

City Council Buries its Rubber Stamp

Chicago City Council Report #13

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When Lori Lightfoot, a Black lesbian, former federal prosecutor, who never previously ran for public office, was sworn in as Mayor of Chicago on May 20, 2019, it was easy to see that Chicago was getting a new kind of mayor.

But that same day, when a new class of 50 alderpersons was also sworn in, it was hard to fathom what kind of City Council voters had elected. Would this new council, consisting of 38 incumbents, taking up 76 percent of the seats, and 12 newly elected freshmen occupying 24 percent, continue to behave like a compliant rubber stamp? Or would it revert to Council Wars of the Harold Washington era?

For most of the time since the mid-1950s, the Council has been a rubber stamp, agreeing with everything each mayor wanted. That was the case during the 43 years dominated by Mayors Richard J. and Richard M. Daley. It mostly continued under Mayors Michael Bilandic, Jane Byrne, and Rahm Emanuel. The exceptions were the five-year period under Harold Washington, and Mayor Eugene Sawyer's abbreviated two-year term.

Now, three years after the new council and Mayor Lightfoot were elected, and after the alderpersons debated and argued over 131 divided roll call votes on controversial issues, it is crystal clear that the Chicago City Council has buried its rubber stamp and has become a genuine legislative body.

Instead of splitting into two almost equally strong camps -- one always supporting the mayor and the other always against -- the Council is divided into five formally organized caucuses. And an examination of aldermanic voting patterns in the past three years shows that the 50 alderpersons vote in four informal ideological voting blocs.

The position alderpersons take on issues are influenced by what their voters want, filtered through their ideology, influenced by like-minded caucus members, and by politics. The caucuses and voting blocs pull and tug, pressure and push mayor and her administration. There is still some political posturing, but for the most part the alderpersons are seriously engaged in the business of governing. More than in the past, individual alderpersons are not afraid to oppose the mayor's positions or directly criticize Mayor Lightfoot herself.

The Mayor has adapted by making compromises, modifying the language of proposed ordinances, and delaying votes to have time to gain more support. But time and again, Mayor Lightfoot has built a working majority in the Council while battling the Covid-19 pandemic and the decline of tax revenue caused by the collapse of the convention, tourism, travel, hospitality, and entertainment sectors. Despite these challenges, Mayor Lightfoot has successfully passed all her legislation. On every substantive issue Lightfoot achieved most of her goals. She has never lost any vote outright, and she never had to resort to using her veto.

Working with a feisty collection of alderpersons, the mayor achieved significant legislative accomplishments including:

- approval of her three annual budgets;
- Covid-19 related emergency powers and won approval of her vaccine mandate;

- approval of a new police contract which deleted contract language blocking some discipline procedures;
- overrode aldermanic prerogative to build affordable housing near O’Hare; and
- permitting marijuana dispensaries in most of the downtown and neighborhoods

Divisions in the City Council¹

Currently there are five official caucuses in the city council. They are the Progressive-Reform Caucus, the Aldermanic Black Caucus, the Latino Caucus, the LGBT Caucus, and the Democratic Socialist Caucus.

In addition to the caucuses, our study of aldermanic voting patterns reveals that during Mayor Lightfoot's reign, four significant voting blocs have developed: the Moderate-Liberal bloc, the Progressive-Socialist bloc, the Conservative bloc, and the Chicago Machine bloc. Participation in the voting blocs is fluid and intersect and overlap with the membership of the Council’s caucuses

Moderate-Liberal Bloc

Lightfoot has benefited most from the strong support she receives from the alderpersons she chose as chairs of Chicago City Council's committees. They form the nucleus of the Moderate-Liberal bloc. Since Lightfoot has been mayor there has been a total of 21 committees, 19 standing committees and two-special committees. Each committee has one chair except for the Contract Oversight and Equity Committee, which is co-chaired by two alderpersons who already serve as chairs of other committees. Fourteen of the 20 chairs voted with Mayor Lightfoot more than 90% of the time.

Almost all committee chairs are also members of various caucuses. In addition to the chairs, the Moderate-Liberal bloc includes members of the Aldermanic Black Caucus and the Progressive-Reform Caucus, the two largest caucuses in the council. These two caucuses have voted to support Mayor Lightfoot's positions 89 and 87 percent of the time respectively.

Occasionally some members of the two largest caucuses oppose the mayor's position on particular issues, but when they combine as the Moderate-Liberal bloc, they give the Mayor an overwhelming majority in support of her programs and initiatives.

Progressive-Socialist Bloc

On several social and economic issues, Mayor Lightfoot has been challenged from her left by Chicago’s socialist alderpersons and other far-left progressives. This group has been critical of her inability to carry out the progressive agenda that she campaigned on, particularly as it relates to the budget, police accountability, and education reform. While six alderpersons were elected in 2019 with the endorsement the Democratic Socialist of America, only five officially joined the Democratic Socialist Caucus. Ald. Andres Vasquez (Ward 40) identifies as a democratic socialist, and while he is outside the caucus remains one of Mayor Lightfoot’s far-left critics. Collectively, this bloc has pushed the Mayor and Council to take stronger positions on funding for social services and economic development in the neighborhoods.

Chicago Machine Bloc

Members of this voting bloc include Ald. Edward, (Ward 14) who served as ward's Committeeman and Alderman for more than 50 years, and others who got their political start as part of Chicago machine.

Machine politics has a bad name these days, and even though they may have previously worked for, or received help from, the Cook County Democratic Machine, most politicians see no benefit by identifying as a machine politician. They get classified as members of this bloc because of the ward organizations they hail from, statements they make, and what they vote for and against.

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 conservative political positions and would likely be Republicans, if that party could demonstrate any political viability Chicago.

Analysis of the City Council's Divided roll call votes

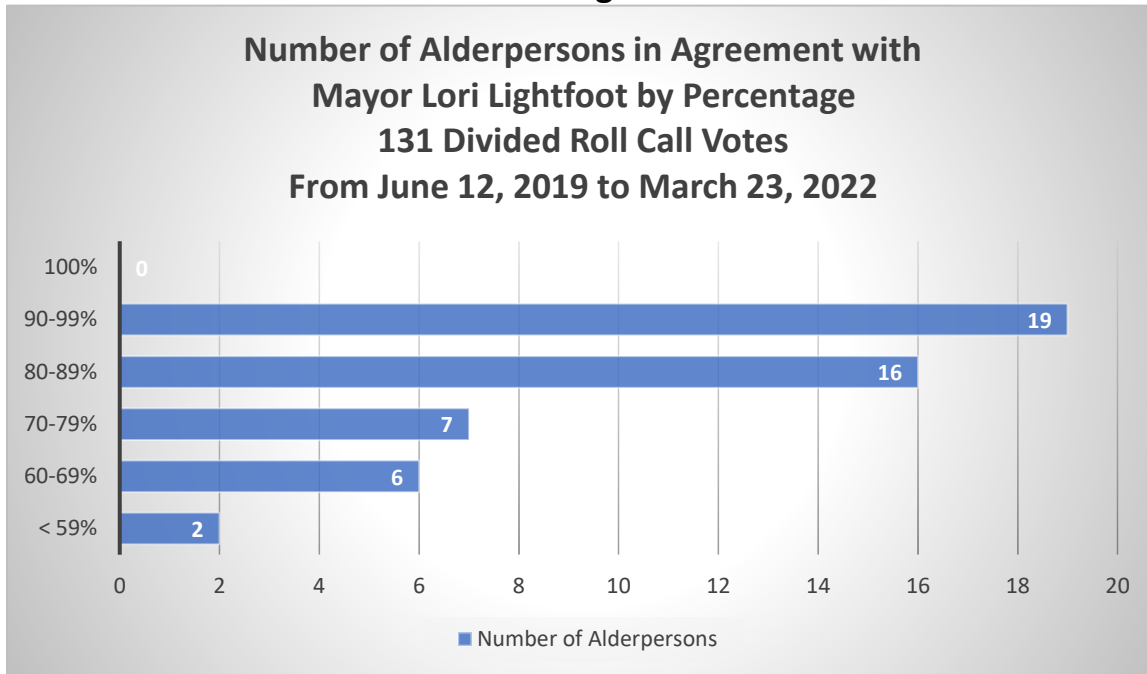
To analyze City Council voting, we focused on divided roll call votes, defined as any vote that is not unanimous. We compared each alderperson's vote to the mayor's position and then calculated the percentage of agreement with the mayor.² We studied the roughly three-year period from June 12, 2019, until March 23, 2022.

Each year, alderpersons cast more than a thousand votes, but most are noncontroversial and pass unanimously. There are only a small number of votes which cause any dissent within the council. In this three-year period, 131 divided roll call votes were recorded. Table 1 shows the percentage of agreement that each of the 50 alderpersons has with the mayor based on their voting history.

**Table 1
Aldermanic Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2021 on 131 Divided Votes**

Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement	Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement
10	Susan Sadlowski Garza*	99%	49	Maria Hadden	88%
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.*	99%	21	Howard Brookins Jr.*	87%
32	Scott Waguespack*	99%	40	Andres Vasquez	87%
8	Michelle A. Harris*	98%	50	Debra Silverstein	87%
46	James Cappleman	98%	30	Ariel Reboyras*+	86%
37	Emma Mitts*	96%	47	Matthew Martin	85%
48	Harry Osterman*	96%	11	Patrick Daley Thompson	83%
6	Roderick Sawyer*	95%	35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	83%
24	Michael Scott, Jr.*	95%	26	Roberto Maldonado	82%
34	Carrie Austin*	95%	33	Rossana Rodriguez- Sanchez	82%
43	Michele Smith*	95%	2	Brian Hopkins	79%
7	Gregory Mitchell	94%	31	Felix Cardona	79%
12	George Cardenas*	94%	17	David Moore	78%
5	Leslie Hairston	93%	19	Matthew O'Shea*	78%
36	Gilbert Villegas*	93%	20	Jeanette Taylor	73%
44	Thomas Tunney*+	93%	25	Byron Sigcho-Lopez	73%
4	Sophia King	92%	38	Nicholas Sposato*	73%
18	Derrick Curtis	92%	13	Marty Quinn	69%
3	Pat Dowell*	91%	23	Silvana Tabares	69%
22	Michael Rodriguez	90%	14	Edward Burke	68%
29	Chris Taliaferro*	89%	42	Brendan Reilly	68%
28	Jason Ervin*	89%	45	James Gardiner	63%
39	Samantha Nugent	89%	9	Anthony Beale	60%
1	Daniel La Spata	88%	41	Anthony Napolitano	56%
16	Stephanie Coleman	88%	15	Raymond Lopez	38%
Chicago City Council Mean		84%	Chicago City Council Median		88%
*Chair of Standing Committee					
+Chair of Special Committee					

Figure 1



As Figure 1 demonstrates, 19 of the 50 Alderpersons on the council voted to support with the mayor's position 90% or more of the time. Of those 31 who did not, only 15 voted with the mayor less than 80% of the time. The Council's overall mean support for the mayor's positions is 84% while the median is 88%. This level of support is typically lower than the support given to Mayors Richard M. Daley and Rahm Emanuel. Both previous mayors had consistent strong majorities that supported their legislation more than 90% of the time and a core group of alderpersons who would vote with them 100% of the time.³

Figure 2

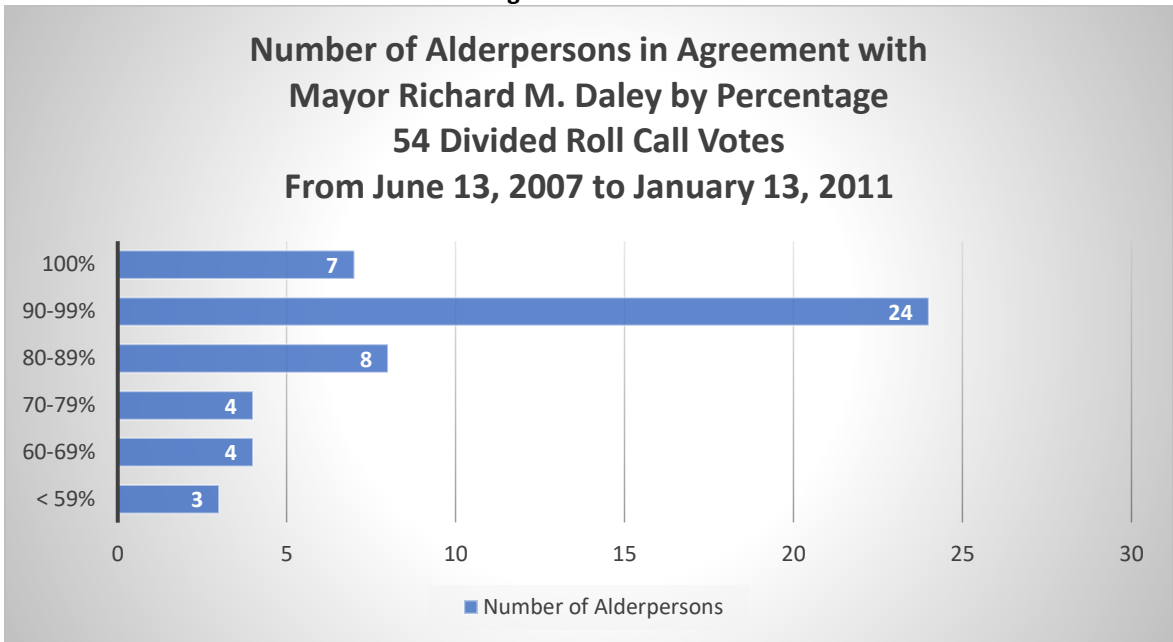
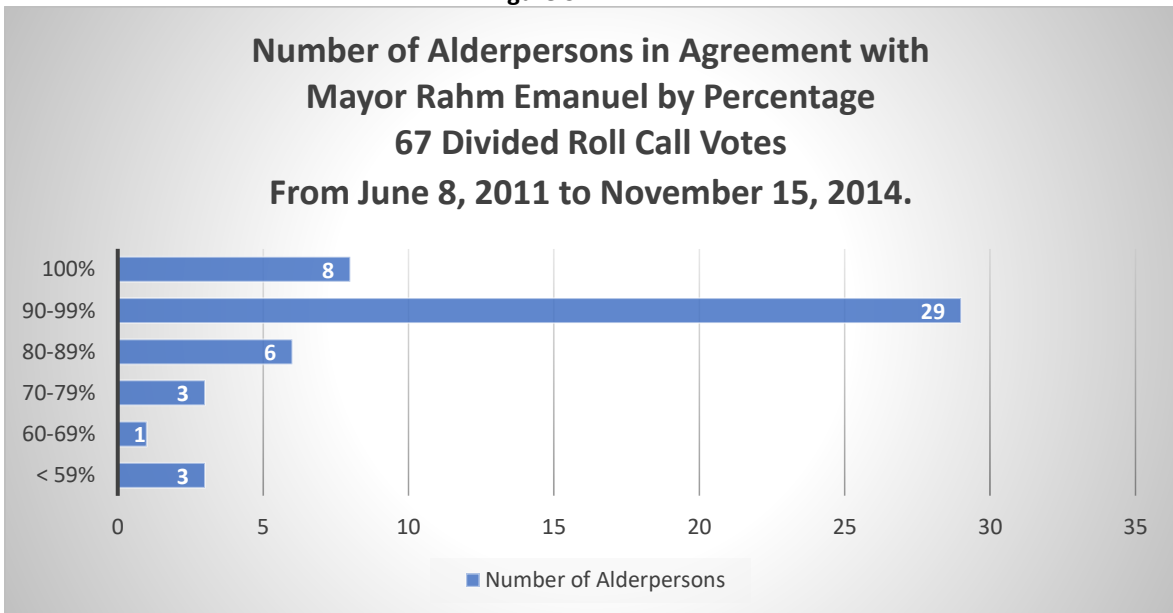


Figure 3



Both Mayor Daley and Mayor Emanuel had far fewer divided roll call voters, and less opposition overall. According to Figure 2, which covers nearly the entire period of Daley’s final term, the Chicago City Council had only 54 divided roll call votes. For Mayor Emanuel, which is more comparable to Lightfoot in that it covers his first 3.5 years in office, the number of divided roll call votes is 67. In contrast, the number for Mayor Lightfoot is 131. It is likely that Lightfoot

will end her first terms with the approximately the same number of divided roll call votes that it took Mayor Daley and Emanuel to achieve in two to three terms.

Table 2
Progressive Caucus Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2022

Progressive Reform Caucus			
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement	
10	Susan Sadlowski Garza (Chair)	99%	
32	Scott Waguespack	99%	
6	Roderick Sawyer	95%	
5	Leslie Hairston	93%	
4	Sophia King (Vice-Chair)	92%	
22	Michael Rodriguez	90%	
29	Chris Taliaferro	89%	
1	Daniel La Spata	88%	
16	Stephanie Coleman	88%	
49	Maria Hadden	88%	
40	Andre Vasquez (Secretary)	87%	
47	Matt Martin (Treasurer)	85%	
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	83%	
33	Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez	82%	
31	Felix Cardona	79%	
17	David Moore	78%	
20	Jeanette Taylor	73%	
25	Byron Sigcho-Lopez	73%	
Progressive Reform Caucus Mean		87%	Progressive Reform Caucus Median
			88%

Table 3
Black Caucus Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2022

Aldermanic Black Caucus			
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement	
27	Walter Burnett Jr.	99%	
8	Michelle A. Harris	98%	
37	Emma Mitts	96%	
6	Roderick Sawyer	95%	
24	Michael Scott Jr. (Secretary)	95%	
34	Carrie Austin	95%	
7	Gregory Mitchell (Treasurer)	94%	
5	Leslie Hairston	93%	
4	Sophia King	92%	
18	Derrick Curtis	92%	
3	Pat Dowell	91%	
28	Jason Ervin (Chair)	89%	
29	Chris Taliaferro	89%	
16	Stephanie Coleman (Vice Chair)	88%	
49	Maria Hadden	88%	
21	Howard Brookins	87%	
47	Matt Martin	85%	
17	David Moore	78%	
20	Jeanette Taylor	73%	
9	Anthony Beale	60%	
Aldermanic Black Caucus Mean		89%	Aldermanic Black Caucus Median
			92%

Table 4
Latino Caucus Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2022

Latino Caucus			
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement	
10	Susan Sadlowski Garza	99%	
12	George Cardenas	94%	
36	Gilbert Villegas	93%	
22	Michael Rodriguez (Secretary)	90%	
40	Andre Vasquez	87%	
30	Ariel Reboyras	86%	
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa (Vice-Chair)	83%	
26	Roberto Maldonado (Chair)	82%	
33	Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez	82%	
31	Felix Cardona	79%	
25	Byron Sigcho-Lopez (Treasurer)	73%	
23	Silvana Tabares	69%	
Latino Caucus Mean		85%	Latino Caucus Median
			85%

**Table 5
LGBT Caucus Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2022**

LGBT Caucus			
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement	
44	Tom Tunney	93%	
46	James Cappleman (Chair)	88%	
49	Maria Hadden	88%	
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	83%	
15	Raymond Lopez	38%	
LGBT Caucus Mean		78%	LGBT Caucus Median
			88%

**Table 6
Democratic Socialist Caucus Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2022**

Democratic Socialist Caucus			
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement	
1	Daniel La Spata	88%	
33	Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez	83%	
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa (Chair)	82%	
20	Jeanette Taylor	73%	
25	Byron Sigcho-Lopez	73%	
Democratic Socialist Caucus Mean		80%	Democratic Socialist Caucus Median
			82%

As Tables 2 through 6 shows, most of the caucuses vote with the mayor more than 80% of the time. The exception 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 percentages of Ald. Raymond Lopez (Ward 15). Ald. Lopez has been the most vocal critic of Mayor Lightfoot. Once the 15th Ward is removed from the LGBT Caucus, its mean moves to 91% agreement, the highest of any caucuses.

**Table 7
Conservative Opposition to Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2022**

Conservatives Bloc			
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement	
38	Nicholas Sposato	73%	
45	James Gardiner	63%	
41	Anthony Napolitano	56%	
Conservative Bloc Mean		64%	Conservative Bloc Median
			63%

Table 8
Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2022

“Chicago Machine” Bloc			
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement	
11	Patrick Daley Thompson	83%	
13	Marty Quinn	69%	
14	Edward Burke	68%	
9	Anthony Beale	60%	
15	Raymond Lopez	38%	
“Chicago Machine” Bloc Mean		64%	“Chicago Machine” Bloc Median
			68%

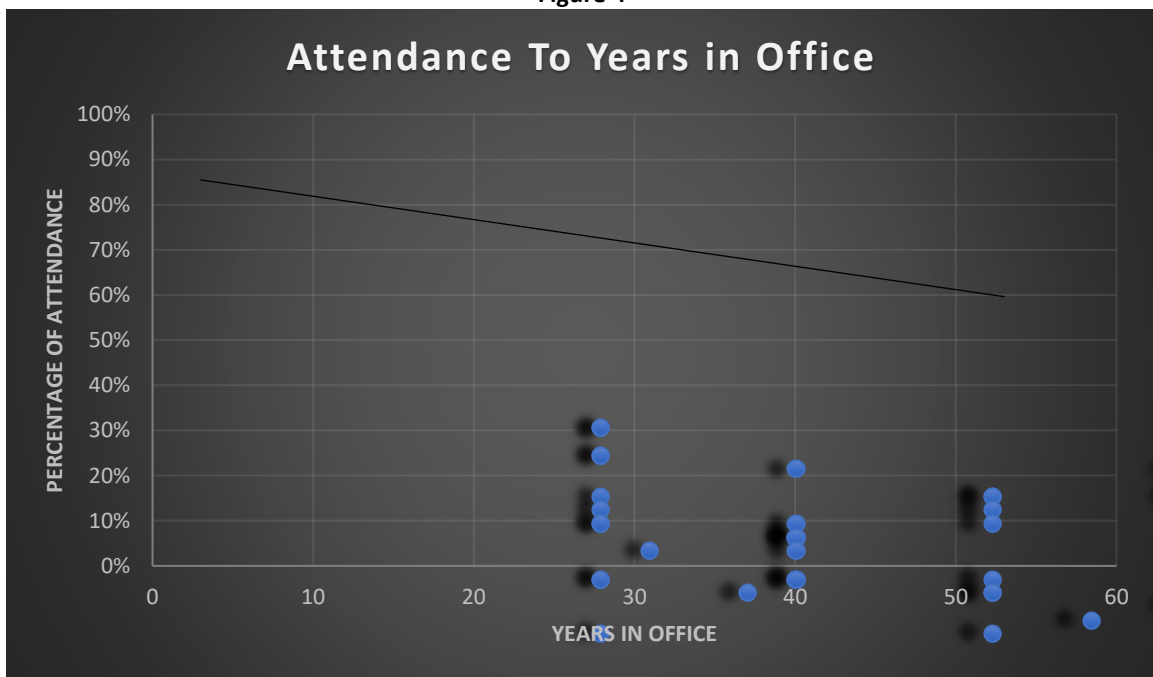
Tables 7 and 8 show, the mean agreement with the mayor of members in both the Conservative bloc and Chicago Machine bloc is the same, 64%, the lowest level of any of the voting blocs. The Conservative bloc consistently opposes Mayor Lightfoot’s spending priorities and her socially liberal policies. The politics of the Chicago Machine bloc is more nuanced. While there is a general opposition to Mayor Lightfoot is several areas, particularly good government and her appointments, some members of the bloc are willing to join more liberal and progressive colleagues in certain areas and on strategic votes.

Table 9
Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2022

Committee Chairs			
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement	
10	Susan Sadlowski Garza*	99%	
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.*	99%	
32	Scott Waguespack*	99%	
8	Michelle A. Harris*	98%	
37	Emma Mitts*	96%	
48	Harry Osterman*	96%	
6	Roderick Sawyer*	95%	
24	Michael Scott, Jr.*	95%	
34	Carrie Austin*	95%	
43	Michele Smith*	95%	
12	George Cardenas*	94%	
36	Gilbert Villegas*	93%	
44	Thomas Tunney*+	93%	
3	Pat Dowell*	91%	
28	Jason Ervin*	89%	
29	Chris Taliaferro*	89%	
21	Howard Brookins Jr.*	87%	
30	Ariel Reboyras*+	86%	
19	Matthew O’Shea*	78%	
38	Nicholas Sposato*	73%	
Committee Chair Mean		92%	Committee Chair Median
			94%
*Chair of Standing Committee			
+Chair of Special Committee			

As mentioned above, the group that has shown the highest level of support for the mayor are the committee chairs. The group’s mean support for the mayor (92%) is several points higher than the council in its entirety (84%) or even the Aldermanic Black Caucus (89%), which is the caucus that supports the mayor the most. Of the 20 chairs, 14 of them vote with Mayor Lightfoot more than 90% of the time. In many ways, this high level of support is expected. Historically, the mayor has appointed committee chairs within the city council, and while the council has the authority to reject the mayor’s chair suggestions, this rarely happens. As with previous mayors, the council accepted Mayor Lightfoot’s appointments, and the majority of alderpersons who received chairmanships appear to have reciprocated their support for Lightfoot by supporting her legislative agenda.

Figure 4



In addition to the voting blocs, there appears to be differences in the behavior of alderpersons depending on length in office. More recently-elected alderpersons tend to be more active in the council and more progressive. Currently, the mean years in office in the Chicago City Council is 11 years, but the median is seven years, which is less than two terms. More than half of the council has been in office for less than two terms, and only 14 alderpersons have been in office more than three terms. For the Progressive-Reform Caucus, eight of its 18 members are still in their first term, while only four of its members have served more than three terms. As the scatter plot in Figure 4 demonstrates, the longer an alderperson has been in office, the more likely that alderperson will have poor attendance in council meetings.⁴

Contentious 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 five or more aldermen voting opposed to the majority. These votes include:

- *Appointment of New Chief Administrator of COPA*
- *Aldermanic Prerogative*
- *The City Budget*
- *COVID-19 Relief and Emergency Powers*
- *Police Reform*
- *Some Previous Vices Made Legal and Taxable*
- *Housing and Development*
- *Immigration*
- *Banning Single Use Utensils*
- *Guaranteed Income Hearing*
- *A Call to Condemn Violence Against Certain Castes*
- *Renaming Lake Shore Drive*

Appointment of New Chief Administrator of COPA

In early 2022, Lightfoot nominated Andrea Kersten to head the Civilian Office of Police Accountability (COPA). Initially, it was unclear if the council would approve Kersten for the position. Prior to her nomination, Kersten was the interim acting head of COPA. Under her direction, COPA released a report recommending discipline for a police officer who subsequently was murdered while on duty. Some police officers and alderpersons criticized Kersten for including in the report the name of the officer who was murdered. Kersten said the law prohibited her from altering the report. Still, critics said recommending discipline for a dead officer was insensitive. However, at its meeting on February 23, 2022 the Council approved Kersten for the position of Chief Administrator of COPA by a 31-14 vote. Alderpersons opposed to the decision included the Chicago Machine bloc, the conservatives, and a smattering of other alderpersons.⁵

Aldermanic Prerogative

An unusual facet of Chicago government is that over a period of more than 100 years, numerous mayors and councils have acceded to the city's 50 alderpersons the right to make numerous executive decisions for their wards such as the approval or rejection of permits and zoning changes. This unwritten rule is known as aldermanic prerogative, or aldermanic privilege. Over many years, there have only been a few occasions when an alderperson did not prevail

when he or she insisted with words such as these: "it's my ward. I know what my constituents want. You stay out of it. How would you like it if I interfered with your ward?"

Also, over many years, aldermanic prerogative has been linked to unethical solicitation of campaign donations and in some cases bribery and extortion,

Shortly after she was sworn in, Mayor Lori Lightfoot signed an executive order that curbed aldermanic prerogative in one area, the issuing of permits. She then she shifted control over street resurfacing away from alderpersons to the professional engineers at the Chicago Department of Transportation. She also passed amendments to the city's ethics ordinance that allow the Inspector General to investigate alderpersons and their staffs without first receiving a formal complaint.

These actions agitated some alderpersons, including the Mayor's most vocal critic, Ald. Raymond Lopez (Ward 15). He decried her attack on aldermanic prerogative as nothing but a power grab by city bureaucrats who wish to reduce alderpersons to "bobble-heads."⁶

While Lightfoot's executive order dealt with issuing permits, she still needs council consent to override aldermanic prerogative when it came to zoning. On December 15, 2021, Mayor Lightfoot convinced the council to override, by a 33-13 vote, 41st Ward Alderman Anthony Napolitano's objection to a zoning change that would allow a 297-unit affordable housing complex in his ward. After the council meeting, Lightfoot told news reporters the decision sets a precedent that "there must be affordable housing in every area of our city, I'm all for that. We have to break the grip of segregation. And this is one way that we do it. We put affordable units everywhere."⁷

Still, while the council has grudgingly accepted Mayor Lightfoot's efforts to curb some aldermanic prerogatives, they have opposed ending the practice completely. Lightfoot's initial draft executive order curtailing aldermanic prerogative over permits was to be intended to include zoning. However, Lightfoot's allies on the council asked her to drop the effort because they believe she would lose that fight.⁸

Alderpersons also have been reluctant to relinquish their authority over signage and sidewalks. On June 25, 2021, Lightfoot suffered a setback when 42nd Ward Alderman Brandon Reilly (Ward 42) successfully used a parliamentary maneuver to delay for one council meeting, an ordinance that curtailed the power of alderpersons to award permits for businesses to install signs and use sidewalks for business purposes. The proposed legislation would have eliminated the need for businesses to persuade their alderpersons to introduce separate ordinances to the Council. Instead, such permits would be handled by the appropriate city's department.

Despite support for the change from the business community, Ald. Reilly's motion won by a single vote 25-24 (with one alderperson absent). At the following meeting, a compromise ordinance was adopted which allowed alderpersons to conduct an initial review of the proposed permit. If both the alderperson and the department supported it, the city would immediately issue the permit. If the alderperson objected, the permit would go through the usual City Council process.⁹

Another example of alderperson's reluctance to relinquish some of their power, was evident at the council meeting on July 21, 2021, when Alderman Brian Hopkins (Ward 42) introduced legislation that would guarantee that alderpersons had control over the hiring of their ward superintendents. Currently ward superintendents report to the Commissioner of the Department of Streets and Sanitation. Nonetheless, numerous alderpersons believed it is critical that they retain the power to hire who was in the position. The city's Inspector General determined that this would conflict with federal court orders, known as Shakman decrees, that outlawed political hiring.

While Mayor Lightfoot usually accepts the Inspector General's recommendations, she did not support his position on ward superintendents. After the city council meeting, she referred to the hiring of superintendents as the "the third rail" of Chicago politics and signaled a willingness to accept Alderman Hopkins's legislation.¹⁰ She said, "a basic core function of an aldermanic office is keeping the streets clean, keeping the alleys clear, filling potholes and things of that nature. The ward superintendent plays a critically important role. My own personal view is that it should be a person that the alderperson selects and that the alderperson has a huge hand in holding [them] accountable to get things done on behalf of his or her ward."¹¹

The 2020 Budget

Shortly after taking office in May of 2019, Mayor Lightfoot confronted a budget crisis. The city was facing an \$838 million shortfall. On October 23rd, Mayor Lightfoot proposed her 2020 budget to the city council. Her \$11.6 billion budget managed to close the \$838 million dollar deficit and did not raise property taxes. Instead, she 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 an additional real estate transfer tax.

She also proposed new taxes on gambling at a yet-to-be-built casino in Chicago, and on the sale in Chicago of recently approved recreational cannabis. Additional revenue was included in the budget following Mayor Lightfoot's decision to declare a \$300 million surplus in the city's TIFs (Tax Increment Finance districts) and adding those funds to the income side of the ledger. This was the largest designation of TIF surpluses in Chicago history and these funds were essential in balancing the city's budget.

On the spending side, she proposed new spending on the homelessness, community-based outreach workers, and improving the city's mental health infrastructure.

Her proposed 2020 budget was met with opposition from two City Council factions. Progressive alderpersons said that the budget did not go far enough to provide services to Chicago's poor and working-class residents. Democratic Socialist Caucus member, Ald. Byron Sigcho-Lopez (Ward 25), criticized 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.¹²

Additionally, the socialists argued that the minimum wage increase that initially was attached to the budget proposals was inadequate for failing to eliminate the city's subminimum wage. In the end, Chicago's minimum wage was increased from \$13 per hour to \$15 per hour by July 2021, while the subminimum wage for tipped workers was raised from \$6.40 to \$8.40 in that same period. Three progressive alderpersons joined the Democratic Socialist Caucus in their opposition: Ald. Mike Rodriguez (Ward 22), Ald. Matt Martin (Ward 47), and Ald. Maria Hadden (Ward 49). The remaining opposition votes were from Lightfoot's perennial critics, Ald. Anthony Beale (Ward 9) and Ald. Raymond Lopez (Ward 15).

Mayor Lightfoot's budget for 2020, her first budget since being elected in 2019, passed with better than a 66% majority. The Appropriation Ordinance passed by a vote of 39-11, and the tax levy was approved by the same 39-11 vote.

The 2021 Budget

On October 21st, 2020, Mayor Lightfoot proposed a \$12.8 billion budget for 2021. The budget avoided catastrophic layoffs and left most programs unaffected, but called for layoffs of 350 nonunion employees, and the elimination of more than 1,000 open positions.

Lightfoot's budget team saved the city \$500 million by refinancing debt, increasing property taxes, and raising fines and fees on Chicagoans, which backtracked from her campaign commitments.¹³

The most controversial aspect of the 2021 budget was its proposed increase in property taxes. The increase was small, approximately \$94 million, but the fact that the increase was tied to the annual consumer price index meant that the property taxes would automatically go up every year. The change irritated many homeowners, along with their alderpersons.¹⁴

Opposition to Lightfoot's second budget was far more intense than her first. The 2021 budget, including the divisive property tax levy, eventually passed, but only by a 28-22 vote.

For the previous budget, the opposition was led by progressives, particularly the Council's six socialists, but this time around the opposition against Lightfoot was largely scattered and not well organized. Progressives were divided on the budget, while conservatives were mostly opposed. Five of the six socialist alderpersons voted against her budget, but Ald. Andres Vasquez (Ward 40), voted for it. Vasquez was censured by the city's chapter of the Democratic Socialist of America for not joining his fellow socialists in opposing the budget.¹⁵ However, Ald. Vasquez was not the only progressive to vote for the Mayor's 2021 budget. He was joined by 22nd Ward Ald. Mike Rodriguez (Ward 22) and Ald. Maria Hadden (Ward 49).¹⁶

A few months later, Mayor Lightfoot again received opposition to her spending plan when she asked the council to authorize \$377 million of spending of federal COVID-19 relief funds. What originally was considered a routine vote became a brief political skirmish when Aldermen Burke and Lopez used a parliamentary maneuver to delay the vote. Eventually, a vote was taken, but not without considerable opposition. Ten alderpersons voted against the mayor's spending plan, and as with the previous budget it was a mixture of conservatives and progressives.¹⁷

The 2022 Budget

Lightfoot's third budget, received considerably more support than her second and passed by a vote of 37-13. Lightfoot introduced a draft of her proposed \$16.7 billion 2022 budget a month early on September 20, 2021. The draft was included as part of the Chicago Recovery Plan, which was central to the mayor's strategy of how the city intended to bounce back from the devastation caused by the pandemic.

With additional funds granted to the city by the federal American Rescue Plan, Lightfoot's proposed budget was able to eliminate a projected \$733 million gap and to make significant investments in social services and neglected neighborhoods. Despite the proposed increases in funding, it initially appeared as if the budget would result in another showdown between Lightfoot and progressives over spending priorities.

However, negotiations between the Mayor's team and the progressives were relatively amicable. The federal pandemic relief funds provided enhanced revenue streams for a plethora of services, including \$202 million to reduce homelessness, \$150 million for youth programming, \$85 million for violence intervention, creation of a \$20 million Artist Relief and Works Fund, and \$32 million for a trial universal basic income program.¹⁸

Although the progressives could not convince Mayor Lightfoot to reopen mental health clinics closed by her predecessor, Mayor Rahm Emanuel, they did get her to agree to a 72% increase in staffing at five city clinics and \$15 million to expand a pilot program for alternative responses for mental health emergencies.¹⁹

The cooperation during the budget discussions did not mean there was no opposition. When the final budget passed on October 27, 2021, it included a modest tax increase of \$76.5 million, which was opposed by conservative alderpersons, machine stalwarts, and three progressives, Ald. David Moore (Ward 17), Ald. Jeanette Taylor (Ward 20), and Ald. Byron Sigcho-Lopez (Ward 35).

COVID-19 Relief and Emergency Powers

Because of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020-2021, the City Council suspended its in-person meetings. For several months the Mayor, with the Council's approval, governed through executive authority. Mayor Lightfoot issued stringent stay-at-home orders and made purchases of emergency supplies. One of the McCormick Place Convention Center buildings was converted to a temporary hospital. Meanwhile, numerous alderpersons assisted in the delivery of city services and helped constituents through the crisis as best they could.

On April 22, 2020, the mayor and the City Council convened the first "virtual council meeting" in Chicago's 170-year history. However, the meeting was cut short. An unlikely alliance formed between Ald. Raymond Lopez (Ward 15) and Ald. Carlos Ramirez Rosa (Ward 35). They joined to stop an ordinance that would grant Mayor Lightfoot emergency powers during the COVID-19 crisis. Despite being from dramatically different voting blocs, 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. Another motion was made to end the meeting and reconvene two days later on April 24th. Several alderpersons objected. They wanted to pass the rest of the agenda items and only postpone the emergency powers ordinance. The motion to postpone the entire meeting was eventually lost 35-15. The Mayor then gaveled the meeting closed.

On April 24th, emergency powers were granted to the mayor by the unusually close vote of 29-21. Ald. Sigcho-Lopez (Ward 25), 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].”²⁰ Ald. Brendan Reilly (Ward 42), noted the limited scope of the powers and their expiration date of June 30th. He concluded, “I ultimately have faith in Mayor Lightfoot to be judicious with these powers we’re giving her.”²¹

Several alderpersons also attempted to change the City Council’s meeting schedule to respond more effectively during the COVID-19 crisis and to provide an additional check on the Mayor’s newly accumulated powers. Ald. Andre Vasquez (Ward 40) argued strongly in favor of the Chicago City Council meeting every two weeks instead of monthly. His proposal was stymied by 8th Ward Alderwoman Michelle Harris, who moved to lay the proposal on the table, a parliamentary maneuver which prevented debate on the Vasquez’s motion and moved the council immediately to a vote. Vasquez’s proposal failed by a vote of 22-26. The roll call votes in favor of meeting more often and the granting of emergency powers to the Mayor were led by the Democratic Socialist Caucus voting as a uniform bloc. They were joined by a few progressives and by a handful of alderpersons from the Chicago Machine bloc.

Although the socialists and far-left progressives lost the struggle over enhanced mayoral control during the pandemic, many protections for workers and tenants that they championed were passed with Lightfoot’s support.

At the meeting on May 20th, the council passed the “Fair Workweek Ordinance” by a vote of 44-5. The ordinance required employers to provide written estimates of the average number of hours employees are expected to be scheduled. Employers also must notify employees in writing within 24 hours of any schedule change and guarantee their employees compensation if changes occur without advanced notice. Opposition to this ordinance mostly came from five socially liberal but fiscally conservative alderpersons most of whom were from north side wards: Ald. Branden Reilly (Ward 42), Ald. Michele Smith (Ward 43), Ald. Thomas Tunney (Ward 44), Ald. Brian Hopkins (Ward 2) and, Southsider Ald. Anthony Beale (Ward 9).

At the next city council meeting, by a vote of 37-12, the city council passed an ordinance protecting tenants from eviction if they had experienced financial hardships caused by the pandemic. Opposition to this ordinance had no ideological consistency. Ald. Reilly opposed the measure. He was supported by Ald. Emma Mitts (Ward 37) and Ald. Michael Scott Jr (Ward 24). Both nearly always vote for legislation proposed by Lightfoot. Meanwhile, some fiscal conservatives—including many who regularly voted against Lightfoot—voted for the ordinance.

Alliances shifted again in the next council meeting when the council passed by a vote of 35-14 a “Fair Notice” ordinance that requires landlords to notify tenants 60 to 120 days in

advance of raising rent or not renewing a lease. Many of Lightfoot's usual allies voted for this ordinance, but it was opposed by conservatives, strong fiscal conservatives, and nearly all the alderpersons in the Chicago Machine bloc.

Finally, a contingent of traditional and fiscal conservatives and machine alderpersons also tried to overturn Mayor Lightfoot's vaccine mandate. They were encouraged by unions representing firefighters and police officers who spoke out against her order that all city employees must be vaccinated against COVID-19 or face disciplinary action. However, there was little support in the Council for the ordinance to overturn the mayor's vaccine policy. It was defeated by a 13-30 vote.²²

Police Reform

In the wake of the George Floyd murder by a Minneapolis Police Officer and Black Lives Matter protests throughout the nation, Mayor Lightfoot moved to tackle several police reform issues. During her campaign for mayor, Lightfoot stressed her experience as head of the Police Accountability Task Force. She told voters, "there's been nobody in the city that's been a more vocal, persistent, demanding advocate for police reform and accountability than I have."²³ After she became mayor, police reform activists charged that she was slow to enact comprehensive changes.

Prior to and after the election, two non-governmental organizations the Grassroots Alliance for Police Accountability (GAPA), and the Chicago Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression (CAARPR) produced competing plans to address the problems.²⁴ Eventually, the two groups combined their two proposals into a single proposed ordinance entitled Empowering Communities for Public Safety (ECPS), which gained the endorsement of the Democratic Socialist Caucus, the Progressive-Reform Caucus, the Latino Caucus, and the Aldermanic Black Caucus, along with the support of several labor unions.²⁵

Despite ECPS's support, Lightfoot remained opposed to the legislation. Publicly she attacked it as a "backdoor attempt to defund the police department by taking control of the policymaking authority."²⁶ She saw the loss of mayoral control over the department as a genuine threat and worked to prevent its passage. Still, supporters had enough votes on the council to pass the ordinance, and potentially override a mayoral veto.²⁷

Eventually, the Mayor compromised. The compromise ordinance, which passed 36-13, set up an independent civilian board that would have the power to hire and fire the head of the Civilian Office of Police Accountability, an existing agency responsible for investigating police misconduct. But the board would not be able to hire or fire the Superintendent of Police or any members of the Chicago Police Board. Instead, the independent civilian board could pass a resolution of no confidence. If such a resolution passed by a two-third majority, the City Council would consider terminating the superintendent.

The Mayor and her administration next aimed to change paragraphs in the police contract that were seen as barriers to needed reform. The city's collective bargaining agreement with Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) Lodge 7 had expired in 2017. In late 2021, after four years

without a signed contract, the two sides came to an agreement. The new eight-year contract agreed to raise officer wages by 20 percent over the length of the contract, along with retroactive wages. In exchange for this pay increase, the FOP agreed to eliminate from the contract, the 40-year ban on investigating anonymous complaints against officers and the practice of destroying disciplinary records after five years. Both sides agreed to continue negotiating other disputed disciplinary practices and refer them to arbitration if they could not come to an agreement.²⁸

Despite the changes to disciplinary processes, eight alderpersons voted against the contract for not going far enough. The opposition was led by the Democratic Socialist Caucus. According to Ald. Byron Sigcho-Lopez (Ward 25) the proposed new contract did "little to nothing to ensure that there's accountability when there's false statements, and there's no provision that ensures that officers provide accurate statements within 24 hours."²⁹ The caucus was joined by four progressive freshman alderpersons..

For many years reform advocates have criticized the Chicago Police Department's use of the "gang data base," which is officially named the Criminal Enterprise Information System (CEIS). Critics claimed that the CEIS lacks transparency, is filled with erroneous information, and racial disparity is built into system for deciding whose name is included in the data base. Several watchdog organizations have called attention the system's lack of procedural fairness, and problems with the methodology used to place someone in the CEIS.³⁰ Over the years, several community groups and alderpersons have called for ending the program altogether.³¹

During her campaign, Lightfoot promised to reform the CEIS, but once elected she was slow to act on the issue. In his final budget hearing, Inspector General Joe Ferguson—who Lightfoot had decided to not reappoint—told the city council that, "it's been 2.5 years of promises made and promises not kept... We're still utilizing a system that we know and that IG reports have established is just not accurate and hangs over the lives of tens of thousands of Chicagoans, over 96% are Black- and Brown-skinned. We need to clean that up."³²

At the city council meeting on November 17, 2021, the Chicago City Council agreed to reform the CEIS in a contentious 29-18 vote. Opposition was mixed ideologically but came heavily from the more progressive wing of the council. Some alderperson criticized the reform for being premature, unnecessary and potentially counterproductive. Others voted against the ordinance for, what they saw, being a superficial change that failed to address significant problems with the CEIS.³³

Some Previous Vices Made Legal and Taxable

In recent years, Illinois has loosened its restrictions on the ability of citizens to engage in illicit activities, specifically marijuana consumption and recreational gambling at casinos and other designated areas.

Mayor Lightfoot was supportive of the new recreational marijuana market in Chicago but initially opposed cannabis shops in the downtown.³⁴ Under the law, the city had only 119 licenses to grant. Part of the reasoning for prohibiting cannabis shops in the downtown was to leverage the placement of the shops in struggling neighborhoods to spur economic development.

To ensure that the licenses would go to struggling neighborhoods, the city had to create new regulatory requirements.

Lightfoot's proposed ordinance to establish these requirements were opposed by the Aldermanic Black Caucus. In October of 2019, Caucus Chair Ald. Jason Ervin (Ward 28), attempted to delay the legalization of marijuana in the city by six months because it failed to provide enough business and job opportunities for minority communities on Chicago's south and west sides. These communities, Ervin argued, had been hit hardest by the past criminalization of marijuana and therefore should be the first to benefit from its subsequent legalization.³⁵ Despite intense negotiations with Mayor Lightfoot's administration, the members of the caucus were unsuccessful in amending the ordinance. The Black Caucus has 19 members, but only 10 supported the delay.

In December of 2019, the Aldermanic Black Caucus again attempted to delay the sale of recreational marijuana by six months. Just 24 hours before a full City Council vote, the ordinance calling for the delay passed committee by a 10-9 vote. It was expected to pass the full council.

However, Mayor Lightfoot was strongly opposed to further delays. She 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.³⁶

To prevent the delay ordinance from passing, Mayor Lightfoot teamed up with Governor J. B. Pritzker to lobby alderpersons to vote against it. 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 Aldermanic 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 Spielman 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.³⁷

Business analysts pointed out that giving preferential treatment to the cannabis shops in the neighborhoods meant the city was blowing its "best chance to squeeze tax dollars out of suburbanites and out-of-towners, groups Lightfoot has singled out as free riders on city services."³⁸

Eventually, at the strong urging of Ald. Brendan Reilly (Ward 42), Lightfoot changed her mind and supported extending cannabis zoning to the downtown on the condition that marijuana businesses remained 650 feet from a residential building. At a special meeting on September 20, 2021, the council voted to approve the zoning change by a vote of 33-13. Opponents included members of the Chicago Machine bloc and conservatives, but also several progressives—including three members of the Democratic Socialist Caucus—who feared the zoning changes would prevent the industry from developing in an equitable manner.³⁹

In addition to creating a regulatory regime for the legal consumption of marijuana, the City Council also passed legislation regarding the legalization of sports betting.

Illinois ended its prohibition on sports betting in 2019. The City Council, fearing that Chicago could miss out on a potentially lucrative industry, decided to remove its own prohibition on sports betting by a vote of 39-9 at its meeting on December 15, 2021. The ordinance instituted a 2% sales tax on gross revenues. The sports betting industry was expected to produce \$25 million in Chicago, thus generating \$500,000 of new revenue for the city.

Opposition to the legalization of sports betting was ideologically mixed and included many of Lightfoot's allies. Several alderpersons voting against the ordinance claimed that the new law was "peanuts for an industry that is growing" and "not a sufficient reward for the risks we're taking."⁴⁰

For many years city leaders had expressed a desire to open a casino in Chicago to spur economic development and to capture money spent by Chicagoans in casinos in the suburbs and neighboring states.

Where to locate a new casino was a difficult decision involving conflicting community interests. On March 23, 2022, the Council by a vote of 35-12 approved the creation of a "Special Committee on the Chicago Casino" to review the final recommendations on a casino plan from the mayor's office before they are submitted to Council for a vote.

Opponents of the creation of the "Special Committee" largely objected to its composition: committee chairs and vice chairs were to be chosen by Mayor Lightfoot. The opposition included members of the Chicago Machine bloc and several progressives. Ald. Anthony Beale (Ward 9) claimed that the Special Committee was "a way to circumvent the opposition."⁴¹ On May 25, 2022, the casino was approved by the full city council by a 41-7 vote.

Housing and Development

In the spring of 2021, the Chicago City Council passed a series of ordinances introduced by Mayor Lightfoot to promote redevelopment and increase the city's affordable housing stock. On March 24th, 2021, the Council, by a vote of 37-12, passed an ordinance that required developers to pay a fee up to \$15,000 for demolishing homes in areas where rents were rapidly increasing. Most liberals and progressives supported the mayor on this ordinance, but fiscally conservative aldermen and Lightfoot's usual critics, such as Aldermen Beale, Lopez, and Burke, opposed it.

At the same meeting, the Council approved a Fulton Market redevelopment project. Over the years, the Fulton Market area has evolved from a wholesale produce market, meat processing and manufacturing district into a hub for office buildings and small commercial enterprises. Despite the changes, residential construction in much of the area remained restricted by the city's zoning laws. Mayor Lightfoot favored changes to the zoning regulations in the Near West Side Planned Manufacturing District to allow for the construction of up to 665 new residential units, 30 percent of which would be designated affordable, and would include investments in pedestrian-friendly amenities. Despite the acknowledging the need for more affordable housing,

many progressives, including the city council's six socialists, voted against the rezoning plan because it was too generous to developers and would encourage gentrification.⁴²

At the following meeting on April 21st, the City Council by a vote of 42-8 passed a plan that would require developers seeking zoning changes in gentrifying neighborhoods to increase the percentage of affordable units required in their new buildings from 10 to 20 percent⁴³ Opposition to the plan came from many of the conservatives on the council, but also from three of the city's six socialists who argued that the plan could have been more ambitious. Ald. Sigcho-Lopez, a member of the City Council Housing Committee, believed it was possible to require developers to increase the percentage of affordable units to 30 percent and for half, or 15 percent, to have three bedrooms.⁴⁴

Immigration

Under former Mayor Rahm Emanuel, the City Council passed a "Welcoming City" ordinance, that prevented city officials, including the police, from inquiring into a person's immigration status when receiving city services. Ald. Sposato (Ward 38) criticized the ordinance as too lenient. On a Fox News show in January 2018, when former President Donald Trump was in office, Sposato warned that "if we stick with our sanctuary city policies, we could lose a billion dollars in federal funding."⁴⁵ The progressives on the other side of the issue argued that the "Welcoming City" ordinance did not go far enough. Led by the socialist Ald. Carlos Ramirez-Rosa (Ward 35), progressives argued that the "Welcoming City" ordinance contained too many loopholes; specifically, it did not prohibit local law enforcement from cooperating with federal immigration officials.

On the issue of immigration reform, Mayor Lightfoot aligned more often with the progressives than with the conservatives. During the COVID-19 pandemic, she signed an executive order to strengthen the city's protections for immigrants and refugees.⁴⁶ The order was largely seen as a signal to progressives that she supported closing loopholes in the city's "Welcoming City" ordinance.

On January 27th, 2021, the council considered two votes on immigration reform. The first urged President Joe Biden to immediately enact comprehensive immigration reform legislation. The symbolic resolution passed by a vote of 47-1. The only opposing vote was from Ald. Sposato.

The next vote was on a proposal to strengthen the city's "Welcoming City" ordinance by restricting local law enforcement from collaborating with federal immigration officials, even in the cases of an outstanding criminal warrant, felony conviction, or if the person was a known member of a criminal organization. That ordinance passed by a vote of 41-8. The entire Conservative bloc voted against the ordinance. They were joined by five other alderpersons who expressed concerns that the policy was too liberal. Mayor Lightfoot, angered by the comments made by aldermen while debating the ordinance, accused Ald. Anthony Napolitano (Ward 41) and Ald. Raymond Lopez (Ward 15) of "using racist tropes and xenophobic rhetoric" when discussing the ordinance. She scolded them for making derogatory statements towards

immigrants to "promote yourself on the backs of others."⁴⁷ The aldermen, both critical of Lightfoot, brushed aside Lightfoot's criticisms of their views.

Banning Single-Use Utensils

During Mayor Lightfoot's first term, several alderpersons sought to institute a ban on single-use utensils, napkins, and Styrofoam packaging from restaurants. A proposed ordinance to institute the ban was introduced in early 2020 by Ald. Scott Waguespack (Ward 32) and Ald. Susan Sadlowski Garza (Ward 10). As initially written, the ordinance would have been the strongest ban on single-use utensils in the Midwest.⁴⁸

However, the council could not come to an agreement on the ordinance's language. Several alderpersons expressed concerns on how the ordinance would impact the city's restaurant industry, especially while it was dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic.

Eventually, a weaker version of the ordinance was introduced by Ald. Samantha Nugent (Ward 39). This weaker version, which passed council by a vote of 37-10, banned single-use utensils, but exempted straws, lids, coffee cup sleeves, and Styrofoam packaging. Opposition to the ordinance was mostly from progressives who wanted stronger legislation, including Finance Chair Ald. Waguespack. They were joined by the members of the Conservative bloc.⁴⁹

Guaranteed Income Hearing

On March 24, 2021, Ald. Gilbert Villegas (Ward 36) introduced a resolution calling for a hearing on a guaranteed income program for the city. The program would use \$30 million to provide \$500 monthly debit cards to 5,000 low-income residents.

Despite support from the Mayor, Villegas plan for the program faced opposition from the Council. Eighteen aldermen opposed the resolution including the fiscally conservative aldermen and several members of the Black Caucus. The Chairman of the Black caucus, Ald. Jason Ervin (Ward 28), called the resolution was a "slap in the face" to the Chicago-area descendants of slaves, who Ervin believed should be prioritized for reparations before the city considers a guaranteed income program.⁵⁰

A Call to Condemn Violence Against Certain Castes

A resolution to condemn violence against certain religions and castes in India was first introduced in the summer of 2020 by Ald. Maria Hadden (Ward 49). However, the Council remained reluctant to vote on the resolution due to fierce debate with the South Asian community on its content. Many alderpersons reported receiving thousands of messages, either supporting or criticizing the resolution. Finally, on March 24th, 2021, the Chicago City Council failed to pass the resolution by a vote of 18-26. Supporters of the resolution wanted the Council to actively show solidarity with groups that were discriminated against in Southeast Asia, specifically India. Opponents criticized it for forcing the Council to unnecessarily involve itself

in complicated political struggles that did not directly impact the city and that many alderpersons were not fully informed on.⁵¹

Renaming Lake Shore Drive

For years, African American groups had been calling on the city to rename Lake Shore Drive, arguably Chicago's most important street, after the city's first permanent non-Indigenous settler: Jean Baptiste Point DuSable, a trader from Haiti of African descent who married a Potawatomi woman named Kitihawa. An ordinance was introduced in the City Council by Ald. Sophia King (Ward 4) and Ald. David Moore (Ward 17), but it languished in committee. With the Black Lives Matter protests erupting throughout Chicago, there was a renewed push to change the street name to honor DuSable.

Even though the proposed name change would only affect the outer portion of Lake Shore Drive, thus sparing the majority of residents and businesses that would need to change their addresses, the name change was controversial. Many businesses on Lake Shore Drive opposed the change because they believed it would be disruptive to their operations. Mayor Lightfoot was also opposed. She believed that completing the long-delayed DuSable Park and connecting it to a riverwalk renamed in DuSable's honor would be a less disruptive and more fitting form of recognition.⁵² Still, a majority of the council supported the change.

At the council meeting on June 25, 2021, the ordinance to rename Lake Shore Drive passed 33-15. The ordinance was universally supported by the city's African American alderpersons and a majority of Latino alderpersons. The opposition to the ordinance was dominated by white alderpersons and mostly consisted of the Conservative bloc and several alderpersons with wards on the Northside. Although Mayor Lightfoot initially expressed opposition to the ordinance, she changed her mind and did not veto the ordinance even though supporters lacked the 34 votes needed to override a veto. She accepted the Council's decision and celebrated the name change at an official ceremony with Alderpersons King and Moore once the new street signs were printed.⁵³

**Appendix 1: Description of the Divided Roll Call Votes
June 2019–March 2022**

Issue #	Issue Synopsis	Date	Document	Vote	Main Sponsor
1	Settlement: Kelsey Ibach & etc., v. Philip Cho & etc.	6/12/19	Or2019-224	47-3	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
2	Settlement: Immanuel Campbell & etc., v. City of Chicago and Chicago Police Officers.	6/12/19	Or2019-225	45-3	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
3	Settlement: Sepulveda v. City of Chicago.	6/12/19	Or2019-226	36-14	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
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	Mayor (Lightfoot)
5	A resolution condemning legislative efforts to diminish women's reproductive rights guaranteed by Roe v. Wade.	7/24/19	R2019-348	46-4	Council (6 th Ward)
6	Amendment of Municipal Code regarding wheel tax license fees, violation fines, and payment plans.	9/18/19	SO2019-5547	49-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
7	Settlement: Baskins v. Patrick Gilmore.	9/18/19	Or2019-322	49-1	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
8	Settlement: Jarrod Horton, as Independent Administrator of the Estate of Marlon Horton v. City of Chicago.	9/18/19	Or2019-323	45-5	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
9	Settlement: Jermaine White v. Officer Carlos Barona.	9/18/19	Or2019-324	47-3	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
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	Mayor (Lightfoot)
11	Reappointment of John P. O'Malley, Jr. as a member of the Chicago Police Board.	9/18/19	A2019-54	48-2	Mayor (Lightfoot)

12	Reappointment of Paula Wolff as a member of the Chicago Police Board.	9/18/19	A2019-55	49-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
13	Amendment of Municipal Code Title 17 regarding cannabis-related activities.	10/16/19	SO2019-6926	40-10	Mayor (Lightfoot)
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	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
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	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
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	Mayor (Lightfoot)
17	The 2020 Annual Appropriation Ordinance, as amended.	11/26/19	SO2019-8407	39-11	Mayor (Lightfoot)
18	Property tax levy for Year 2020.	11/26/19	O2019-8521	35-15	Mayor (Lightfoot)
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	Mayor (Lightfoot)
20	Amendment of Municipal Code Chapters 4, 7, 8 and 9 regarding cannabis-related penalties.	11/26/19	SO2019-8518	45-3	Mayor (Lightfoot)
21	Amendment of Municipal Code to prohibit certain Adult-Use Cannabis businesses.	12/18/19	SO2019-8063	19-29	Council (28 th Ward)
22	Settlement: Kelly Hespe v. City of Chicago and Gerald Breimon.	1/15/20	Or2020-8	37-12	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
23	A communication recommending a resolution concerning Chief Purchasing Officer and Department of Procurement	1/15/20	R2019-685	47-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)

	Services making business development resources available to LGBT business enterprises.				
24	Appointment of Dr. Allison Arwady as Commissioner of Health.	1/15/20	A2019-66	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
25	Reappointment of William W. Towns as member of Chicago Community Land Trust Board.	1/15/20	A2019-115	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
26	Reappointment of Joy Aruguete as member of Chicago Community Land Trust Board.	1/15/20	A2019-116	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
27	Reappointment of Calvin L. Holmes as member of Chicago Community Land Trust Board.	1/15/20	A2019-117	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
28	Reappointment of Robert V. McGhee as member of Chicago Community Land Trust Board.	1/15/20	A2019-118	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
29	Settlement: Etheredge v. City of Chicago, Mark Heinzl, Robert McGee, and Joseph Perez.	2/19/20	Or2020-48	36-14	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
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	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
31	Settlement: Janet Godinez, Deceased v. City of Chicago and Chicago Police Officers.	2/19/20	Or2019-512	37-13	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
32	Authorization for various City departments to institute emergency measures in response to COVID-19 crisis.	4/24/20	O2020-2356	29-21	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
33	Amendment of Municipal Code regarding vehicle parking, standing or compliance violations.	4/24/20	O2020-803	49-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
34	Settlement: Jaywanna Palmer, as Administrator of the Estate of Romello Palmer, deceased v. The City of Chicago.	4/24/20	Or2020-100	40-10	Mayor (Dept/Agency)

35	Amendment of Municipal Code concerning regulation and operation of horse-drawn carriages.	4/24/20	SO2019-4125	46-4	Council (2 nd Ward)
36	Time fixed for next City Council Meeting May 20, 2020 at 10:00 A.M., Virtual Meeting.	4/24/20	O2020-2369	36-13	Council (7 th Ward)
37	Settlement: Pierre Green v. The City of Chicago.	5/20/20	Or2020-140	33-16	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
38	Provision of COVID-19-related relief for Chicago O'Hare International Airport and Midway International Airport concessionaires.	5/20/20	O2020-2365	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
39	Establishment of Emergency Relief for Affordable Multi-Family Properties (ERAMP) Program to provide short-term financial assistance.	5/20/20	O2020-2263	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
40	Amendment of Municipal Code Chapter 1-25 (Chicago Fair Workweek Ordinance.)	5/20/20	O2020-2370	44-5	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
41	Call for House Speaker Michael Madigan, Senate President Don Harmon and members of Illinois General Assembly to place Workers' Rights Amendment on November 3, 2020, Election Ballot.	5/20/20	R2020-284	48-1	Council (10 th Ward)
42	Zoning Reclassification Map No. 1-E.	5/20/20	O2020-94	48-1	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
43	Annual Appropriation Ordinance Year 2020 amendment within Fund No. 925.	6/17/20	SO2020-2825	40-9	Mayor (Lightfoot)
44	A resolution calling for the establishment of the Chicago Descendants of Enslaved Africans Reparations Commission.	6/17/20	R2019-694	47-2	Council (6 th Ward)
45	A proposed ordinance regarding eviction proceedings due to the COVID-19 crisis.	6/17/20	O2020-3501	37-12	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
46	Amendment of Municipal Code Chapter 5-12 by modifying landlord notification requirements with varying time periods	7/22/20	SO2020-2862	35-14	Mayor (Lightfoot)

	for rental termination or non-renewal notices for non-payment.				
47	Collective bargaining agreements with Policemen's Benevolent & Protective Association of Illinois.	7/22/20	O2020-3592	48-1	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
48	Amendment of Municipal Code Titles 2 and 15 by adding new Chapter 2-30 entitled "Multiagency Regulation of Implosions" and Section 15-4-311 providing for additional requirements for license to use explosives for demolition of buildings/structures.	7/22/20	O2020-3443	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
49	Settlement: Laura Kubiak v. City of Chicago.	9/9/20	Or2020-219	49-1	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
50	Amendment of Municipal Code to prohibit sale of flavored tobacco products or accessories.	9/9/20	O2020-3388	46-4	Council (19 th Ward)
51	Implementing guidelines regarding permit processes for emerging businesses providing short-distance ecofriendly scheduled shuttles using three-wheeled electric vehicles.	10/7/20	SO2020-4588	49-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
52	Amendment of Municipal Code regarding operational regulations for low-speed electric mobility devices and bicycles used for messenger and delivery services.	10/7/20	SO2020-3982	49-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
53	Zoning Reclassification Map No. 24-B at 9737 S Torrence Ave - App No. 20515.	10/7/20	O2020-4539	49-1	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
54	Amendment of Municipal Code regarding various department functions and duties creating new City Council standing committee.	11/24/20	O2020-5746	33-17	Mayor (Lightfoot)
55	2021 Budget Recommendations – Amendment.	11/24/20	O2020-5775	29-21	Mayor (Dept/Agency)

56	An ordinance recommending the 2021 Budget Recommendations.	11/24/20	SO2020-5216	29-21	Mayor (Lightfoot)
57	Property tax levy for the Year 2021.	11/24/20	O2020-5747	28-22	Mayor (Lightfoot)
58	Amendment of Municipal Code regarding various taxes, charges, and fees.	11/24/20	O2020-5743	29-21	Mayor (Lightfoot)
59	Issuance of City of Chicago General Obligation Bonds and Additional Sales Tax Obligation Bonds for project costs and/or refunding purposes, levy, and collection of direct annual taxes.	11/24/20	O2020-5749	41-8	Mayor (Lightfoot)
60	Call for incoming Biden Administration to immediately enact immigration reform.	1/27/21	R2020-1072	47-1	Council (22 nd Ward)
61	Amendment of Municipal Code regarding Welcoming City Ordinance and modifying terminology in sundry other chapters.	1/27/21	O2021-117	41-8	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
62	Intergovernmental agreement with Metra regarding provision of tax increment financing assistance for engineering study of various grade crossings on Milwaukee District Rail Line.	1/27/21	O2020-6213	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
63	Settlement: Antwon Golatte v. City of Chicago.	1/27/21	Or2021-25	48-1	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
64	Support of Class 6(b) tax incentive for property at 2075 W 43rd St.	1/27/21	O2020-6249	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
65	Negotiated as-is sale of City-owned property at 4841 N Lipps Ave to 4841 Lipps LLC contingent on removal of environmental hazards and deposit of remediation funds.	1/27/21	O2020-5755	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
66	Amendment of Municipal	1/27/21	O2020-6207	46-3	Mayor

	Code Chapter 17-7 by adding new Section 17-7-0580 establishing Multi-Unit Preservation (Pilsen) District.				(Lightfoot)
67	Settlement: Ashanti Franklin on behalf of herself and on behalf of John Doe, a minor, Romell Franklin, and Ariana Franklin v. City of Chicago, Sergeant John Graham, Officer Jason Acevedo, Officer Jason Edwards, Officer Kevin Hawkins, Officer Williams Hronopoulos and Ben Mulligan.	2/24/21	Or2021-45	43-5	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
68	Settlement: Pamela Anderson vs. City of Chicago and Officer Christopher Ramey.	2/24/21	Or2021-42	41-8	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
69	Annual Appropriation Ordinance Year 2021 amendment within Fund No. 925 for Office of Mayor.	2/26/21	SO2021-414	37-10	Mayor (Lightfoot)
70	Amendment of Municipal Code Chapter 2-44 by adding new Section 2-44-135 imposing building demolition surcharge tax pilot program until April 1, 2022 in Pilsen and 606 trail neighborhoods.	3/24/21	O2021-746	37-12	Mayor (Lightfoot)
71	Designation of municipal depositaries for Year 2021.	3/24/21	O2020-6251	47-2	Mayor (Lightfoot)
72	Call for hearing(s) on implementation of guaranteed income initiative and cash-based programs and policies to help working people and families become more resilient to financial Emergencies.	3/24/21	R2021-213	30-18	Council (36 th Ward)
73	Amendment of Municipal Code Section 2-44-080 regarding a 30- year renewable term supporting Chicago Community Land Trust properties under ARO.	3/24/21	O2021-446	49-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
74	Amendment of Municipal Code Title 17 regarding requirements associated	3/24/21	O2020-4590	38-12	Mayor (Lightfoot)

	with manufacturing in Planned Manufacturing Districts.				
75	Recognition of India's 72nd anniversary of Republic Day and call for condemnation of violence against certain castes and faith groups.	3/24/21	SR2020-583	18-26	Council (49 th Ward)
76	Amendment of Municipal Code: Section 2-44-080 (2015 Affordable Requirements).	4/21/21	SO2021-1226	42-8	Mayor (Lightfoot)
77	Amendment of Municipal Code: Chapters 17-2, 17-9 and 17-17 regarding open space, side setbacks for accessory buildings and allowable feature encroachments of Additional Dwelling Units (ADUs) in residential zoning districts.	4/21/21	O2021-1228	49-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
78	Settlement: Anthony Tucker v. City of Chicago and Detectives J. Lally, D. Gillespie, and J. Gonzalez.	5/26/21	Or2021-104	49-1	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
79	Settlement: Deandre Jones v. City of Chicago.	5/26/21	Or2021-105	39-11	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
80	Intergovernmental agreement with Chicago Park District and Forest Preserve District of Cook County for continued funding and support of Neighbor Space open space projects.	5/26/21	O2021-1639	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
81	Zoning Reclassification Map No. 10-H at 2139 and 2159 W Pershing Rd.	5/26/21	SO2019-2789	36-13	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
82	Zoning Reclassification Map No. 11-L at 4758-4760 N Milwaukee Ave.	5/26/21	O2021-445	31-19	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
83	Time fixed for next City Council Meeting June 25, 2021 at 1:00 P.M.	6/23/21	O2021-2883	31-18	Council (8 th Ward)

84	Renaming of portions of outer Lake Shore Drive as "Jean Baptiste Pointe du Sable Lake Shore Drive."	6/25/21	SO2019-7918	33-15	Council (17 th Ward)
85	Settlement: Tambrasha Hudson v. City of Chicago.	7/21/21	Or2021-195	35-14	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
86	Settlement: Shawn Yawer v. City of Chicago.	7/21/21	Or2021-196	40-9	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
87	Annual Appropriation Ordinance Year 2021 amendment within Fund No. 925 for Office of Mayor, Department of Housing, Department of Public Health, Department of Family & Support Services, and Department of Streets & Sanitation.	7/21/21	SO2021-2874	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
88	Long-term ground lease agreement with associated easement for Boys & Girls Clubs of Chicago for portion of Joint Public Safety Training Academy campus.	7/21/21	SO2021-2899	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
89	Establishment of rules and regulations for third-party food delivery services.	7/21/21	O2021-2862	48-1	Council (19 th Ward)
90	Amendment of Municipal Code Title 2 by adding new Chapter 2-80 entitled "Community Commission for Public Safety and Accountability" and amending Chapters 2-78 and 2-84 regarding Chief Administrator and Police Board.	7/21/21	SO2019-4132	36-13	Council (35 th Ward)
91	Zoning Reclassification Map No. 11-F at 4600 N Marine Dr.	7/21/21	O2021-1931	45-4	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
92	Sale of City-owned properties to and execution of redevelopment agreement using multi-family program funds and tax incremental financing (TIF).	9/14/21	O2021-3265	47-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
93	Settlement: Alexander Washington-Riley v. City of Chicago.	9/14/21	Or2021-254	47-1	Mayor (Dept/Agency)

94	Settlement: Kehinda Mitchell v. City of Chicago.	9/14/21	Or2021-255	47-1	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
95	Settlement: Armando Serrano v. Reynaldo Guevara and Jose Montanez v Reynaldo Guevara.	9/14/21	Or2021-256	44-4	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
96	Amendment of Municipal Code Chapter regarding requirements for single-use foodware.	9/14/21	O2021-2869	37-10	Council (39 th Ward)
97	Appointment of Modesto Tico Valle and Myetie H. Hamilton as Commissioners of Chicago Park District.	9/14/21	A2021-134 A2021-135	47-0	Mayor (Lightfoot)
98	Authorization for Mayoral execution of collective bargaining agreement [CBA] between City of Chicago and Fraternal Order of Police.	9/14/21	O2021-3449	40-8	Mayor (Lightfoot)
99	Zoning Reclassification Map No. 11-K at 4712-4738 W Irving Park Rd.	9/14/21	SO2021-3108	43-5	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
100	Amendment of Municipal Code regarding standards and requirements for cannabis-related establishments.	9/20/21	SO2021-3249	33-13	Mayor (Lightfoot)
101	Amendment of Municipal Code Titles 2, 6, 9 and 10.	10/27/21	O2021-4756	37-13	Mayor (Lightfoot)
102	Amendment of Regulations Governing Administration of Classification Plan and Employee Benefits for Classified Positions set forth in Annual Appropriation Ordinance regarding Compensation Plan, health benefits, holidays, and unpaid furlough days.	10/27/21	R2021-1126	37-13	Mayor (Lightfoot)
103	Amendment of Municipal Code Titles 1, 2, 4, 10, 11, 14A and 15.	10/27/21	SO2021-4785	38-12	Mayor (Lightfoot)
104	Intergovernmental agreement with Chicago Transit Authority and Cook County for allocation of Motor Fuel Tax funds to Chicago Transit Authority as Year 2022 matching	10/27/21	O2021-4757	37-13	Mayor (Lightfoot)

	grant pursuant to Regional Transportation Authority Act.				
105	Expenditure of portion of Motor Fuel Tax funds allocated to City of Chicago for Year 2022.	10/27/21	O2021-4758	37-13	Mayor (Lightfoot)
106	Annual Appropriation Ordinance Year 2021 amendments.	10/27/21	O2021-4240	31-19	Mayor (Lightfoot)
107	Annual Appropriation Ordinance Year 2022, as amended.	10/27/21	O2021-4238 (v1)	35-15	Mayor (Lightfoot)
108	Issuance and sale of various City bonds and amendment of various bond ordinances.	10/27/21	O2021-4788	40-8	Mayor (Lightfoot)
109	Amendment of Municipal Code 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14A and 14X (2022 Revenue Ordinance).	10/27/21	O2021-4786	36-14	Mayor (Lightfoot)
110	Property tax levy for Year 2022.	10/27/21	O2021-4759	32-18	Mayor (Lightfoot)
111	Amendment of Municipal Code Chapter 2-74 by adding new Section 2-74-155 regarding City Council approval for discipline and no-pay status for city employees.	10/29/21	O2021-4943	13-30	Council (23 rd Ward)
112	Settlement: David Brown, Independent Administrator of the Estate of Julia Lynn Callaway, Deceased, v. Curtis Pugh, City of Chicago.	11/17/21	Or2021-333	35-11	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
113	Settlement: Central Austin Neighborhood Association and ACLU of Illinois v. City of Chicago.	11/17/21	Or2021-335	45-2	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
114	Settlement: Michael Williamson v. Officer Wilfredo Ortiz, and City of Chicago.	11/17/21	Or2021-334	46-1	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
115	Amendment of Municipal Code adding Police Board power to hear appeals by individuals to remove their status identification from certain criminal information systems.	11/17/21	O2021-4131	29-18	Mayor (Lightfoot)

116	Settlement: Lawrence Scott v. City of Chicago and Officer Robert Vahl. Steve Barsch and William Gentile.	12/15/21	Or2021-389	41-7	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
117	Settlement: Pedro Rios v. City of Chicago, Nicholas Redelsperger and Eric Bellomy.	12/15/21	Or2021-391	36-12	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
118	Amendment of Municipal Code with regards to regulating sports wagering.	12/15/21	SO2021-3243	39-9	Council (27 th Ward)
119	Zoning Reclassification Map No. 15-P at 8535 W Higgins Rd. - App No. 20699.	12/15/21	SO2021-1953	33-13	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
120	Settlement: Grayer and Holt v. City of Chicago.	1/26/22	Or2022-29	41-7	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
121	Settlement: Dejuan Harris v. City of Chicago.	1/26/22	Or2022-32	31-18	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
122	Amendment of fiscal 2021 Annual Appropriation Ordinance regarding Chicago Transit Authority Real Property Transfer Tax Fund increase.	1/26/22	O2021-5873	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
123	Reappointment of Ray J. Koenig III as member of Chicago Commission on Human Relations.	1/26/22	A2021-196	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
124	Acquisition of improved parcels at 3811 W Madison St., 3831 W Madison St. and 3841 W Madison St.	2/23/22	O2022-401	46-2	Mayor (Lightfoot)
125	Amendment of Municipal Code by adding two new outdoor Lakefront Venue liquor licenses at Millennium Park.	2/23/22	O2022-393	46-2	Mayor (Lightfoot)
126	Appointment of Andrea Kersten as Chief Administrator of COPA.	2/23/22	A2021-172	31-14	Mayor (Lightfoot)
127	Extension of demolition permit surcharge ordinance until April 1, 2024.	3/23/22	O2022-885	47-1	Council (32 nd Ward)
128	Amendment of Municipal Code to allow additional package goods licenses on portion(s) of S Ashland Ave.	3/23/22	O2022-494	47-1	Council (17 th Ward)

129	Amendment of Municipal Code Section 4-60-023 (6.33) to allow additional package goods licenses on portion(s) of S State St.	3/23/22	O2022-617	47-1	Council (6 th Ward)
130	Settlement: Mia Wright, et al. v. City of Chicago.	3/23/22	Or2022-56	34-13	Council (32 nd Ward)
131	Creation of Special City Council Committee on Chicago Casino and establishment of its membership.	3/23/22	R2022-324	35-12	Council (8 th Ward)

Appendix 2: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes June 2019–March 2022

	Issue #	1	2	3	4	5
	Date	6/12/2019	6/12/2019	6/12/2019	6/12/2019	7/24/2019
Ward	Alderman	Or2019-224	Or2019-225	Or2019-226	SO2019-3901	R2019-348
1	Daniel La Spata	1	1	1	1	1
2	Brian Hopkins	1	1	1	1	1
3	Pat Dowell	1	1	1	1	1
4	Sophia King	1	1	1	1	1
5	Leslie A. Hairston	1	1	1	1	1
6	Roderick T. Sawyer	1	1	1	1	1
7	Gregory I. Mitchell	1	1	1	1	1
8	Michelle A. Harris	1	1	1	1	1
9	Anthony Beale	1	0	0	0	1
10	Susan Sadlowski Garza	1	1	1	1	1
11	Patrick D. Thompson	1	0	0	0	1
12	George A. Cardenas	1	1	1	1	1
13	Marty Quinn	0	1	0	1	1
14	Edward M. Burke	1	1	1	1	1
15	Raymond A. Lopez	0	1	0	0	1
16	Stephanie D. Coleman	1	1	1	1	1
17	David H. Moore	1	1	0	1	1
18	Derrick G. Curtis	1	1	0	1	1
19	Matthew J. O'Shea	1	1	0	1	1
20	Jeanette B. Taylor	1	2	1	1	1
21	Howard Brookins, Jr.	1	1	0	1	1
22	Michael D. Rodriguez	1	1	1	1	1
23	Silvana Tabares	0	1	0	1	1
24	Michael Scott, Jr.	1	1	0	1	1
25	Byron Sigcho-Lopez	1	1	1	1	1
26	Roberto Maldonado	1	1	1	1	1
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	1	1	1	1	1
28	Jason C. Ervin	1	1	1	1	1
29	Chris Taliaferro	1	1	1	1	1
30	Ariel Reboyras	1	1	0	1	0
31	Felix Cardona, Jr.	1	1	1	1	0
32	Scott Waguespack	1	1	1	1	1
33	Rossana Rodriguez Sanchez	1	1	1	1	1
34	Carrie M. Austin	1	1	1	1	1
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	1	1	1	1	1
36	Gilbert Villegas	1	1	1	1	1
37	Emma Mitts	1	1	1	1	1
38	Nicholas Sposato	1	1	0	1	0
39	Samantha Nugent	1	1	1	1	1
40	Andres Vasquez, Jr.	1	1	1	1	1
41	Anthony V. Napolitano	1	1	0	1	0
42	Brendan Reilly	1	1	1	1	1
43	Michele Smith	1	1	1	1	1
44	Thomas Tunney	1	1	1	1	1
45	James M. Gardiner	1	0	0	1	1
46	James Cappleman	1	1	1	1	1
47	Matthew J. Martin	1	1	1	1	1
48	Harry Osterman	1	1	1	1	1
49	Maria E. Hadden	1	2	1	1	1
50	Debra L. Silverstein	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–March 2022

	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	9/18/2019	9/18/2019	9/18/2019	9/18/2019	9/18/2019	9/18/2019	9/18/2019
Ward	SO2019-5547	Or2019-322	Or2019-323	Or2019-324	SO2019-6520	A2019-54	A2019-55
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	0	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	0	1	1	0	1	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	0	0	0	0	0	1
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	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	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	0	0	1	1	1
39	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
42	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
43	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	0	1	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–March 2022

	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	10/16/2019	10/16/2019	10/16/2019	10/16/2019	11/26/2019	11/26/2019	11/26/2019
Ward	SO2019-6926	Or2019-396	Or2019-397	A2019-63	SO2019-8407	O2019-8521	O2019-8527
1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
2	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	1	1	1	0	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	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
21	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
23	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	0	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	0	0	0
41	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
42	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
43	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	0	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-March 2022

	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
	11/26/2019	12/18/2019	1/15/2020	1/15/2020	1/15/2020	1/15/2020	1/15/2020
Ward	SO2019-8518	SO2019-8063	Or2020-8	R2019-685	A2019-66	A2019-115	A2019-116
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
13	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
14	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
15	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
16	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
18	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
19	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	2	2	2	2	2
22	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	2	0	1	2	1	1	1
27	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	0	0	1	0	1	1
30	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
31	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
32	1	3	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
39	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
40	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
42	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
43	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	3	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	0	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-March 2022

	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
	1/15/2020	1/15/2020	2/19/2020	2/19/2020	2/19/2020	4/24/2020	4/24/2020
Ward	A2019-117	A2019-118	Or2020-48	Or2020-50	Or2019-512	O2020-2356	O2020-803
1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
3	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
7	1	1	1	2	1	0	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
14	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
16	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
17	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
21	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
23	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
29	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
30	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
31	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
39	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
41	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
42	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	0	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–March 2022

	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
	4/24/2020	4/24/2020	4/24/2020	5/20/2020	5/20/2020	5/20/2020	5/20/2020
Ward	Or2020-100	SO2019-4125	O2020-2369	Or2020-140	O2020-2365	O2020-2263	O2020-2370
1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
4	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
14	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
15	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
18	1	1	2	0	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
31	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	3	3	3	3
35	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
38	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
39	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
40	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
41	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
42	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
45	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	0	0	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–March 2022

	41	42	43	44	45	46	47
	5/20/2020	5/20/2020	6/17/2020	6/17/2020	6/17/2020	7/22/2020	7/22/2020
Ward	R2020-284	O2020-94	SO2020-2825	R2019-694	O2020-3501	SO2020-2862	O2020-3592
1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	0	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	0	0	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
9	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
12	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
15	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
16	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
17	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
22	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
25	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
26	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	0	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	0	1	1	1	1
34	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
35	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
38	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
41	1	1	1	0	1	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	1	1	0	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	0	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–March 2022

	48	49	50	51	52	53	54
	7/22/2020	9/9/2020	9/9/2020	10/7/2020	10/7/2020	10/7/2020	11/24/2020
Ward	O2020-3443	Or2020-219	O2020-3388	SO2020-4588	SO2020-3982	O2020-4539	O2020-5746
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
7	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
12	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
15	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
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	0
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
34	3	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	0	1	1	1	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
42	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
45	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	0

(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–March 2022

	55	56	57	58	59	60	61
	11/24/2020	11/24/2020	11/24/2020	11/24/2020	11/24/2020	1/27/2021	1/27/2021
Ward	O2020-5775	SO2020-5216	O2020-5747	O2020-5743	O2020-5749	R2020-1072	O2020-117
1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	0	0	0	0	4	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
14	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
15	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
16	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
20	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	0	0	0	0	1	4	0
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
26	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
42	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
45	0	0	0	0	1	4	0
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
48	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	0	0	0	0	0	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–March 2022

	62	63	64	65	66	67	68
	1/27/2021	1/27/2021	1/27/2021	1/27/2021	1/27/2021	2/24/2021	2/24/2021
Ward	O2020-6213	Or2021-25	O2020-6249	O2020-5755	O2020-6207	Or2021-45	Or2021-42
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	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	0	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	4	0
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	4	4	4	4	4	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
42	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
46	1	1	1	1	0	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	0

(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–March 2022

	69	70	71	72	73	74	75
	2/26/2021	3/24/2021	3/24/2021	3/24/2021	3/24/2021	3/24/2021	3/24/2021
Ward	SO2021-414	O2021-746	O2020-6251	R2021-213	O2021-446	O2020-4590	SR2020-583
1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
2	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
3	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
4	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
5	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
6	0	1	1	4	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	4	1	1	0
8	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
9	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	5	1	1	1	0
12	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
14	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
15	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
16	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
19	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
20	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
21	1	1	1	0	1	1	4
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
24	1	1	1	0	1	1	4
25	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
26	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
28	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
29	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
34	3	0	1	0	1	1	0
35	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
37	1	4	1	0	1	1	0
38	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
40	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
41	4	0	1	0	1	1	0
42	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
43	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
44	1	0	1	1	1	1	4
45	0	0	1	1	1	1	0
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
47	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
48	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	4

(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–March 2022

	76	77	78	79	80	81	82
	4/21/2021	4/21/2021	5/26/2021	5/26/2021	5/26/2021	5/26/2021	5/26/2021
Ward	SO2021-1226	O2021-1228	Or2021-104	Or2021-105	O2021-1639	SO2019-2789	O2021-445
1	1	1	1	1	1	3	0
2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
5	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
6	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
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	1	1	0	1	1	1
14	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
15	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
16	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
23	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
25	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
26	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	4	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
30	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
35	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
36	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
38	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
41	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
42	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	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	0	0
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	0	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–March 2022

	83	84	85	86	87	88	89
	6/23/2021	6/25/2021	7/21/2021	7/21/2021	7/21/2021	7/21/2021	7/21/2021
Ward	O2021-2883	SO2019-7918	Or2021-195	Or2021-196	SO2021-2874	SO2021-2899	O2021-2862
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
12	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
14	0	1	0	0	1	1	1
15	0	1	0	0	1	1	1
16	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
18	3	3	0	0	1	1	1
19	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
20	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
26	0	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	0	1	1	1	1	1
31	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	0	1	2	2	2	2	2
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
39	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
40	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
42	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
43	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
44	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
45	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
46	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	0	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–March 2022

	90	91	92	93	94	95	96
	7/21/2021	7/21/2021	9/14/2021	9/14/2021	9/14/2021	9/14/2021	9/14/2021
Ward	SO2019-4132	O2021-1931	O2021-3265	Or2021-254	Or2021-255	Or2021-256	O2021-2869
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
2	0	1	3	3	3	3	3
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	0	1	1	1	1	1	2
15	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
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	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	3	3	3	3	3
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
23	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
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	0	1	1	1
30	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
36	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
39	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
41	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
42	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	0	1	1	1	1	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–March 2022

	97	98	99	100	101	102	103
	9/14/2021	9/14/2021	9/14/2021	9/20/2021	10/27/2021	10/27/2021	10/27/2021
Ward	A2021-134 & A2021-135	O2021-3449	SO2021-3108	SO2021-3249	O2021-4756	R2021-1126	SO2021-4785
1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
2	3	3	3	3	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
14	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
15	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
20	3	3	3	3	0	0	1
21	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
22	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
24	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
42	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	0	0	3	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–March 2022

	104	105	106	107	108	109	110
	10/27/2021	10/27/2021	10/27/2021	10/27/2021	10/27/2021	10/27/2021	10/27/2021
Ward	O2021-4757	O2021-4758	O2021-4240	O2021-4238 (v1)	O2021-4788	O2021-4786	O2021-4759
1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	4	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	4	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
23	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
42	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
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	0	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	0	0

(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–March 2022

	111	112	113	114	115	116	117
	10/29/2021	11/17/2021	11/17/2021	11/17/2021	11/17/2021	12/15/2021	12/15/2021
Ward	O2021-4943	Or2021-333	Or2021-335	Or2021-334	O2021-4131	Or2021-389	Or2021-391
1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
2	0	2	0	1	0	1	1
3	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	3	1	1	1	0	1	1
5	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
6	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
7	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	3	3	3	3	1	1
10	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
11	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
14	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
15	1	0	1	1	0	1	0
16	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
17	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	3	1	1	1	1	1	0
19	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
20	3	1	1	1	0	1	1
21	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
23	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
24	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
26	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
27	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
31	1	0	1	1	1	3	3
32	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
34	0	3	3	3	3	1	1
35	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
36	0	3	3	3	3	1	1
37	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
40	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
41	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
42	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
43	3	1	1	1	1	0	1
44	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
46	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
48	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	0	1	1	1	1	1	0

(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–March 2022

	118	119	120	121	122	123	124
	12/15/2021	12/15/2021	1/26/2022	1/26/2022	1/26/2022	1/26/2022	2/23/2022
Ward	SO2021-3243	SO2021-1953	Or2022-29	Or2022-32	O2021-5873	A2021-196	O2022-401
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
3	0	1	1	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	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
10	1	1	2	2	2	2	1
11	1	0	1	0	1	1	5
12	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
13	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
14	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
15	1	0	1	0	0	4	0
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
18	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	0	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	0	0	0	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	0	1	0	1	1	1
30	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
31	3	3	0	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	2
36	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	3	3	1	0	1	1	1
39	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
42	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
43	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	0	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–March 2022

	125	126	127	128	129	130	131
	2/23/2022	2/23/2022	3/23/2022	3/23/2022	3/23/2022	3/23/2022	3/23/2022
Ward	O2022-393	A2021-172	O2022-885	O2022-494	O2022-617	Or2022-56	R2022-324
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	3	1	1	1	0	0
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
12	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
13	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
14	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
15	1	0	0	1	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	0	1	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
21	1	3	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
23	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
24	0	1	1	1	1	3	3
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	3	1	1	1	0	1
31	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	2	2	1	1	1	1	0
36	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
39	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
41	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
42	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
48	1	1	2	2	2	2	2
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
50	1	0	1	1	1	1	1

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

Endnotes

¹ Much of the following analysis of the Lightfoot city council is to be found in more detail in ¹ Dick Simpson, Marco Rosaire Rossi, and Thomas J. Gradel, “From Rubber Stamp to a Divided City Council, June 12, 2019 – April 24, 2020,” Chicago City Council Report #11, *UIC Department of Political Science*, Chicago University of Illinois at Chicago, April 28, 2020. <https://pols.uic.edu/chicago-politics/city-council-voting-records/>

² The mayor does not vote in the city council, except to break a tie, which almost never happens. Because of this, we determine by Major Lightfoot’s support for legislation by examining if her office or another city agency introduced it and using the votes of Mayor Lightfoot’s political floor leader and Finance Committee Chair as proxies for the mayor’s votes. Lightfoot’s political floor leader during this period was 36th Ward Alderperson Gilbert Villegas and the Chair of the Finance Committee is 32nd Ward Alderperson Scott Waguespack. If these leaders’ 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.

³ See Dick Simpson, James Nell, Missy Mouritsen Zmuda, Thomas J. Gradel, Cori Smith, and Tom Kell, “The Last of the Daley Years: Chicago City Council Report #5 May 21, 2007—January 13, 2011,” *UIC Department of Political Science*, Chicago University of Illinois at Chicago, March, 2011. https://pols.uic.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/273/2018/10/cc_citycouncilreport5.pdf, Dick Simpson, Marco Rosaire Rossi, and Thomas J. Gradel, “Emanuel and Lightfoot City Councils: Chicago City Council Report #12 June 12, 2019 – May 18, 2021,” *UIC Department of Political Science*, Chicago University of Illinois at Chicago, May 18, 2021. https://pols.uic.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/273/2021/05/City-Council-Report-%5eN12-Corrected-5-17-21-Final.edits_.pdf, and Dick Simpson, Marco Rosaire Rossi, and Thomas J. Gradel, “Chicago City Council and The Mayor: Big Questions on the Threshold to Change Chicago City Council Report #10 April 19, 2017 – November 14, 2018,” *UIC Department of Political Science*, Chicago University of Illinois at Chicago, December 12, 2018. <https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fpols.uic.edu%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2Fsites%2F273%2F2019%2F10%2FChicago-City-Council-and-The-Mayor-Big-Questions-on-the-Threshold-to-Change.docx&wdOrigin=BROWSELINK>

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