Jason Ervin, attempted to delay the legalization of marijuana in the city by six months. His concern was that the legalization legislation failed to provide enough business and job opportunities for minority communities on Chicago’s south and west sides. These communities, argued Ald. Ervin, had been hit hardest by the criminalization of marijuana, so those communities should benefit from its subsequent legalization.[[12]](#endnote-12) Despite intense negotiations with Mayor Lightfoot’s administration, the members of the caucus were unsuccessful in amending the ordinance. The Black Caucus has nineteen members, but only ten supported amending the city’s legalization ordinance to delay the legalization date.

In December of 2019, the Black Caucus again attempted to delay the sale of recreational marijuana by six months. Just twenty-four hours before a full city council vote, the ordinance calling for the delay passed committee by a 10 to 9 vote. It was expected to pass the full council. By this point, Major Lightfoot was strongly opposed to any further delay in the marijuana market and warned of a "multitude of unintended consequences" if the delay ordinance passed, including the loss of critical tax revenues needed to balance the city budget.[[13]](#endnote-13) To prevent the delay ordinance from passing, Mayor Lightfoot teamed up with Governor J. B. Pritzker to lobby aldermen to vote against it. To win over aldermen, Pritzker promised to locate two of the five new medical marijuana dispensaries in Hyde Park and Chinatown and to earmark them for social equity applicants. In the end, Mayor Lightfoot and Governor Pritzker were successful. The ordinance to delay failed in a 19-29 vote. A greater proportion of Black Caucus members voted for the ordinance, but five broke away from the caucus position. . Following the vote, the city council meeting erupted in a rapid series of votes involving procedural decisions. *Chicago Sun-Times* journalist Fran Spelman commented that it was the most contentious back-and-forth between council members and the mayor since the Council Wars of Mayor Washington’s first term.[[14]](#endnote-14)

Annual Appropriation, Property Tax Levy, and Amendments Concerning Fees and Taxes

SO2019-8407, O2019-8521, and O2019-8527 on 11/26/19

At the time of Mayor Lightfoot’s election, it was widely known that the city would experience a budgetary shortfall. Shortly after she took office, the reality of the budget deficit was revealed. Chicago would have to come up with nearly $1 billion to avoid a deficit. In Mayor Lightfoot's r “State of the City Speech,”, she established her parameters for solving the city’s financial crisis. In the short term, she planned to continue with her aggressive good government policies to cut fraud, waste, and corruption. In the long term, Lightfoot planned to develop an urban growth strategy that shifted investments from the central business districts to the surrounding neighborhoods.[[15]](#endnote-15)

On October 23rd, Mayor Lightfoot delivered a $11.5 billion budget, designed to close the deficit without raising property taxes. Instead, Mayor Lightfoot proposed new taxes on ridesharing in the central business district, new parking meters in the West Loop, doubling the city’s tax on food and drinks, and creating a real estate transfer tax.

 In addition to new taxes, the proposed budget raised revenue through the legalization of vices. With legislative approval, Chicago planned on opening a new casino and allow for the sale of recreational marijuana. Recognizing the criticisms of the city’s Tax Increment Financing (TIF) program by progressives, Mayor Lightfoot also proposed declaring a $300 million TIF surplus, the largest in Chicago’s history. The bulk of the surplus funds would go to Chicago Public Schools, but the city would receive approximately $31 million for its general fund.[[16]](#endnote-16)

The final budget approved by the city council did not differ dramatically from the one proposed by Mayor Lightfoot. The city did have to raise property taxes to keep local library branches open seven days a week, but the amount was a modest $18 million a year. Overall, property taxes increased $65 million to pay off bonds previously approved by the city council.[[17]](#endnote-17) . While spending remained frugal, Mayor Lightfoot’s budget did manage to include additional spending on homelessness, on community-based outreach workers, and on improving the city’s mental health infrastructure. Nevertheless, there was meaningful opposition to Mayor Lightfoot’s budget from two political factions.

The most significant opposition was from progressive aldermen who were frustrated that the budget did not go far enough to provide services to Chicago’s poor and working-class residents. Less than two weeks before the budget was approved, the Chicago Public Schools settled a contract with the Chicago Teachers Union. The strike exposed a significant schism between Mayor Lightfoot and progressive aldermen, particularly the city’s six socialist members. This tension transferred into wrangling over the specifics of the budget.

 On the council floor, Socialist Caucus member, 25th Ward Alderman Byron Sigcho-Lopez, chastised Mayor Lightfoot for “underfunding social services, overfunding police and breaking her campaign promise to re-open shuttered mental health clinics.” He added that the budget created no new revenue streams and relied on too many one-time funding sources instead of addressing Chicago’s fiscal problems more systemically.[[18]](#endnote-18)

Additionally, the socialists argued that the minimum wage increase that was attached to the budget proposals was inadequate. 35th Ward Aldermen Carlos Ramirez-Rosa had championed raising the city’s subminimum wage for tipped workers so that it equaled that of all other minimum wage workers. Mayor Lightfoot opposed the idea. In the end, Chicago’s minimum wage was increased from its original $13 per hour to $15 per hour by July 2021, while the subminimum wage was raised from $6.40 to $8.40 per in that same time period. The Socialist Caucus was joined in their opposition by three recently elected progressive aldermen: 22nd Ward Alderman Mike Rodriguez, 47th Ward Alderman Matt Martin, and 49th Ward Alderman Maria Hadden.

The remaining opposition votes were from 9th Ward Alderman Anthony Beale and 15th Ward Alderman Raymond Lopez, two aldermen not ideologically aligned with the progressives and socialists. As with their votes against appointments and court settlements, their opposition to the budget reflected their general opposition to the mayor.

Temporary Emergency Powers on 4/24/20

 Because of the COVID-19 pandemic hit Chicago and the rest of the world, the city council had to suspend its in-person meetings and the mayor had to govern by executive authority in this emergency. The mayor issued ever more stringent stay-at-home orders and made purchases of emergency supplies. McCormick Convention Center was converted to a new hospital which could take up to 3,000 new virus patients. For most of March and April the city council was unable to meet. Not because of factious divisions. Aldermen were supervising city services and helping constituents through the crisis as best they could, but because the need for social distancing to fight the pandemic made in-person meetings impossible.

 On April 22nd, the mayor and the city council convened the first “virtual meeting” in Chicago’s 170-year history. However, the meeting was cut short. An unlikely alliance formed between 14th Ward Alderman Raymond Lopez and 35th Ward Alderman Carlos Ramirez Rosa--the two most outspoken representatives of the Chicago Machine and Socialist voting blocs—joined to stop an ordinance that would grant Mayor Lightfoot emergency powers during the COVID-19 crisis. Despite being from differing political persuasions, both aldermen referred to the ordinance as a “power grab” by the mayor.

When the emergency powers ordinance was introduced, Ald. Lopez moved to defer and publish, thus postponing the vote. Immediately, following Ald. Lopez’s motion another motion made to end the meeting and reconvene on April 24th. Several aldermen objected. They wanted to continue with the rest of the agenda items for the meeting and only postpone the emergency powers ordinance. The procedural issues on the postponement of the entire meeting were eventually decided through a roll call vote, where the insurgent aldermen lost: 35-15.

The Mayor then gaveled the meeting closed and set the follow-up meeting for April 24th.

 On April 24th, the emergency powers were granted by the unusually close vote of 29-21. This brought up the memory of the 29-21 votes by which Aldermen Burke and Vrydoyak had blocked Harold Washington’s progressive agenda in the 1980s. However, this vote differed in several major ways. The biggest difference is that the mayor and her Center-Liberal bloc won the vote and the emergency powers were granted. 25th Ward Alderman. Signcho-Lopez, who opposed the emergency powers, argued that “We cannot go back to the time we had one mayor overseeing everything and a rubber stamp” city council.[[19]](#endnote-19) On the other side, 42nd Ward Alderman Brendan Reilly, said the mayor’s limiting the scope of the powers and creating a June 30 end date were key concessions. Like other ordinance supporters he concluded, “I ultimately have faith in Mayor Lightfoot to be judicious with these powers we’re giving her.”[[20]](#endnote-20)

 In addition to opposing the emergency powers ordinance, oppositional aldermen also attempted to change the city council schedule to respond more effectively during the COVID-19 crisis and provide an additional check on the mayor’s newly accumulated powers. During the meeting, 40th Ward Alderman Andre Vasquez argued strongly in favor of having the Chicago City Council meeting every two weeks instead of monthly. Nevertheless, the proposal to change the city council schedule was stymied by a parliamentary maneuver of tabling the motion, which prevented debate on the motion. In the end, the proposal failed. The roll call votes in favor of meeting more often were very similar to those during the emergency powers ordinance, essentially the Socialist Caucus led the charge—voting as a uniform bloc--but they were joined by a few progressives and handful Chicago Machine aldermen.

**Conclusion**

Chicago has had a long tradition of machine politics and rubber stamp city councils. With the election of Mayor Lori Lightfoot, there is evidence that this tradition is slowly ending. Mayor Lightfoot does not command the same degree of uniform voting for her legislative agenda that Mayors Daley and Emanuel did when they were first elected. Additionally, her good government reforms make it less likely that Chicago mayors will be able to ensure uniform discipline in the future. Aldermanic prerogative was based on a *quid pro quo* relationship with the mayor. The mayor would allow aldermen to control permits in their wards in exchange for supporting the mayor’s broader objectives. Stripping away aldermanic prerogative took power away from aldermen but also transformed the relationship that aldermen have with the mayor. The mayor can no longer use the threat of taking away aldermanic licensing and neighborhood services to extract votes from aldermen on broader issues.

While the age of rubber stamp city councils is on the decline, this does not to automatically guarantee that the Chicago City Council will become a legitimately representative body. So far, the aldermen have formed into ideologically coherent factions, but as the “council wars” during Mayor Harold Washington’s first term showed, competing groups do not necessarily mean better representation. Instead, Chicago will have to make a conscious and intentional effort to renew democracy in the city and order to have real representation. An independent and responsive city council is a critical step in that process.

**Appendix 1: Description of the Divided Roll Call Votes**

**June 12, 2019 – February 19, 2020**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Issue #** | **Issue Synopsis** | **Date** | **Document**  | **Vote** |
| 1 | Settlement: Kelsey Ibach & etc., v. Philip Cho & etc. | 6/12/19 | Or2019-224 | 47-3 |
| 2 | Settlement: Immanuel Campbell & etc., v. City of Chicago and Chicago Police Officers | 6/12/19 | Or2019-225 | 45-3 |
| 3 | Settlement: Sepulbeda v. City of Chicago | 6/12/19 | Or2019-226 | 36-14 |
| 4 | Ordinance recommending an amendment to the 2019 Annual Appropriation Ordinance regarding the Corporate and Vehicle Tax Funds | 6/12/19 | SO2019-3901 | 47-3 |
| 5 | A resolution condemning legislative efforts to diminish women’s reproductive rights guaranteed by Roe v. Wade | 7/24/19 | R2019-348 | 46-4 |
| 6 | Amendment of Municipal Code regarding wheel tax license fees, violation fines, and payment plans | 9/18/19 | SO2019-5547 | 49-1 |
| 7 | Settlement: Baskins v. Patrick Gilmore | 9/18/19 | Or2019-322 | 49-1 |
| 8 | Settlement: Jarrod Horton, as Independent Administrator of the Estate of Marlon Horton v. City of Chicago | 9/18/19 | Or2019-323 | 45-5 |
| 9 | Settlement: Jermaine White v. Officer Carlos Barona | 9/18/19 | Or2019-324 | 47-3 |
| 10 | Concession lease and license agreements with Alclear LLC, d.b.a. to provide Travel Document Checker subscriber services  | 9/18/19 | SO2019-6520 | 49-1 |
| 11 | Reappointment of John P. O'Malley, Jr. as a member of the Chicago Police Board. | 9/18/19 | A2019-54 | 48-2 |
| 12 | Reappointment of Paula Wolff as a member of the Chicago Police Board. | 9/18/19 | A2019-55 | 49-1 |
| 13 | Amendment of Municipal Code Title 17 regarding cannabis-related activities. | 10/16/19 | SO2019-6926 | 40-10 |
| 14 | Settlement: Chereta Adams, as Special Administrator of the Estate of Chequita Adams, deceased v. City of Chicago | 10/16/19 | Or2019-396 | 48-2 |
| 15 | Settlement: Erick T. Smith and Wivionia Haywood Jones v. Michael R. Alaniz, Rodrigo J. Corona, and the City of Chicago | 10/16/19 | Or2019-397 | 49-1 |
| 16 | Appointment of Guacolda Reyes to the Chicago Plan Commission for a term effective to complete the unexpired term of Leslie F. Bond, Jr. | 10/16/19 | A2019-63 | 49-1 |
| 17 | The 2020 Annual Appropriation Ordinance, as amended. | 11/26/19 | SO2019-8407 | 39-11 |
| 18 | Property tax levy for Year 2020. | 11/26/19 | O2019-8521 | 35-15 |
| 19 | Amendment of Municipal Code Titles 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 11 and 17 concerning various business regulations, fees and taxes (2020 Revenue Ordinance). | 11/26/19 | O2019-8527 | 39-11 |
| 20 | Amendment of Municipal Code Chapters 4, 7, 8 and 9 regarding cannabis-related penalties. | 11/26/19 | SO2019-8518 | 45-3 |
| 21 | Amendment of Municipal Code to prohibit certain Adult-Use Cannabis businesses.  | 12/18/19 | SO2019-8063 | 19-29 |
| 22 | Settlement: Kelly Hespe v. City of Chicago and Gerald Breimon. | 1/15/20 | Or2020-8 | 37-12 |
| 23 | A communication recommending a resolution concerning Chief Purchasing Officer and Department of Procurement Services making business development resources available to LGBT business enterprises. | 1/15/20 | R2019-685 | 47-1 |
| 24 | Appointment of Dr. Allison Arwady as Commissioner of Health. | 1/15/20 | A2019-66 | 48-1 |
| 25 | Reappointment of William W. Towns as member of Chicago Community Land Trust Board. | 1/15/20 | A2019-115 | 48-1 |
| 26 | Reappointment of Joy Aruguete as member of Chicago Community Land Trust Board. | 1/15/20 | A2019-116 | 48-1 |
| 27 | Reappointment of Calvin L. Holmes as member of Chicago Community Land Trust Board. | 1/15/20 | A2019-117 | 48-1 |
| 28 | Reappointment of Robert V. McGhee as member of Chicago Community Land Trust Board. | 1/15/20 | A2019-118 | 48-1 |
| 29 | Settlement: Etheredge v. City of Chicago, Mark Heinzel, Robert McGee, and Joseph Perez. | 2/19/20 | Or2020-48 | 36-14 |
| 30 | Settlement: Cruz Rodriguez and Aurora Rodriguez v. City of Chicago, Chad Smith, Scott Konior, Michael Fergus, John Swarbrick, Marco Mendoza, Luis Reyes, Marty Ridge, and Geoffrey Baker. | 2/19/20 | Or2020-50 | 34-15 |
| 31 | Settlement: Janet Godinez,Deceased v. City of Chicago and Chicago Police Officers. | 2/19/20 | Or2019-512 | 37-13 |
| 32 | Defer Meeting | 4/22/20 |  | 49-1 |
| 33 | Emergency Powers  | 4/24/20 |  | 29-21 |
| 34 | Setting New Meeting Date | 4/24/20 |  | 36-13 |

**Appendix 2: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes June 2019–April 2020**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Issue # | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|  | Date | 6/12/2019 | 6/12/2019 | 6/12/2019 | 6/12/2019 |
| **Ward** | Alderman | Or2019-224 | Or2019-225 | Or2019-226 | SO2019-3901 |
| **1** | Daniel La Spata | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **2** | Brian Hopkins | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **3** | Pat Dowell | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **4** | Sophia King | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **5** | Leslie A. Hairston | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **6** | Roderick T. Sawyer | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **7** | Gregory I. Mitchell | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **8** | Michelle A. Harris | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **9** | Anthony Beale | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **10** | Susan Sadlowski Garza | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **11** | Patrick D. Thompson | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **12** | George A. Cardenas | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **13** | Marty Quinn | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| **14** | Edward M. Burke | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **15** | Raymond A. Lopez | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| **16** | Stephanie D. Coleman | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **17** | David H. Moore | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| **18** | Derrick G. Curtis | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| **19** | Mattew J. O'Shea | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| **20** | Jeanette B. Taylor | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| **21** | Howard Brookins, Jr. | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| **22** | Michael D. Rodriguez | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **23** | Silvana Tabares | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| **24** | Michael Scott, Jr. | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| **25** | Byron Sigcho-Lopez | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **26** | Roberto Maldonado | 1 | 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 | 0 | 1 |
| **31** | Felix Cardona, Jr. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **32** | Scott Waguespack | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **33** | Rossana Rodriguez Sanchez | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **34** | Carrie M. Austin | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **35** | Carlos Ramirez-Rosa | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **36** | Gilbert Villegas | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **37** | Emma Mitts | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **38** | Nicholas Sposato | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| **39** | Samantha Nugent | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **40** | Andres Vasquez, Jr. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **41** | Anthony V. Napolitano | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| **42** | Brendan Reilly | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **43** | Michele Smith | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **44** | Thomas Tunney | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **45** | James M. Gardiner | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| **46** | James Cappleman | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **47** | Matthew J. Martin | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **48** | Harry Osterman | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **49** | Maria E. Hadden | 1 | 2 | 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: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes June 2019–April 2020**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
|  | 7/24/2019 | 9/18/2019 | 9/18/2019 | 9/18/2019 | 9/18/2019 | 9/18/2019 | 9/18/2019 |
| **Ward** | R2019-348 | SO2019-5547 | Or2019-322 | Or2019-323 | Or2019-324 | SO2019-6520 | A2019-54 |
| **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 | 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 | 1 | 1 |
| **11** | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| **12** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **13** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **14** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **15** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **16** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **17** | 1 | 1 | 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 | 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** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **28** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **29** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **30** | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **31** | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **32** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 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 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **37** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **38** | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| **39** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **40** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **41** | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **42** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **43** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| **44** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **45** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **46** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **47** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **48** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 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: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes June 2019–April 2020**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
|  | 9/18/2019 | 10/16/2019 | 10/16/2019 | 10/16/2019 | 10/16/2019 | 11/26/2019 | 11/26/2019 |
| **Ward** | A2019-55 | SO2019-6926 | Or2019-396 | Or2019-397 | A2019-63 | SO2019-8407 | O2019-8521 |
| **1** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| **2** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| **3** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **4** | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **5** | 1 | 0 | 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 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| **10** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **11** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 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 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **16** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **17** | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **18** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **19** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **20** | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| **21** | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **22** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| **23** | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **24** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **25** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| **26** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **27** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **28** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 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 | 1 | 1 |
| **33** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| **34** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **35** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| **36** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **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 | 0 | 0 |
| **41** | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| **42** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| **43** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| **44** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **45** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| **46** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **47** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| **48** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **49** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| **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: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes June 2019-April 2020**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 |
|  | 11/26/2019 | 11/26/2019 | 12/18/2019 | 1/15/2020 | 1/15/2020 | 1/15/2020 | 1/15/2020 |
| **Ward** | O2019-8527 | SO2019-8518 | SO2019-8063 | Or2020-8 | R2019-685 | A2019-66 | A2019-115 |
| **1** | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **2** | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **3** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 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 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **9** | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **10** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **11** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **12** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **13** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **14** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **15** | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| **16** | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **17** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| **18** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **19** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **20** | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **21** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| **22** | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **23** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **24** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **25** | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **26** | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| **27** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **28** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **29** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| **30** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **31** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **32** | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **33** | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **34** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **35** | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **36** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **37** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **38** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **39** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **40** | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **41** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **42** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **43** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **44** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **45** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **46** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **47** | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **48** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **49** | 0 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **50** | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

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

**Appendix 2: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes June 2019-April 2020**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 |
|  | 1/15/2020 | 1/15/2020 | 1/15/2020 | 2/19/2020 | 2/19/2020 | 2/19/2020 | 4/22/2020 |
| **Ward** | A2019-116 | A2019-117 | A2019-118 | Or2020-48 | Or2020-50 | Or2019-512 | Defer Meeting |
| **1** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **2** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **3** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 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 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| **8** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **9** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| **10** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **11** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **12** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **13** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| **14** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| **15** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **16** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **17** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **18** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **19** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| **20** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **21** | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **22** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **23** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 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 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| **30** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| **31** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| **32** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 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 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **37** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **38** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| **39** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| **40** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **41** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| **42** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| **43** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **44** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **45** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| **46** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **47** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **48** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **49** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **50** | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |

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

**Appendix 2: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes June 2019–April 2020**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Ordinance | Ordinance |
|  | 4/24/2020 | 4/24/2020 |
| **Ward** | Emergency Powers | Next Meeting 5/20 |
| **1** | 0 | 0 |
| **2** | 0 | 1 |
| **3** | 1 | 1 |
| **4** | 0 | 0 |
| **5** | 0 | 1 |
| **6** | 0 | 1 |
| **7** | 0 | 1 |
| **8** | 1 | 1 |
| **9** | 0 | 1 |
| **10** | 1 | 1 |
| **11** | 1 | 1 |
| **12** | 1 | 1 |
| **13** | 1 | 1 |
| **14** | 0 | 0 |
| **15** | 0 | 0 |
| **16** | 0 | 1 |
| **17** | 0 | 1 |
| **18** | 1 | 2 |
| **19** | 1 | 1 |
| **20** | 0 | 0 |
| **21** | 1 | 1 |
| **22** | 0 | 1 |
| **23** | 1 | 1 |
| **24** | 1 | 1 |
| **25** | 0 | 0 |
| **26** | 0 | 1 |
| **27** | 1 | 1 |
| **28** | 0 | 0 |
| **29** | 1 | 1 |
| **30** | 1 | 1 |
| **31** | 1 | 1 |
| **32** | 1 | 1 |
| **33** | 0 | 0 |
| **34** | 1 | 1 |
| **35** | 0 | 0 |
| **36** | 1 | 1 |
| **37** | 1 | 1 |
| **38** | 1 | 1 |
| **39** | 1 | 1 |
| **40** | 0 | 0 |
| **41** | 0 | 1 |
| **42** | 1 | 1 |
| **43** | 1 | 1 |
| **44** | 1 | 1 |
| **45** | 1 | 1 |
| **46** | 1 | 1 |
| **47** | 0 | 0 |
| **48** | 1 | 1 |
| **49** | 1 | 0 |
| **50** | 1 | 0 |

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

**Endnotes**

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