

**Lori Lightfoot's Mayoralty:
A Divided Council Begets Chicago's New Factionalism
Chicago City Council Report #14
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Mayor Lightfoot and a Divided City Council¹

On April 2, 2019, Lori Lightfoot won her runoff election against Cook County President Toni Preckwinkle with an astounding 74% of the vote, including a majority in all of Chicago's 50 wards. Lightfoot's victory was a clear indication that Chicagoans wanted change. Previously Lightfoot had never held or ran for elected public office. This outsider status, with no public record, helped her run a convincing campaign as a good-government alternative. She also positioned herself as a progressive with plans to redirect public investments to the city's distressed minority neighborhoods and she promised to end the city's notorious reputation of corruption.

In the same 2019 elections, Chicago voters chose newcomers over seven incumbent alderpersons. Five other newcomers were elected to fill empty seats, which were vacated when the incumbents decided not to run again. A total of 12 new alderpersons, nearly a quarter of the council, were elected. These twelve were evidence of the changing demographics of the city. Like many American cities, Chicago is becoming increasingly ethnically diverse and progressive.

The new aldermanic cohort included five socialists, five women, three African Americans, five Latinos, two council members who identified as LGBTQ, and one conservative Democrat who formally identified as an independent. In May 2019, when the new Council convened, 10 of the new alderpersons joined the city council's Progressive-Reform Caucus.

Historically, when a mayor is elected in Chicago—especially with such a significant majority—that person has tremendous sway over city politics, and were able to command a “rubber stamp” city council.

For Lightfoot the story was different. Mayor Lightfoot oversaw the most tumultuous city council meetings since the 1980s. Toward the end of her term, she was forced to compromise with the council on key legislation. Nevertheless, the conflict between her administration and the council did not mean that the city returned to the “council wars” that existed under Mayor Harold Washington. Instead, it led to the emergence of a divided council where Mayor Lightfoot mostly accomplished her legislative goals, but often through necessary compromises.

During Lightfoot's mayoralty, members of the council's five caucuses weaved in and out of the council's four most significant voting blocs: 1) the Moderate-Liberal Bloc, 2) the Progressive-Socialist Bloc, 3) the Conservative Bloc, and 4) the Chicago Machine Bloc. These voting blocs pull and tug, pressure and push the Lightfoot administration. However, on most issues the mayor was able to cobble together a working majority, often while dealing with multiple crises during her four years in office.

Moderate- Liberal Bloc

The first of the council's four voting blocs is a Moderate-Liberal bloc, which was closely aligned with Mayor Lightfoot, although some cracks in the relationship became noticeable near the end of her term. This happened largely because some members of the Aldermanic Black Caucus and the Progressive-Reform Caucus, the largest caucuses in the council, began to stray from the majorities of their caucuses and diverged from the mayor on some critical issues, such as marijuana legalization, the budget, and her dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic. Nevertheless, as a whole these two caucuses agreed with Lightfoot's agenda. They were the main reason she was able to accomplish the majority of her legislative goals.

Lightfoot also benefited from the strong support she received from the alderpersons she chose as chairs of Chicago City Council's committees. While Lightfoot was mayor there were a total of twenty-one committees, with nineteen standing committees and two special committees. In total, there were twenty chairs².

Progressive-Socialist Bloc

On several social and economic issues, Mayor Lightfoot was challenged from her left by Chicago's socialist alderpersons. This group was critical of her inability to carry out the progressive agenda that she campaigned on, particularly as it related to the budget, police accountability, and education reform. While six socialists were elected in 2019, only five officially joined the Democratic Socialist Caucus on May 1st, 2021.

The Democratic Socialist Caucus, with only five members in a legislative body of 50, did not have enough votes nor did they have enough "sway" to attract a majority to pass their own agenda. Nonetheless, their criticisms of Lightfoot often altered the terms of debate and radicalized others in the council. Their primary strength of the socialist was in pulling other members of the Progressive-Reform Caucus to their positions to increase their leverage with the mayor in negotiating legislation. This was also in play occasionally when working with more conservative alderpersons, who also opposed Lightfoot, to stall legislation.

Chicago Machine Bloc

Members of this voting bloc were stalwarts of the Chicago Machine. "Machine politics" are characterized by patronage, cronyism, and a generous tolerance of corruption. No politician today wants to defend machine politics, so members of this contingent denied their association. Still, several members of this faction consistently tried to prevent passage of Lightfoot's good-government reforms in an effort to delegitimize her administration, often voting against her in trivial situations. Since no aldermen would ever admit to being part of a political machine, aldermen on the list are there because of their associations, scandals, and public statement against Mayor Lightfoot's good-government reforms. While Anthony Beale (Ward 9) and Raymond Lopez (Ward 15) are included because they were the most outspoken critics of Lightfoot good government reforms, specifically, her attempts to curb aldermanic prerogative. They routinely voted against her appointments.

The other alderpersons are included in this group because of their ties to the Daley administrations and their involvement with various corruption scandals. In April 2019, Patrick Daley Thompson (Ward 11) came under scrutiny after he received an \$80,000 loan from Washington Federal Bank for Savings. The loan was for repairs to a building that housed Thompson's political headquarters and the offices of the 11th Ward Regular Democratic Organization.³ On February 14, 2022, Thompson was found guilty of two counts of lying to federal investigators about the loan and five counts of filing false income-tax returns. He then vacated his council seat and was replaced by Nicole Lee, the first East Asian American woman to serve on the council. As alderwoman her voting pattern closely aligned with Lightfoot's preferences.

Marty Quinn (Ward 13) is included on the list because of his close ties to the currently indicted longtime House Speaker Michael Madigan. He is also the brother of political operative Kevin Quinn, who was removed from Madigan's office after being accused of sexual harassment and he was eventually fired. Kevin Quinn continued to receive \$10,000 in payments from current and former ComEd lobbyists close to Speaker Madigan.⁴ In January of 2020, Chicago's

Inspector General, Joe Ferguson, strongly suggested that Quinn had engaged in “prohibitive political activity” for using city resources to promote his and Representative Madigan’s campaigns.⁵ On March 9, 2022, Madigan was indicted on bribery and corruption charges.

Finally, Edward Burke (Ward 14) was also indicted by federal prosecutors for extortion for allegedly denying a permit to an owner of a Burger King restaurant in his ward unless the owner donated funds to a political ally and agreed to hire Burke’s law firm to handle his property taxes. Even though Burke was reelected in 2019, the extortion charges forced him to step down as chair of the Finance Committee. In March 2020 Burke lost re-election for 14th Ward Democratic Committeeperson. In 2023, he decided to not run again for his city council seat.

The Conservative Bloc

The conservative bloc opposed Mayor Lightfoot’s social liberalism and spending priorities. The bloc’s three members identify as Independents or Conservative Democrats. They espoused conservative political positions and would likely have been members of the GOP if the Republican Party in Chicago had the capacity to seriously rival the Democrats. The bloc included Nicolas Sposato (Ward 38), Anthony Napolitano (Ward 41), and James Gardiner (Ward 45). Both Sposato and Napolitano were known as Independents. Napolitano ran for his council seat as a registered Republican but switched his party affiliation to an Independent after being elected.⁶ The final member, James Gardiner (Ward 45), was an Independent but joined the Democratic Party before running for office.

Analysis of Chicago City Council Votes

To analyze Chicago City Council voting, we focused on divided rollcall votes between May 29, 2019, to April 27, 2023, the four-year period when Mayor Lightfoot presided over the Council. Divided roll call votes are defined as all votes that are not unanimous or are not voice votes. We compared each alderperson’s vote to the mayor’s position and then calculated the percentage of agreement with the mayor.⁷

Each year, alderpersons cast more than a thousand votes, but most are noncontroversial and pass unanimously. There are only a very small number of votes that engendered any dissent in the council. During Lightfoot’s term, 189 divided rollcall votes were recorded. Table 1 shows the percentage of agreement that each of the 50 alderpersons had with the mayor based on their voting history.

Table 1
Aldermanic Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council 2019-2023

Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement	Ward	Aldermen	% of Agreement
12	Anabel Abarca`	100%	3	Pat Dowell*	88%
27	Walter Burnett Jr.*^	99%	30	Ariel Reboyras^+	88%
46	James Cappleman^	99%	4	Sophia King^	87%
11	Nicole Lee`	99%	31	Felix Cardona Jr.	87%
8	Michelle A. Harris*	98%	50	Debra Silverstein^	87%
32	Scott Waguespack*	98%	1	Daniel La Spata	86%
24	Michael Scott Jr.*	96%	26	Roberto Maldonado^	86%
34	Carrie Austin*	96%	49	Maria Hadden	86%
37	Emma Mitts*	96%	40	Andre Vasquez^	84%
48	Harry Osterman*^	96%	35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	83%
43	Timmy Knudsen`	96%	47	Matt Martin^	83%
7	Gregory Mitchell^	95%	11	Patrick Daley Thompson	82%
21	Howard Brookins*	95%	33	Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez	82%
24	Monique Scott	95%	17	David Moore^	81%
10	Susan Sadlowski Garza*	94%	19	Matthew O'Shea*^	79%
18	Derrick Curtis^	94%	20	Jeanette Taylor	77%
28	Jason Ervin*	93%	38	Nicholas Sposato*	76%
29	Chris Taliaferro*	92%	2	Brian Hopkins^	74%
36	Gilbert Villegas*	92%	25	Byron Sigcho-Lopez	74%
6	Roderick Sawyer*	91%	23	Silvana Tabares	70%
12	George Cardenas*	91%	13	Marty Quinn	68%
22	Michael Rodriguez^	91%	42	Brendan Reilly	67%
44	Tom Tunney*+	91%	14	Edward Burke	66%
5	Leslie Hairston^	90%	45	James Gardiner	65%
16	Stephanie Coleman	90%	41	Anthony Napolitano^	64%
39	Samantha Nugent^*	90%	9	Anthony Beale	60%
43	Michele Smith*	90%	15	Raymond Lopez	44%
Chicago City Council Mean w/ Appointed Seats			85%		
Chicago City Council Median w/ Appointed Seats			89%		
Chicago City Council Mean w/out Appointed Seats			84%		
Chicago City Council Mean w/out Appointed Seats			87%		
*Chair of Standing Committee					
+Chair of Special Committee					
^Vice Chair of Standing Committee					
`Appointed Seats					

Figure 1

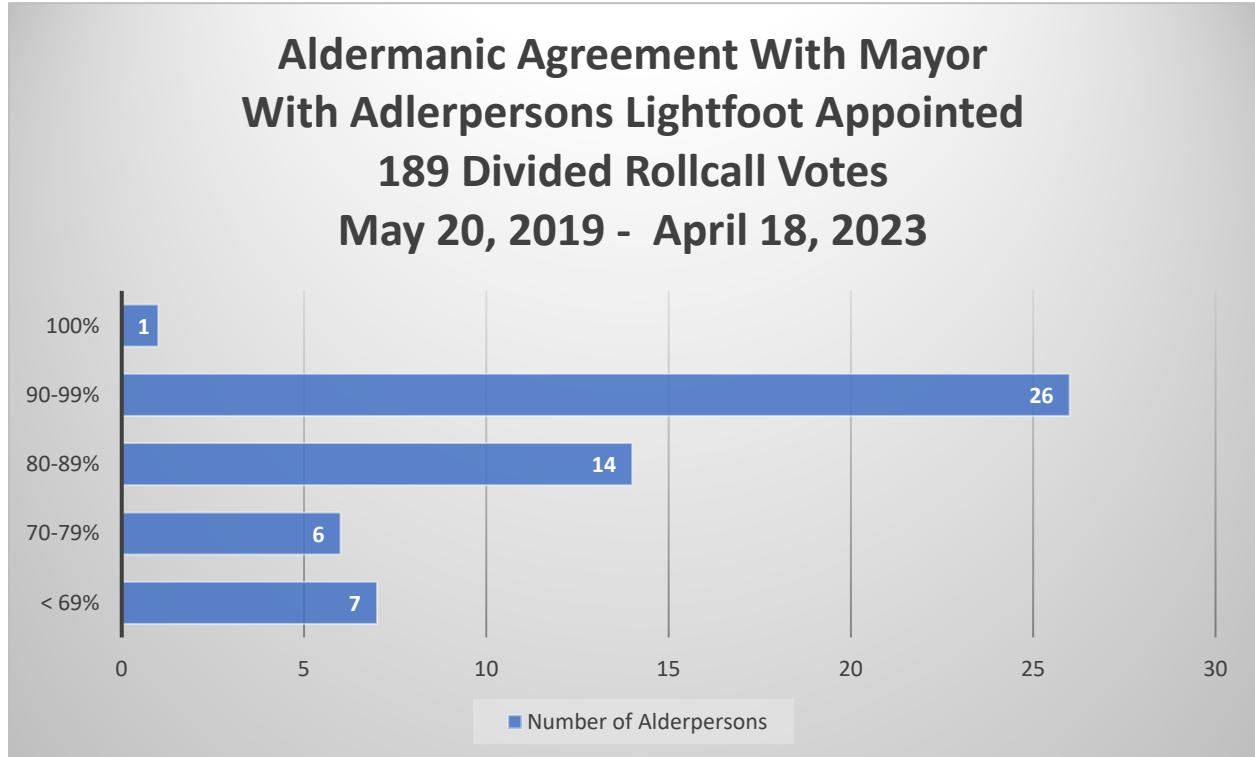
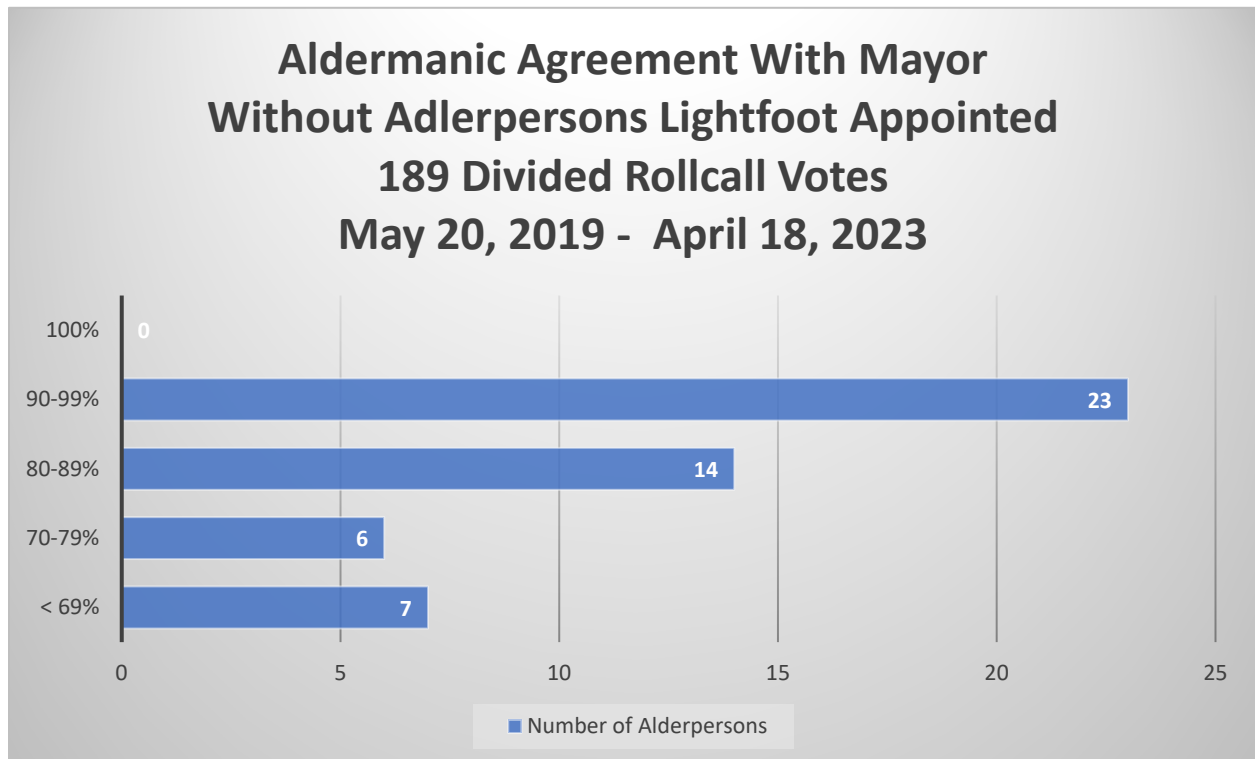


Figure 2



Figures 1 and 2 illustrate Lightfoot's level of support with and without the alderpersons she appointed to fill vacancies. In general, the four appointed positions only marginally moved the numbers, and did not invalidate the council's overall trend.

During Lightfoot's term, approximately half of the council supported her 90% or more of the time. This level of support is lower than that under Mayors Richard M. Daley and Rahm Emanuel. Both these previous mayors had consistent strong majorities that supported their legislation more than 90% of the time, and had a core group of alderpersons who voted with them 100% of the time.⁸

Furthermore, this level of division -- only half of the Alderpersons supported the mayor 90% or more of the time -- was relatively consistent throughout Lightfoot's term. As Table 2 shows, the council's mean agreement with the mayor after her first year was 87%. By her final year this percentage only dropped slightly to 84%

Table 2
Aldermanic Support for Mayor Lightfoot in the City Council Year 1 and 4

Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement 1 st Year	% of Agreement 4 th Year	Difference Between 1 st and 4 th
1	Daniel La Spata	83%	86%	+3%
2	Brian Hopkins	92%	74%	-18%
3	Pat Dowell	92%	88%	-4%
4	Sophia King	89%	87%	-2%
5	Leslie Hairston	89%	90%	+1%
6	Roderick Sawyer	94%	91%	-3%
7	Gregory Mitchell	94%	95%	+1%
8	Michelle A. Harris	100%	98%	-2%
9	Anthony Beale	64%	60%	-4%
10	Susan Sadlowski Garza	100%	94%	-6%
11	Patrick Daley Thompson	81%	82%	+1%
12	George Cardenas~	94%	91%	-3%
13	Marty Quinn	81%	68%	-13%
14	Edward Burke	86%	66%	-20%
15	Raymond Lopez	31%	44%	+13%
16	Stephanie Coleman	94%	90%	-4%
17	David Moore	78%	81%	+3%
18	Derrick Curtis	91%	94%	+3%
19	Matthew O'Shea	89%	79%	-10%
20	Jeanette Taylor	74%	77%	+3%
21	Howard Brookins	90%	95%	+5%
22	Michael Rodriguez	92%	91%	-1%
23	Silvana Tabares	83%	70%	-13%
24	Michael Scott Jr~	94%	96%	+2%
25	Byron Sigcho-Lopez	83%	74%	-9%
26	Roberto Maldonado	97%	86%	-11%
27	Walter Burnett Jr.	100%	99%	-1%
28	Jason Ervin	83%	93%	+10%
29	Chris Taliaferro	89%	92%	+3%
30	Ariel Reboyas	83%	88%	+5%
31	Felix Cardona Jr.	86%	87%	+1%
32	Scott Waguespack	100%	98%	-2%
33	Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez	83%	82%	-1%
34	Carrie Austin	94%	96%	+2%
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	83%	83%	0%
36	Gilbert Villegas	100%	92%	-8%
37	Emma Mitts	97%	96%	-1%
38	Nicholas Sposato	75%	76%	+1%
39	Samantha Nugent	86%	90%	+4%
40	Andre Vasquez	86%	84%	-2%
41	Anthony Napolitano	67%	64%	-3%
42	Brendan Reilly	92%	67%	-25%
43	Michele Smith~	94%	90%	-4%
44	Tom Tunney	100%	91%	-9%
45	James Gardiner	75%	65%	-10%
46	James Cappleman	97%	99%	-2%
47	Matt Martin	86%	83%	-3%
48	Harry Osterman	100%	96%	-4%
49	Maria Hadden	88%	86%	-2%
50	Debra Silverstein	94%	87%	-7%
Mean		87%	84%	-3%
Median		89%	87%	-2%
~Vacated Seat Before End of Term				

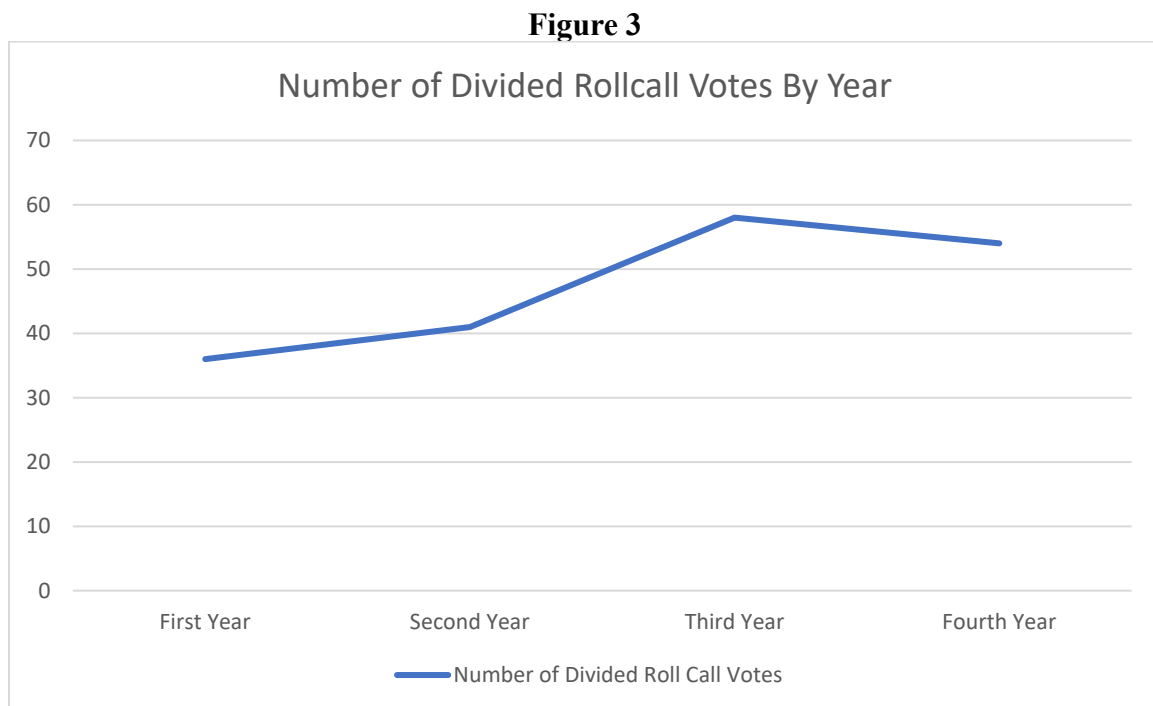
While the council's percentage agreement with Lightfoot modulated little during her term, there were some noteworthy changes. The two alderpersons who experienced the greatest

decline in support for Lightfoot, as measured by comparing the level of agreement from her first year to her last, were Brendan Reilly (Ward 42) [-25%] and Ed Burke (Ward 14) [-20%].

Reilly is not socially conservative, but compared to the rest of the council, he is fiscally conservative, and shares the political orientation of many of the voters in his wealthy downtown ward. Reilly originally supported Lightfoot, but he appeared to have soured on her administration when it supported increased spending, expanded tenants' rights during the COVID19 pandemic, attacked aldermanic prerogative as a means to protect wealthy neighborhoods, and pushed for a downtown city casino that Reilly said was not good for his ward.

Burke, as mentioned above, was a well-known proponent of the Cook County Democratic machine. During her campaign Lightfoot consistently attacked Burke. She frequently mentioned Burke's then recent extortion charges as an example of everything that was wrong with the city. In her first year as mayor, Burke seemed to be trying to align with Lightfoot and voted with her on a regular basis. But, as time went on, Burke appeared to become more adamant in his objections. By the end of her term, he was one of her most vocal and obstinate critics.

Not only did support for Lightfoot decline a bit as over her term, but the council in general became far less predictable. Figure 3 demonstrates that after her first year the number of divided rollcall votes increased, reaching its peak in year three, and only declining slightly in her final year.



Despite the increasingly unpredictability of the council, there remained a solid liberal majority that was expressed through the council's various caucuses.

Table 3

Progressive Reform Caucus		
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement
32	Scott Waguespack	98%
10	Susan Sadlowski Garza (Chair)	94%
29	Chris Taliaferro	92%
6	Roderick Sawyer	91%
22	Michael Rodriguez	91%
5	Leslie Hairston	90%
16	Stephanie Coleman	90%
4	Sophia King (Vice-Chair)	87%
31	Felix Cardona Jr.	87%
1	Daniel La Spata	86%
49	Maria Hadden	86%
40	Andre Vasquez (Secretary)	84%
47	Matt Martin (Treasurer)	83%
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	83%
33	Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez	82%
17	David Moore	81%
20	Jeanette Taylor	77%
25	Byron Sigcho-Lopez	74%
Progressive Reform Caucus Mean		86%
Progressive Reform Caucus Median		86%

Table 4

Aldermanic Black Caucus		
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement
27	Walter Burnett Jr.	99%
8	Michelle A. Harris	98%
34	Carrie Austin	96%
24	Michael Scott Jr. (Secretary)	96%
37	Emma Mitts	96%
7	Gregory Mitchell (Treasurer)	95%
21	Howard Brookins	95%
18	Derrick Curtis	94%
28	Jason Ervin (Chair)	93%
29	Chris Taliaferro	92%
6	Roderick Sawyer	91%
5	Leslie Hairston	90%
16	Stephanie Coleman (Vice-Chair)	90%
3	Pat Dowell	88%
4	Sophia King	87%
49	Maria Hadden	86%
47	Matt Martin	83%
17	David Moore	81%
20	Jeanette Taylor	77%
9	Anthony Beale	60%
Aldermanic Black Caucus Mean		89%
Aldermanic Black Caucus Median		91%

Table 5

Latino Caucus		
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement
10	Susan Sadlowski Garza	94%
36	Gilbert Villegas	92%
22	Michael Rodriguez (Secretary)	91%
12	George Cardenas	91%
30	Ariel Reboyras	88%
31	Felix Cardona, Jr.	87%
26	Roberto Maldonado (Chair)	86%
40	Andre Vasquez	84%
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa (Vice-Chair)	83%
33	Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez	82%
25	Byron Sigcho-Lopez (Treasurer)	74%
23	Silvana Tabares	70%
Latino Caucus Mean		85%
Latino Caucus Mean		87%

Table 6

LGBT Caucus		
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement
46	James Cappleman (Chair)	99%
44	Tom Tunney	91%
49	Maria Hadden	86%
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	83%
15	Raymond Lopez	44%
LGBT Caucus Mean		81%
LGBT Caucus Median		86%

Table 7

Democratic Socialist Caucus		
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement
1	Daniel La Spata	86%
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa (Chair)	83%
33	Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez	82%
20	Jeanette Taylor	77%
25	Byron Sigcho-Lopez	74%
Socialist Caucus Mean		80%
Socialist Caucus Median		82%

As Tables 3 through 7 show all of the caucuses voted with the mayor more than 80% of the time, but less than 90% of the time. The caucus that had the least agreement with the mayor was the Democratic Socialist Caucus, whose members regularly voted against the mayor because, as they said, they believed her proposals did not go far enough to advance a progressive agenda.

Table 8

Conservatives Voting Bloc		
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement
38	Nicholas Sposato	76%
45	James Gardiner	65%
41	Anthony Napolitano	64%
Conservative Voting Bloc Mean		68%
Conservative Voting Bloc Median		65%
Other Potential Conservative Voting Bloc		
23	Silvana Tabares	70%
42	Brendan Reilly	67%
Conservative Voting w/ Ward 42 Bloc Mean		68%
Conservative Voting w/ Ward 42 Bloc Median		67%

According to Table 8, the mean agreement with the mayor for the members in the Conservative voting bloc was 68%, far lower than any of the caucuses. The Conservative bloc consistently opposes Mayor Lightfoot's spending and socially liberal policies. Sposato (Ward 38), Napolitano (Ward 41), and Gardiner (Ward 45), who either claim to be Independents or they "lean Republican," are core members of this bloc. Two Democrats, Tabares (Ward 23) and Reilly (Ward 42) frequently voted with this bloc on various issues. They have expressed more fiscally conservative views than alderpersons who are known to be Democrat. For that reason, they are listed as other "potential" voting bloc allies, though their inclusion in the bloc does not greatly influence the numbers.

Table 9

"Chicago Machine" Voting Bloc		
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement
11	Patrick Thompson	82%
13	Marty Quinn	68%
14	Edward Burke	66%
9	Anthony Beale	60%
15	Raymond Lopez	44%
"Chicago Machine" Mean		64%
"Chicago Machine" Median		67%
Other Potential "Chicago Machine" Members		
2	Brian Hopkins	74%
"Chicago Machine" Mean w/ Wards 2		65%
"Chicago Machine" Median w/ Wards 2		67%

As Table 9 shows, the bloc that had the least agreement with the mayor was the Chicago Machine. This bloc usually opposed Lightfoot's good government reforms and her appointments. However, on other issues their ideological consistency was less apparent. As with the

Conservative voting bloc, some members of the city council moved closer to the voting bloc over time. In his first year, Alderman Brian Hopkins (Ward 2) was one of Lightfoot's most loyal alderpersons with a 92% agreement. Yet, by the end her term, Hopkins had dramatically dropped to one of her lowest with 74% agreement. Like Reilly, his opposition to Lightfoot was partially motivated by her plan to place a casino in downtown Chicago. Hopkins was fiercely opposed to the casino plan, and his criticisms of Lightfoot intensified as the project progressed.

Table 10
Support of City Council Committee Chairs for Mayor Lightfoot 2019-2023

Committee Chairs		
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement
27	Walter Burnett Jr.*	99%
8	Michelle A. Harris*	98%
32	Scott Waguespack*	98%
24	Michael Scott Jr.*	96%
34	Carrie Austin*	96%
37	Emma Mitts*	96%
48	Harry Osterman*	96%
10	Susan Sadlowski Garza*	94%
28	Jason Ervin*	93%
29	Chris Taliaferro*	92%
36	Gilbert Villegas*	92%
6	Roderick Sawyer*	91%
12	George Cardenas*	91%
44	Tom Tunney*+	91%
43	Michele Smith*	90%
3	Pat Dowell*	88%
30	Ariel Reboyas+	88%
19	Matthew O'Shea*	79%
38	Nicholas Sposato*	76%
Committee Chair Mean		92%
Committee Chair Median		92%
*Chair of Standing Committee		
+Chair of Special Committee		

As mentioned above, the Committee Chairs group showed the highest level of support for the mayor. This group's mean support for the mayor (92%) was eight points higher than the council in its entirety (84%). Of the 19 chairs, 15 of them voted with Mayor Lightfoot 90% of the time or greater. Four of the chairs: George Cardenas (Ward 12), Michael Scott Jr (Ward 24), Carrie Austin (Ward 34), and Michele Smith (Ward 43) left their seats before their terms ended.⁹

Contentious Votes

To determine the most significant divisions in the council, we studied the most contentious divided rollcall votes. These votes in this report are defined as any vote that had five or more aldermen voting opposed to the majority. Within Mayor Lightfoot's terms these votes included the following categories:

- ***Council Governance***
- ***The City Budgets***
- ***COVID-19 Relief, Emergency Powers, and Hyper Inflation***
- ***Police Reform and Crime Prevention***
- ***The Cannabis and Gambling Economy***
- ***Housing and Urban Development***
- ***Immigration***
- ***Appointments and Settlements***
- ***Other Matters***
 - ***Banning Single Use Utensils***
 - ***Guaranteed Income Hearing***
 - ***A Call to Condemn Violence Against Certain Castes***
 - ***Renaming Lake Shore Drive***
 - ***Raising the Speed Limit***

Council Governance

Since its earliest days, the City of Chicago operated under what was known as a "weak mayor, strong council" form of government. As its population grew, the city developed and became more modern and more electrified. Transportation, communications and other aspects of business, commerce and daily life became more dependent on large systems. The need and ability for effective governance shifted from the local alderman to the chief of the city-wide government operations, the mayor. At the same time, political campaigns became larger, more expensive and required bigger and more sophisticated operations, which increased the mayor's power to influence the outcome of aldermanic elections.

Over time, mayors took advantage of these broad economic, social and political developments to increase their power vis-a-vis the council. Still, if a majority of alderpersons came together around an issue or proposal, they could pass, or more likely block, any mayoral initiative. If the mayor wanted something and a majority of alderpersons were opposed, then the alderpersons did not have to agree with each other on the merits. They merely needed to be united in their opposition and could vote to block it. And, if they passed a measure that the mayor opposed, he or she could veto it. Thus, it is easy to see that this power balance could lead to gridlock where nothing could get done.

An informal, unwritten workable resolution evolved. The mayor would have the final say over city-wide issues and policy, and each alderman would control what happened in his or her ward. For the most part this is the way things worked in Chicago for at least the past seven decades. From time to time there were disputes over what was solely a ward matter and what had broader or city-wide impact. Mayors won most of these battles but as they did, many alderpersons became more vocal and more adamant about protecting what they defined as

"aldermanic prerogative." This unwritten rule became a "battle cry" for many alderpersons, often when they felt aggrieved if a mayor overstepped their perceived boundaries.

"Aldermanic prerogative" was and is largely an unspecified political norm. It is not a power or right conferred on an alderperson when sworn into office. It is totally dependent on how politically powerful a particular mayor is at the time, or how willing the mayor is to acquiesce to the alderperson's wishes. Often a mayor decides that it is more politically wise to accommodate an alderperson's position than to engage in a heated, public battle over a relatively small matter.

When Lori Lightfoot campaigned for Mayor, she pledged to weaken or eliminate "aldermanic prerogative." Shortly after her election, she declared that "the days of aldermanic prerogative as an unchecked veto are over."¹⁰ Initially, she had some success toward this goal. However, and especially during the end of her term as mayor, she received considerable pushback from the council. Wary of additional losses in power over their wards, the alderpersons incrementally sought greater independence from the mayor.

Shortly after her term began, Lightfoot signed an executive order to curb one aspect of "aldermanic prerogative"--an alderperson's control of issuing city permits in his or her ward. A month later and following the recommendation of the city's Inspector General Joe Ferguson, she issued another executive order that shifted control over street resurfacing away from alderpersons to the city's Department of Transportation. She also passed amendments to the city's ethics ordinance that allow the Inspector General to investigate alderpersons and their staff without first receiving a formal complaint. These actions caused consternation among some alderpersons. Raymond Lopez (Ward 15), decried Mayor Lightfoot's attack on aldermanic prerogative as nothing but a power grab by city bureaucrats who wish to reduce alderpersons to "bobble-heads."¹¹

Nevertheless, Lightfoot won another victory over the practice when, on December 15, 2021, she persuaded the council to override by a 33-13 vote Anthony Napolitano's (Ward 41) objection to construction of a 297-unit affordable housing complex in his ward. After the council meeting, Lightfoot told news reporters that, "if the precedent that it sets is 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."¹²

While a majority of the council generally supported Lightfoot's attempts to curb "aldermanic prerogative", the council opposed ending the practice completely. Lightfoot's original executive order on ending "aldermanic prerogative" over permits in their wards was intended to eventually include zoning. However, Lightfoot's council allies asked her to drop the effort because they believed she would lose the fight.¹³

Also, alderpersons were reluctant to relinquish authority over signage and sidewalks. On June 25, 2021, Lightfoot suffered one of her rare defeats when Brandon Reilly (Ward 42) successfully moved to delay, for one council meeting, an ordinance to curtail alderpersons' power to award permits for business signs and sidewalk usage in their wards. The proposed legislation would have made these permits an administrative action. Instead of businesses needing alderpersons to introduce separate ordinances to the council, the permits would be managed through the city's bureaucracy. The change was part of a post-pandemic economic recovery program to help small businesses. Despite support for the change from the business community, Alderman Reilly's (Ward 42) 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 promptly issue the permit. If the alderperson objected, the permit would go through the usual city council process.¹⁴

Similarly, at the following council meeting on July 21, 2021, Brian Hopkins (Ward 2) introduced legislation that would guarantee that alderpersons had control over the hiring of their ward superintendents. After a two-year investigation into the practice, Inspector General Ferguson determined the practice conflicted with the Shakman Decrees, a series of federal court orders that outlawed political hirings and firing, and eliminated much of the city's patronage system. Despite ward superintendents reporting to the commissioner of the Department of Streets and Sanitation, several alderpersons believed was critical that they retain the power to hire who was in that position. Superintendents have the power to cite residents for a series of infractions, including several ward level quality-of-life issues such as illegal dumping and failure to shovel snow-covered sidewalks.

While Lightfoot was generally willing to accept the Inspector General's recommendations, she didn't want to get in a fight about it. After the council meeting, she said hiring of ward superintendents was "the third rail" of Chicago politics and she signaled a willingness to accept Hopkins's legislation.¹⁵ She later added, "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."¹⁶

The degree of aldermanic power was not the only aspect of ward politics that shifted during Lightfoot's term. One more significant change occurred with the redrawing of ward boundaries that by law must happen every ten years following the U.S. Census.

The city's Advisory Redistricting Commission is tasked with designing a new map. Once the commission finalizes its plan, the council can modify it, however a proposed new map must be approved by a supermajority of 41 alderpersons. If this threshold is not met, then the issue goes to voters as a referendum.

On November 22, 2021, the commission presented its proposed new map to the city clerk. The proposed map was designed to break up long-standing, previously gerrymandered wards. It was also drawn to give greater representation to minority communities, especially to Latinos and Asians, who had experienced dramatic population increases in the last few decades. The proposed map called for 15 majority African American wards, 14 majority Latino wards, two Latino-influenced wards of more than 45 percent Latino population, the city's first Asian majority ward, and 13 white majority wards. It was referred to as the "people's map" and was supported by numerous social justice and good government organizations.

Generally, Lightfoot was supportive of the commission's work. As a candidate, Lightfoot called for an end to gerrymandering by completely removing the map-drawing task from the council and giving the responsibility to an independent commission.¹⁷ However, after becoming mayor, Lightfoot softened her position. While she still supported ending gerrymandering, she conceded that alderpersons should be involved in the process.

Nonetheless, this concession to alderpersons led to a bitter dispute between the Latino Caucus and the Aldermanic Black Caucus over the final draft of the map. While Latino and Asian populations had increased, the city's African American population had declined. The "people's map" reflected this reality, but alderpersons from predominantly African American wards saw it as a threat to their electoral chances and thus to their strength as a bloc on the council. Eventually, a compromise map was proposed that kept the broad outline of the "people's map" intact but swung some power back to majority African American wards.

In the end, the proposed new map included 16 majority African American wards, one African American influenced ward, but retained the 14 majority-Latino wards, the one Asian majority ward, and the 13 majority white wards; the six remaining wards had no dominate ethnic group. This new map passed by a narrow 43-7 vote. Alderpersons opposed to the proposed map included aldermen Hopkins, Burke and Lopez, who criticized what they saw as an unfair process, and several members of the Latino Caucus who believed t the proposed new map would reduce Latino representation.¹⁸

The final matter that revealed significant divisions between Lightfoot and the council, was the selection of committee chairs. Traditionally in Chicago, the mayor recommends the council's committees chairs through an ordinance that the council approves, often unanimously, by a voice vote. At her first council meeting, Lightfoot shocked some observers when she did not recommend retaining three incumbent chairs: Beale (Ward 9), chair of the Transportation Committee, Burke (Ward 14), Finance Committee, and Austin (Ward 34), chair of the Budget Committee. Thus, she received noticeable verbal opposition to her proposal.¹⁹

At that first council meeting, Lightfoot was expected to win approval of her choices for chairmanships via a rollcall vote. Her floor leader informed her that she had a comfortable “north of 30” alderpersons on her side. However, there was no rollcall. Her recommended list of chairs was approved by a traditional voice vote, with only Beale, Burke, and Lopez opposed.²⁰

Throughout her four years in office Lightfoot received support for her positions from the committee chairs 92% percent of the time. However, near the end of her term, support from the chairs diminished, as did her influence over the council as a whole.

In June of 2022, Alderman Michael Scott (Ward 24) resigned as chair of the Education Committee to take a job with the television and movie studio Cinespace. Since his departure, vice chair Alderwoman Sophia King (Ward 5) had assumed his responsibilities. Nevertheless, instead of recommending King for the position of chair, Lightfoot nominated Alderman James Cappleman (Ward 46). At the time King was running against Lightfoot in her reelection for mayor. The council voted 18-29 against Lightfoot’s proposal to make Cappleman the chair.²¹ During the meeting Lightfoot and King exchanged jabs. King accused Lightfoot of appointing individuals who were not transparent in their activities, while Lightfoot responded that King was making the appointment “political.”²²

During Lightfoot’s term, the Education Committee was not the only committee operating without an official chair. For personal reasons, Alderwoman Michelle Smith vacated her council seat. In doing so left her position as chair of the Ethics and Government Operations Committee. Vice chair, Matt Martin (Ward 47) waited for months to be elected chairman. The council, which had the power to elevate Martin, was reluctant to act without the mayor's blessing. Martin publicly advocated for the council electing committee chairs without the approval of the mayor. Lightfoot was opposed to such action. Nevertheless, after Lightfoot failed to qualify for the runoff election, the council voted 34-10 to determine its own rules, and by a vote of 33-11 set the number of committees and selected their chairs.

City Budgets

Upon taking office, Lightfoot had to deal with a budgetary crisis. The budget staff was expecting an \$838 million shortfall. Her challenge would be to close this gap without turning her back on her progressive campaign promises. On October 23, 2019, Lightfoot presented her 2020 budget proposal to the council. In it, she proposed a \$11.6 billion budget that eliminated the \$838

million deficit. Her proposal did not call for an increase in raise property taxes but suggested new taxes on ridesharing in the central business district, new parking meters in the West Loop, a doubling of the city's tax on food and drinks, and an additional real estate transfer tax.

In addition to the new taxes, Mayor Lightfoot's budget anticipated substantial new revenue for the city following the recent legalization of marijuana and gambling. With state legislature's approval, Chicago planned to open a new casino, but its location and the exact taxing scheme were not yet determined. Additionally, Lightfoot declared a \$300 million surplus in city's Tax Increment Finance (TIF) funds. On the spending side of the budget proposal, Lightfoot increased funding for programs fighting homelessness, created a community-based outreach worker program, and improved the city's mental health infrastructure.

While the budget was largely viewed as a success, it drew some opposition. Progressive alderpersons who said the budget did not go far enough to provide services to Chicago's poor and working-class residents. Democratic Socialist Caucus member, Byron Sigcho-Lopez (Ward 25), chastised Mayor Lightfoot for "underfunding social services, overfunding police, and breaking her campaign promise to re-open shuttered mental health clinics." He added that the budget created no new revenue streams and relied on too many one-time funding sources instead of addressing Chicago's fiscal problems more systemically.²³

Additionally, the socialists argued that the minimum wage increase, which was proposed in the budget, was inadequate. Carlos Ramirez-Rosa (Ward 35) championed raising the city's subminimum wage for tipped workers equaled that of all other minimum wage workers. Mayor Lightfoot opposed the idea. In the end, when the budget passed in a 39-11 vote, 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 other progressive alderpersons joined the Democratic Socialist Caucus in their opposition: Mike Rodriguez (Ward 22), Matt Martin (Ward 47), and Maria Hadden (Ward 49). The remaining opposition votes were from aldermen Beale and Lopez.

Passing Lightfoot's first budget was a political victory. However, chances for a secure financial future in Chicago were quickly shattered by the COVID-19 pandemic. Chicago avoided the worst of deindustrialization that hit other major Midwestern cities in recent decades by building a robust leisure and hospitality sector. Unfortunately, the pandemic collapsed this sector. From December 2019 to December 2020, employment in the leisure and hospitality sector declined by approximately one-third.²⁴ Across Chicago's metropolitan area, the sector lost approximately 130,000 employees.²⁵ For the city, that meant a devastating loss in sales taxes.

On October 21st, 2020, Mayor Lightfoot proposed a \$12.8 billion budget for 2021. Partially because of the expected decline in sales tax revenue, Lightfoot's proposed budget anticipated a shortfall of approximately \$1 billion. But her recommendations would avoid catastrophic layoffs and leave most programs unaffected, but they would still result in layoffs for 350 nonunion employees and in the elimination of over 1,000 open positions. The proposed budget was designed to prevent dramatic cuts by refinancing debt, which the administration said would save the city \$500 million. She also called for increasing property taxes, and raising fines and fees on Chicagoans, which amounted to backtracking on Lightfoot's campaign commitments.²⁶

While the refinancing had the most significant implications for the city's long-term finances, the most controversial aspect of the proposed 2021 budget was its increase in property taxes. The increase was small, approximately \$94 million, but was tied to an annual consumer

price index, meaning that property taxes would automatically go up every year. The proposed change irritated many homeowners, along with their alderpersons.²⁷

The opposition to Lightfoot's second budget was far more intense than her first. At one point, to corral votes, Lightfoot warned members of the Aldermanic Black Caucus not come to her office with any major requests if they voted against her budget.²⁸ Still, the budget eventually passed, including the divisive property tax levy, but by a very close 28-22 vote.

In the previous budget, the opposition to Lightfoot was led by progressive alderpersons, particularly the council's six socialists, but this time around the opposition came from various factions. Progressives were divided on the budget, while conservatives were mostly opposed. Five of the six socialist alderpersons voted against her second budget. The defector, Andres Vasquez (Ward 40), was censured by local chapter of the Democratic Socialist of America for not joining his colleagues in opposing the budget.²⁹ Vasquez was not the only progressive to switch sides. He was joined by Mike Rodriguez (Ward 22) and Maria Hadden (Ward 49).

The council's conservatives were far more united in their resistance. Traditional conservative alderpersons, such as Napolitano (Ward 41) and Gardiner (Ward 45) were opposed; they were joined by socially liberal but economically conservative Brennan Reilly (Ward 42) Thomas Tunney (Ward 4). Meanwhile, the alderpersons associated with the Chicago Machine were all against it.

Opposition to Lightfoot's 2021 budget came from both the council's left and right wings. Although their reasoning was contradictory, they each found aspects of the budget that they found dissatisfying. Despite the close vote, Lightfoot considered the budget's passage a major victory. She reportedly celebrated with scotch, a cigar, and a steak.³⁰

A few months later, Mayor Lightfoot again ran into opposition to her spending plans when she asked the council to authorize the distribution of \$377 million in 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. When the vote was taken and passed, it still attracted considerable opposition. Ten alderpersons voted against the mayor's spending plan. Again, a mixture of conservatives and progressives were opposed.³¹

Lightfoot's third budget, this for year 2022, received considerably more support from progressives than her previous budget. Lightfoot introduced her proposed \$16.7 billion budget for 2022 a month early on September 20, 2021. The proposed budget was designed to support her Chicago Recovery Plan, which outlined her strategy to enable the city to bounce back from the devastation caused by the pandemic. It made use of additional federal funds granted to the city by the President's American Rescue Plan, passed by Congress in March 2021

The added federal funds helped Lightfoot to close the \$733 million gap that had been projected for the 2022 budget. This influx of federal funding also enabled her to make historic investments in social services and in neglected neighborhoods.³² Despite the proposed increases in funding, it initially appeared that the battle over the 2022 budget would again result in a showdown between Lightfoot and far-left progressives over spending priorities. However, members of the Democratic Socialist Caucus preempted the mayor's control of the budget process by working closely with a network of grassroots organizations known as the Chicago Budget Coalition. However, the three-pronged negotiations between the coalition, the council, and the mayor's office, were relatively amicable, and they were able to come to an agreement.

The final budget proposal provided funding for numerous 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.³³ While the progressives could not convince Lightfoot to reopen mental health clinics closed in 2011, they did get her to agree to a 72% increase in staffing at five clinics, and \$15 million to expand a pilot program for alternative responses for mental health emergencies.³⁴

The cooperation achieved during the budget discussions did not mean there was no opposition. When the final budget passed on October 27, 2021, it did include a modest tax increase of \$76.5 million, which was opposed by the conservative alderpersons. Also, three progressive alderpersons—David Moore (Ward 17), Jeanette Taylor (Ward 20), and Byron Sigcho-Lopez (Ward 25) voted "No." They argued that Lightfoot's concessions were inadequate. In the end, however, it passed by a vote of 37-13, with Lightfoot's usual machine opponents and the conservatives making up the bulk of the opposition.

On October 3, 2022, Lightfoot introduced her fourth and final budget. In her initial proposal for this 2023 budget, she suggested a \$42 million property tax hike to cover what appeared to be a \$127 million shortfall. However, in September when revenue projections turned out to be better than expected, Lightfoot dropped the suggested property tax increase and instead proposed a \$16.4 billion budget without any new fees or tax hikes. Aware of the previous battles and with an eye toward the election, Lightfoot labeled the 2023 budget her "stability budget," commenting that "If 2021 was our 'pandemic budget,' and 2022 was our 'recovery budget,' this one is our 'stability budget.'"³⁵

In response to a dramatic rise in violent crime in the aftermath of the pandemic, the draft budget proposed increasing the Chicago Police Department's funding from \$1.88 billion to \$1.94 billion. The new funding would allow CPD to cover increased police presence on the Chicago Transit Authority's buses, trains and stations; pay for new police vehicles and helicopters, and implement new oversight and accountability measures to ensure that the police department complied with its consent decree. The proposal also provided for an additional \$200 million for homeless services, major investments in the city's pension obligation, and new funding for reproductive health and abortion services.³⁶

Lightfoot's margin of victory for her fourth budget was more similar to her margin for the second budget than it was for her third. As with the previous budgets, the opposition came from a mixture of conservative and progressive alderpersons. Conservatives opposed the budget because they said that Lightfoot's investments in public safety were either misdirected or inadequate. Progressive opposed the budget proposal because it failed to fund the reinstitution of the city's Department of the Environment. In response, Lightfoot agreed to create a less robust Office of Climate and Environmental Equity, which was originally going to be part of the mayor's office, but was made separate after critics said it would allow Lightfoot to exert too much control over the office.³⁷ Again Lightfoot modified her proposal. She proposed the creation of the Mayor's Office for Equity and Racial Justice, which would have a broader mandate than being solely focused on the environment. Still, the failure to fund a reconstituted Department of the Environment in the final year of her term was criticized even by the mayor's allies. Alderman Cardenas (Ward 12), chair of the Committee on Environmental Protection and Energy and Lightfoot's deputy floor leader, said the mayor's proposal was "not what I would have preferred." He added that "I'll take incremental change. I'm a patient man. But at some point, this has to be a pivot to that department."³⁸

In the end, the 2023 budget passed by a vote of 32-18, with 10 of the opposition votes coming from conservatives or machine alderpersons and the remaining eight from progressives. A separate ordinance to raise revenue to pay for the proposed spending narrowly passed by a 29-21 vote, despite the absence of a property tax increase.

COVID-19 Relief, Emergency Powers, and Hyper Inflation

The COVID-19 pandemic in 2020-2021 caused the city council to suspend its in-person meetings and led to or required the mayor to govern for several months by executive authority. The mayor issued stringent stay-at-home orders and made purchases of emergency supplies. The McCormick Place Convention Center was converted to a temporary hospital for up to 3,000 virus patients. Meanwhile, alderpersons were supervising the delivery of some city services and helping constituents through the crisis.

On April 22nd, 2020, the mayor and the city council convened the first ever “virtual council meeting” in Chicago. However, the meeting was cut short. An unlikely alliance formed between aldermen Lopez (Ward 15) and Ramirez-Rosa (Ward 35) attempted to block an ordinance that would grant Mayor Lightfoot emergency powers during the COVID-19 crisis. Lopez and Ramirez-Rosa were from two dramatically different ends of the political spectrum, but the two aldermen were united in calling the ordinance as a “power grab” by the mayor.

When the emergency powers ordinance was introduced, Lopez moved to defer and publish, a maneuver that would delay deliberations on the matter for at least one meeting. Immediately following Lopez’s motion, another motion was made to adjourn the meeting and reconvene on April 24th. Several alderpersons objected. They wanted to pass the rest of the agenda items and only postpone the emergency powers ordinance. The procedural issues on the postponement of the entire meeting were eventually decided through a rollcall vote, which the two insurgent alderpersons lost 35-15. The mayor then gaveled the meeting closed and set the following meeting for two days later.

On April 24th, emergency powers were granted to the mayor by the unusually close vote of 29-21. Alderman 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].”³⁹ On the other side, Alderman Brendan Reilly (Ward 42) noted the limited scope of the powers and their expiration date of June 30th. Like the other ordinance supporters he concluded, “I ultimately have faith in Mayor Lightfoot to be judicious with these powers we’re giving her.”⁴⁰

Besides objecting to the emergency powers ordinance, oppositional alderpersons also attempted to change the city council’s meeting schedule to respond more effectively during the COVID-19 crisis and wanted to provide an additional check on the mayor’s newly accumulated powers. Andre Vasquez (Ward 40) argued strongly in favor of having the Chicago City Council meet every two weeks instead of monthly. Nevertheless, the proposal to change the city council schedule was stymied by Michelle Harris (Ward 8), who motioned to table the proposal, a parliamentary maneuver that prevented debate on Vasquez’s motion and moved the council to vote. Vasquez’s proposal failed by a vote of 22-26. The rollcall votes in favor of meeting more often were led by the Democratic Socialist Caucus. They voted as a uniform bloc, and they were joined by a few progressives and a handful of alderpersons from the Chicago Machine bloc.

At the following meeting, the Chicago City Council passed its “Fair Workweek Ordinance” by a vote of 44 -5. The ordinance requires employers to provide a written estimate of

the average number of hours employees are expected to be scheduled. Employers also must notify employees in writing within twenty-four hours of any schedule change and employees should receive compensation if changes occur without advanced notice. Opposition to the ordinance mostly came from socially liberal but fiscally conservative alderpersons who represent Chicago's northside such as Branden Reilly (Ward 42), Michele Smith (Ward 43), and Thomas Tunney (Ward 44). They were joined by aldermen Hopkins (Ward 2) and Beale (Ward 9).

At the next meeting, the city council passed by a vote of 37-12 an ordinance to protect tenants from eviction if they had experienced financial hardships caused by the COVID-19. Opposition to the ordinance had no ideological consistency. Alderman Reilly (Ward 42) opposed the measure. He was supported by Emma Mitts (Ward 37) and Michael Scott, Jr. (Ward 24). Several 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 a "Fair Notice" ordinance by a vote of 35-14. The ordinance required landlords to notify tenants 60 days in advance of raising rent or not renewing a lease. If the renter has lived at the property for three or more years, the landlord must give 120-day notice in advance. Many of Lightfoot's traditional allies supported the ordinance, but she lost the votes of the conservatives and nearly all alderpersons associated with the Chicago machine.

The contingent of conservatives and machine alderpersons also opposed Lightfoot's vaccine mandate. Encouraged by firefighters and police officers, who resented Lightfoot's order to require that all city employees be vaccinated against COVID-19 or face disciplinary action including termination. Conservative and machine alderpersons introduced an ordinance that would overturn Lightfoot's vaccine policy. However, the rest of the alderpersons had little sympathy for the proposed ordinance. It was defeated by a 13-30 vote.⁴¹

The final contentious COVID-19 related legislation was a response to Lightfoot's attempt to deliver some aid to Chicago residents, who like most people throughout the nation, were experiencing a high degree of inflation. Business activity was heating up following the pandemic, and the war in Ukraine led to the increased food and fuel prices. Lightfoot's attempt to fight inflation may have been prompted in part by a "political stunt" by perennial mayoral candidate, Willie Wilson. The wealthy businessman gave away \$125,000 in gas and grocery cards to individuals at ten participating locations in the city.⁴² Subsequently, Lightfoot's administration proposed its own relief program to spend \$12 million to distribute 50,000 prepaid \$150 gas cards and 100,000 prepaid \$50 transit cards to city residents. The plan barely passed the council by a 23-20 vote, with three alderpersons coming out in favor of the proposal after some last-minute changes. Opposition for her proposal came from three sources: the Chicago Machine bloc, who said it would increase Lightfoot's popularity; fiscally conservative alderpersons, who called it a waste of money; and progressives, especially the Socialist Caucus, who said that the plan was mostly a reelection gimmick rather than a sincere investment in most-in-need areas of Chicago.⁴³

Police Reform and Public Safety

For much of its existence, Chicago has been in a long, contentious struggle to reform its Police Department and to make police officers more accountable for their frequent, documented mistreatment and abuse of black and brown people.

In October 2014, near the end of mayor Rahm Emanuel's first term, a police officer killed Laquan McDonald, a 17-year-old African American, which outraged much of the general public. This was followed by Mayor Emanuel creating the Chicago Police Accountability Task Force and appointing Lori Lightfoot, an attorney with a major Chicago law firm, as its president. . Under Lightfoot's leadership, the Task Force concluded that systematic discrimination against minorities was endemic to the city's police Department. In 2018, as a mayoral candidate, Lightfoot referred to her work on police reform. She assured voters that "there's been nobody in the city that's been a more vocal, persistent, demanding advocate for police reform and accountability than I have."⁴⁴

However, after becoming mayor in 2019, Lightfoot was slow to enact comprehensive changes. The problem was multi-faceted and there was no workable solution supported by police reform groups, the public, a majority of alderpersons, nor the law enforcement community. The Grassroots Alliance for Police Accountability (GAPA) called for more opportunities for citizen input. A second plan promoted by the Chicago Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression (CAARPR), called for complete civilian control of the department by an elected independent board, which would be tasked with all police department policy decisions, including training, funding, and the hiring and firing of officers. Both plans had considerable support in the council, but neither was able to attract a majority. Of the two, Mayor Lightfoot preferred the GAPA model, but in her negotiations with the police reform movement she demanded critical changes that weakened citizen input.⁴⁵

In early 2021, Mayor Lightfoot proposed an altered version of the GAPA proposal, but with many of its most vigorous citizen input and accountability measures removed. GAPA ended its negotiations with the mayor and turned to the CAARPR to combine their two proposals into a single piece of legislation. The combined Empowering Communities for Public Safety (ECPS) ordinance, gained the endorsement of the council's strongest caucuses; Democratic Socialist Caucus, Progressive-Reform Caucus, Latino Caucus, and the Aldermanic Black Caucus, along with the support from several labor unions.⁴⁶

Despite the ECPS's popularity, 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."⁴⁷

Eventually, a compromise was reached. An independent civilian board would be established. It would have the power to hire and fire the head of the Civilian Office of Police Accountability, the agency charged with investigating police misconduct. But the board would not be able to hire or fire the superintendent nor 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-thirds majority, the city council would consider terminating the superintendent. The compromise led to the ordinance passing a 36-13 vote.

On another front, there was an opportunity for the city to strengthen police accountability. The city's collective bargaining agreement with the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP)'s Lodge 7 expired in 2017. In late 2021, Mayor Lightfoot and the FOP agreed to a new eight-year contract, which raised officer wages by 20% over the length of the contract and included retroactive wage increases. In exchange, the FOP agreed to eliminate a contract provision prohibiting the CPD from investigating anonymous complaints against officers, and to delete wording that required the destruction of disciplinary records after five years.⁴⁸

Despite the significant changes to disciplinary processes, eight alderpersons voted against the contract for not going far enough. The opposition was led by the Democratic Socialist

Caucus. Byron Sigcho-Lopez (Ward 25) said the contract did "little to nothing to ensure that there's accountability when there's [sic] false statements, and there's no provisions that ensure that officers provide accurate statements within 24 hours."⁴⁹ The caucus was joined by four progressive freshman alderpersons.

Another accountability measure that had been on the 'wish list' of reform advocates for many years. They tried to reform how the Chicago Police Department collects information on residents by its Criminal Enterprise Information System (CEIS), which generates a list dubbed the "gang database." For years, critics claimed that the CEIS lacks transparency, and its database is filled with erroneous information. Watchdog organizations including ACLU of Illinois and Chicago's Office of Inspector General, have called attention the racial disparity inherent in CEIS, its lack of procedural fairness, and problems with the methodology used to place someone in the database.⁵⁰ Over the years, several community groups and alderpersons have called for ending the program altogether.⁵¹

During her campaign, Lightfoot promised to reform the CEIS, but once elected she was slow to act on the issue. In 2021 Inspector General Joseph Ferguson told the 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."⁵²

At its meeting on November 17, 2021, the council agreed to reform the CEIS in a contentious 29-18 vote. In a major change from previous regulations, the new ordinance allowed a resident to appeal the police department's decision to keep a his or her name in the database to the Chicago Police Board. Opposition to the proposed mostly came from the more progressive wing. Some alderpersons criticized the ordinance as premature, unnecessary and potentially counterproductive because CPD was in the middle of reforming the CEIS. Several alderpersons voted against the ordinance and said it was a superficial change that failed to address more fundamental CEIS problems.⁵³

In response to a rise in crime committed by teens or victimizing youth in Chicago, Mayor Lightfoot proposed expanding and extending the city's teen curfew law. The curfew, in effect since 1992, prohibited anyone 16-years-old or younger from staying out past 11:00 pm. Lightfoot's proposed to raise the age to 17 and lowered the deadline to be home to 10:00 pm. The proposed changes were greeted with derision from several members of the council and the Illinois chapter of the ACLU, which threatened to sue the city if the law was enacted. Other critics said the proposed law was either useless if not counterproductive, or an excuse for police to discriminate against young people, especially young people of color.⁵⁴ Because of the controversy, Lightfoot's council allies delayed the vote by two days with the hopes of securing a robust majority. They were successful. On May 25, 2022, the council approved the curfew change by a vote of 30-19. Opposed to the change were the usual Lightfoot critics, a significant section of progressives, and even a handful of usual supporters who were persuaded by those who denounced the change.⁵⁵

The Cannabis and Gambling Economy

In recent years, Illinois loosened restrictions on the ability of people in the state to engage in marijuana consumption and recreational gambling. For Chicago, this opened up new business opportunities, but also required new regulations.

Mayor Lightfoot supported the legalizing the sale of recreational marijuana but initially opposed cannabis shops in Chicago's downtown, loosely called the Loop.⁵⁶ One of the reasons offered for prohibiting cannabis shops in the downtown was the belief that it might hurt its reputation as a family-friendly tourist area. Others opposed locating marijuana shops downtown because they wanted the shops located in struggling neighborhoods where they would stimulate economic development. The Lightfoot administration, which was limited to issuing only 119 dispensary licenses by law, wanted them placed in areas that had the greatest need for new businesses. To ensure that the licenses would go to struggling neighborhoods, the city had to create new regulatory requirements for the marijuana businesses.

Lightfoot's proposed requirements for new marijuana businesses were controversial. Most of the opposition to her proposal came from the council's Aldermanic Black Caucus. In October of 2019, caucus chair Jason Ervin (Ward 28) attempted to delay the legalization for by six months. He said the legalization legislation failed to provide enough business and job opportunities for minority communities on Chicago's south and west sides, which he argued had been hit hardest by earlier criminalization of marijuana. To rectify this situation, those communities should benefit from its subsequent legalization.⁵⁷ Despite intense negotiations with Lightfoot's administration, the members of the Aldermanic Black Caucus were unsuccessful in amending the ordinance. The caucus has 19 members, but only 10 supported amending the city's legalization ordinance to delay the legalization date.

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. By this point, Lightfoot was strongly opposed to any further delays to legalizing marijuana sales in the city. She warned that a "multitude of unintended consequences" would happen if the delay ordinance passed, including the loss of critical tax revenues needed to balance the city budget.⁵⁸ To prevent the delay ordinance from passing, Mayor Lightfoot teamed up with Governor J. B. Pritzker to lobby alderpersons to vote against it. To win over alderpersons, 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 by a vote of 19-29. A total of 19 Aldermanic Black Caucus members voted for the delay 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.⁵⁹

While the plan was to give preferential treatment to the cannabis shops in the neighborhoods, business analysts were quick to point out that the prohibition on downtown marijuana businesses 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."⁶⁰ Eventually, at the strong urging of Alderman 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. In 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.⁶¹

After Illinois legalized sports betting in 2019, the city council decided to get in the game. December 15, 2021, the council voted 39-9 to remove the city's prohibition on sports betting and instituted a 2% sales tax on gross revenues. Sports betting was expected to gross \$25 million annually, thus generating \$400,000 - \$500,000 of new revenue for the city. The opposition to legalized sports betting was ideologically mixed and included many of Lightfoot's main allies. Several alderpersons opposed the ordinance, claiming that the sports betting was "peanuts for an industry that is growing" and "not a sufficient reward for the risks we're taking."⁶²

While the money generated from sports betting is expected to be marginal, for a long time the city had its eyes on an even bigger pile of new revenue. It was working to get state approval of a long-sought casino in Chicago to spur much greater economic development. Where to locate a new casino faced strong, conflicting community interests. To help deal with the decision, the council approved the creation of a "Special Committee on the Chicago Casino" by a 35-12 vote on March 23, 2022. The task of this committee was to review Mayor Lightfoot's recommended casino plan before sending it to the council for a vote. Opponents of the creation of the "Special Committee" largely objected to the fact that it was made up of committee chairs and vice chairs who, in effect, were chosen by Lightfoot. Opposition to the plan included members of the Chicago Machine bloc, and several progressives. Anthony Beale (Ward 9) claimed that the "Special Committee" was "a way to circumvent the opposition."⁶³

However, on May 25, 2022, the council agreed, by a vote of 41-7, to adopt the casino recommendations from the mayor's office, which were also supported by the "Special Committee." Most of the progressives who originally opposed the creation of that committee agreed with the plan. The sole exception was Byron Sigcho-Lopez (Ward 25). Additional opponents came mostly from the Chicago Machine bloc, and a few alderpersons objected on fiscal or locational grounds.⁶⁴

The approval of the plan did not finish the council's work on the casino issue. Zoning changes were needed and still had to be approved by a vote of the council. And not for just the casino, but also two phases of the entire development. In addition to the casino, the first phase included a 500-room hotel, 11 restaurants, a 3,000-seat theater, a riverwalk extension, and a museum. Later phases included up to 4,800 residential units, 250 additional hotel rooms, and thousands of square feet of retail space.⁶⁵ Despite the prospect of economic growth, a handful of alderpersons were still opposed. Most of the opposition came from the Chicago Machine voting bloc, and from two aldermen Hopkins and Reilly who had opposed the casino development project throughout the process. Noteworthy, three alderpersons took neither side on the issue and refused to vote, while one alderperson was recused from the vote. The rezoning ordinance passed 39-5.

Housing and Development

In the spring of 2021, the city council passed a series of ordinances to promote redevelopment and increase the city's affordable housing stock. On March 24th, 2021, the council passed an ordinance that required developers to pay fees up to \$15,000 to demolish homes in areas of the city where rents were rapidly increasing. The ordinance passed by a 37-12 vote, with most liberals and progressives supporting the mayor. Fiscally conservative aldermen, including Lightfoot's usual critics, Beale, Lopez, and Burke, opposed it.

At the same meeting, the council took action on a Fulton Market redevelopment project. Over the years, the Fulton Market had evolved from a large fresh vegetable market and a cluster of food processing plants into a mix of large office buildings and small commercial enterprises. Despite the changes, residential construction in much of the area remained restricted by the city's zoning laws. Lightfoot favored changes in the Near West Side Planned Manufacturing District, which would allow for the construction of up to 665 new residential units, 30% of which would be designated affordable, and for investments in pedestrian-friendly amenities.⁶⁶ Despite the acknowledging the need for affordable housing, many progressives—including the city council's six socialists—voted against the rezoning plan out of concerns it was too generous to developers and would encourage gentrification. Still, the plan passed in a 38-12 vote.

At its following meeting on April 21st, the council passed an ordinance proposed by Lightfoot that would require developers seeking zoning changes in gentrifying neighborhoods to increase the percentage of affordable units that they include in their new buildings from 10% to 20%.⁶⁷ The vote was 42-8. The opposition to the plan consisted of many council conservatives, and three of the city's six socialists. The socialists argued that the plan should have been more ambitious. Sigcho-Lopez (Ward 25), a member of the council's Housing Committee, expressed that it was possible to require developers to increase the percentage of affordable units to 30%.⁶⁸

More than a year later, Lightfoot introduced her "Connecting Communities" ordinance. The ordinance proposed to make significant zoning law changes to foster more affordable housing near mass transit, and to decrease parking requirements for new developments. One feature of this ordinance, which could be seen as another blow to aldermanic prerogative. It required that proposed zoning changes, needed to build affordable housing in wealthier neighborhoods, must get an up-or-down council vote within one-year of their request.⁶⁹ While some progressives wanted the ordinance to go further, they agreed to vote for it. Opposition against came from the Chicago Machine voting bloc and the conservatives.⁷⁰

Significant opposition to Lightfoot's next redevelopment plan came overwhelming from progressives. The Chicago Fire soccer club proposed building a \$80 million training center on a site formerly occupied ABLA Homes, a Chicago Housing Authority public housing development in the 28th Ward. Advocates for the training center said it was potentially an engine for economic development. In a rare movement of agreement between Ed Burke (Ward 14) and Lightfoot, Burke openly supported the project and defended the Fire's owner, Chicago businessman Joe Mansueto. Nevertheless, critics argued that Mansueto was a miserly billionaire who should be giving more to the city, and that the areas should remain dedicated to public housing. In support of the second point, the Chicago Lawyers for Civil Rights argued that the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) and a private developer, Related Midwest, had only completed 245 of the 775 units that they agreed to build to replace the ABLA Homes.⁷¹ Regardless, the council approved the redevelopment project in a 36-11 vote.

Another development, a proposed new high school on the near south side which would be built with \$8 million from a local TIF fund was opposed by a handful of progressives. The TIF funds would enable Chicago Public Schools buy several parcels of land to use as part of a land swap with the CHA. Despite some nearby support, a small group of dedicated activists opposed the plan. They said the city would be better off if it repurposed nearby Jones College Prep rather than building a new high school from scratch through, which would require the creation of another TIF district. The activists managed to win over some alderpersons, all of them from the Progressive-Socialist voting bloc, but they still lost in a 39-5 vote.⁷²

Immigration

Under Rahm Emanuel, the council passed a "Welcoming City" ordinance., which prevented city officials, including the police, from inquiring into a person's immigration status when providing city services. While liberals celebrated the law as a significant step towards a more humane immigration system, it was harshly criticized. For conservatives the ordinance was too lenient. Nicholas Sposato (Ward 38) appeared on a Fox TV News show, to warn, "if we stick with our sanctuary city policies, we could lose a billion dollars in federal funding."⁷³

The progressives argued that the "Welcoming City" ordinance did not go far enough. Led by the socialist Alderman Ramirez-Rosa (Ward 35), progressives argued that the "Welcoming City" ordinance had too many loopholes, and did not prohibit local law enforcement from cooperating with federal immigration officials.

On the issue of immigration reform, Mayor Lightfoot was more aligned with the progressives than conservatives. During the COVID-19 pandemic, she signed an executive order to strengthen the city's protections for immigrants and refugees.⁷⁴ 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 voted on two resolutions to support immigration reform. One called on President Joe Biden to immediately enact comprehensive immigration reform legislation. This symbolic vote passed: 47–1. The one opposing vote was by Alderman Sposato (Ward 38). Next the council amended and strengthen the city's "Welcoming City" ordinance by restricting local law enforcement from collaborating with federal immigration officials, even if the feds were seeking a migrant with an outstanding criminal warrant or felony conviction, or if the person was a known member of a criminal organization. That vote passed but with far more open opposition, 41-8. The council's conservative bloc voted against it. Five other aldermen, who claimed the policy was too liberal, joined them. Mayor Lightfoot, angered by the comments made during the debate, accused Alderman Napolitano (Ward 41) and Alderman Lopez (Ward 15) of "using racist tropes and xenophobic rhetoric." She scolded them for making derogatory statements towards immigrants to "promote yourself on the backs of others."⁷⁵ The aldermen brushed aside her criticism.

Another battle over funding help for immigrants was precipitated when Texas Governor Greg Abbott in late August of 2022, began sending migrants, who were in Texas after crossing its southern border, on busses to Chicago and other Democratic-run cities. By March of the following year, Chicago had received over 5,000 migrants. Chicago officials pledged to welcome and properly house the migrants, but available space was scarce and the influx of such a large number of people became a burden. The State of Illinois offered Chicago \$20 million to provide services to the migrants, but the issue of accepting the funds became contentious. While the plan to accept the funds was opposed by many of Lightfoot's usual critics, objections were raised by south side alderpersons, who said they were burdened with housing the migrants and were not consulted sufficiently about the mayor's plans. In a break with the Democratic Socialist Caucus, Jeannette Taylor (Ward 20) voted against accepting the money. She criticized how the situation was being handled.⁷⁶ The decision to accept the funds was approved by a 32-15 vote.

Appointments and Settlements

Throughout her term, Mayor Lightfoot faced frequent opposition to her appointments and the civil court settlements. In most cases, this opposition was trivial and failed to corral a significant number of alderpersons to join them. Still, there were exceptions, especially if the appointment or civil court settlement triggered a debate that exposed an ideological division within the council.

In early 2022, Mayor Lightfoot nominated Andrea Kersten to head the Civilian Office of Police Accountability (COPA). Kersten was the interim acting head of the agency. Under her direction, COPA released a report recommending discipline for Officer Ella French for her role in a botched raid on Anjanette Young's home. She was an innocent resident and her home was not the correct target of the raid. She was mistreated by the police officers and was recorded on camera. The recommendation to discipline Officer French was met with strong criticism because approximately two and a half years after the raid on Anjanette Young's home, officer French, while on duty, was murdered by a suspect. Several alderpersons argued that even if COPA lacked the legal authority to redact Officer French from the report, publication of the recommendation to discipline a dead officer was insensitive and inappropriate. Eventually, Kersten was approved for the position in a 31-14 vote. Alderpersons opposed to the decision included the Chicago Machine bloc, the conservatives, and a smattering of other alderpersons.⁷⁷

In many of the situations, the debate over approval of civil court settlements reflected wider policy concerns about police accountability and the city's financial constraints. On numerous occasions the Chicago Machine bloc and the conservative were able to convince a substantial number of alderpersons to join them in voting against the settlements. However, the opposition—though at times quite strong—never added up to a majority.

- In *Sepulbeda v. City of Chicago*, 14 alderpersons voted against a \$265,000 settlement for Javier Sepulbeda, a suspect who was shot in the back by police during a foot chase; was arrested and pleaded guilty to a weapons charge and sentenced to prison.⁷⁸
- In *Jaywanna Palmer v. City of Chicago*, 10 alderpersons voted against a \$500,000 settlement to the mother of Romello Palmer. According to the lawsuit, Romello died shortly after Chicago police took him into custody. After being handcuffed for public intoxication, Palmer repeatedly told the officer that he was having trouble breathing and requested medical attention. The officer was slow to respond. Palmer eventually died of a drug overdose while in custody.⁷⁹
- In *Pierre Green v. City of Chicago*, 13 alderpersons voted against a \$300,000 settlement. Green spent four years in prison after being wrongfully convicted. According to the settlement, a Chicago police officer mistook Green for a suspect who stole a vehicle and possessed a firearm. Green was granted a second trial after it was revealed that his public defender failed to question the police officer as to why he initially pulled Green over. At the second trial, Green was found not guilty. Still, several alderpersons voted against the settlement, expressing their thoughts publicly that the blame for Green's wrongful conviction should be placed with the Cook County Public Defender's officer, not the Chicago Police Department.⁸⁰
- In *Ashanti Franklin v. City of Chicago*, five alderpersons voted against the city settling for \$175,000 with the Ashanti family. On March 23rd, 2017, Chicago

police raided the apartment of the Franklin family at 6:00 am in the morning with guns drawn. The police were looking for a suspect, but soon after kicking down the apartment door they became aware that they raided the wrong apartment. The suspect was in the basement unit, not the third floor where the Franklin family lived.⁸¹

- In *Pamela Anderson vs. City of Chicago*, eight alderpersons voted against a \$400,000 settlement with Pamela Anderson, who had accused officer Christopher Ramey of not following his training or proper procedure after he fatally shot her son, James. Pamela Anderson had called 911 requesting help transporting her son, who had been diagnosed with schizophrenia, to the hospital. After arriving at the scene, officer Ramey opened fire on James Anderson after he mistook box cutters in James Anderson's hands for large knives.⁸² Many of the alderpersons who voted against the settlement publicly expressed that they thought the shooting was understandable.
- In *Deandre Jones v. City of Chicago* 11 alderpersons voted against a \$250,000 settlement with Deandre Jones. In 2015, Jones was arrested for drug charges and spent 93 days in jail. Jones was later acquitted when a judge ruled that the Chicago police did not have probable cause to arrest him.⁸³
- In *Tambrasha Hudson v. City of Chicago*, 14 alderpersons voted against awarding the family of Pierre Loury \$1.2 million. In 2016, Loury, who was 16-years old, was shot and killed by Chicago police officer Sean Hitz during a foot chase. At the time of the shooting the now defunct Independent Police Review Authority found the killing justified, as police had recovered a gun from the scene that Hitz claimed Loury had pulled on him. However, the family's lawyers were able to demonstrate that the gun was empty and did not contain Loury's fingerprints.⁸⁴
- In *Shawn Yawer v. City of Chicago*, nine alderpersons voted against a \$400,000 settlement for the family of Shawn Yawer. The family of Shawn Yawer sued the city after Yawer became a victim of "malicious prosecution" after the Chicago police officers used excessive force against Yawer, including a head injury that contributed to the deterioration of his mental health. Yawer would commit suicide after the incident.⁸⁵
- In *David Brown, v. City of Chicago*, 11 alderpersons voted against a \$2 million settlement. In 2018, Julia Lynn Callaway was killed by a vehicle leading police on a high-speed chase. Despite the suspect, Curtis Pugh, being directly responsible for Callaway's death, his widow sued the city and accused the police department for not following proper protocols to prevent endangering the public during high-speed chases.⁸⁶
- In *Lawrence Scott v. City of Chicago*, seven alderpersons voted against a \$625,000 settlement. The lawsuit was brought against the city in 2015 after Lawrence Scott suffered a brain injury when Chicago Police Officer Robert Vahl allegedly hit him in the head with his rifle while searching him for possibly possessing drugs.⁸⁷
- In *Pedro Rios v. City of Chicago*, 12 alderpersons voted against a \$1.2 million settlement. The lawsuit was brought against the city in 2015 when police officer Nicholas Redelsperger shot and killed Pedro Rios's fourteen-year-old son Pedro Rios Jr. Officer Redelsperger claimed that Rios Jr. was pointing a gun at him, but

the medical examiner testified that the path of Redelsperger's bullet at indicated that Rios Jr. was "running squarely away" at the time of the first shot and "essentially horizontal" at the time of the second shot.⁸⁸

- In *Grayer and Holt v. City of Chicago*, seven alderpersons voted against a \$115,000 settlement to Bernard Grayer and Marquinyelle Holt. Gayer and Holt were improperly arrested after police officers found a gun in their possession. The officers claimed that one of the defendants was "obstructing service of process," and the other was a felon who unlawfully used a weapon, but later both charges were dismissed.⁸⁹
- In *Dejuan Harris v. City of Chicago*, 18 alderpersons voted against a \$425,000 settlement. Dejuan Harris were shot three times by a police officer during a foot chase. The lawsuit alleged that the officer's actions during the foot chase did not adhere to the department's protocols.⁹⁰
- In *Mia Wright, et al. v. City of Chicago*, 13 alderpersons voted against awarding a \$1.67 million settlement to Mia Wright and four other individuals who were forcefully dragged from their car by police officers. The force used against the five individuals occurred amid Black Lives Matter unrest following the murder of George Floyd. The police officers wrongly assumed that the five individuals, who were all African American, were attempting to break in and loot stores at the mall.⁹¹
- In *LaTayshia Shaw, v. City of Chicago*, nine alderpersons voted against a \$4.24 million settlement to Maurice Granton's estate. Granton was shot and killed by police officer Sheldon Thrasher after a foot chase. Officer Thrasher claimed Granton took part in a drug sale underneath the CTA Green Line tracks. As Officer Thrasher closed in on Granton, the officer claimed to have heard gunshots, but was uncertain as to the direction. In response, Officer Thrasher fired on Granton, hitting him in the back while he was scaling a fence. A gun was recovered at the scene. Throughout the chase, Thrasher failed to activate his body camera and got into verbal conflicts with bystanders. The officer was later fired for his unprofessional behavior.⁹²
- In *Dwayne Rowlett v. City of Chicago*, 20 alderpersons voted against a \$900,000 settlement to Dwayne Rowlett. Rowlett was shot twice by Chicago police officers after he fled from the police during a traffic stop and ended up sideswiping several cars before crashing into a police cruiser. Even though, Rowlett had a knife in the car at the time, the basis of the lawsuit was the police officers gave Rowlett conflicting orders to get out of his crashed car while he was entangled in his seatbelt.⁹³
- In *Alberta Wilson, v. City of Chicago*, eight alderpersons voted against a settlement to Alberta Wilson's three children for \$350,000. In 2019, police officers raided Wilson's home looking for guns. The officers had a valid search warrant and were looking for an individual who lived in the home but found neither. During the raid, officers pointed weapons at Wilsons three children, ages six, eight, and nine, and handcuffed her eight-year-old.⁹⁴
- In *Manuel Barocio v. City of Chicago*, five alderpersons voted against a \$250,000 settlement with Manuel Barocio, who alleged that Chicago police officers fabricated evidence when they arrested him for attempted murder in 2018.

Barocio was held in jail for two months until prosecutors agreed to release him without charges.⁹⁵

Other Matters

- ***Banning Single-Use Utensils***

A previous city council passed and then substantially modified a ban of single-use plastic bags. During the Lightfoot administration, the council sought to build off this policy by instituting a ban on single-use utensils, napkins, and Styrofoam packaging from restaurants. Later, a weaker version of the ordinance that exempted straws, lids, coffee cup sleeves, and Styrofoam packaging was passed by a 37-10 vote. Opposition to the ordinance was mostly from progressives. They were joined by the members of the Conservative bloc.⁹⁶

- ***Guaranteed Income Hearing***

On March 24, 2021, by a vote of 30-18 the council passed a resolution, sponsored by Alderman Gilbert Villegas (Ward 36), to begin hearings on a guaranteed income program. The program would spend \$30 million to fund \$500 monthly debit cards for 5,000 qualified low-income residents. Even though the vote was about conducting hearings and not on whether to implement the plan, it still faced opposition and 18 of them voted against the resolution. Fiscally conservative aldermen opposed the resolution. They were joined by several members of the Aldermanic Black Caucus whose chair, Jason Ervin (Ward 28) called the resolution "a slap in the face" to the Chicago-area descendants of slaves. These descendants, Ervin said, should be prioritized for reparations before the city considers a guaranteed income program.⁹⁷

- ***A Call to Condemn Violence Against Certain Castes***

A resolution to condemn violence against certain religions and castes in India was first introduced in 2020 by Maria Hadden (Ward 49). However, the council did not vote at that time on the resolution because it was the topic of a fierce debate among members of the South Asian community. Many aldermen reported receiving thousands of messages, either supporting or criticizing the resolution. On March 24, 2021, the city council voted on the resolution, and it failed to pass 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 said the resolution would involve the council in a complicated political struggle that did not directly impact the city and they said many alderpersons were not fully informed on the issue.⁹⁸

- ***Renaming Lake Shore Drive***

For years, African American groups had called on the city to rename Lake Shore Drive after the city's first permanent non-Indigenous settler, Jean Baptiste Point DuSable. He was said to be a Haitian and a Frenchman of African descent who married a Potawatomi woman. An ordinance to change the name of the drive was introduced in the council by Alderwoman King (Ward 5) and Alderman 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 Chicago's black founder.

Even though the name change would only apply to the outer portion of Lake Shore Drive, it was controversial. Many owners of businesses on the drive believed changing the street name would negatively impact their operations. Mayor Lightfoot was also opposed. She expressed

publicly that completing the long-delayed DuSable Park and connecting it to a river walk renamed in DuSable's honor would be a less disruptive and more fitting form of recognition.⁹⁹ Still, a majority of alderpersons supported the change. However, it was uncertain whether or not the mayor would veto the change.

The ordinance was not brought up at the council's next regularly scheduled meeting, which was cut short due to a battle over the appointment of a new corporate counsel, and a fight about a lawsuit settlement.¹⁰⁰ The chaos that followed resulted in the remaining agenda being rescheduled for two days. At that meeting the ordinance to rename Lake Shore Drive passed 33-15. The ordinance was supported by all of the city's African American alderpersons and a majority of Latino alderpersons. Opposition to the ordinance was dominated by white alderpersons and mostly consisted of the conservative bloc members and several alderpersons from Northside wards that contain a part of the drive. While Lightfoot initially expressed her opposition to the ordinance, she apparently changed her mind. She did not veto the ordinance even though supporters did not have 34 votes needed to override a veto. Also, she celebrated the name change at an official ceremony with the alderpersons who sponsored the ordinance.¹⁰¹

- ***Raising the Speed Limit***

As part of the ordinances of her 2021 budget, Lightfoot lowered the speed limit for traffic cameras to automatically trigger a \$35 citation from 10 mph to 6 mph. At the time, the change was somewhat controversial, especially because, Lightfoot had promised to not balance the budget through excessive fines and fees, and instead to pursue more progressive revenue sources.¹⁰² Still, council members eventually supported the change because it was designed to bring in \$59 million of revenue in its first year and was considered a public safety measure to reduce speeding.

Despite the arguments for the change adopted in 2019, several alderpersons continued to oppose the measure. They found support in a report by the libertarian-leaning Illinois Policy Institute that found that even though the city issued 2.8 million tickets, approximately 7,700 a day, traffic fatalities increased 13% the year the policy was changed. Additionally, the tickets appeared to burden those with already limited means. Nearly a third of the most lucrative cameras were in Chicago's largely impoverished south side.¹⁰³

The ordinance to return the automatic citation trigger back up to 10 mph was introduced by Beale (Ward 9). Alderpersons Lopez (Ward 15) and Burke (Ward 14), who are usually outspoken supporters of public safety measures, joined him. Lightfoot, adamant about keeping the automatic trigger to 6 mph, threatened to veto the measure if it passed. With the help of Alderman Waguespack (Ward 32), the vote was delayed during the June council meeting so that Lightfoot could garner a majority of votes against it.¹⁰⁴ When the vote was taken in July, Lightfoot had secured a majority. The ordinance failed 18-26; with three alderpersons deciding to not vote.

Conclusions

Lightfoot's term as mayor was tumultuous, not only because of the COVID19 pandemic and the Black Lives Matter protest, nor because of the fiscal crisis that Lightfoot faced in her first two years in office. Rather, it was tumultuous because Chicago is a city in transition. Chicago's politics are rapidly changing and that can be seen in the City Council. The "rubber stamp" councils that mayors have traditionally relied on to achieve their goals, is becoming a thing of

the past. Instead, Chicago now has a fractioned city council with contentious and overlapping voting blocs, or factions. The ability of future mayors to govern will depend on their ability to navigate these various schisms to gain a workable majority. If Lightfoot's experience is any indication of the future, this will not be easy. During Lightfoot's time in office, the council became more independent from the mayor, while simultaneously the mayor made it more difficult for alderpersons to rule as unaccountably autocrats over their wards. Eventually, Chicago will likely develop a healthier separation of powers between its mayor and alderpersons. When that occurs, the city will be seen as a more mature democracy, one that sincerely responds to the will of its citizens, and can adequately tackle many of the city's chronic problems.

Appendix 1: Description of the Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	Issue Synopsis	Date	Document	Vote	Main Sponsor
First Year					
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	10/16/19	Or2019-396	48-2	Mayor (Dept/Agency)

	the Estate of Chequita Adams, deceased v. City of Chicago.				
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 Services making business development resources available to LGBT business enterprises.	1/15/20	R2019-685	47-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
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	1/15/20	A2019-116	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)

	Trust Board.				
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 Heinzel, 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)
Second Year					
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	5/20/20	O2020-2365	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)

	Airport concessionaires.				
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 for rental termination or non-renewal notices for non-payment.	7/22/20	SO2020-2862	35-14	Mayor (Lightfoot)
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	7/22/20	O2020-3443	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)

	use explosives for demolition of buildings/structures.				
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	1/27/21	R2020-1072	47-1	Council

	Administration to immediately enact immigration reform.				(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 Code Chapter 17-7 by adding new Section 17-7-0580 establishing Multi-Unit Preservation (Pilsen) District.	1/27/21	O2020-6207	46-3	Mayor (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	2/26/21	SO2021-414	37-10	Mayor (Lightfoot)

	Mayor.				
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 with manufacturing in Planned Manufacturing Districts.	3/24/21	O2020-4590	38-12	Mayor (Lightfoot)
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)
Third Year					
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	9/14/21	O2021-2869	37-10	Council (39 th Ward)

	foodware.				
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 grant pursuant to Regional Transportation Authority Act.	10/27/21	O2021-4757	37-13	Mayor (Lightfoot)
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)
132	Bond inducement language regarding 2018 Wastewater Revenue Bonds.	4/27/22	O2022-894	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
133	Bond inducement language regarding 2018 Water Revenue Bonds.	4/27/22	O2022-895	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
134	Amendment of Year 2022 Annual Appropriation Ordinance for creation of transportation assistance program and prepaid gas cards.	4/27/22	O2022-949	26-23	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
135	Designation of O'Hare Community Area as Low-Affordability Community and support for Affordable Housing Special Assessment Program tax incentive for Glenstar O'Hare LLC development.	4/27/22	O2022-899	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
Fourth Year					
136	Amendment of Municipal Code regarding redistricting of fifty wards of City of Chicago.	5/16/22	O2022-1318	43-7	Council (8 th Ward)
137	Expression of support for protection and expansion of abortion rights.	5/23/22	R2022-536	47-1	Council (36 th Ward)
138	Amendment of Municipal Code by further regulating alcoholic beverage service limitations and sound amplification at outdoor entertainment venues.	5/23/22	O2022-1279	46-2	Mayor (Lightfoot)
139	Authorization for City Mayor to negotiate and enter into Host Community Agreement concerning development and operation of Chicago casino and Amendment of Municipal Code regarding casino in Chicago.	5/25/22	SR2022-587 SO2022-1316	41-7	Mayor (Lightfoot)
140	Amendment of Municipal Code regarding curfew hours for minors.	5/25/22	O2022-1596	30-19	Mayor (Lightfoot)

141	Sale of City-owned property at 1254 S. Albany Ave to Natashee Scott.	6/22/22	O2022-1697	48-0	Mayor (Lightfoot)
142	Sale of City-owned property "as-is" at 1256 S Albany Ave to Natashee Scott for development as open space.	6/22/22	O2022-1698	48-0	Mayor (Lightfoot)
143	Negotiated sale of vacant City-owned property at 5384 N Bowmanville Ave to NeighborSpace for expansion of Bowmanville community-managed garden.	6/22/22	O2022-1695	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
144	Negotiated sale of City-owned property "as is" at 1130 N Monticello Ave to NeighborSpace for development as open space including community garden.	6/22/22	O2022-1696	48-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
145	Settlement: Leroy Kennedy v. Ridgner, et al.	7/20/22	Or2022-199	45-2	Council (32 nd Ward)
146	Settlement: LaTayshia Shaw, and as administrator of the estate of Maurice Granton, Jr., v. City of Chicago, et al.	7/20/22	Or2022-200	37-9	Council (32 nd Ward)
147	Call for United States government to cease spending federal tax dollars on nuclear weapons, embrace United Nations Treaty on Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, and make global nuclear disarmament main focus of national security policy.	7/20/22	R2021-920	46-1	Council (49 th Ward)
148	Sale of City-owned vacant property at 4116 S Lake Park Ave to NeighborSpace for expansion of Milton Mizenburg, Jr. Sculpture Garden as community-managed garden.	7/20/22	O2022-2006	46-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
149	Amendment of Municipal Code regarding equitable transit-oriented developments.	7/20/22	SO2022-2000	36-10	Mayor (Lightfoot)
150	Amendment of Municipal Code by modifying heating requirements for dwelling	7/20/22	O2022-1752	45-2	Council (49 th Ward)

	and sleeping units.				
151	Amendment of Municipal Code to further regulate automated speed enforcement system.	7/20/22	O2021-1227	18-26	Council (9 th Ward)
152	Appointment of Alderman Timothy R. Knudsen (43rd Ward).	9/21/22	A2022-138	46-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
153	Amendment of chairmen and members of City Council standing committees for Years 2019-2023.	9/21/22	R2022-969	46-2	Council (8 th Ward)
154	Settlement agreement regarding case of Dwayne Rowlett v. City of Chicago and Chicago Police Officers.	9/21/22	Or2022-249	27-20	Council (32 nd Ward)
155	Amendment of Municipal Code by adding new Chapter 6-20 entitled "Bodily Autonomy" and associated modification regarding penalty for disorderly conduct.	9/21/22	SO2022-2486	47-1	Council (33 rd Ward)
156	Zoning Reclassification Map No. 20-F at 201-357 W 83rd St and 8301-8455 S Stewart Ave - App No. 20996.	9/21/22	O2022-1159	47-1	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
157	Zoning Reclassification Map No. 4-G at 1201-1285 W Cabrini St/816-1359, 815- 915, and 1205-1357 S Racine Ave/1069-1359, 1417-1537 W Roosevelt Rd/1204- 1468 S Blue Island Ave/ 1240-1554, 1501-1555 W 15th St/1235-1247, 1301-1313, and 1335-1513 S Ashland Ave/1131-1461 and 1234-1458 S Loomis St/1325-1349 W Arthington St/900-938 and 815-939 S Ada St/816-1140 and 815-1141 S Lytle St/1200-1346 and 1201-1259 W Taylor Street 1001-1458 and 1130-1459 S Throop St/1300-1358, 1301-1359, 1555-1543 and 1554-1542 W 14th Pl/ 1200-1358, 1201- 1359,	9/21/22	O2022-1838	37-11	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)

	1543-1555 and 1542-1554 W 14th St/1201-1359, 1200-1358, 1513-1555 and 1512-1542 W Hastings St/1545-1555 W 13th St/1101-1359, 1083-1359, and 1543-1555 W Washburne Street/1204-1458 and 1205-1459 S Laflin St/1121-1359 and 1117-1358 W 13th St - App No. 21046.				
158	Amendment of chairman and members of City Council Committee on Education and Child Development for Years 2019-2023.	10/26/22	R2022-1115	18-29	Council (8 th Ward)
159	Amendment of Municipal Code Titles 2, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 15 and 18.	11/7/22	O2022-3468	42-8	Mayor (Lightfoot)
160	Amendment of Municipal Code Titles 2, 4, 6 and 11 regarding various department functions and duties including establishment of new Mayor's Office of Equity and Racial Justice.	11/7/22	SO2022-3580	32-18	Mayor (Lightfoot)
161	Expenditure of portion of Motor Fuel Tax funds allocated to City of Chicago for Year 2023.	11/7/22	O2022-3466	42-8	Mayor (Lightfoot)
162	Intergovernmental agreement with Chicago Transit Authority and Cook County for allocation of Motor Fuel Tax funds to Chicago Transit Authority as Year 2023 matching grant pursuant to Regional Transportation Authority Act.	11/7/22	O2022-3465	33-17	Mayor (Lightfoot)
163	The adoption of the Annual Appropriation Ordinance for Year 2023, as amended	11/7/22	SO2022-3025 O2022-3632	32-18	Mayor (Lightfoot)
164	Issuance of general obligation bonds for New Money Purposes, Second Lien Water Revenue WIFIA Project Bonds, Series 2022, increase in borrowing authorization of O'Hare Commercial Paper and O'Hare Line of Credit	11/7/22	O2022-3593	40-10	Mayor (Lightfoot)

	programs, establishment of Midway Line of Credit program, and amendment of various bond ordinances.				
165	Amendment of Municipal Code Titles 2, 4, 7, 9, 10, and 11 regarding various costs, fees, and debt relief.	11/7/22	SO2022-3581	32-18	Mayor (Lightfoot)
166	Property tax levy for Year 2023.	11/7/22	O2022-3467	29-21	Mayor (Lightfoot)
167	Time fixed for next City Council Meeting November 16, 2022 at 10:00 A.M.	11/7/22	O2022-3659	42-8	Council (7 th Ward)
168	Appointment of Alderman Anabel Abarca (12th Ward).	12/14/22	A2022-158	45-0	Mayor (Lightfoot)
169	Amendment of chairmen and members of City Council standing committees for Years 2019-2023.	12/14/22	R2022-1402	43-2	Council (8 th Ward)
170	Designation of Transit Facility Improvement Area for implementation of Red Line Extension Project.	12/14/22	O2022-3808	47-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
171	Approval of redevelopment plan for Red Line Extension Redevelopment Project Area.	12/14/22	O2022-3809	47-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
172	Designation of Red Line Extension Redevelopment Project Area as Tax Increment Allocation Redevelopment Project Area.	12/14/22	O2022-3807	47-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
173	Adoption of Tax Increment Allocation Financing (TIF) project costs within Red Line Extension project.	12/14/22	SO2022-3810	47-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
174	Intergovernmental development agreement with Chicago Transit Authority for use of Tax Incremental Financing (TIF) funds for Red Line Expansion project.	12/14/22	SO2022-3811	47-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
175	Intergovernmental redevelopment agreement with Chicago Cooperative d.b.a. Chicago Market - a Community Co-op, lease tenant with Chicago Transit	12/14/22	O2022-3797	45-2	Mayor (Lightfoot)

	Authority, for rehabilitation and operation of historic Gerber Building at 4620 N Broadway as full-service grocery store.				
176	Intergovernmental agreement with Chicago Board of Education to provide Tax Increment Financing (TIF) funds for land acquisition from Chicago Housing Authority and construction of new Near South High School at 2450 S State St.	12/14/22	O2022-3801	43-5	Mayor (Lightfoot)
177	Settlement agreement regarding case of Alberta Wilson, v. City of Chicago.	12/14/22	Or2022-378	39-8	Council (32 nd Ward)
178	Settlement agreement regarding case of Manuel Barocio v. Chicago Police Officers and the City of Chicago.	12/14/22	Or2022-379	41-5	Council (32 nd Ward)
179	Zoning Reclassification Map No. 1-F at 643-741 W Chicago Ave, 641-739 N Halsted St, 632-740 W Erie St, 627-661 W Erie St, 501-531 N Desplaines St and 524-630 W Grand Ave - App No. 21129.	12/14/22	O2022-2629	39-5	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
180	Zoning Reclassification Map No. 7-G at 2573-2581 N Lincoln Ave - App No. 22039T1.	1/18/23	O2022-3878	47-1	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
181	Redevelopment agreement with American Blues Theater NFP and provision of tax increment financing (TIF) assistance for construction of theater facility.	2/1/23	O2023-890	45-1	(Mayor) Lightfoot
182	Annual Appropriation Ordinance Year 2023 amendment within Fund No. 925 for Department of Family and Support Services for Emergency Food and Shelter Program.	3/15/23	O2023-1124	32-15	Mayor (Lightfoot)
183	Amendment of Municipal Code Title 9 by creating new Chapter 9-108 entitled Smart Streets Pilot Program, adding new	3/15/23	O2023-874	46-2	Mayor (Lightfoot)

	Section 9-64-175 regarding Smart Loading Zone Pilot Program, and modifying Section 9-100-030 concerning responsibility for violation and penalty.				
184	Amendment of Municipal Code Chapters 4-4, 17-3 and 17-9 by modification of general district standards for indoor and outdoor operations and use standards for walk-up service windows.	3/15/23	SO2021-2131	47-1	Council (47 th Ward)
185	Establishment of Human Service Workforce Advancement Ordinance.	3/15/23	SO2019-9497	41-2	Council (36 th Ward)
186	City Council Rules of Order and Procedure for the 2023-2027 term.	3/30/23	R2023-502	34 – 10	Council (8 th Ward)
187	Establishment of Chairpersons of City Council standing committees for Years 2023-2027.	3/30/23	R2023-503	33 – 11	Council (8 th Ward)
188	Appointment of Andreas G. Safakas as member of Police Board.	4/19/23	A2023-39	47-1	Mayor (Lightfoot)
189	Appointment of Ajalteria Carr-Favors as member of Police Board.	4/19/23	A2023-40	47-1	A2023-40

Appendix 2: Number of the Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019-April 2023

Mayor Lori Lightfoot Divided Rollcall Votes		
Number of City Council Sessions	Date	Number of Divided Rollcall Votes
1	5/29/19	0
2	6/12/19	4
3	7/24/2019	1
4	9/18/2019	7
5	10/16/2019	4
6	11/26/2019	4
7	12/18/2019	1
8	1/15/2020	7
9	2/19/2020	3
10	4/22/2020	0
11	4/24/2020	5
12	5/20/2020	6
13	6/17/2020	3
14	7/22/2020	3
15	9/9/2020	2
16	10/7/2020	3
17	11/16/2020	0
18	11/24/2020	6
19	1/27/2021	7
20	2/24/2021	2
21	2/26/2021	1
22	3/24/2021	6
23	4/21/2021	2
24	5/26/2021	5
25	6/23/2021	1
26	6/25/2021	1
27	7/21/2021	7
28	9/14/2021	8
29	9/20/2021	1
30	10/25/2021	0
31	10/27/2021	10
32	10/29/2021	1
33	11/17/2021	4
34	12/15/2021	4
35	1/26/2022	4
36	2/23/2022	3
37	3/23/2022	5
38	4/27/2022	4
39	5/16/2022	1
40	5/23/2022	2
41	5/25/2022	2
42	6/22/2022	4
43	7/20/2022	7
44	9/21/2022	6
45	10/26/2022	1
46	11/4/2022	0
47	11/7/2022	9
48	12/14/2022	12
49	1/18/2023	1
50	2/1/2023	1
51	3/15/2023	4
52	3/30/2023	2
53	4/18/2023	2
Total		189

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	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 Reboyas	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 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	9/18/2019	9/18/2019	9/18/2019	9/18/2019	9/18/2019	9/18/2019	9/18/2019	10/16/2019
Ward	SO2019-5547	Or2019-322	Or2019-323	Or2019-324	SO2019-6520	A2019-54	A2019-55	SO2019-6926
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
5	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
14	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
15	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
16	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
17	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
18	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
21	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
22	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
24	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
26	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
39	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
41	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0
42	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
43	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
46	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	10/16/2019	10/16/2019	10/16/2019	11/26/2019	11/26/2019	11/26/2019	11/26/2019	12/18/2019
Ward	Or2019-396	Or2019-397	A2019-63	SO2019-8407	O2019-8521	O2019-8527	SO2019-8518	SO2019-8063
1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
9	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
15	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
20	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0
23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	0
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
28	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
33	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
38	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
40	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
41	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
42	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
43	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
45	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
49	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	3
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
	1/15/2020	1/15/2020	1/15/2020	1/15/2020	1/15/2020	1/15/2020	1/15/2020	2/19/2020
Ward	Or2020-8	R2019-685	A2019-66	A2019-115	A2019-116	A2019-117	A2019-118	Or2020-48
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
12	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
15	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
20	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
30	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
31	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
39	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
42	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
	2/19/2020	2/19/2020	4/24/2020	4/24/2020	4/24/2020	4/24/2020	4/24/2020	5/20/2020
Ward	Or2020-50	Or2019-512	O2020-2356	O2020-803	Or2020-100	SO2019-4125	O2020-2369	Or2020-140
1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
2	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
3	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
4	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
5	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
7	2	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
14	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
15	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
16	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
17	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	0
19	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
23	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
26	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1
29	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
31	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
35	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
38	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
39	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
40	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
41	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
42	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
50	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45
	5/20/2020	5/20/2020	5/20/2020	5/20/2020	5/20/2020	6/17/2020	6/17/2020	6/17/2020
Ward	O2020-2365	O2020-2263	O2020-2370	R2020-284	O2020-94	SO2020-2825	R2019-694	O2020-3501
1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
2	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
17	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
22	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
25	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
26	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
34	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
35	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
38	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
41	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
42	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
43	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53
	7/22/2020	7/22/2020	7/22/2020	9/9/2020	9/9/2020	10/7/2020	10/7/2020	10/7/2020
Ward	SO2020-2862	O2020-3592	O2020-3443	Or2020-219	O2020-3388	SO2020-4588	SO2020-3982	O2020-4539
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
8	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
16	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
42	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61
	11/24/2020	11/24/2020	11/24/2020	11/24/2020	11/24/2020	11/24/2020	1/27/2021	1/27/2021
Ward	O2020-5746	O2020-5775	SO2020-5216	O2020-5747	O2020-5743	O2020-5749	R2020-1072	O2020-117
1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
16	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
20	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
26	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
42	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
45	1	0	0	0	0	1	4	0
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
48	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69
	1/27/2021	1/27/2021	1/27/2021	1/27/2021	1/27/2021	2/24/2021	2/24/2021	2/26/2021
Ward	O2020-6213	Or2021-25	O2020-6249	O2020-5755	O2020-6207	Or2021-45	Or2021-42	SO2021-414
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	4	0	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	4	4	4	4	4	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
41	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	4
42	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
46	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77
	3/24/2021	3/24/2021	3/24/2021	3/24/2021	3/24/2021	3/24/2021	4/21/2021	4/21/2021
Ward	O2021-746	O2020-6251	R2021-213	O2021-446	O2020-4590	SR2020-583	SO2021-1226	O2021-1228
1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
2	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
3	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
6	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	4	1	1	0	1	1
8	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
9	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	5	1	1	1	0	1	1
12	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
14	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
15	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
16	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
17	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
19	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
20	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
21	1	1	0	1	1	4	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
24	1	1	0	1	1	4	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
28	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
29	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
34	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
37	4	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
38	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
41	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
42	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
43	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
44	0	1	1	1	1	4	1	1
45	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
48	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85
	5/26/2021	5/26/2021	5/26/2021	5/26/2021	5/26/2021	6/23/2021	6/25/2021	7/21/2021
Ward	Or2021-104	Or2021-105	O2021-1639	SO2019-2789	O2021-445	O2021-2883	SO2019-7918	Or2021-195
1	1	1	1	3	0	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
5	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
6	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
13	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
14	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0
15	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
16	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
17	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	0
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
20	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
23	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
24	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
26	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
27	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
30	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1
31	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
36	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	2
37	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
40	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
41	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
42	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
45	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
47	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93
	7/21/2021	7/21/2021	7/21/2021	7/21/2021	7/21/2021	7/21/2021	9/14/2021	9/14/2021
Ward	Or2021-196	SO2021-2874	SO2021-2899	O2021-2862	SO2019-4132	O2021-1931	O2021-3265	Or2021-254
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	0	1	3	3
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
14	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
15	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
23	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
30	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
39	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
42	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
43	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101
	9/14/2021	9/14/2021	9/14/2021	9/14/2021	9/14/2021	9/14/2021	9/20/2021	10/27/2021
Ward	Or2021-255	Or2021-256	O2021-2869	A2021-134 & A2021-135	O2021-3449	SO2021-3108	SO2021-3249	O2021-4756
1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
14	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	0
15	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
20	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
22	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
23	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
24	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
41	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
42	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	0	1	0	0	3	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109
	10/27/2021	10/27/2021	10/27/2021	10/27/2021	10/27/2021	10/27/2021	10/27/2021	10/27/2021
Ward	R2021-1126	SO2021-4785	O2021-4757	O2021-4758	O2021-4240	O2021-4238 (v1)	O2021-4788	O2021-4786
1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
20	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
42	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117
	10/27/2021	10/29/2021	11/17/2021	11/17/2021	11/17/2021	11/17/2021	12/15/2021	12/15/2021
Ward	O2021-4759	O2021-4943	Or2021-333	Or2021-335	Or2021-334	O2021-4131	Or2021-389	Or2021-391
1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
2	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	1
3	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	3	1	1	1	0	1	1
5	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
6	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
7	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	1	3	3	3	3	1	1
10	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
11	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
14	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
15	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0
16	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
17	0	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	0
19	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
20	0	3	1	1	1	0	1	1
21	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
23	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
24	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
26	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
27	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
31	0	1	0	1	1	1	3	3
32	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
34	1	0	3	3	3	3	1	1
35	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
36	0	0	3	3	3	3	1	1
37	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
40	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
41	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
42	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
43	1	3	1	1	1	1	0	1
44	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
46	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
48	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125
	12/15/2021	12/15/2021	1/26/2022	1/26/2022	1/26/2022	1/26/2022	2/23/2022	2/23/2022
Ward	SO2021-3243	SO2021-1953	Or2022-29	Or2022-32	O2021-5873	A2021-196	O2022-401	O2022-393
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
10	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1
11	1	0	1	0	1	1	5	5
12	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
13	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
14	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
15	1	0	1	0	0	4	0	1
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
18	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
29	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
31	3	3	0	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
36	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	3	3	1	0	1	1	1	1
39	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
42	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
43	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	126	127	128	129	130	131		Issue #
	2/23/2022	3/23/2022	3/23/2022	3/23/2022	3/23/2022	3/23/2022		Date
Ward	A2021-172	O2022-885	O2022-494	O2022-617	Or2022-56	R2022-324	Ward	Alderman
1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
2	0	1	1	1	0	1		
3	1	1	1	1	1	1		
4	1	1	1	1	1	0		
5	1	1	1	1	1	1		
6	1	1	1	1	1	1		
7	1	1	1	1	1	1		
8	1	1	1	1	1	1		
9	3	1	1	1	0	0		
10	1	1	1	1	1	1		
11	5	5	5	5	5	5	11	Nicole Lee
12	1	1	1	1	0	1		
13	0	1	1	1	0	1		
14	0	1	1	1	0	0		
15	0	0	1	0	0	0		
16	1	1	1	1	1	1		
17	1	1	1	1	1	1		
18	1	1	1	1	1	1		
19	0	1	1	1	1	1		
20	1	1	1	1	1	0		
21	3	1	1	1	1	1		
22	1	1	1	1	1	0		
23	0	1	1	1	1	1		
24	1	1	1	1	3	3		
25	1	1	1	1	1	0		
26	1	1	1	1	1	1		
27	1	1	1	1	1	1		
28	1	1	0	0	1	1		
29	1	1	1	1	1	1		
30	3	1	1	1	0	1		
31	0	1	1	1	0	1		
32	1	1	1	1	1	1		
33	1	1	1	1	1	0		
34	1	1	1	1	1	1		
35	2	1	1	1	1	0		
36	0	1	1	1	1	1		
37	1	1	1	1	1	1		
38	0	1	1	1	0	1		
39	0	1	1	1	1	1		
40	1	1	1	1	1	0		
41	0	1	1	1	0	1		
42	0	1	1	1	0	1		
43	1	1	1	1	1	1		
44	1	1	1	1	1	1		
45	0	1	1	1	0	1		
46	1	1	1	1	1	1		
47	1	1	1	1	1	0		
48	1	2	2	2	2	2		
49	1	1	1	1	1	0		
50	0	1	1	1	1	1		

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139
	4/27/2022	4/27/2022	4/27/2022	4/27/2022	5/16/2022	5/23/2022	5/23/2022	5/25/2022
Ward	O2022-894	O2022-895	O2022-949	O2022-899	O2022-1318	R2022-536	O2022-1279	SR2022-587 & SO2022-1316
1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	3
2	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	4
5	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	0	1	0	2	2	0
10	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
14	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
15	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1
19	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
41	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
42	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
43	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	140	141	142	143	144		Issue #	145
	5/25/2022	6/22/2022	6/22/2022	6/22/2022	6/22/2022		Date	7/20/2022
Ward	SO2022-1316	O2022-1697	O2022-1698	O2022-1695	O2022-1696	Ward	Alderman	Or2022-199
1	3	1	1	1	1			1
2	1	1	1	1	1			1
3	0	1	1	1	1			1
4	0	1	1	1	1			1
5	0	1	1	1	1			1
6	0	1	1	1	1			1
7	1	1	1	1	1			1
8	1	1	1	1	1			1
9	0	1	1	1	1			1
10	0	1	1	1	1			1
11	1	1	1	1	1			1
12	1	1	1	1	1			1
13	1	1	1	1	1			0
14	0	1	1	1	1			1
15	0	1	1	1	1			1
16	0	1	1	1	1			1
17	0	1	1	1	1			1
18	1	1	1	1	1			1
19	1	1	1	1	1			1
20	0	1	1	1	1			2
21	1	1	1	1	1			1
22	0	1	1	1	1			1
23	1	1	1	1	1			1
24	1	4	4	1	1	24	Monique Scott	1
25	0	2	2	2	2			1
26	1	1	1	0	0			1
27	1	1	1	1	1			1
28	1	1	1	1	1			1
29	1	1	1	1	1			1
30	1	1	1	1	1			0
31	1	1	1	1	1			1
32	1	1	1	1	1			1
33	0	1	1	1	1			1
34	1	1	1	1	1			2
35	0	1	1	1	1			1
36	0	1	1	1	1			1
37	1	1	1	1	1			1
38	1	1	1	1	1			1
39	1	1	1	1	1			1
40	0	1	1	1	1			1
41	1	1	1	1	1			1
42	1	1	1	1	1			1
43	1	1	1	1	1			1
44	1	1	1	1	1			1
45	1	1	1	1	1			1
46	1	1	1	1	1			1
47	0	1	1	1	1			1
48	1	1	1	1	1			1
49	0	1	1	1	1			2
50	1	1	1	1	1			1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	146	147	148	149	150	151		Issue #
	7/20/2022	7/20/2022	7/20/2022	7/20/2022	7/20/2022	7/20/2022		Date
Ward	Or2022-200	R2021-920	O2022-2006	SO2022-2000	O2022-1752	O2021-1227	Ward	Alderman
1	1	1	1	1	1	0		
2	1	1	1	0	0	1		
3	1	1	1	1	1	1		
4	1	1	1	1	1	1		
5	1	1	1	1	1	1		
6	1	1	1	1	1	1		
7	1	1	1	1	1	0		
8	1	1	1	1	1	0		
9	1	1	1	1	1	1		
10	1	1	1	1	1	1		
11	1	1	1	1	1	0		
12	1	1	1	1	1	1		
13	0	1	1	0	1	1		
14	0	1	1	0	1	1		
15	0	1	1	0	1	1		
16	1	1	1	1	1	0		
17	1	1	1	1	1	0		
18	1	1	1	1	1	0		
19	1	1	1	1	1	1		
20	2	2	2	2	2	2		
21	3	1	1	3	1	3		
22	1	1	1	1	1	0		
23	0	1	1	0	1	1		
24	1	1	1	1	1	0		
25	1	1	1	1	1	0		
26	1	1	0	1	1	0		
27	1	1	1	1	1	0		
28	1	1	1	1	1	0		
29	1	1	1	1	1	0		
30	1	1	1	1	1	0		
31	0	1	1	1	1	0		
32	1	1	1	1	1	0		
33	1	1	1	1	1	3		
34	2	2	2	2	2	2		
35	1	1	1	1	1	3		
36	0	1	1	1	1	0		
37	1	1	1	1	1	0		
38	0	1	1	0	1	0		
39	1	1	1	1	1	1		
40	1	1	1	1	1	0		
41	0	1	1	0	1	1		
42	1	1	1	0	0	1		
43	1	0	1	0	1	0	43	Timmy Knudsen
44	1	1	1	1	1	1		
45	0	1	1	0	1	0		
46	1	1	1	1	1	0		
47	1	1	1	1	1	0		
48	1	1	1	1	1	0		
49	2	2	2	2	2	2		
50	1	1	1	1	1	1		

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159
	9/21/2022	9/21/2022	9/21/2022	9/21/2022	9/21/2022	9/21/2022	10/26/2022	11/7/2022
Ward	A2022-138	R2022-969	Or2022-249	SO2022-2486	O2022-1159	O2022-1838	R2022-1115	O2022-3468
1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
3	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
6	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
12	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
13	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
14	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
15	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
16	1	1	3	3	3	3	0	1
17	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
18	1	1	0	1	1	1	3	1
19	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
21	3	1	3	1	1	1	0	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
23	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
24	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
31	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
36	1	1	0	1	1	0	3	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
39	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
41	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
42	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
43	3	3	1	3	3	3	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
50	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167
	11/7/2022	11/7/2022	11/7/2022	11/7/2022	11/7/2022	11/7/2022	11/7/2022	11/7/2022
Ward	SO2022-3580	O2022-3466	O2022-3465	SO2022-3025 & O2022-3632	O2022-3593	SO2022-3581	O2022-3467	O2022-3659
1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
41	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1
50	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	168	169		Issue #	170	171	172	173
	12/14/2022	12/14/2022		Date	12/14/2022	12/14/2022	12/14/2022	12/14/2022
Ward	A2022-158	R2022-1402	Ward	Alderman	02022-3808	02022-3809	O2022-3807	SO2022-3810
1	1	1			1	1	1	1
2	1	1			1	1	1	1
3	1	1			0	0	0	0
4	1	1			1	1	1	1
5	2	2			2	2	2	2
6	1	1			1	1	1	1
7	1	1			1	1	1	1
8	1	1			1	1	1	1
9	1	0			1	1	1	1
10	2	2			2	2	2	2
11	1	1			1	1	1	1
12	5	5	12	Anabel Abarca	1	1	1	1
13	1	1			1	1	1	1
14	1	1			1	1	1	1
15	1	1			1	1	1	1
16	1	1			1	1	1	1
17	1	1			1	1	1	1
18	1	1			1	1	1	1
19	1	1			1	1	1	1
20	1	1			1	1	1	1
21	1	1			1	1	1	1
22	1	1			1	1	1	1
23	1	1			1	1	1	1
24	1	1			1	1	1	1
25	1	1			1	1	1	1
26	1	1			1	1	1	1
27	1	1			1	1	1	1
28	1	1			1	1	1	1
29	1	1			1	1	1	1
30	1	1			1	1	1	1
31	1	1			1	1	1	1
32	1	1			1	1	1	1
33	3	3			1	1	1	1
34	1	1			1	1	1	1
35	3	3			1	1	1	1
36	1	1			1	1	1	1
37	1	1			1	1	1	1
38	1	0			1	1	1	1
39	1	1			1	1	1	1
40	1	1			1	1	1	1
41	1	1			1	1	1	1
42	1	1			1	1	1	1
43	1	1			1	1	1	1
44	1	1			1	1	1	1
45	1	1			1	1	1	1
46	1	1			1	1	1	1
47	1	1			1	1	1	1
48	1	1			1	1	1	1
49	1	1			1	1	1	1
50	1	1			1	1	1	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181
	12/14/2022	12/14/2022	12/14/2022	12/14/2022	12/14/2022	12/14/2022	1/18/2023	2/1/2023
Ward	SO2022-3811	O2022-3797	O2022-3801	Or2022-378	Or2022-379	O2022-2629	O2022-3878	O2023-890
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
3	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
5	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
10	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
14	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
15	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	2
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
41	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
42	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
46	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Rollcall Votes May 2019–April 2023

	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189
	3/15/2023	3/15/2023	3/15/2023	3/15/2023	3/30/2023	3/30/2023	4/19/2023	4/19/2023
Ward	O2023-1124	O2023-874	SO2021-2131	SO2019-9497	R2023-502	R2023-503	A2023-39	A2023-40
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
3	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
5	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
6	0	1	1	3	1	0	1	1
7	0	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	1	1	3	0	0	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
13	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	0	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
15	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
16	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
17	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
28	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	0	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
42	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1
45	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	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 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/> and Dick Simpson, Marco Rosaire Rossi, and Thomas J. Gradel, "City Council Buries its Rubber Stamp," June 12, 2019 – March 23, 2022," Chicago City Council Report #12, *UIC Department of Political Science*, Chicago University of Illinois at Chicago, June 7, 2022 <https://pols.uic.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/273/2022/06/City-Council-Buries-its-Rubber-Stamp.pdf>

² Each committee has one chair except for the Contract Oversight and Equity Committee, which is co-chaired between 28th Ward Alderman Jason Ervin and 34th Ward Alderwoman Carrie Austin; the chairs of the two special committees were already chairs in other committees.

³ Tim Novak and Robert Herguth, "Ald. **Patrick Daley Thompson** under scrutiny in probe of failed Bridgeport bank," *Chicago Sun-Times* 26 April 2019.

⁴ Ray Long and Jason Meisner, "Feds investigating \$10,000 in checks from ComEd lobbyists to ousted Madigan operative," *Chicago News Tribune* 24 July 2019.

⁵ Fran Spielman, "Angry aldermen told Lightfoot wants to strip them of control over matters large and small," *The Chicago Sun Times*, 16 January 2019.

⁶ Heather Cherone, "Chicago City Council No Longer Republican Free," *DNAinfo*, April 9, 2015.

<https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20150409/norwood-park/chicago-city-council-no-longer-republican-free-zone/>

⁷ The mayor does not vote in the city council, except to break a tie, which almost never happens. Because of this, we determine by Mayor 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.

⁸ 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>

⁹ Mick Dumke, "These Committees Didn't Do Much But Spend Your Money. Now Mayor Johnson Wants to Reward Their Leaders." *Block Club Chicago*, May 23, 2023. <https://blockclubchicago.org/2023/05/23/these-city-council-committees-didnt-do-much-but-spend-your-money-now-mayor-brandon-johnson-wants-to-reward-their-leaders/>

¹⁰ John Byrne, "Aldermen hear from Chicago Mayor-elect Lori Lightfoot's team on extent of their powers," *Chicago Tribune*, May 14, 2019. <https://www.chicagotribune.com/politics/ct-met-lori-lightfoot-alderman-prerogative-20190513-story.html>

¹¹ Fran Spielman, "Angry aldermen told Lightfoot wants to strip them of control over matters large and small," *The Chicago Reader*, June 27, 2019. <https://chicago.suntimes.com/city-hall/2019/6/27/18761656/city-council-aldermen-wards-local-control-divvy-permits-licenses-lightfoot>

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- ¹² Fran Spielman, "City Council strikes a blow to aldermanic prerogative over zoning," *Chicago Sun Times*, December 15, 2021. <https://chicago.suntimes.com/city-hall/2021/12/15/22838283/city-council-aldermanic-prerogative-zoning-anthony-napolitano-affordable-housing>
- ¹³ Fran Spielman, "Lightfoot's most powerful City Council ally urges her to abandon threat to abolish alderperson prerogative over zoning," *Chicago Sun Times*, January 24, 2020. <https://chicago.suntimes.com/city-hall/2020/1/24/21080478/aldermanic-prerogative-zoning-ori-lightfoot-lose-fight-scott-waguespack>
- ¹⁴ John Byrne and Bill Ruthart, "Aldermen keep cherished ward-level power over business signs in compromise," *Chicago Tribune*, July 22, 2021. <https://www.chicagotribune.com/politics/ct-chicago-business-signs-permits-aldermen-20210721-th5ze5qe5vcv7fuf6vkwznsbe-story.html>
- ¹⁵ Heather Cherone, "Allowing Aldermen to Hire Ward Superintendents is Illegal: Watchdog," *WTTW News*, July 15, 2021. <https://news.wttw.com/2021/07/15/allowing-Alderpersons-hire-ward-superintendents-illegal-watchdog>
- ¹⁶ Heather Cherone, "As Council Beats Back Push to Curb its Power on Signs, Fight Looms Over Ward Superintendents," *WTTW*, July 22, 2021. <https://news.wttw.com/2021/07/22/city-council-beats-back-push-curb-its-power-signs-fight-looms-over-ward-superintendents>
- ¹⁷ Paris Schutz, "Lightfoot: Independent Commission Should Redraw City's 50 Wards," *WTTW*, June 18, 2019. <https://news.wttw.com/2019/06/10/lightfoot-independent-commission-should-redraw-50-chicago-wards>
- ¹⁸ Melody Mercado, "Chicago's Controversial New Map Approved with 16 Black, 14 Latino Wards" *Block Club Chicago*, May 16, 2022. <https://blockclubchicago.org/2022/05/16/chicagos-controversial-new-ward-map-approved-with-16-black-14-latino-wards/>
- ¹⁹ Fran Spielman, "Lightfoot shakes up the City Council," *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 17, 2019. <https://chicago.suntimes.com/city-hall/2019/5/17/18629590/lori-lightfoot-chicago-city-council-committee-leadership>
- ²⁰ Fran Spielman, "Lightfoot passes first test of City Council muscle with flying colors," *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 29, 2019. <https://chicago.suntimes.com/city-hall/2019/5/29/18644164/mayor-lightfoot-city-council-committees-chairmen-vote-reorganization>
- ²¹ Heather Cherone, "In Rare Move, City Council Rejects Lightfoot's Attempt to Name Ally Education Committee Chair," *WTTW*, October 26, 2022. <https://news.wttw.com/2022/10/26/rare-move-city-council-rejects-lightfoot-s-attempt-name-ally-education-committee-chair>
- ²² *ibid.*
- ²³ Fran Spielman, "City Council approves Lightfoot's \$11.6 billion budget with 11 'no' votes," *Chicago Sun-Times*, November 26, 2019. <https://chicago.suntimes.com/city-hall/2019/11/26/20983774/chicago-city-council-lightfoot-budget-vote>
- ²⁴ Bureau Labor and Statistics, "State and Area Employment, Hours, and Earnings," February 27, 2022. https://data.bls.gov/timeseries/SMU17169807000000001?amp%253bdata_tool=XGtable&output_view=data&include_graphs=true
- ²⁵ Chicago Area Employment — November 2020. https://www.bls.gov/regions/midwest/news-release/areaemployment_chicago.htm
- ²⁶ Mayor Lightfoot Releases 2021 Budget Proposal. https://www.chicago.gov/city/en/depts/mayor/press_room/press_releases/2020/october/2021-Budget-Proposal.html
- ²⁷ Kelly Garcia, Corli Jay, F. Amanda Tugade, and Grace Del Vecchio, "Two Budget Speeches: Two Visions for Chicago's Future," *City Bureau*, October 22, 2020. <https://www.citybureau.org/newswire/2020/10/22/two-budget-speeches-two-visions-for-chicagos-future>
- ²⁸ Heather Cherone, "City Council Approves Lightfoot's \$12.8 Billion Budget—With 22 'No' Votes," *WTTW News*, November 24, 2020. <https://news.wttw.com/2020/11/24/city-council-approves-lightfoots-128-billion-budget>
- ²⁹ Zack Wilson and Stephanie Kim, "Alderman Vasquez Censured By Chicago Democratic Socialists," *WBEZ Chicago*, November 27, 2020.

<https://www.wbez.org/stories/Aldersperson-andre-vasquez-censured-by-chicago-democratic-socialists/b73021ed-ece0-4fcc-99a6-817684023cbb>

³⁰ Lisa Donovan, "The Spin: Lightfoot to mark passage of pandemic budget with steak, scotch, cigar," *The Chicago Tribune*, November 24, 2020.

<https://www.chicagotribune.com/politics/ct-lightfoot-pandemic-budget-city-joliet-water-durbin-judiciary-spin-20201125-hnmnoehuonervkq2vad45dq4e4-story.html>

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