

**Mayor Brandon Johnson's First Year:
Progressives Prevail in a Divided Council
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Since the election of Mayor Richard J. Daley in 1955, the Chicago City Council has been dominated by an entrenched political machine overseen by a strong mayor. Alderpersons were assigned supportive roles in the lawmaking process and were expected to "rubber stamp" legislation favored by the mayor. While alderpersons were allowed to decide zoning issues, to grant permits and to exercise other executive functions within in their own parochial wards, they were expected to defer to the mayor on city-wide matters, and on national and international concerns.

Since the reign of "Boss" Daley, there have been two meaningful respites from this familiar political scenario, and with Mayor Johnson we are likely experiencing a third.

The first followed the 1983 election of Mayor Harold Washington, which Chicago's political machine fiercely opposed. In his first three years, a bloc of 29 Alderpersons stymied most of his efforts. When he finally achieved the support of a majority of alderpersons as a result of redistricting in the city, he was able to usher in a number of meaningful changes. Nonetheless, his untimely death at the beginning of his second term created the opportunity for Chicago's political machine to reassert itself.

The second was the 2019 election of Lori Lightfoot, who was elected explicitly on an anti-corruption agenda. However, lacking a tight, compliant political machine to lean on, and without the arsenal of carrots and sticks previously wielded by her powerful predecessors, her interactions with the council were noticeably tumultuous. However, these were fewer than the battles during "Council Wars" under Mayor Washington. Moreover, the divisions during Lightfoot's mayoralty appeared to be based on political ideologies rather than motivated by a political power struggle between reform and machine factions.

Unlike Washington, Lori Lightfoot failed to get reelected. Her third-place finish in the primary, or first round of the 2023 elections, signaled that she had alienated her progressive base but was still seen as too liberal to be palatable to the city's small, though significant, number of conservative residents.

Instead, in 2023 voters narrowly elected a former Cook County Commissioner and a former Chicago teachers union organizer, Brandon Johnson, who ran an explicitly progressive campaign. He made bold promises regarding wealth distribution and racial justice, and he emphasized his close ties to the Chicago Teachers Union.

Comparing Mayor Lightfoot and Mayor Johnson

Mayor Johnson's first year as mayor had numerous characteristics which were similar to the Lightfoot years. As Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate, since the end of Mayor Richard M. Daley's reign, the number of divided roll call votes have become more frequent and were significantly more numerous under Lightfoot. Under Johnson they continued to occur frequently.

Figure 1

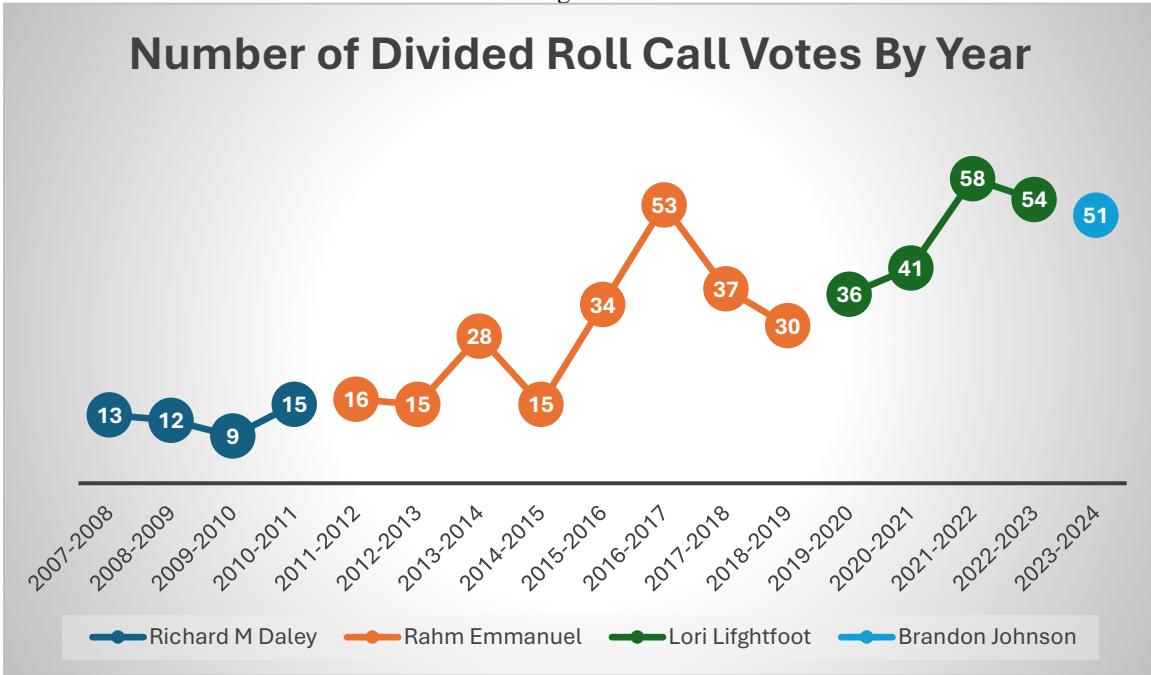
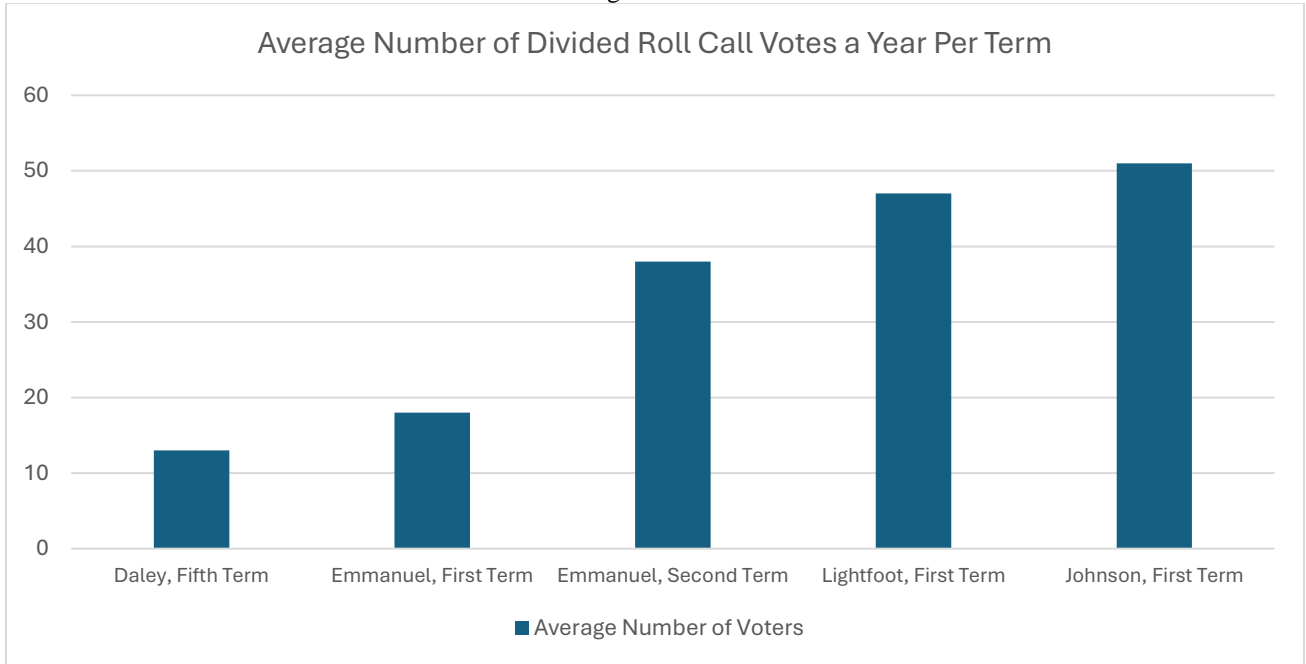


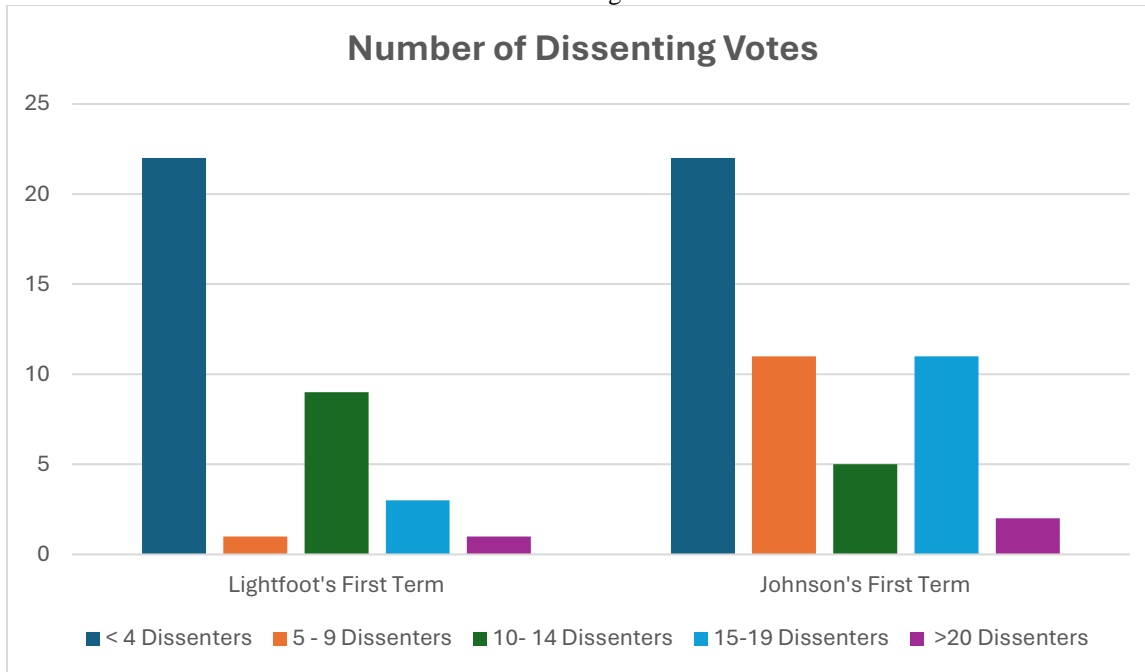
Figure 2



Both in frequency and intensity, Mayor Johnson’s first year appears more similar to Lightfoot’s last year than her first year. During Lightfoot’s first year, she had 36 divided roll call votes, while Brandon had 51. Both had the same number [22] of trivial divided roll call votes—which is defined as four or less alderperson voting against the mayor—but Johnson had a far

greater number of significant divided roll call votes, indicating that there was a sizeable faction of alderpersons who were regularly opposed to the mayor.

Figure 3



While Mayor Johnson's first year was more contentious than Lightfoot's, dynamics driving the strife within Lightfoot's mayoralty are not the same as Johnson's. As Figures 4 and 5 demonstrate, Lightfoot and Johnson had similar levels of absolute support, in the terms of alderpersons voting with the mayor 100% of the time. Lightfoot had seven and Johnson had eight. Nonetheless, Lightfoot's main supporters were all established alderpersons who had been on the council for multiple terms. In contrast, six of the eight alderperson who have voted with Johnson 100% of the time—including 4th Ward Alderperson Lamont Robinson, 5th Ward Alderperson Desmon Yancy, 14th Ward Jelyu Gutierrez, 21st Ward Ronnie Mosley, 46th Ward Angela Clay, and 48th Ward Leni Manaa-Hoppenworth—are in their first year as alderpersons.

Figure 4

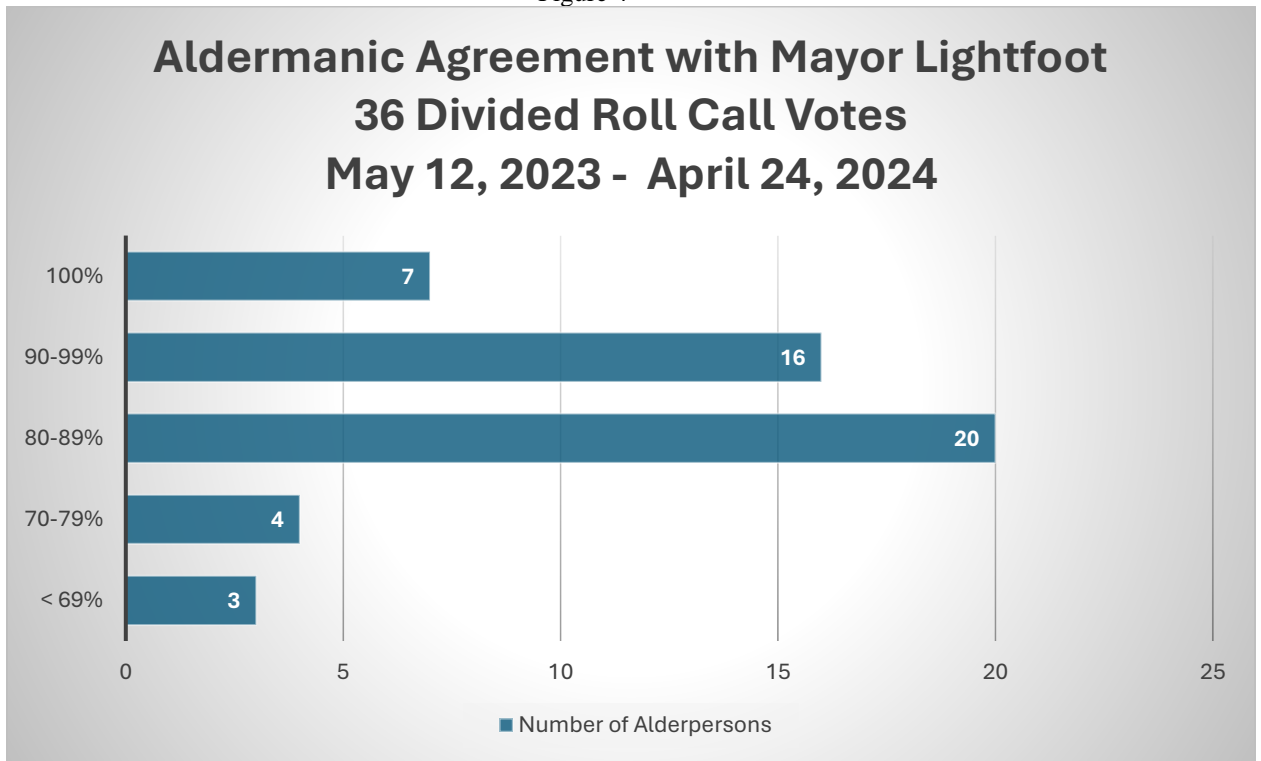
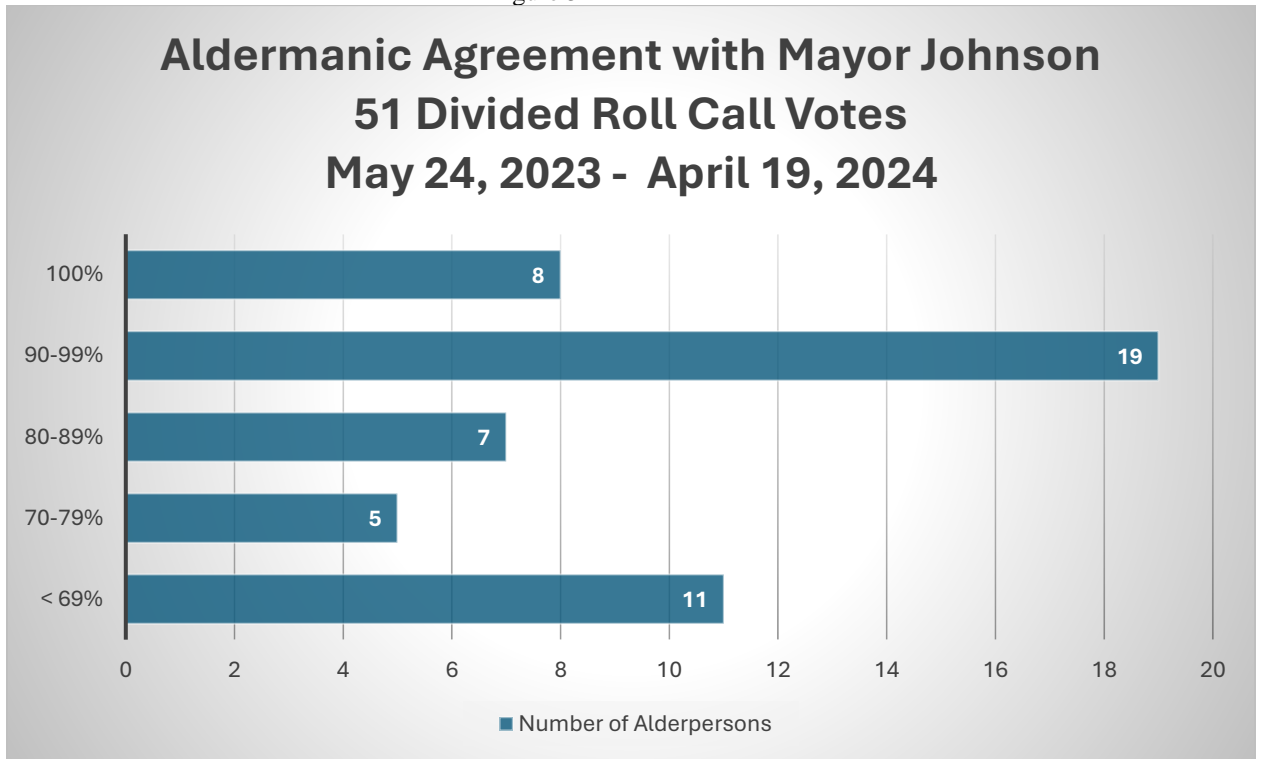


Figure 5



Furthermore, while Lightfoot’s histogram(Figure 4) peaks in the midrange, with a far greater portion of alderpersons [20] voting with her 89-80% of the time], Johnson’s histogram (figure 5) has a double peak of greater opposition with eleven supporting him less than 69% of the time.

These peaks suggests that while Lightfoot attempted to govern near the council’s political center, Johnson is governing more toward the council’s left, thus provoking opposition from the council’s moderates and conservatives.

As Table 1 reveals, of the top 15 incumbent alderpersons who had the greatest swing away from the mayor following the transition from Lightfoot to Johnson, many were long-time incumbents and initial allies of Lightfoot—such as 32nd Ward Alderperson Scott Waguespack and 36th Ward Alderperson Gilbert Villegas. Othersuch as 38th Ward Alderperson Nicholas Sposato and 45th Ward Alderperson James Gardinerare conservatives who have become more oppositional under Johnson.

Table 1

Top 15 Alderperson Who Became More Oppositional					
Ward	Alderperson	Years in Office	% of Agreement During Lightfoot’s First Year	% of Agreement During Johnson’s First Year	Differences in Agreement
42	Brendan Reilly	17	91%	48%	-43%
23	Silvana Tabares	6	83%	42%	-41%
13	Marty Quinn	13	80%	41%	-39%
45	James M. Gardiner	5	75%	42%	-33%
32	Scott Waguespack	17	100%	74%	-26%
18	Derrick G. Curtis	9	91%	77%	-24%
2	Brian Hopkins	9	91%	73%	-18%
31	Felix Cardona, Jr.	5	86%	68%	-18%
36	Gilbert Villegas	9	100%	82%	-18%
9	Anthony Beale	25	63%	46%	-17%
19	Matthew J. O’Shea	13	88%	72%	-16%
41	Anthony V. Napolitano	9	66%	52%	-14%
50	Debra L. Silverstein	13	94%	80%	-14%
38	Nicholas Sposato	13	75%	64%	-11%
7	Gregory I. Mitchell	9	94%	84%	-10%

In contrast, Table 2 reveals that of the top 10 incumbent alderpersons who had the greatest swing towards the mayor in the transition from Lightfoot to Johnson all of them, with the exception of 28th Ward Alderperson Jason C. Ervin and 35th Ward Alderperson Carlos Ramirez-Rosa, are only in the first year of their second term. Just as the conservative alderperson have become more opposition, progressive alderpersons have become more supportive; five of the 10 most supportive incumbents are members of the Democratic Socialist Caucus.*

* These swings are reported because the difference between the two mayors is noticeable. For the remaining 25 alderpersons, either their swing was not nearly as dramatic, or they were elected to their first term, and thus had nothing to compare.

Table 2

Top 15 Alderperson Who Became More Supportive					
Ward	Alderperson	Years in Office	% of Agreement During Lightfoot's First Year	% of Agreement During Johnson's First Year	Differences in Agreement
20	Jeanette B. Taylor	5	74%	96%	22%
25	Byron Sigcho-Lopez	5	83%	98%	15%
1	Daniel La Spata	5	83%	98%	15%
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	9	83%	97%	14%
33	Rossana Rodriguez Sanchez	5	83%	97%	14%
28	Jason C. Ervin	13	83%	96%	13%
49	Maria E. Hadden	5	88%	100%	12%
47	Matthew J. Martin	5	86%	98%	12%
40	Andres Vasquez, Jr.	5	86%	98%	12%
22	Michael D. Rodriguez	5	91%	100%	9%

Caucuses and Voting Blocs

In analyzing Lightfoot's relationship with the council, previous reports divided the council into four voting blocs. The voting blocs were informal coalitions that can be seen by observing votes cast. Caucuses, which often lead or dominate voting blocs, are formally organized and official recognized sub sections of the Chicago City Council.

Under Lightfoot, the noticeable voting blocs were: Moderate-Liberal, Progressive-Socialist, Chicago Machine, and Conservative. Lightfoot governed with the strong support from the Moderate-Liberal voting bloc, which included several of her chairs and members of council's Progressive Reform Caucus. Nonetheless, she was often opposed by the Progressive-Socialist voting bloc, which was led by the Democratic Socialist Caucus. Opposition to Lightfoot also came from the Conservative and Chicago Machine voting blocs. Under Johnson the composition and character of the council changed, and this classification no longer makes sense.

Table 3

Chicago City Council Mayor Johnson's First Term					
Ward	Aldermen	% of Agreement	Ward	Aldermen	% of Agreement
4	Lamont Robinson	100%	43	Timmy Knudsen	92%
5	Desmon Yancy	100%	29	Chris Taliaferro	91%
14	Jeylu Gutierrez	100%	11	Nicole Lee	88%
21	Ronnie Mosley	100%	44	Bennett Lawson	88%
22	Michael D. Rodriguez	100%	24	Monique Scott	86%
46	Angela Clay	100%	7	Gregory I. Mitchell	84%
48	Leni Manaa-Hoppenworth	100%	36	Gilbert Villegas	82%
49	Maria E. Hadden	100%	39	Samantha Nugent	80%
1	Daniel La Spata	98%	50	Debra L. Silverstein	80%
16	Stephanie D. Coleman	98%	18	Derrick G. Curtis	77%
25	Byron Sigcho-Lopez	98%	34	Bill Conway	76%

27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	98%	32	Scott Waguespack	74%
40	Andres Vasquez, Jr.	98%	2	Brian Hopkins	73%
47	Matthew J. Martin	98%	19	Matthew J. O'Shea	72%
30	Ruth Cruz	97%	17	David H. Moore	68%
33	Rossana Rodriguez Sanchez	97%	31	Felix Cardona, Jr.	68%
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	97%	10	Peter Chico	66%
6	William H. Hall	96%	38	Nicholas Sposato	64%
8	Michelle A. Harris	96%	41	Anthony V. Napolitano	52%
12	Julia Ramirez	96%	42	Brendan Reilly	48%
20	Jeanette B. Taylor	96%	9	Anthony Beale	46%
26	Jessie Fuentes	96%	23	Silvana Tabares	42%
28	Jason C. Ervin	96%	45	James M. Gardiner	42%
37	Emma Mitts	95%	13	Marty Quinn	41%
3	Pat Dowell	94%	15	Raymond A. Lopez	35%
Chicago City Council Mean		83%	Chicago City Council Median		93%
*Chair of Standing Committee					
+Chair of Special Committee					

As Tables 4 and 5 show, like Lightfoot Johnson receives significant support from his chairs and from the Progressive Reform Caucus. However, the composition of both these groups are significantly different than they were under Lightfoot. Unlike Lightfoot, whose chairs were long-term incumbents, seven of Johnson's chairs are relatively new alderpersons who just started their second term.

Additionally, while the Progressive-Reform Caucus has been supportive of Lightfoot and Johnson, the caucus under Johnson is considerably more leftwing. A portion of the caucus's "old guard," which included 16th Ward Alderperson Stephanie Coleman, 17th Ward Alderperson David Moore, 29th Ward Alderperson Chris Taliaferro, 31st Ward Alderperson Felix Cardona, and 32nd Ward Alderperson Scott Waguespack, did not rejoin the caucus following Chicago's 2023 municipal elections.

Also, unlike under Lightfoot the council's Democratic Socialist Caucus strongly supports Johnson, as shown by Table 6. This level of support for Johnson follows Mayor Johnson choosing five of six Democratic Socialist Caucus members to be chairs of City Council committees.

Table 4
Chicago City Council Chairs

Ward	Alderperson	% of Agreement
22	Micheal Rodriguez*	100%
49	Maria Hadden*	100%
1	Daniel La Spata*	98%
25	Byron Sigcho-Lopez*	98%
40	Andre Vasquez*	98%
33	Rossana Rodriguez*	97%
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa*	97%
20	Jeanette Taylor*	96%
28	Jason Ervin*	96%
3	Pat Dowell*	94%
29	Chris Taliaferro*	91%
7	Gregory Mitchell*	84%

36	Gilbert Villegas*	82%
50	Debra Silverstein*	80%
2	Brian Hopkins*	73%
38	Nicholas Sposato*	64%
Chairs Mean	91%	Chairs Median
		96%

Table 5

Progressive Reform Caucus		
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement
4	Lamont Robinson	100%
5	Demon Yancy	100%
14	Jeylu Gutierrez (Treasurer)	100%
22	Michael Rodriguez (Whip)	100%
46	Angela Clay	100%
48	Leni Manaa-Hoppenworth	100%
49	Maria Hadden (Co-Chair)	100%
21	Ronnie Mosley	100%
1	Daniel La Spata	98%
25	Byron Sigcho-Lopez	98%
40	Andre Vasquez (Co-Chair)	98%
47	Matthew Martin (Secretary)	98%
30	Ruth Cruz	97%
33	Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez	97%
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	97%
6	William Hall	96%
12	Julia Ramirez	96%
20	Jeanette Taylor	96%
26	Jessie Fuentes	96%
Progressive Reform Caucus Mean	98%	Progressive Reform Caucus Median
		98%

Table 6

Democratic Socialist Caucus		
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement
46	Angela Clay	100%
1	Daniel La Spata	98%
25	Byron Sigch-Lopez	98%
33	Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez	97%
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	97%
20	Jeanette Taylor	96%
Democratic Socialist Caucus Mean	97%	Democratic Socialist Caucus Median
		97%

Finally under Johnson, in both the substance of the votes and the apparent strategy of the alliances, there is no longer a pattern of a Chicago Machine voting bloc. Instead, as Table 7 demonstrates whatever remnants of the Chicago Machine remain, are Council members who have congealed with the conservatives, fiscally conservatives, and socially moderate Democrats to form a new Conservative voting bloc. Currently this is the primary antagonist bloc to Mayor Johnson's agenda.

Table 7

Conservative Voting Bloc			
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement	
10	Peter Chicago	66%	
38	Nicholas Sposato	64%	
41	Anthony Napolitano	52%	
42	Brendan Reilly	48%	
9	Anthony Beale	46%	
23	Silvana Tabares	42%	
45	James Gardiner	42%	
13	Marty Quinn	41%	
15	Ray Lopez	35%	
Conservative Bloc Mean	48%	Conservative Bloc Median	46%

As with Lightfoot, there appears to be little distinction in the overall support for Mayor Johnson between the Black Caucus and the Latino Caucus, as shown by Tables 8 and 9. However during Lightfoot's term there were a small number of critical issues, such as marijuana regulation, redistricting, and immigration and migrant services, where there were noticeable differences in how members of the caucuses voted. For Johnson, only funding for migrants experienced a noticeable divergence in voting between the two caucuses. Additionally, in the current City Council despite a significant increase in the number of members in the LGBT caucus, from five members to nine, that caucus has not yet played a major role in forming legislation. Here too, ideological differences within the caucus appear far greater than between it and the rest of the council. For all three caucuses, the primary battles of those caucuses appear to be ideological struggles within them, instead of demographic or racial struggles between them.

Table 8

Aldermanic Black Caucus		
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement
4	Lamont Robinson	100%
5	Desmon Yancy	100%
21	Ronnie Mosley	100%
49	Maria Hadden	100%
16	Stephanie Coleman (Chair)	98%
27	Walter Burnett	98%
47	Matthew Martin	98%
6	William Hall	96%
8	Michelle Harris	96%
20	Jeanette Taylor	96%
28	Jason Ervin	96%
37	Emma Mitts	95%
3	Pat Dowell	94%
29	Chris Taliaferro	91%
24	Monique Scott	86%
7	Gregory Mitchell (Treasurer)	84%
18	Derrick Curtis	77%
17	David Moore	68%

9	Anthony Beale	46%
Aldermanic Black Caucus Mean		
90%	Aldermanic Black Caucus Median	96%

Table 9

Latino Caucus		
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement
14	Jeylu Gutierrez	100%
22	Michael Rodriguez	100%
1	Daniel La Spata	98%
25	Byron Sigcho-Lopez	98%
40	Andre Vasquez (Vice-Chair)	98%
30	Ruth Cruz	97%
33	Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez (Chair)	97%
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	97%
12	Julia Ramirez	96%
26	Jessie Fuentes (Treasurer)	96%
36	Gilbert Villegas	82%
31	Felix Cardona	68%
10	Peter Chico	66%
23	Silvana Tabares	42%
Latino Caucus Mean		
88%	Latino Caucus Median	97%

Table 10

LGBT Caucus		
Ward	Aldersperson	% of Agreement
4	Lamont Robinson	100%
48	Leni Manaa-Hoppenworth	100%
49	Maria Hadden	100%
33	Rossana Rodriguez-Sanchez	97%
26	Jessie Fuentes	96%
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	97%
43	Timmy Knudsen	92%
44	Bennet Lawson	88%
15	Raymond Lopez	35%
LGBT Caucus Mean		
89%	LGBT Caucus Median	96%

Most Contentious Issues

To determine the most significant divisions in the council, we studied the most contentious divided roll call votes. For past reports, the authors used the "most contentious" designation for any vote for which there were four or more alderpersons dissenting from the majority. We used the mayor's floor leader as a proxy vote for the mayor if the legislation was not introduced by the mayor. However, under Johnson both these methods were made obsolete.

First, under Johnson the number of divided roll call votes has increased so much that the four dissenting vote thresholds no longer makes sense. During Johnson's first year, 29 of the divided roll call votes—more than half—exceeded the five-vote threshold. More than half of the

votes cannot qualify as the *most* contentious. For this report the authors compared the action and rhetoric surrounding votes attracting 15 or more dissenters.

Second, Johnson's original floor leader, 35th Ward Alderperson Carlos Ramirez-Rosa, was forced to step down after complaints of overly aggressive behavior toward fellow alderpersons and accusations of him abusing his position as chair of the zoning committee.¹ Despite promising to step down from both positions in December, Ramirez-Rosa has only left the position of floor leader. As of May 20, Mayor Johnson has not chosen a new floor leader to replace Carlos Ramirez-Rosa.² With the lack of a floor leader as a proxy, we have had to use a more thorough analysis of the context of different votes to determine the mayor's position.

Based on a analysis of the issues and debate, we found the following to be the "most" contentious votes during Mayor Johnson's first year:

- *Settlements*
- *Funding For Migrants*
- *Real Estate Excise Tax*
- *Police Arbitration Ruling*
- *Ceasefire Resolution*
- *The Removal of 25th Ward Ald. Byron Sichgo-Lopez*

Settlements

During his first year, Mayor Johnson faced frequent opposition to his law department's attempt to settle court cases. In most cases, the opposition was trivial, but two cases provoked significant opposition from within the council, with one voted down by the council before being renegotiated.

- In *Angela Williams v. City of Chicago*, 15 alderpersons voted against allocating \$1,000,000 to settle a case involving the death of 26-year-old Sharell Brown by officers Robert Rhodes and Joseph Lisciandrello. The case was controversial because the Civilian Office of Police Accountability (COPA) had determined that Rhodes did act according to department policy., Brown had pointed a pistol at the officers, but Officer Lisciandrello did not. However, at the time of the shooting, Officer Lisciandrello's body-camera was turned off. COPA recommended suspending Lisciandrello for 180 days or terminating him for his transgression.³ The city had been attempting to settle the case for months. It was originally introduced near the end of the Lightfoot administration, but then Chair of the Finance Committee 32nd Ward Alderperson Scott Waguespack removed the settlement from the agenda at the last minute out of fear it would be voted down.⁴ With the change in council composition, including the move to a more progressive council, the settlement passed.
- In *Garrit et al. v. City of Chicago* the council initially rejected—in a 22-26 vote-- allocating \$2,000,000 to settle a case involving the death of Darius Cole-Garrit by a Chicago police officer during a foot chase on the city's south side in August 2014. At the time, the Independent Police Review Authority, which was later replaced by COPA, ruled that the officer's shooting was justified. According to witnesses, Cole-Garrit had pulled out a firearm and aimed it at officers before the foot chase ensued. However, the

family for the Cole-Garrit believes the shooting was premeditated. They claim that the police officer had threatened Cole-Garrit at a basketball court earlier the same day and attempted to run him over before the chase began. The officer denies the claims.⁵ The council's rejection was the only vote that Mayor Johnson lost during his first year, but the lost was not lasting. On December 13, 2023, the council did an about-face and approved settling the case for the same amount in a 31-18 vote. The council's dramatic change-of-heart appears to have been motivated by a basic cost-versus-benefit analysis. According to Finance Chair 3rd Ward Alderperson Pat Dowell, the city was not confident that it would be able to convince a jury the officers did nothing wrong, and if the city did not settle the case, Chicago taxpayers would likely pay a much higher amount than \$2 million.⁶

Funding For Migrants

On April 17th, 2024, the City Council amended its 2024 budget and passed a \$1.25 billion bond authorization to fund housing and economic development. The city urgently needed more funding to manage a migrant crisis after Republican Texas Governor Greg Abbott began busing migrants to major cities controlled by Democrats. Most of the migrants were seeking asylum under international law. Since August 2022, Chicago has accepted over 38,000 migrants, who arrived on more than 800 buses. An overwhelming majority of these migrants were temporarily housed in impromptu locations on the city's southside.⁷

Since taking office Mayor Johnson has voiced his commitment to treating Chicago's migrant population with compassion. However, the influx of migrants has created an undeniable strain on the city, both financially and politically. Progressive alderpersons were generally supportive of Mayor Johnson's approach. Still, they were critical of him when he placed a 60-day limit on amount of time migrants could stay in the city's shelters before they had to find their own accommodations. Because of the opposition from his base, Mayor Johnson agreed to extend the limit on a case-by-case basis.⁸

While the council swiftly and unanimously agreed on accepting \$48 million in grants from the state and the federal government, it was far more divided in accepting Mayor Johnson's proposal to transfer \$70 million from the city's reserves and his request to issue a new bond to pay for migrant service expenditures. The appropriation did pass 30-18, but with vocal opposition from the city's conservatives, some moderates, and several African American alderpersons. The reasons for opposing the legislation included a general skepticism towards the city's ability to assimilate new immigrants, a sense that programs thus far had been wasteful and ill conceived, and sense of double standard, in that the migrants—which have been stationed in predominantly African American neighborhoods—are receiving benefits while the communities that house them have been historically neglected.

Real Estate Excise Tax

A campaign promise of Mayor Johnson was to establish a guaranteed revenue stream from the city to fund affordable housing and homelessness services. Mayor Johnson introduced his Bring Chicago Home proposal, a binding referendum which would have potentially raised \$160 million for housing and related services through an increase in the city's real estate excise tax. Chicago already has a flat 0.75% excise tax on all properties sold in the city. Johnson would have made the excise tax progressive, significantly increasing the tax rate for properties worth more than \$1 million, while simultaneously lowering it by nearly 20% for properties under \$1 million.⁹

The referendum passed the council in a 32-17 vote. Many of the city's young progressive alderpersons championed the proposal and its victory was celebrated within the Bring Chicago Home Coalition, a network of housing and homelessness advocates formed to support the legislation. However, the decision to place the measure on the ballot for the election in March was only the first step.

Several industry groups, including the Building Owners and Managers Association of Chicago, the Chicagoland Apartment Association, the Neighborhood Building Owners Alliance of Chicago, among others sued the city over the referendum, claiming that the referendum was unconstitutional and violated state law. On February 23, a Cook County Circuit Court Judge ruled in their favor, leaving the referendum on the ballot, but prohibited the counting of the of the votes.¹⁰ The city appealed. On March 6, the Illinois Appellant Court ruled in favor of the city, allowing the Chicago Board of Elections to count the votes.¹¹

However, the voters rejected the referendum, 52.2 to 47.8 percent in an election that attracted a historically low turnout.¹² While there were numerous reasons the referendum failed, it was a significant political defeat for Mayor Johnson. He had championed the Bring Chicago Home referendum as a fulfilment of one of his major campaign's promises, but he failed to generate enough voter support for the measure, revealing a real weaknesses of the progressive coalition's mobilization capacities that Johnson had apparently relied on.

Police Arbitration

During the Lightfoot administration, the Chicago City Council passed the Empowering Communities for Public Safety (ECPS) ordinance, which significantly changed the relationship that communities had with the city's police departments. The ordinance created two new governing bodies. The first was an independent civilian board with the power to hire and fire the head of the COPA, the agency charged with investigating police misconduct. Also, this board, by a super-majority resolution, could recommend firing the police superintendent. Second, 22 district councils were created, which overlapped the current police districts, and are tasked with bringing citizens and law enforcement together to work on issues of public safety and accountability.

While the ordinance was considered a major victory for police accountability advocates, a total transformation of Chicago's historically troubled police department was far from complete.

The City Council also approved to a new contract with the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP)'s Lodge 7, the union that represents Chicago police officers. The new contract includes a provision allowing both parties to send unresolved issues to an arbitrator. One of those issues was the jurisdiction of COPA. The FOP argued that according to the Illinois Public Labor Relations Act of 1984, the union could challenge any termination or suspension that lasted greater than 1 year in a closed-door arbitration session. The right to arbitration is in lieu of the right to strike, which police officers are prohibited from doing under Illinois law.

In October 2023, arbitrator Edwin H. Benn ruled in favor of FOP. The decision was then sent to the council for ratification. Mayor Johnson was fiercely opposed to arbitrator Benn's decision, but nonetheless was required to introduce it to the council. Still, the council could reject the decision, sending it back to the arbitrator if three-fifths voted against it. On December 13, 2023, the council voted down the decision in a 17-33 vote.¹³ Despite the council's decision the arbitrator reaffirmed his decision and sent it to the city council for a second vote. On February 15, 2024, the council again rejected the arbitrator's decision by a 18-32 vote in a dramatic and chaotic council meeting where Mayor Johnson had to call for decorum on four separate occasions.¹⁴

With the arbitrator's decisions twice rejected, the decision was sent to the Cook County Circuit Courts. On March 15, 2024, Judge Michael Mullen ruled that police officers did have a right to arbitration under the Illinois Public Labor Relations Act, however nothing in the law required that the arbitration sessions be private. Meaning, while the city could not prevent officers from invoking their right to arbitration regarding terminations or long-term suspensions, the city could require the proceedings to be open to the public and transparent.¹⁵

Ceasefire Resolution

In perhaps its most contentious vote, on January 31, 2024, the Chicago City Council passed a resolution calling for an immediate ceasefire after Israel launched an assault on the territory of Gaza which followed a terrorist attack by Hamas on Israelis on October 7, 2023. The resolution evenly divided the council, with 23 votes in favor and 23 opposed. Four alderpersons did not vote, though three of them were present but left the meeting before the vote took place. The resolution did pass when Mayor Johnson voted in favor. Chicago mayors are only allowed to vote on legislation when the vote before council is tied.

The council's divisions on the matter are reflective of the city itself. According to the 2020 census, Chicago has nearly 320,000 Jews residing in city limits, while the Arab population in the city top 100,000, with 18,000 Palestinians living in Cook County; it is the most Palestinians of any county area of the United States.¹⁶

Still, rather than racial divisions, the voting on the resolution occurred more along ideological lines. Progressives were in favor of the legislation, affirming--in the words of 33rd Ward Alderperson Rosanna Rodrigues-Sanchez—that "if we are committed to peace and liberation, we have to be committed to peace and liberation for all oppressed people."¹⁷ Meanwhile, moderates and conservatives were opposed. Some liberal Democrats objected to the resolution because it undermined Joe Biden's presidency and foreign policy objectives, while others, such as 50th Ward Alderperson Debra Silverstein—the council's only Jewish representative—believed the resolution was biased and failed to hold Hamas accountable for instigating the conflict.¹⁸

The Removal of 25th Ward Alderperson Byron Sigcho-Lopez

The vote on the ceasefire resolution reflected the underlying ideological differences within the council. At one event called to oppose President Joe Biden's policies on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 25th Ward Alderperson Byron Sigcho-Lopez, one of the council's most outspoken leftwing alderpersons, gave a speech on March 22, 2024 at a rally for Palestinian liberation. During the rally, an activist held a banner that read "Cancel the DNC: No Genocide Joe," and burned an American flag.¹⁹

A few days after the rally conservative alderpersons began calling for Sigcho-Lopez to step down as chair of the Housing and Real Estate Committee. Alderperson Chris Taliaferro of the 29th Ward told the press that Sigcho-Lopez's "conduct and his speech (were) reprehensible, to a point where we are demanding that he give account for his actions."²⁰ In his defense, Alderperson Sigcho-Lopez said the flag burning occurred before he arrived at the event and he had no idea it had happened. When confronted on his participation, he remarked that he probably would not have participated if he knew that American flag was being burned at the event. Regardless, he refused to apologize for his participation in the protest and noted that the man who did burn the flag was a veteran.²¹ Mayor Johnson came to Alderperson Sigcho-Lopez defense, telling the press that "Whether it's a noose or burning a flag, these are not particular expressions that I engage in... [but] the larger question that I would ask is, 'are we OK as a society that would curtail and disrupt someone's First Amendment right?'"²²

Unsatisfied with the mayor's response, 9th Ward Alderperson Anthony Beale introduced an ordinance to remove Byron Sigcho-Lopez from his position as the Chair of the Housing and Real Estate Committee on April 1st. The ordinance failed by a 16-29 vote. While the vote did include the usual faction of conservatives and moderates on the council, they were joined by three non-typical allies. These were 50th Ward Alderperson Debra Silverstein, who has publicly stated that she opposes criticisms of Israel, 31st Ward Alderperson Felix Cardona Jr., and 32nd Ward Alderperson Scott Waguespack.

Previously, Cardona Jr. and Waguespack were considered progressives. Waguespack in particular was, an outspoken critic of former Mayor Rahm Emanuel's policies, and was a former chair of the Progressive Reform Caucus. However, after closely aligning himself with Mayor

Lori Lightfoot, he started to distance himself from the council's progressives, especially in their criticisms of the former mayor. Meanwhile, Cardona Jr. also started to distance himself from progressives, and on occasion he voted with conservatives against Lightfoot.

Conclusion

During Lori Lightfoot's term as mayor, the Chicago City Council slowly continued its move away from machine politics and a new liberal majority emerged. As this transformation progressed, the city council became more fractious and unpredictable. Under Johnson, these trends have not only continued, but become more pronounced. There are fewer signs of a traditional political machine voting bloc operating in City Council. Meanwhile, the majority on the city council has become more liberal and more progressive.

Appendix 1: Summary of Divided Roll Call Votes May 24, 2023-April 19, 2024

	Issue Synopsis	Date	Document	Vote	Main Sponsor
First Year					
1	Appointment of chair, vice-chair, and members of standing committees of City Council for Years 2023-2027	5/24/2023	R2023-758	47-0	Council (8 th Ward)
2	City Council Rules of Order and Procedure for Years 2023-2027	5/24/2023	R2023-759	41-9	Council (8 th Ward)
3	Substitute Amendment of Annual Appropriation Ordinance Year 2023 amendment within Corporate Fund 100 for City Council.	5/31/2023	SO2023-2083	43-3	Mayor (Johnson)
4	Amendment to 2023 Annual Appropriation Ordinance to appropriate Opioid and Vaping Settlement funds and to appropriate funds to support recently arrived migrants.	5/31/2023	SO2023-1605	34-13	Mayor (Johnson)
5	Settlement agreement regarding case of Angela Williams v. City of Chicago.	6/21/2023	Or2023-234 Or2023-0001338	35-15	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
6	Settlement agreement regarding case of Vincent Tucker v. City of Chicago.	7/19/2023	Or2023-0002843	35-11	Council (3 rd Ward)
7	Settlement agreement regarding case of Bernard Kersh v. City of Chicago.	7/19/2023	Or2023-0002845	35-13	Council (3 rd Ward)
8	Settlement agreement regarding case of Garrit et al. v. City of Chicago.	7/19/2023	Or2023-0002846	22-26	Council (3 rd Ward)
9	Settlement agreement regarding case of Darnell Smith et al. v. City of Chicago.	7/19/2023	Or2023-0002848	43-6	Council (3 rd Ward)
10	A resolution amending the Salary resolution regarding lateral and rehire agreement, health benefits, salary adjustments and salary schedule IT.	7/19/2023	R2023-0003064	47-1	Council (28 th Ward)
11	Amendment of Municipal regarding qualifications and appointment of Inspector General and Public Safety Deputy.	7/19/2023	SO2023-0001245	47-1	Council (47 th Ward)
12	Amendment of Municipal	7/19/2023	SO2023-	48-1	Council

	Code regarding Snow and Ice Removal for Chicago Plow the Sidewalks Pilot Program.		0002851		(36 th Ward)
13	Appointment of Chasse Rehwinkel as City Comptroller	9/14/2023	A2023-0002895	44-4	Mayor (Johnson)
14	Settlement agreement regarding case of Reginald Rucker v. Chicago Police Department	9/14/2023	Or2023-0004101	40-9	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
15	Settlement agreement regarding case of Washington v. Boudreau	9/14/2023	Or2023-0004102	42-6	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
16	Annual Appropriation Ordinance Year 2023 amendment	9/14/2023	O2023-0002925	45-4	Mayor (Johnson)
17	Appointment of Angela Tovar as Chief Sustainability Officer	9/14/2023	A2023-0002901	48-1	Mayor (Johnson)
18	Acquisition of property for roadway improvement project and Norfolk Southern Railway Company grade crossing for North Point Redevelopment Project	9/14/2023	O2023-0001455	47-1	Mayor (Johnson)
19	Zoning Reclassification at 1633-1649 N Halsted St - App No. 22205	9/14/2023	SO2023-0002193/ O2023-2284	48-1	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
20	Amendment to 2022 WIFA Bond Ordinance regarding authority to execute documents for proposed loan from U.S. Environmental Protection Agency to City for operation of water supply system	10/4/2023	O2023-0002765	48-1	Mayor (Dept/Agency)
21	Establishment of permanent Subcommittee of Revenue under Committee on Finance and appointment of its Chair, Vice-Chair and Members	10/4/2023	R2023-0004907	48-1	Council (3 rd Ward)
22	Amendment of Chapter 6-105 of Municipal Code by modifying Section 6-105-030 regarding minimum hourly wage in occupations receiving gratuities.	10/6/2023	SO2023-0002995	36-10	Council (6 th Ward)
23	Second amendment to Clark/Montrose Redevelopment Project Area Tax Increment	11/1/2023	O2023-0005098	49-0	Mayor (Johnson)

	Finance Program Redevelopment Plan and Project				
24	Settlement agreement regarding case of Brent G. Hampton Jr. and Dahnyeekah Voker, v. City of Chicago	11/1/2023	Or2023- 0005639	49-1	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
25	Submission of public question by referendum to Chicago voters for increase in Chicago real estate tax rates	11/7/2023	R2023-0004166	32-17	Mayor (Johnson)
26	Acquisition of property at 11414 S. Halsted Street to establish and operate a migrant shelter	11/7/2023	SO2023- 0005042	49-1	Mayor (Johnson)
27	Second Substitute Amendment of Municipal Code Titles 2 and 6 and adding new Chapter 6-130 entitled "Chicago Paid Leave and Paid Sick and Paid Safe Leave Ordinance"	11/9/2023	SO2023- 0002980	36-12	Council (22 nd Ward)
28	Annual Appropriation Ordinance for Year 2024, as amended	11/15/2023	O2023-0005140	41-8	Mayor (Johnson)
29	Amendment of Municipal Code Titles 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 18	11/15/2023	SO2023- 0005294	40-9	Mayor (Johnson)
30	Property tax levy for Year 2024	11/15/2023	O2023-0005291	40-9	Mayor (Johnson)
31	Amendment of Municipal Code Titles 2, 3, 9, 11 and 14	11/15/2023	SO2023- 0005293	40-9	Mayor (Johnson)
32	Settlement agreement regarding Garrit et al. v. City of Chicago	12/13/2023	Or2023- 0006336	31-18	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
33	Adoption of agreed-upon changes to the Collective Bargaining Agreement between the Fraternal Order of Police and the City of Chicago	12/13/2023	O2023-0006332	42-7	Mayor (Johnson)
34	Adoption of closed arbitration option in certain police disciplinary cases	12/13/2023	O2023-0006333	17-33	Mayor (Johnson)
35	Zoning Reclassification Map No. 26-E located at 319 E 103rd Street	12/13/2023	O2023-1732/ O2023-0005332	48-1	Council (9 th Ward)
36	Call for the federal government to issue work permits to both new migrants and long-term	12/13/2023	SR2023- 0005289	47-2	Council (26 th Ward)

	contributing immigrant workers				
37	Settlement agreement regarding case of Brown v Bryant	1/24/2024	Or2023-0007178	33-16	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
38	Settlement agreement regarding case of Maya Kirk v. City of Chicago	1/24/2024	Or2023-0007180	47-3	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
39	Settlement agreement regarding the Estate of Whitfield Marshall, deceased v. City of Chicago	1/24/2024	Or2023-0007181	48-2	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
40	Amended substitute resolution regarding the expression of support for United Nations Resolution 377	1/31/2024	SR2024-0006422	24-23	Council (1 st Ward)
41	Adoption of arbitration option in certain police disciplinary cases	2/15/2024	SO2024-0007332	18-32	Council (5 th Ward)
42	Settlement agreement regarding case of Kevin Lusk v. City of Chicago	2/21/2024	Or2024-0007810	47-3	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
43	Settlement agreement regarding case of Tony Pearson v. City of Chicago	2/21/2024	Or2024-0007811	44-6	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
44	Amendment of Municipal Code Titles 4 and 17 regarding use group zoning districts	2/21/2024	SO2023-0004978	42-7	Council (19 th Ward)
45	Settlement agreement regarding case of Estate of Roshad McIntosh, v. City of Chicago	3/20/2024	Or2024-0008237	33-15	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
46	Settlement agreement regarding case of Rodriguez v. Guevara	3/20/2024	Or2024-0008238	36-12	Miscellaneous (Transmittal)
47	Honorary street designation as "Nicholas Ramirez, Jr. Way"	3/20/2024	O2024-0007863	47-1	Council (12 th Ward)
48	Amendment of the 2023-2027 Rules of Order and Procedure by removal of Ald. Byron Sigcho-Lopez as Chair of the Committee on Housing and Real Estate	4/1/2024	R2024-0008525	16-29	Council (9 th Ward)
49	Amendment of Municipal Code Chapter 9-130 by modifying various sections regarding scooter sharing business license applications, terms, fees, qualifications, and	4/17/2024	O2024-0008378	46-3	Mayor (Johnson)

	operational requirements				
50	Amendment of 2024 Annual Appropriation Ordinance within Corporate Fund 100	4/19/2024	O2024-0008842	30-18	Council (28 th Ward)
51	Issuance of general obligation and/or sales tax securitization corporation bonds for economic development and affordable housing programs	4/19/2024	SO2024-0007838	32-17	Mayor (Johnson)

Appendix 2: Schedule of Divided Roll Call Votes May 24, 2023-April 19, 2024**Mayor Brandon Johnson Divided Roll Call Votes**

Number of City Council Sessions	Date	Number of Divided Roll Call Votes
1	5/24/2023	2
2	5/31/2023	2
3	6/21/2023	1
4	7/19/2023	7
5	9/14/2023	7
6	9/27/2023	0
7	10/4/2023	2
8	10/6/2023	0
9	10/11/2023	0
10	10/16/2023	0
11	11/1/2023	2
12	11/2/2023	0
13	11/7/2023	2
14	11/9/2023	1
15	11/15/2023	4
16	12/13/2023	5
17	1/24/2024	3
18	1/31/2024	1
19	2/15/2024	1
20	2/21/2024	3
21	3/20/2024	3
22	4/1/2024	1
23	4/17/2024	1
24	4/19/2024	2

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes May 24, 2023-April 19, 2024

	Issue #	1	2	3	4	5
	Date	5/24/2023	5/24/2023	5/31/2023	5/31/2023	6/21/2023
Ward	Alderman	R2023-758	R2023-759	SO2023-2083	SO2023-1605	Or2023-234 & Or2023-0001338
1	Alderson	1	1	1	1	1
2	Daniel La Spata	1	1	3	3	1
3	Brian Hopkins	1	1	1	1	1
4	Pat Dowell	1	1	1	1	1
5	Lamont Robinson	1	1	1	1	1
6	Desmon Yancy	1	1	1	1	1
7	William H. Hall	1	1	1	0	1
8	Gregory I. Mitchell	1	1	1	0	1
9	Michelle A. Harris	1	0	0	0	0
10	Anthony Beale	1	1	1	1	0
11	Peter Chico	1	1	1	1	0
12	Nicole Lee	1	1	1	1	1
13	Julia Ramirez	1	0	1	0	0
14	Marty Quinn	1	1	1	1	1
15	Jeylu Gutierrez	1	0	1	0	0
16	Raymond A. Lopez	1	1	1	1	1
17	Stephanie D. Coleman	3	0	0	0	1
18	David H. Moore	1	1	1	0	1
19	Derrick G. Curtis	3	1	1	1	0
20	Matthew J. O'Shea	1	1	1	1	1
21	Jeanette B. Taylor	1	1	1	1	1
22	Ronnie Mosley	1	1	1	1	1
23	Michael D. Rodriguez	1	0	2	2	0
24	Silvana Tabares	1	1	1	0	1
25	Monique Scott	1	1	1	1	1
26	Byron Sigcho-Lopez	1	1	1	1	1
27	Jessie Fuentes	1	1	1	1	1
28	Walter Burnett, Jr.	1	1	1	1	1
29	Jason C. Ervin	3	1	1	1	0
30	Chris Taliaferro	1	1	1	1	1
31	Ruth Cruz	1	1	1	1	0
32	Felix Cardona, Jr.	1	0	1	1	1
33	Scott Waguespack	1	1	1	1	1
34	Rossana Rodriguez Sanchez	1	1	1	1	1
35	Bill Conway	1	1	1	1	1
36	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	1	1	1	1	1
37	Gilbert Villegas	1	1	1	0	1
38	Emma Mitts	1	1	1	0	0
39	Nicholas Sposato	1	1	1	1	0
40	Samantha Nugent	1	1	1	1	1
41	Andres Vasquez, Jr.	1	0	1	0	0
42	Anthony V. Napolitano	1	0	3	0	0
43	Brendan Reilly	1	1	1	1	1
44	Timmy Knudsen	1	1	1	1	1
45	Bennett Lawson	1	0	0	0	0
46	James M. Gardiner	1	1	1	1	1
47	Angela Clay	1	1	1	1	1
48	Matthew J. Martin	1	1	1	1	1
49	Leni Manaa-Hoppenworth	1	1	1	1	1
50	Maria E. Hadden	1	1	2	2	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes May 24, 2023-April 19, 2024

	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	7/19/2023	7/19/2023	7/19/2023	7/19/2023	7/19/2023	7/19/2023	7/19/2023
Ward	Or2023-0002843	Or2023-0002845	Or2023-0002846	Or2023-0002848	R2023-0003064	SO2023-0001245	SO2023-0002851
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
10	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
11	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	3	3	3	1	3	3	1
18	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
19	3	0	0	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
24	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
31	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
32	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	0	0	1	1	0	1
39	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
42	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
43	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
44	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
45	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
46	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	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 Roll Call Votes May 24, 2023-April 19, 2024

	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	9/14/2023	9/14/2023	9/14/2023	9/14/2023	9/14/2023	9/14/2023	9/14/2023
Ward	A2023-0002895	Or2023-0004101	Or2023-0004102	O2023-0002925	A2023-0002901	O2023-0001455	SO2023-0002193/ O2023-2284
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
7	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
10	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	3	0	3	1	1	3	3
18	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
42	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes May 24, 2023-April 19, 2024

	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
	10/4/2023	10/4/2023	10/6/2023	11/1/2023	11/1/2023	11/7/2023	11/7/2023
Ward	O2023-0002765	R2023-0004907	SO2023-0002995	O2023-0005098	Or2023-0005639	R2023-0004166	SO2023-0005042
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	2	1	1	0	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
11	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	0	1	0	0	1
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	3	1
21	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
32	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	1	1	2	1	1	0	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	1	1	3	1	1	0	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
39	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
42	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
43	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
44	1	1	3	1	1	0	1
45	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	4	1	1	1
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

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

Appendix 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes May 24, 2023-April 19, 2024

	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
	11/9/2023	11/15/2023	11/15/2023	11/15/2023	11/15/2023	12/13/2023	12/13/2023
Ward	SO2023-0002980	O2023-0005140	SO2023-0005294	O2023-0005291	SO2023-0005293	Or2023-0006336	O2023-0006332
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
13	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
18	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
19	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
24	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
25	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
26	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
30	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
31	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
32	4	0	0	0	0	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
34	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
35	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
39	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
40	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
41	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
42	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	3	0	0	0	0	0	1
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	2	2	2	2	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 Roll Call Votes May 24, 2023-April 19, 2024

	34	35	36	37	38	39
	12/13/2023	12/13/2023	12/13/2023	1/24/2024	1/24/2024	1/24/2024
Ward	O2023-0006333	O2023-1732/O2023-0005332	SR2023-0005289	Or2023-0007178	Or2023-0007180	Or2023-0007181
1	0	0	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	0	1	1	1	1	1
8	0	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	0	1	1
10	1	1	1	0	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	0	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	1	1	0	1	1
14	0	1	1	1	1	1
15	1	1	0	0	1	1
16	0	1	1	1	1	1
17	0	1	0	0	1	1
18	1	1	1	0	1	1
19	1	1	1	0	1	1
20	0	1	1	1	0	1
21	0	1	1	1	1	1
22	0	1	1	1	1	1
23	1	1	1	0	1	1
24	0	1	1	1	1	1
25	0	1	1	1	1	1
26	0	1	1	1	1	1
27	0	1	1	1	1	1
28	0	1	1	1	1	1
29	0	1	1	1	1	1
30	0	1	1	1	1	1
31	1	1	1	0	1	1
32	0	1	1	1	1	1
33	0	3	3	1	1	1
34	0	1	1	1	0	0
35	0	1	1	3	1	1
36	1	1	1	0	1	1
37	0	1	1	1	1	1
38	1	1	1	0	1	1
39	1	1	1	0	1	1
40	0	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	1	1	0	1	1
42	1	1	1	0	1	1
43	0	1	1	1	1	1
44	0	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	1	0	0	0
46	0	1	1	1	1	1
47	0	1	1	1	1	1
48	0	1	1	1	1	1
49	0	1	1	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	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 Roll Call Votes May 24, 2023-April 19, 2024

	40	41	42	43	44	45	46
	1/31/2024	2/15/2024	2/21/2024	2/21/2024	2/21/2024	3/20/2024	3/20/2024
Ward	SR2024-0006422	SO2024-0007332	Or2024-0007810	Or2024-0007811	SO2023-0004978	Or2024-0008237	Or2024-0008238
1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
2	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
3	3	0	1	1	0	1	1
4	1	0	1	1	4	1	1
5	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
7	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
8	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
9	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
10	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
11	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
12	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
13	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
14	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
15	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
16	3	0	1	1	1	1	1
17	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
18	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
19	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
20	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
21	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
22	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
23	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
24	0	0	1	1	1	1	0
25	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
26	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
27	3	0	1	1	1	1	1
28	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
30	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
31	0	1	1	1	1	4	4
32	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
34	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
35	1	0	1	1	1	4	4
36	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
37	3	0	1	1	1	1	1
38	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
39	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
40	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
41	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
42	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
43	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
44	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
45	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
46	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
47	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
48	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
49	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
50	0	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 Roll Call Votes May 24, 2023-April 19, 2024

	47	48	49	50	51
	3/20/2024	4/1/2024	4/17/2024	4/19/2024	4/19/2024
Ward	O2023-0007863	R2024-0008525	O2024-0008378	O2024-0008842	SO2024-0007838
1	1	0	1	1	1
2	1	0	1	1	0
3	1	0	1	0	1
4	1	0	1	1	1
5	1	0	1	1	1
6	1	0	1	1	1
7	1	3	1	0	1
8	1	0	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	0	0
10	1	1	1	3	0
11	1	4	1	1	1
12	1	0	2	1	1
13	1	1	0	0	0
14	1	0	1	1	1
15	0	1	0	0	0
16	1	0	1	0	1
17	1	0	1	0	1
18	1	0	1	0	1
19	1	3	1	1	1
20	1	0	1	0	1
21	1	0	1	1	1
22	1	0	1	1	1
23	1	1	0	0	0
24	1	1	1	0	1
25	1	0	1	1	1
26	1	0	1	1	1
27	1	0	1	1	1
28	1	0	1	1	1
29	1	0	1	0	3
30	1	0	1	1	1
31	4	1	1	1	0
32	1	1	1	1	0
33	1	0	1	3	1
34	1	1	1	0	0
35	4	0	1	1	1
36	1	1	1	1	0
37	1	4	1	0	1
38	1	1	1	0	0
39	1	3	1	1	0
40	1	0	1	1	1
41	1	1	1	0	0
42	1	1	1	0	0
43	1	0	1	1	1
44	1	1	1	1	0
45	1	1	1	0	0
46	1	0	1	1	1
47	1	0	1	1	1
48	1	0	1	1	1
49	1	0	1	1	1
50	1	1	1	1	0

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

Endnotes

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