



**Rahm Emanuel's Rubber Stamp City Council**

**Chicago City Council Report #7  
June 8, 2011- November 15, 2014**

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By Thanksgiving 2014, more than 250 candidates had filed to run for alderman as had ten mayoral candidates. The city council approved Mayor Rahm Emanuel's \$7.3 billion budget with \$62.4 million in tax increases by a vote of 46-4 and the following week approved an ordinance to raise the minimum wage to 13 on hour by 2019. At the same time, three aldermen called upon the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Chicago Inspector General, and the city comptroller to investigate potentially illegal campaign contributions to Mayor Emanuel from financial firms that manage city pension funds. As the 2015 elections loom, it is a time of both controversy and strong mayoral control of the city council.

Despite signs of occasional controversy and opposition, the city council under Mayor Rahm Emanuel has remained a rubber stamp. Mayor Emanuel has recently lost some support compared to his first two years as the council has had more frequent divided roll call votes. Nonetheless, it continues as a rubber stamp council. In fact, for his entire three and a half years under Mayor Emanuel it has remained more of a rubber stamp than under either Mayors Richard J. or Richard M. Daley.

Histograms of voting behavior show that the city council in the last two years under the Mayor Emanuel was more likely to disagree with mayor than during his first two years. The average level of aldermanic support for Mayor Emanuel is 89% on all divided roll call votes from April 2013-November 2014, a small decrease from the 93% in his first two years. While there are still independent dissenting aldermen like Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>), Arena (45<sup>th</sup>), and Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>), overall the voting trend remains supportive of mayor. During the three and a half years of the Emanuel administration, aldermen have supported the mayor on divided roll call votes an average of 90% of the time.

### **Support for Mayor Emanuel**

To assess support of aldermen for Mayor Emanuel, voting records of all 50 aldermen were examined. The votes of the aldermen were compared to Alderman Pat O'Connor (40<sup>th</sup>) and Alderman Edward Burke (14<sup>th</sup>), Mayor Emanuel's floor leaders. The floor leaders' voting patterns were used to represent the official position of the mayor's administration. On a few issues, Alderman O'Connor and Alderman Burke voted differently. In those cases, the votes of aldermen were directly compared to Mayor's opinion as represented by his public statements on these issues.

We recorded all yes votes as a 1 and all negative votes as 0. We then calculated the number of times the aldermen voted with the administration (as determined by the vote of his floor leaders Pat O'Connor and Ed Burke or by the Mayor's public stance). The number of votes with the Mayor was then divided by the total number of times they voted to produce the percentage of agreement with Mayor Emanuel.

As Figure 1 indicates, 38 of the aldermen voted with Mayor Emanuel 90% - 100% of the time over the last three and a half years. Six other aldermen supported him more than 80% of the time and only six in opposition limited their support of him from 40%-79% on these critical votes with divided roll call votes.

**Figure 1**

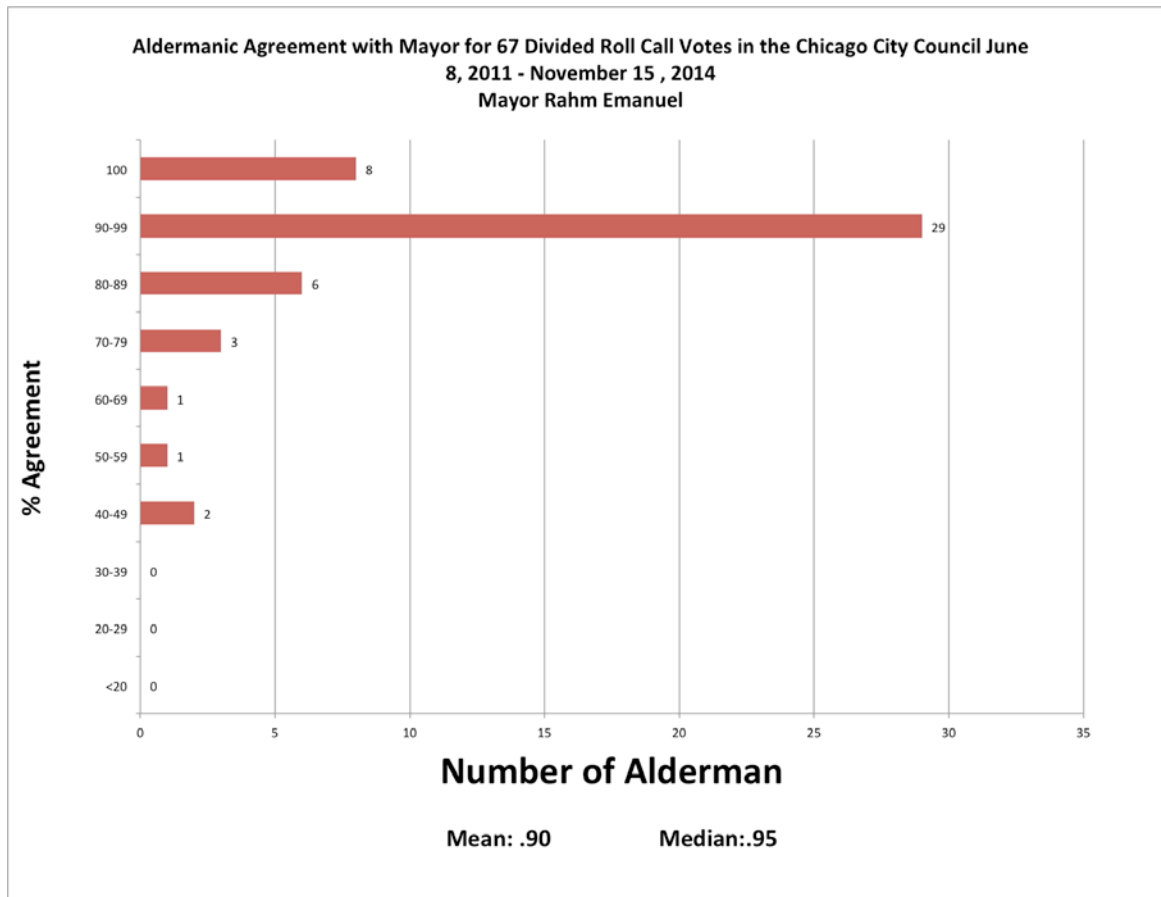


Table 1 shows a breakdown of the level of support of each of the 50 aldermen for the mayor on all divided votes. Interestingly, neither of the mayor's floor leaders supported his position 100% of the time. Burke supported him 87% of the time, and O'Conner supported him 90% of the time. The two strongest dissenters are Alderman Bob Fioretti who is now running for mayor against Mayor Emanuel in the 2015 election and Alderman John Arena.

**Table 1: Voting Patterns  
Aldermanic Agreement with Mayor Emanuel  
67 Divided Roll Call Votes From June 8, 2011- November 15, 2014**

<b>Ward</b>	<b>Alderman</b>	<b>% 2011-2014</b>	<b>Ward</b>	<b>Alderman</b>	<b>% 2011-2014</b>
8	Harris	100	26	Maldonado	95
10	Pope	100	30	Reboyras	94
13	Quinn	100	34	Austin	94
21	Brookins Jr.	100	46	Cappleman	94
27	Burnett, Jr.	100	48	Osterman	94
29	Graham	100	23	Zalewski	93
33	Mell	100	47	Pawar	93
39	Laurino	100	24	Chandler	92
12	Cardenas	99	41	M. O'Connor	92
31	Suarez	98	4	Burns	91
49	Moore	98	7	Holmes*(Jackson)	91
50	Silverstein	98	40	<b>P. O'Conner</b>	90
11	Balcer	97	20	Cochran	89
16	Thompson	97	3	Dowell	88
25	Solis	97	14	<b>Burke</b>	87
37	Mitts	97	15	Foulkes	87
38	Cullerton	97	43	Smith	87
19	O'Shea	96	6	Sawyer	85
28	Ervin	96	22	Munoz	79
35	Colon	96	5	Hairston	78
44	Tunney	96	42	Reily	72
1	Moreno	95	36	Sposato	66
9	Beale	95	32	Waguespack	54
17	Thomas	95	2	Fioretti	45
18	Lane	95	45	Arena	43

\*An asterisk denotes a different Alderman for the previous time period. The name of that Alderman is in parenthesis next to the score.

**Table 3: Progressive Blocs in the City Council  
Based on Aldermanic Agreement with Mayor Emanuel  
67 Divided Roll Call Votes From June 8, 2011- November 15, 2014**

		Progressive reform
Ward	Alderman	2011-2014
45	Arena	43%
2	Fioretti	45%
32	Waguespack	54%
36	Sposato	66%
5	Harston	78%
22	Munoz	79%
6	Sawyer	85%
15	Foulkes	87%
	Average	67 %

		Paul Douglas Alliance
Ward	Alderman	2011-2014
42	Reilly	73 %
43	Smith	87 %
3	Dowell	88 %
4	Burns	91 %
47	Pawar	93 %
46	Cappleman	94 %
48	Osterman	94 %
1	Moreno	95 %
35	Colon	96 %
49	Moore	98 %
	Average	90.9 %

However, there are two self-proclaimed reform blocs in the city council shown in Table 3. The Progressive Reform bloc votes on average only 67 % of the time with the mayor. In this bloc, Fioretti, Waguespack, and Arena vote least often with the mayor and his floor leaders.

The second bloc, the Paul Douglas Alliance, votes with the mayor much more often at 91% of the time. Thus, they vote more or less consistently like the aldermen who do not label themselves as reformers. They are mostly aldermen representing Lake Front “liberal” wards who want to be seen as representing their communities effectively rather than being subservient to the mayor. Ameya Pawar, 47<sup>th</sup> Ward Alderman, is one of them. As he explained in voting for the mayor’s 2015 budget: “I do think that what is wrong with the way we do things is the narrative that we’ve created over many years, and if you simply vote ‘no’ you’re a reformer, if you vote ‘yes’ you’re a rubber stamp.”<sup>1</sup>

### **Council Voting on the Most Contentious Issues In the Last Year and a Half**

Several controversial issues split the city council during the second half of Emanuel’s term. The most contentious of these issues were the election of members of Chicago Board of Education, redistribution of surplus funds from Tax Increment Finance Districts (TIFs), establishment of licenses and regulations for alternative transportation services like Uber and Lyft, Chicago Metered Parking system Concession Agreement, Legislative Inspector General, Redistricting the wards, and the Infrastructure Trust.

#### **June 5, 2013: Chicago Metered Parking System – 39 Yes 11 No**

Mayor Rahm Emanuel pushed a renewal of the 75-year parking-meter privatization that extends free parking on Sundays. He referred the existing deal as a “straitjacket on the city,” and argued, “I feel strongly that Sunday should be a day when folks are freed from the grasp of the parking-meter company. Whether you go to church or not, everyone deserves a break from feeding parking meters in our neighborhoods on Sunday.”<sup>2</sup> The mayor’s plan also would allow drivers to pay for parking through their mobile phones, for a \$0.35 transaction fee, beginning in late summer.

The mayor's office argued that the new deal, which will make the current contract “a little less bad for the next seven decades,” will save the city up to \$20 million a year. Supporters of the plan such as Alderman Richard Mell (33<sup>rd</sup>) praised Emanuel for “opening up the wound and cauterizing it.”<sup>3</sup> Walter Burnett (27<sup>th</sup>) thanked the mayor saying, “You challenged them and made them come to the table and change this deal.”<sup>3</sup> Another supporter, Alderman Jason Ervin (28<sup>th</sup>) said according to NBC Chicago, “We are tripping over hundred dollar bills to pick up nickels. [But] as a council we would be irresponsible not to do this.”<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, there were others who critically opposed the revised plan for several reasons. “I never approved of this marriage, with Chicago Parking Meters, and I don't approve of it today,” said Alderman Rey Colon (35<sup>th</sup>), “I have an issue with the extended hours,” he added. “I'm questioning the unknown, which is what I did four years ago.” Colon favored a “true-up” settlement, but hesitated over extended evening hours on Sundays; “I don't think this deal should've been bundled together like a U-Verse package,” Colon said.<sup>6</sup> Robert Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>) complained about not having enough information about the finances of the new meter plan. Pointing out the parking meter deal passed under

Mayor Richard M. Daley with scanty information in 2008 for which he voted, Fioretti now asked, "Do any of us remember 2008? Did we not learn anything?" Then he added, "It's like deja vu all over again,"<sup>7</sup>

Similarly, Alderman Brendan Reilly (42<sup>nd</sup>) said he had "some problems with the projections and the assumptions" regarding the extension of all 9 p.m. meters until 10 p.m. citywide and until midnight in Streeterville and River North. He called it "a false choice" to say the settlement with CPM was a take-it-or-leave-it proposal.<sup>8</sup>

Aldermen William Burns (4<sup>th</sup>) and Patrick O'Connor (40<sup>th</sup>) said it was easy to take the position to vote against any and all meter deals, but the city had to seize on the chance to make the best of a bad situation.<sup>9</sup>

"I'm hearing a lot of what I heard before," said Ald. Leslie Hairston (5<sup>th</sup>), who also voted against the original deal. "I find myself pretty much in the same place."<sup>10</sup>

"I stand here as one of the guilty ones" who voted for it in 2008, said Ald. Joe Moore (49<sup>th</sup>). "I was wrong." He said voters continued to be riled by this issue, adding, "They're angry, they're cynical, they think we're being had again."<sup>11</sup>

When Emanuel said he was trying to make "a little lemonade" out of a lemon of a deal,<sup>12</sup> Ald. Bob Fioretti (1<sup>st</sup>) replied, "Some lemons shouldn't be made into lemonade. Some lemons should be returned to the store for a refund."<sup>13</sup>

In the end, the revised plan with extended parking hours but with free Sunday parking passed. After the vote, Waguespack tweeted, "Mayor Rahm now owns the parking-meter disaster."<sup>14</sup> Aldermen voting no: Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>), Hairston (5<sup>th</sup>), Colon (35<sup>th</sup>), who voted against the original deal, Arena (45<sup>th</sup>), Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>), Osterman (48<sup>th</sup>), Pawar (47<sup>th</sup>), Reilly (42<sup>nd</sup>), Silverstein (50<sup>th</sup>), Smith (43<sup>rd</sup>), Tunney (44<sup>th</sup>)

### **September 11, 2013: Building Energy Use Benchmarking – 32 Yes, 17 No, 1 Not Voting**

In September 2013, the City Council passed the Chicago Energy Use Benchmarking Ordinance. This was one of the most controversial votes of the last four years. A number of generally strong supporters of the mayor joined opposition aldermen in opposing it. This opposition came especially from many of the Lakefront aldermen who have high rise buildings in their wards.

The proposal was introduced by Mayor Rahm Emanuel and allows public access to energy consumption data for commercial, residential, and municipal buildings over 50,000 square feet in order to reduce their cost through using a web program administrated by the

U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. The ordinance entails annual reports from buildings starting in 2015.

Opponents named it a kind of “public shaming” by arguing it will disadvantage building owners in a competitive marketplace.<sup>15</sup> Alderman Brendan Reilly (42<sup>nd</sup>), who voted against ordinance, said the benchmarking tool will lead buildings to be in competition to increase their scores, which he was concerned would result in costly retrofits. “We should not be in the business of picking winners and losers in the real estate market just as we are recovering from the 2008 global collapse,” said Reilly.<sup>16</sup>

The Building Owners and Managers Association of Chicago had also opposed publicly releasing the information, arguing that it should only be disclosed to interested parties, such as buyers, renters and financiers.<sup>17</sup>

But supporters say tenants have a right to know if their buildings use more energy than necessary. Mayor Rahm Emanuel said that publicly disclosing the information is exactly the point. “Do you check the mileage before you purchase a car? Do you check the energy-efficiency of a utility before you purchase it? Do you do comparative [shopping]? What is wrong with providing people information?”<sup>18</sup> Alderman Daniel Solis (25<sup>th</sup>) said, “This ordinance doesn't require residents to invest in a single dime in the buildings. It will provide them with information in a much more transparent format. So they will know whether and how it may make sense for them to invest in their buildings if they choose to do so.”<sup>19</sup>

Moreover, supporters claim the ordinance would lower energy costs, create new jobs, reduce harmful pollution due to wasteful energy consumption and enable Chicago to attract new businesses in the global marketplace. Alderman Moreno (1<sup>st</sup>) passionately stated, “You’ve got to lead when it comes to the environment.”<sup>20</sup> Alderman Cardenas (12<sup>th</sup>) advocated, “I think it is time to move from fear to action” and urged his colleagues to vote in favor of the ordinance.<sup>21</sup> Alderman Moore (49<sup>th</sup>) complained that some of condominiums in his ward have been exceedingly misguided and said that “the economic benefits [of this ordinance] can be huge in terms of cost-savings.” Referring to concerns about disclosure, he said “We should be all about disclosure. We want consumers to have information.”<sup>22</sup>

In the end, the ordinance passed. Aldermen voting no: Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>), Dowell (3<sup>rd</sup>), Hairston (5<sup>th</sup>), Sawyer (6<sup>th</sup>), Holmes (7<sup>th</sup>), Foulkes (15<sup>th</sup>), Thomson (16<sup>th</sup>), Cochran (20<sup>th</sup>), Muñoz (22<sup>nd</sup>), Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>), Sposato (36<sup>th</sup>), Reilly (42<sup>nd</sup>), Smith (43<sup>rd</sup>), Tunney (44<sup>th</sup>), Arena (45<sup>th</sup>), Cappleman (46<sup>th</sup>), Osterman (48<sup>th</sup>).

### **November 13, 2013: Election of Members of Chicago Board of Education - 32 Yes, 15 No (3 Absent)**

In November 2013 the city council was split over submission of public question to Chicago voters regarding election of members of Chicago Board of Education. Chicago is



the only city in the State of Illinois where the mayor appoints all seven members of The Chicago Board of Education, including its president and the CEO of Chicago Public Schools. This system allows the mayor to control all school related decisions, such as which schools open and which close.

In many ways, this is a highly critical issue for opponents of Mayor Emanuel, education activists, community groups, and Chicago Public School parents. Supporters of an elected board argue the move would bring more democracy in decision-making including issues such as length of school day and closing schools. The progressive caucus was insistent on keeping the elected school board issue on the table. In 2012, Alderman Arena (45th Ward) brought up a resolution calling for a referendum asking for a school board elected by voters.<sup>23</sup> Some mayoral allies, including Alderman Joe Moore (49th) quickly stalled the ballot initiative through parliamentary maneuvering. However Arena again determined to introduce the resolution in September 2013. Not surprisingly the resolution was stuck in the rules committee. "The resolution asks for a simple referendum to gauge voter's interest in the concept of an elected school board," Arena said. "Do they want a body that has the ability to raise taxes and impose levies to be responsive to the general population through an election process, or be appointed by the mayor? This issue is timely, and it's needed in Chicago to make Chicago Public Schools leadership accountable to the taxpayers."<sup>24</sup>

On 7th October 2014, the City Council Rules Committee accepted three non-binding questions for the ballot in February 2015 which effectively blocked the school board referendum. Arena and the others aimed to revive the debate to put the school issue on the ballot first. "We tried to preempt them with our resolution," said Alderman Fioretti, a member of the progressive caucus. "But they said, 'Uh-oh,' and preempted us."<sup>25</sup> Waguespack told the Sun-Times that: "It's not just the elected school board. It's about the whole education system being put to the test and the policies that the administration espouses versus what a lot of the voters out there would like to see. At least allow them to be asked the question of whether they want an elected school board. To prevent that question from being out there is trying to defray the political cost that goes with the decisions that the mayor has made."<sup>26</sup>

Aldermen voting no to preventing the school board referendum being on the ballot in order to preempt the elected school board referendum were Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>), Hairston (5<sup>th</sup>), Sawyer (6<sup>th</sup>), Holmes, (7<sup>th</sup>), Foulkes (15<sup>th</sup>), Cochran (20<sup>th</sup>), Muñoz (22<sup>nd</sup>), Chandler (24<sup>th</sup>), Ervin (28<sup>th</sup>), Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>), Sposato (36<sup>th</sup>), Cullerton (38<sup>th</sup>), Arena (45<sup>th</sup>), Cappleman (46<sup>th</sup>), Pawar (47<sup>th</sup>).

### **November 13, 2013: Tax Increment Financing (TIF) - 11 Yes, 36 No (3 Absent)**

Redistribution of surplus funds from Tax Increment Financing (TIF) districts was one of the most heated debates in the city council. In November 2013, Mayor Emanuel announced that he planned to declare more than \$49 million surplus on money sitting in the city's 151 tax-increment financing (TIF) accounts.<sup>27</sup> This TIF surplus would be

allocated to the city's taxing bodies. By law, Chicago Public Schools gets about half of the total amount. Usually, the mayor's office takes only about 20 percent of the TIF surplus. Emanuel increased it to 29 percent in 2014, promising to make it at least 25 percent every year.<sup>28</sup>

How much money can be taken from the surplus is decided by the mayor's administration but the City Council must approve the declaration of a surplus. Members of the Progressive Caucus wanted to change that in 2013. They moved to bring an alternative proposal on TIF surpluses to the council floor for debate and a vote.<sup>27</sup> Their ordinance was held up in committee for months in order to prevent it from going before the full council. Members of the caucus claimed that their ordinance would generate a larger surplus than Emanuel was proposing.<sup>29</sup>

It was argued by the administration that TIF money is not long-term solution for the school districts' budget problems. Like other governments, CPS faces a crisis because of neglecting to fund adequately its pension system. "Even with...the surplus that some people have called for, those things don't begin to plug the budget gap that either the CPS or city have been seeing," Alex Holt, the city's budget director, said. "When you look at CPS with a billion dollars' worth of budget gap that they've had to address, the dollar amounts are really just too small to accomplish that."<sup>30</sup>

Kate Bolduc, who is the co-founder of a coalition of local school councils, supported more funding from CPS:

"We understand that [TIF funding is] only a short term solution but we'll take it. We need it. We have students who are sitting in classes that are way too large. We have students missing out on technology, foreign language, and music. Every dollar counts."<sup>31</sup>

In the end, the ordinance amendment to declare a larger TIF surplus was rejected. Most aldermen voted no. Aldermen voting yes on the Progressive Caucus proposal were: Moreno (1<sup>st</sup>), Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>), Dowell (3<sup>rd</sup>), Hairston (5<sup>th</sup>), Sawyer (6<sup>th</sup>), Foulkes (15<sup>th</sup>), Muñoz (22<sup>nd</sup>), Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>), Sposato (36<sup>th</sup>), Smith (43<sup>rd</sup>), Arena (45<sup>th</sup>).<sup>31</sup>

### **April 30, 2014: Plastic Carryout Bags From Waste Stream - 36 Yes, 10 No, 2 Not Voting (2 Absent)**

This proposed ordinance would prohibit retail chains 10,000 square feet or larger from handing out plastic carry out bags to customers. Alderman Moreno (1<sup>st</sup>), who had been pushing for the Ban-the-Bang ordinance since November 2011, brought the proposal as an environmentally-friendly measure.<sup>32</sup> The ban was only partial because it excused restaurants and small independent or non-franchise retailers. Mayor Rahm Emanuel expressed his support for the ban.<sup>34</sup> He said to DNAinfo, "You can't be the 'city in a garden' and have a set of policies that hurts the environment."<sup>35</sup>

While supporters of the ban stated that it would have a positive environmental influence due to the fact that plastic bags clutter city streets and parks, aldermen who

voted against the ban had economic concerns about jobs and attracting stores to locate in Chicago.<sup>34</sup> Aldermen Hairston, (5<sup>th</sup>) said that the ban would “widen and deepen the gap between the haves and the have-nots....I'm watching my community go to hell in a hand basket, while communities that are rich in resources spend time debating plastic bags. Most of them are already looking for reasons why they won't come to South and West Side communities, and we're going to give them more reasons by forcing them to spend money on paper bags and forcing shoppers to spend additional money by buying, carrying, shopping or using reusable bags. These are people who don't have a grocer in walking distance and have to spend bus fare to get to the nearest grocer with healthy choices.”<sup>37</sup>

However Moreno (1<sup>st</sup>) refuted these claims that the move was anti-business: "there is no evidence that this hurts business. In fact, it's the opposite." The alderman continued, "I'm tired of 3 billion bags, less than 10 percent are returned to be recycled, and less than 10 percent of those returned are recycled. Why? Because there's no market."<sup>38</sup>

Once again, this was a vote that split along different lines than the usual supporters and opponents of the mayor. In the end, the council approved the partial ban on plastic bags. Aldermen voting no: Hairston (5<sup>th</sup>), Sawyer (6<sup>th</sup>), Beale (9<sup>th</sup>), Lane, (18<sup>th</sup>), Reboyras (30<sup>th</sup>), Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>), Sposato (36<sup>th</sup>), Mitts (37<sup>th</sup>), M. O'Connor (41<sup>st</sup>), Reilly (42<sup>th</sup>).

### **May 28, 2014: Transportation Network Provider License – 34 Yes 10 No 2 Not Voting, 1 Recused (3 Absent)**

Another contentious debate took place in the city council on the transportation network provider license issue. The proposed regulation by the Mayor's administration concerned establishment of transportation network provider licenses that would allow ride-sharing services like Uber and Lyft to legally co-exist with regular Chicago taxicab companies. The ordinance also would enable the city to cap "surge pricing" - the cost of a fare during times of peak demand.<sup>38</sup>

Some aldermen like Anthony Beale (9<sup>th</sup>), chair of the transportation committee, unsuccessfully attempted to postpone the vote until Springfield took action on the issue. "It is my belief that this ordinance will hurt the hardworking men and women that are driving cabs every single day," Beale said.<sup>40</sup>

Emanuel supported the regulation saying, "This is the most comprehensive ordinance put forth. Other cities are dealing with this, we have moved forward. There'll be pieces that Springfield has, but this goes deeper and farther," he said.<sup>41</sup>

Before the vote, Alderman Proco "Joe" Moreno (1<sup>st</sup>), who supported regulation, argued that the ride-sharing ordinance is "not about cab drivers. It's about the medallion owners, and the medallion owners have not been treating these cab drivers right."<sup>42</sup>

Alderman Toni Foulkes (15<sup>th</sup>), who was also in favor of the ordinance, said, “Ridesharing programs provide more transportation options in underserved communities as well as job opportunities. It is currently difficult for the public to pick up a cab in certain parts of the South Side, such as Englewood.”<sup>43</sup>

"Today's vote in support of ridesharing in Chicago is a welcome development and driven by the public's desire for safe and reliable transportation alternatives," Angela Heuer, a spokesman for Lyft said in a statement.<sup>44</sup>

“While the taxi industry spends time and money trying to intimidate lawmakers with political retribution to defend its track record of horrible customer service and taking advantage of its workforce – the rideshare industry will move forward under this framework to continue to improve Chicago’s transportation system,” said Jamie Crain on behalf of Uber.<sup>45</sup>

The ordinance passed. Aldermen voting no: Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>), Dowell (3<sup>rd</sup>), Sawyer (6<sup>th</sup>), Beale (9<sup>th</sup>), Lane (18<sup>th</sup>), Muñoz (22<sup>nd</sup>), Zalewski (23<sup>rd</sup>), Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>), Sposato (36<sup>th</sup>), Arena (45<sup>th</sup>).

#### **November 5; 2014: Authorizing the Commissioner of the Department of Family and Support Services to enter into a loan agreement– 42 Yes 5 No, 2 Recused (1 Absent)**

Recently, an early childhood expansion plan to use \$17 million from private investors to provide half-day early childhood education was introduced to the city council by mayor. The proposed “social impact bonds” will allow 2,618 students to access early childhood plan, which create a half-day Child-Parent Center model that works with students and their parents to increase students’ performance in later grades.

The Goldman Sachs Social Impact Fund and Northern Trust were the senior lenders, while the J.B. and M.K. Pritzker Family Foundation as the secondary lenders, will provide \$17 million loan. The annual interest rate will be 6.3 percent, which enables lenders to make double their investment over an 18-year period. However it is conditional upon student’s academic achievement.

Opponents had concerns about the “very high rate of return” for investors. “This is basically privatizing Head Start — giving these banking companies a very high rate of return — higher than even what we saw in the Infrastructure Trust,” said Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>), who voted no.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>) named the plan as "bad public policy that will haunt us forever." Mainly because it "allows the banking industry to place a sure bet on our kids' futures for their own profit," he said.<sup>47</sup> "If I was at Goldman Sachs, I would be doing this, too," Arena (45<sup>th</sup>) said, regarding to the high rate of return. "Financing it to the benefit of the financial community and using our children as collateral is not the way to do it."<sup>48</sup>

Before the vote, Thomas (17th), chairman of the City Council's Education Committee, encouraged her colleagues to approve the innovative plan, saying it thinks "outside the box." "It costs less now than it will later. Do we pay to better prepare our children now or do we pay on social costs later?" This is an investment in the city' future-our future."<sup>49</sup>

The mayor said, "I firmly believe kids start dropping out of college in third grade. And if you don't catch 'em early enough, it's not like fourth-grade gets easier."<sup>50</sup> He added after the vote: "I'm proud we're doing something. Just not criticizing, but taking action. I do not believe in wasting another generation. We're taking a step — not debating it, deferring it, and denying it. If it doesn't work, [the lenders] end up holding the bag."<sup>51</sup>

The final vote was 41-5. Aldermen Voting in opposition were: Bob Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>); Toni Foulkes (15<sup>th</sup>); Ricardo Munoz (22<sup>nd</sup>); Scott Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>) and John Arena (45<sup>th</sup>).

## **The Most Contentious Issues In the First Two Years of the Emanuel Administration**

### **November 16, 2011: Annual Appropriations Ordinance – 50 Yes and 0 No Votes**

Many observers were surprised at the unanimous support for the 2012 city budget that would raise taxes, fees, fines, and close mental health facilities and police stations. Yet the worst of the fighting came before the bill was proposed, and the most contentious of the issues was the cutting back library hours. In order to balance the budget, among many other cutbacks, Mayor Emanuel proposed cutting back the hours of operation of the Chicago Public Libraries. Pointing to New York, which had closed many of its libraries, Emanuel believed this would be a less harmful way to cut costs.

Emanuel's initial 2012 budget plan called for the laying off 284 library employees and cutting eight hours per week at library branches on Monday and Friday mornings.<sup>52</sup> Library hours had already been cut back by 12 per week for 2011, and in 2009, some 120 employees had been laid off.<sup>53</sup> For many, this latest proposal shutting libraries two mornings a week and cutting staff who provide services during the hours libraries were open was just too much. Aldermen and their constituents feared that the cutback in employees and hours would mean fewer resources for the community, including job seekers needing internet access and children needing a quiet place to study. Less hours and staff would also mean fewer library programs, which would hit those with the least resources. These cutbacks were particularly a problem for the poor as they were the most likely to need to utilize public libraries.

Aldermen, obviously, did not like this plan. In budget hearings on October 21, shortly after the plan was announced, they argued that libraries serve as safe-havens and should not be cut, especially not as drastically as the mayor proposed. Some of the most vociferous opposition came from those aldermen who usually were the most supportive

of the mayor. “[The libraries are three percent of the budget] but fifty percent of the cuts. It makes no sense. Its ridiculous,” railed Alderman Carrie Austin (34<sup>th</sup>), chair of the Budget Committee, who had only dissented once at that time since Emanuel had been in office and continuing to have an overall 94% voting record in support of the mayor today.<sup>54</sup> Alderman Walter Burnett, who had never voted against Emanuel until then stated “It’s wrong. It’s unacceptable. We have to do something else to spread the pain.”<sup>55</sup> In November 2011, Emanuel received a strong letter from a majority of 28 of the 50aldermen expressing their displeasure.<sup>56</sup>

The outcry led to negotiations with the mayor yielding a partial restoration – only cutting library hours while school is in session and laying off 176 instead of 284 employees.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, the mayor promised to work on restoring funding and library hours in the future. The new budget amendment on library cuts passed the budget and finance committees and then received a unanimous vote from City Council.

Despite the agreement reached two months earlier, the mayor, in January 2012, went back on the deal. He announced that the libraries would be closed for a full day on Mondays – blaming it on the unions for not agreeing on a plan to implement the Monday and Friday morning closings.<sup>58</sup> The all-day closing would only be while school is in session. Infuriated by the move, Alderman Scott Waguespack said “That’s not what was proposed or voted on. It’s completely contrary. We need to sit down quickly and get back to the original agreement.”<sup>59</sup> Alderman Nicholas Sposato criticized the move saying, “We need our libraries. It’s one of the free things with have in the city. The seniors need it. The students need it.”<sup>60</sup> Within a few weeks and after the resignation of the Library Commissioner, Mayor Emanuel was able to find a way to return libraries to the half-day Monday schedule, claiming it was hard but necessary to make at least this cut in library hours.<sup>61</sup>

Unlike the vote on his first proposed budget, the Mayor’s later proposed budgets for 2013, 2014, and 2015 would not be unanimously approved but divided by votes 46-3, 45-5, and 46-4, respectively.

### **November 16, 2011: Legislative Inspector General – 41 Yes, 7 No, 2 Not Voting**

But the new city council along with the new mayor did not divide on any votes for a full six months after the 2011 election. On November 16, 2011 the city council considered the appointment of Faisal Khan as Legislative Inspector General for City Council. The previous council had created the LIG office to investigate claims of misconduct against alderman and city council employees. This was in lieu of expanding the powers of the current Chicago Inspector General, who has the power only to investigate the mayor’s administration and executive branch.

Alderman Joe Moore (49<sup>th</sup>) was the loudest critic stating, “I don’t know the man. I will assume he’s a man of utmost integrity. But it doesn’t matter how much integrity and independence you have. If you don’t have the tools to do the job, then you are going to be ineffective. And it does not appear he’s been given the tools to do the

job.”<sup>62</sup> Agreeing with Moore, Alderman Tim Cullerton (38<sup>th</sup>) said, “People who sit in this chamber and work for us should be held to the same standards that our city employees are held to..I’m not supporting this, only because I don’t think the ordinance goes far enough.”<sup>63</sup>

Faisal Khan, an attorney from New York, was eventually appointed by 41-7 vote. According the 14<sup>th</sup> Ward alderman Ed Burke, Kahn’s job will be “to respond to complaints, if there are any, of members of the body or staff of the City Council that might be accused of wrongdoing.”<sup>64</sup> But he would only be able to do so with approval from the Board of Ethics, who also had to supply investigators, as Khan was to have none of his own. Commentators pointed out that in its 24-year history, the Board of Ethics never found any evidence of wrongdoing—despite 31 aldermen having been convicted of corruption in federal court since the 1970s. Thus objections to the appointment of Faisal Khan centered around the ordinance itself rather than on the qualifications of the appointee.

As of November 2014, there is still a substantial effect to eliminate the legislative Inspector General and place the aldermen and city council staff member under the authority of the city Inspector General. However, this has yet to be brought a vote from 1926-2011. (The member by 2014 had claimed to 33.)

Aldermen voting no were: Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>), Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>), Cullerton (38<sup>th</sup>), M. Smith (43<sup>rd</sup>), Arena (45<sup>th</sup>), Cappleman (46<sup>th</sup>) and Moore (49<sup>th</sup>).

### **January 18, 2012: NATO/G8 Summits & Parades – 41 Yes, 5 No, 3 Not Voting (1 Absent)**

Two months later on January 18, 2012 the Council split over amending the municipal code to authorize agreements with public and private entities for planning, security and logistics related to hosting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Group of Eight summits in Chicago during the spring of 2012. Later the G8 Summit would be moved to Camp David but the NATO meeting was held in Chicago in the midst of protests. The cost of holding the meetings was the primary concern, especially the cost of extra police personnel. Police superintendent Gary McCarthy planned to hire out-of-state law enforcement personnel, but Chicago would have to pay their living expenses while they were here.<sup>65</sup> As it turned out, there were sufficient federal and private funds to pay the costs of policing the demonstrations.

This amendment to the municipal code also curtailed parade and assembly rights in order to guarantee order in the city. Most of the aldermen voting no on the NATO and G8 ordinance also voted no on this as well. The final vote was 45 in favor, 4 opposed and 1 absent. These new restrictions on assembly and protesting banned equipment that amplified sound that that it could be heard over 75 feet away during nighttime hours, between 10 p.m. and 8:00 a.m. They also prohibited the same amplification equipment during certain types of parades and athletic events unless a special permit was obtained. It also narrowed the definition of parade and public assembly. Fines were raised for

violations of this and all existing ordinances pertaining to public gatherings, such as obstructing the public way. According to the *Chicago Examiner*, even though four aldermen opposed the measures, only Leslie Hairston spoke against the amendments on first amendment grounds.<sup>66</sup> Enforcement of the new restrictions also brought concern, especially given McCarthy's plan to bring in outsider law enforcement personnel to help maintain order.<sup>67</sup>

Aldermen voting no on hosting the summits were: Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>), Burns (4<sup>th</sup>), Hairston (5<sup>th</sup>), Jackson (7<sup>th</sup>), and Sposato (36<sup>th</sup>). Alderman voting no for curtailment of protesting rights was: Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>), Burns (4<sup>th</sup>), Hairston (5<sup>th</sup>), and Sposato (36<sup>th</sup>). There were a number of meetings with aldermen and the Mayor's administration to make the municipal code less restrictive than originally proposed. As a result, number of aldermen, such as Alderman Pawar (47<sup>th</sup>), who voted yes on the ordinance, declared that they were satisfied with the compromises that the city administration made to allow protests at the event but to restrict them in practical ways, which still protected protestors' first amendment rights.

### **January 19, 2012: Redistricting – 41 Yes, 8 No (1 Absent)**

Redistricting Chicago wards and the drawing of new boundaries also garnered dissent in City Council as almost a third of city residents were drawn into new wards in a process criticized as too fast and lacking enough community involvement. The fight, which lasted over a year, began shortly after the 2010 census figures were published and initial attempts at remapping met with enormous resistance. In nearly every decade since the 1960s ward remaps have ended in protracted legal battles over discrimination against minorities in drafting ward boundaries. Redistricting of Chicago wards has long been about race, ethnicity, and distributing political power. Once again, the demographics by 2010 had changed since 2000, with the city losing almost 200,000 African-American blacks and gaining 25,000 Latinos.<sup>68</sup> Thus, the City Council's Black Caucus offered a map with African Americans losing one of their 19 wards and Latinos gaining one ward. The Latino Caucus offered their own map with Latinos gaining four wards for a total of 14. The Latino Caucus also called for three wards that had "influence" (35 – 55% population) in what the *Sun-Times* called a "reward" for their population gain.<sup>69</sup> As Alderman Rick Munoz asked, "If we're one-third of the city, why are we one-fifth of the City Council? It's not that we deserve it. That's the law."<sup>70</sup>

If they had reached an agreement, African American and Latino Aldermen would have a majority but 41 votes were needed by law to keep the map from being decided by a citywide referendum, which Council leaders insisted would be too costly. Aldermen worked for months to carve out an agreement to prevent a referendum from happening. It culminated in an agreement between the two caucuses for 18 African-American wards, 14 Latino wards, and 18 white wards, four of which had Latino "influence."



The city held several community meetings, although for some it was not enough. This was especially so as a final map was not available for comment until a few days before the vote. Second ward alderman Robert Fioretti asked, “Where is the transparency?”<sup>71</sup> Fioretti had good cause to ask. While the proposed maps had been out since November, the compromise map was not revealed to the public until the last minute. Just a day before the vote even he was not sure of which ward he would be living in, although he knew for sure he was being drawn out of his own. The *Sun-Times* speculated his shut-out was “Fioretti’s punishment for going his own way too often and antagonizing downtown development interests.”<sup>72</sup>

Other wards that were also also radically changed included the 36<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>. Alderman Nicholas Sposato’s largely white 36<sup>th</sup> ward was redrawn to have a Latino majority. Toni Foulkes, Alderman of the 15<sup>th</sup> ward, will also have a voting majority. Sposato vigorously opposed the redrawn map accusing the city council of “...gutting out the heart of my ward.”<sup>73</sup> Sposato and Fioretti attempted to delay the vote with a parliamentary move that would allow a 24-hour delay for consideration, but Emanuel<sup>74</sup> found a loophole preventing this move. Emanuel’s reasoning was that a measure directly introduced to the city council could not be delayed. In the end, the new map got the votes it needed with the dissenters being those most negatively affected by the new boundaries.

Some news outlets speculated afterwards that Emanuel had “betrayed” the whites who put him in office by getting behind the map that the Black and Latino caucuses supported, reducing the number of white wards from 22 to 18. The *Chicago Examiner* claimed this was proof that Emanuel was a continuation of the Daley machine. Richard M. Daley, they claim, usually “sold out” the white wards that elected him to offer concessions to minority wards, knowing that white constituents would still vote for him in the end because he was white.<sup>75</sup>

Aldermen voting no on the new map were: Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>), Sawyer (6<sup>th</sup>), Zalewski (23<sup>rd</sup>), Chandler (24<sup>th</sup>), Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>), Colon (35<sup>th</sup>), Sposato (36<sup>th</sup>), and Arena (45<sup>th</sup>). In April of 2013, the League of Women Voters filed a lawsuit against the map because it was not compact and contiguous, the disparity of voters between wards was too great, and that switching city service delivery to the new wards two years in advance denied voters services of the alderman they elected. However,, the lawsuit was lost in court and the 2015 election are going forward and on the map approved in 2012.

### **February 15, 2012: Comptroller Agreement – 41 Yes, 8 No (1 Absent)**

This vote approved an intergovernmental agreement with Illinois Office of Comptroller regarding local debt recovery. If individuals owe the City of Chicago money,

the Illinois Comptroller, under this agreement, could withhold that portion from their state tax returns. This would include any money owed to the city from parking tickets to building violation fines to false burglar alarm citations.<sup>76</sup> Emanuel defended the action saying, “I’m actually leveling the playing field so it doesn’t tilt in favor of those who cheat.”<sup>77</sup> He added, “We have protected the taxpayers of Chicago by not raising property taxes, not creating a city income tax, not raising sales taxes, not raising the gas tax. And we made sure that those who are who are deadbeats paid up because law-abiding citizens cannot carry the freight for everybody else. That is wrong to do and a system cannot be created around allowing a permissible amount of cheating. It becomes epidemic.”<sup>78</sup>

Aldermen who opposed this agreement wanted the city to send out final warning notices to let those that owed the city money know what was about to happen to them. Alderman Bob Fioretti also questioned the system speculating that it would cause more chaos and unfairness. “Probably 80 percent of these, we’ve got to go after. They’re good [debts]. But what about the 20 percent? What about that guy in Orland who has 26 tickets and he never came here? Now, we’re booting on two [unpaid parking tickets]. We’ve got the car. How much more do we need? What about all the other [mistakes]?”<sup>79</sup>

The Department of Administrative Hearings, according to Fioretti, is not a fair judicial body, and judgments it issues are suspect. “We’ve got a kangaroo court over there. We find everybody guilty, and we move on,” he stated. Mayor Emanuel countered that Fioretti should work on cleaning up the Department of Administrative hearings. In the end, the agreement passed. The city stood to net \$20 million of the \$80 million “it’s owed by these “cheaters.”<sup>80</sup>

Aldermen voting no were: Moreno (1<sup>st</sup>), Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>), Hairston (5<sup>th</sup>), Sawyer (6<sup>th</sup>), Cardenas (12<sup>th</sup>), Cochran (20<sup>th</sup>), Chandler (24<sup>th</sup>), and Sposato (36<sup>th</sup>).<sup>81</sup>

### **April 18, 2012: Children’s Safety Zones – 33 Yes, 14 No (3 Absent)**

Garnering by far the most dissension was the vote on “Children’s Safety Zones.” Safety zones are areas around schools and parks that would be fitted with cameras to target people who speed. The goal, according to Mayor Emanuel and supporters was to protect the children who, of course, are more likely to be around schools. Aldermen Dick Mell argued, “Who would say it wasn’t worth it if it saves one life?”<sup>82</sup> Ray Suarez (31<sup>st</sup>) continued this line of argument: “This camera ordinance will bring a lot of safety to our communities.”<sup>83</sup> Yet according to the *Chicago Sun-Times*, since 2005 the city had installed 10,000 speed humps in streets and alleys, 450 cul-de-sacs, 400 traffic circles and 350 “bump-out” curbs, many near schools and parks.<sup>84</sup> This caused many aldermen to question the necessity of cameras to catch speeding cars.

Emanuel tried to appease the opposition by agreeing to cap the number of cameras and by issuing warnings during the first few months until motorists became accustomed to the new cameras and ticketing.<sup>85</sup> The majority of the criticism surrounding the plan was not just that it was redundant; rather, some aldermen and members of the public believed that it was simply a way for the city to bring in more revenue. Emanuel's original plan had the cameras operating from 6 a.m. until 8:30 p.m., well beyond the normal school hours. He eventually scaled back to 7 a.m. until 7:00 p.m., the current operating time of cameras near schools.<sup>86</sup> Sensing the public mood Alderman Howard Brookins (21<sup>st</sup>) said, "It's going to take a lot of convincing, a lot of transparency and a lot of ingenuity...to make sure the public doesn't believe it's all about money – and is all about safety."<sup>87</sup>

It wasn't just convincing the public, many aldermen themselves were leery. The *Chicago Tribune* reported that the city made \$69 million from red-light cameras in 2010, and that speed cameras would increase this figure substantially.<sup>88</sup> Scott Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>), voted no, saying, "...show me that none of these things [such as speed humps, traffic circles] have worked around schools and parks and maybe you have an argument for speed cameras."<sup>89</sup> He favored instead using "dynamic displays" which are digital signs alerting drivers to their speed. Leslie Hairston (5<sup>th</sup>), also voting no, was more blunt. She worried about the loss of control by aldermen, who would have no say where the cameras went.<sup>90</sup> The requirement was only that they be installed in safety zones as set by the state.

Aldermen voting no: Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>), Dowell (3<sup>rd</sup>), Burns (4<sup>th</sup>), Hairston (5<sup>th</sup>), Sawyer (6<sup>th</sup>), Jackson (7<sup>th</sup>), Michael Chandler (24<sup>th</sup>), Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>), Sposato (36<sup>th</sup>), Reilly (42<sup>nd</sup>), Arena (45<sup>th</sup>), Cappleman (46<sup>th</sup>), Pawar (47<sup>th</sup>) and Osterman (48<sup>th</sup>). This was one of the biggest opposition votes to the mayor in the first two years since he took office. But, in the end, he still got his way.

### **April 24, 2012: Infrastructure Trust – 40 Yes, 8 No (2 Absent)**

The proposed Infrastructure Trust would allow private dollars to finance public works projects in Chicago. The Trust would be a non-profit organization composed of a board of five members, appointed by the mayor. Its chief task was to attract private investors for infrastructure projects in the city. Alderman Brendan Reilly said, "This might just be the greatest idea on earth."<sup>91</sup> Michael Pagano, Dean of the College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs, at the University of Illinois at Chicago, endorsed the program in an op-ed for the *Chicago Sun-Times*. He wrote, "The trust offers the possibility of billions of dollars in private capital and public funding while maintaining

the city's ownership of infrastructure...Emanuel is to be applauded for moving the conversation about the city's crumbling public infrastructure to public-private efforts toward the regional economy of the future."<sup>92</sup>

Emanuel's rationale for the trust was that he maintained that the city had a 30 – 40 year deficit in financing infrastructure projects saying, "I will not tie the city's economic future, its job growth to the dysfunction of Washington and the dysfunction from Springfield."<sup>93</sup> Initial plans proposed that five big finance firms put in about \$1.7 billion – but aldermen were skeptical. What would happen if investors lose money – would the taxpayers be on the hook? Why was there no aldermanic representation? How would minorities be included? Where was the oversight? Many of the questions that should have been asked of the parking meter deal under Mayor Daley which many aldermen now viewed as a huge mistake, aldermen were asking. They worried that this would continue a wholesale privatization of city assets that had begun under Mayor Daley. According to Scott Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>), "The taxpayers [are suspicious] out there, one more mistake and we're down the tubes."<sup>94</sup>

Aldermen were also concerned at the speed with which Emanuel was trying to get the trust approved. It was introduced in March and approved in committee three weeks later. Emanuel was pushing hard to have the ordinance approved only a few days after that at the next full council meeting. After consulting with Inspector General Joe Ferguson on serious concerns about oversight, Scott Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>) offered an alternative. It would give City Council final approval over all projects, require City Council to approve the Trust's board of directors, specify that the Trust would be subject to the Inspector General, give City Council final say in any disagreement between themselves and the Trust,<sup>95</sup> and require the trust to operate under the City's Ethics Code and procurement rules. While Waguespack had the support of the same aldermen that would eventually vote no for the infrastructure trust, he did not have enough votes to prevent his motion from being tabled.

Alderman Fioretti proposed an alternative that would make the infrastructure trust a city agency, giving the city council jurisdiction over it.<sup>96</sup> Aldermen Leslie Hairston agreed. Her chief complaint, as with the speed cameras, was the reduction in oversight and city council power that would result. "You are diminishing the powers and responsibilities of the aldermen and giving it to the Trust...you [Chief Financial Officer Lois Scott] are not elected. I was elected to represent my constituency. So, I resent you diminishing my capacity, which is all you seem to be doing these days."<sup>97</sup> Yet the same majority that tabled Waguespack's alternative was able to table Fioretti's amendments, allowing the Infrastructure Trust ordinance to move to a full vote.

In the end the ordinance was approved, but the same core of dissenters voted no. The mayor did promise that the City's Ethics Ordinance would apply. He also

promised that Inspector General Joe Ferguson would have jurisdiction over the city-related activities of the trust. Finally, Emanuel promised that even though the trust is a public-private partnership, it will be subject to the Illinois Freedom of Information Act and the Open Meetings Act.<sup>98</sup>

Aldermen voting no: Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>), Hairston (5<sup>th</sup>), Foulkes (15<sup>th</sup>), Munoz (22<sup>nd</sup>), Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>), Reilly (42<sup>nd</sup>), and Arena (45<sup>th</sup>).

### **November 15, 2012: Appropriation and Taxes – 46 Yes, 3 No (1 Absent)**

Budget negotiations are always heated and full of acrimony, but in the past few years as Chicago has faced severe structural deficits and budget shortfalls one would have expected an even more raucous debate. Yet Emanuel’s first budget in 2011 passed with a 50 – 0 vote even though it included tax and fee increases, layoffs, the closing of police stations and the consolidation of mental health facilities.<sup>99</sup> In 2012 the vote on the proposed 2013 budget was 46 - 3 (with 7<sup>th</sup> Ward Alderman Sandi Jackson conspicuously absent because of her upcoming corruption trial). The chief dissenter was again Alderman Bob Fioretti, who argued that there was not enough money in the budget for new police officers. He was also concerned that a large hole in the budget was going to be plugged by leasing digital advertising signs in a deal that resembled the parking meter debacle.<sup>100</sup> John Arena (45<sup>th</sup>) complained that balancing this budget was based on mysterious and doubtful revenue. “Thirty million in revenue from speed cameras that haven’t been installed and may have legal problems. It’s hard to base a budget on unrealized revenue you can’t guarantee is gonna be there.”<sup>101</sup>

Aldermen voting no were Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>), Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>), and Arena (45<sup>th</sup>)

### **December 12, 2012: Digital Billboards – 43 Yes, 6 No (1 Excused Absence)**

“Haven’t we learned any lessons yet?”<sup>102</sup> This was Fioretti’s response to the plan that would allow the city to put up and lease 34 digital billboards to JC Deceaux, the same company that does advertising on the city’s buses and bus shelters. Complaining that a 30- year deal is way out of whack with industry standards of five to seven years, Fioretti continued, “Digital billboard technology is changing rapidly. How much money will be left on the table that should have come to us?” Fioretti and other dissenters thought this looked like the parking meter deal signed hastily and approved without debate by the city council at what turned out to be an enormous disadvantage to the city.

Alderman Brendan Reilly (42<sup>nd</sup>) defended the action. “We’re taking otherwise useless, worthless land adjacent to our expressways and monetizing it. We’re creating a new asset — an asset we don’t have today... Am I in love with this proposal? No. But, it’s the right thing to do for Chicago taxpayers.”<sup>103</sup>

It wasn't just a money issue for some. An editorial by the *Sun-Times* board noted that Mayor Daley had fought hard to clean up the city and eliminate illegal billboards. They stated, "It would be unfortunate if the Council's effort to eliminate illegal, hideous and unused conventional billboards simply made room for pervasive new electronic imagery that some Chicagoans already hang up blankets over their windows to screen out, even from 2,000 feet away."<sup>104</sup>

Aldermen voting no were Fioretti (2<sup>nd</sup>), Dowell (3<sup>rd</sup>), Waguespack (32<sup>nd</sup>), Sposato (36<sup>th</sup>), Arena (45<sup>th</sup>) and Pawar (47<sup>th</sup>).

### **Continuing The Rubber Stamp Council**

The city is now embarked on critical mayoral and aldermanic elections to determine the future of Chicago. As voters make their choices it is important that they know the key decisions of the last four years and how their current aldermen voted on the most controversial issues. That is why we have issued this report.

It is also important that citizens understand that this is still a rubber stamp city council unable to provide a check and balance of a strong chief executive like Mayors Richard M. Daley or Rahm Emanuel. In a representative democracy this is critical to keep the chief executive from making disastrous mistakes.

Some aldermen argue that they have supported the mayor so whole-heartedly because he and his administration have been willing to compromise with them on issues like cuts in library hours and protest rules at the NATO Summit.

In the February and April 2015 elections the votes will ultimately decide whether to reelect Mayor Rahm Emanuel and his rubber stamp council.

**TABLE 4: Description of Divided Roll Call Votes**

Issue #	Issue Synopsis	Date	Document #	Vote
1	Appointment of Commissioner of the Department of Human Relations Soo Choi	6/8/2011	A2011-56	48-1
2	Concession Agreement for O'hare Terminal 5	7/28/2011	O2011-573	45-4
3	Settlement Agreement RE death of John Coleman Jr	9/8/2011	Or2011-929	43-5
4	Outlawing sale of crib bumper pads	11/16/2011	A2011-505	47-1
5	Appointment of Faisal Khan as Legislative IG	11/16/2011	A2011-176	41-9
6	NATO and G8 Agreements	1/18/2012	SO2011-9743	41-5
7	Regulation of Heliport Operations	1/18/2012	O2011-9774	48-1
8	Amendment of Taxi/Chauffer Regulations	1/18/2012	O2011-9778	48-1
9	Further regulation/revocation of Business License for illegal activities taking place on the premises	1/18/2012	O2011-6726	48-1
10	Regulation of parades, athletic events and public assemblies	1/18/2012	O2011-9742	45-4
11	Redistricting wards (new map)	1/19/2012	SO2012-582	41-8
12	Agreement with state comptroller regarding deduction of city owed debts from tax refunds	2/15/2012	O2012-583	46-1
13	Settlement Agreement for victim of police brutality	4/18/2012	Or2012-182	46-1
14	Establishment of children's safety zones (by adding red-light cameras)	4/18/2012	SO2012-1473	33-14
15	Agreement with Alta Bicycle Sharing, Inc. for bicycle sharing program	4/18/2012	O2012-1342	46-1
16	Motion to table Alderman Fioretti's substitute ordinance to Infrastructure Trust	4/24/2012	n/a	39-9
17	Motion to table Alderman Waguespack's substitute ordinance to Infrastructure Trust	4/24/2012	n/a	40-8
18	Establishment of Chicago Infrastructure Trust	4/24/2012	SO2012-1366	41-7

19	Regulation of tanning facilities	6/6/2012	O2012-333	43-3
20	Allowing tickets for small amounts of cannabis in lieu of arrest and detention	6/27/2012	SO2011-8844	44-3
21	Further regulation of mobile food vehicles	7/25/2012	SO2012-4489	45-1
22	Correction to June 6, 2012 City Council Journal of Proceedings	9/12/2012	O2012-5539	49-1
23	Redevelopment agreement with Shops & Lofts at 47 to include multi-family affordable housing	10/31/2012	O2012-6569	48-1
24	Redevelopment agreement with DeVry, Inc	11/15/2012	O2012-7239	48-1
25	Redevelopment agreement with Ravenswood Station, LLC	11/15/2012	O2012-7234	48-1
26	Redevelopment agreement with River Point, LLC	11/15/2012	O2012-7254	48-1
27	2013 annual appropriation ordinance	11/15/2012	SO2012-7113	46-3
28	Year XXXIX Community Development Block Grant	11/15/2012	O2012-7112	46-3
29	Levy of 2013 real estate taxes	11/15/2012	O2012-7405	46-3
30	Execution of agreement for digital signs	12/12/2012	SO2012-7782	43-6
31	Amendment of Chapter 4-236 of Municipal Code regarding parking garage tax	04/10/2013	O2013-1606	40-5
32	Outdoor advertising concession lease and license agreement with JCDecaux Airport, Inc., d.b.a. JCDecaux Airport Chicago LLC at Chicago O'Hare and Midway International Airports	04/10/2013	O2013-1633	42-2
33	Indoor advertising concession lease and license agreements with Clear Channel Outdoor, Inc. d.b.a. Clear Channel Airports at Chicago O'Hare and Midway International Airports	04/10/2013	O2013-1640	44-1
34	Zoning Reclassification App No. 17692 at 2245 W Pershing Rd	05/08/2013	O2013-1588	42-7
35	Amendment of Section 11-12-540 of Municipal Code regarding exemption from payment of water rates for certain not-for-profit organizations	05/08/2013	SO2012-8291	47-2
36	Settlement agreement and associated amendment to Chicago Metered Parking System Concession Agreement	06/05/2013	SO2013-4087	39-11
37	Amending the Municipal Code of Chicago	06/05/2013	SO2012-	45-2



	by adding Chapter 5-14, Protecting Tenants at Foreclosures		5127	
38	Canopy(s) for New Parie Hotel	06/05/2013	O2013-1678	49-1
39	Appointment of Deborah L. Mell as Alderman of 33rd Ward.	07/24/2013	A2013-92	43-1
40	Amendment of Title 18 of Municipal Code by adding new Chapter 18-14 regarding building energy use benchmarking	09/11/2013	SO2013-5384	32-17
41	Zoning Reclassification App No. 17648 at 2501 N Elston Ave	09/11/2013	O2013-28	49-1
42	Redistribution of surplus funds from Tax Increment Financing (TIF) districts	11/13/2013	O2013-5698	11-37
43	Submission of public question to Chicago voters regarding election of members of Chicago Board of Education	11/13/2013	R2013-759	32-15
44	Initiating and authorizing a non-binding referendum on whether the City of Chicago should increase taxi rates	12/11/2013	R2013-1104	44-3
45	Initiating and authorizing a non-binding referendum on whether to ban high capacity magazines with more than 15 rounds	12/11/2013	SR2013-1103	44-3
46	Initiating and authorizing a non-binding referendum to ban the possession of a concealed firearm in any establishment licensed to serve alcohol	12/11/2013	R2013-1102	44-3
47	Amendment of Chapter 6-64 of the Municipal Code of Chicago concerning sale of flavored tobacco products	12/11/2013	O2013-9185	48-2
48	Amendment of Chapters 4-64 and 7-32 of the Municipal Code of Chicago regarding e-cigarettes	12/11/2013	SO2013-6160	45-4
49	City of Chicago General Obligation and Refunding Bonds, Series 2014 and amend Chapter 2-32 of Municipal Code of Chicago concerning debt management policies	02/05/2014	O2014-500	44-4
50	Issuance of Chicago Midway Airport Revenue Bonds, Series 2014	02/05/2014	O2014-560	44-4
51	Chicago Five Year Housing Plan for Years 2014-2018	02/05/2014	SO2014-69	46-3
52	Intergovernmental agreement with Metropolitan Pier and Exposition Authority regarding construction and rehabilitation of property at 300 E Cermak Rd	03/05/2014	SO2014-869	46-3

53	Amendment of Municipal Code Chapter 4-384 by adding new Section 015 to regulate retail sale of dogs, cats or rabbits	03/05/2014	SO2014-1282	49-1
54	Amendment of Municipal Code Chapter 11-4 by adding Article XXIII to prohibit retail establishments from providing customers with plastic carryout bags from waste stream	04/30/2014	SO2014-1521	36-10
55	Amendment of Municipal Code Section 4-60-130 to further regulate hours of operation for alcoholic liquor establishments	04/30/2014	O2014-2454	47-1
56	Amendment of Municipal Code Chapters 7-28, 10-8, 13-20, 13-96, 17-12 and 17-17 to further regulate provisions governing installation of various types of illuminated signs	04/30/2014	SO2014-2504	46-2
57	Amendment of Municipal Code Chapters 17-2, 17-3, 17-4, 17-5, 17-6, 17-9 and 17-17 regarding coke and coal bulk material facilities	04/30/2014	SO2014-1943	47-1
58	Amendment of Municipal Code Titles 2, 3, 4 and 9 to regulate pedicabs	04/30/2014	SO2013-3397	47-1
59	Zoning Reclassification App No. 17944 at 2101-2143 S. Indiana Ave, 205-319 E. 21st St, 204-334 E. Cermak Rd and 2134-2142 S. Calumet Ave	04/30/2014	SO2014-836	46-2
60	Amendment of Municipal Code Titles 2, 3 and 9 concerning establishment of transportation network provider license	05/28/2014	SO2014-1367	34-10
61	Amendment of Municipal Code of Chicago amending Chapter 7-28 regarding commercial refuse containers	06/25/2014	SO2014-7247	40-8
62	Amendment of Municipal Code Chapter 2-156 regarding duty and power of Board of Ethics to review campaign finance filing compliance of candidates for City office	07/30/2014	O2013-7761	42-6
63	Amendment of Municipal Code Titles 7 and 17 concerning medical cannabis	07/30/2014	O2013-9188	45-2
64	Zoning Reclassification Map Number 1-L at 400-420 North Laramie Ave and 5200-5214 West Kinzie St - App No. 18045	07/30/2014	O2014-4176	42-4
65	Jianqing Klyzek v. City of Chicago, Frank Messina, Gerald DiPasquale, Sandra	09/10/2014	Or2014-455	49-1

	Stoppa, Daniel Sako, Michael Iglesias, Sergio Flores, Duran Puhar, Tyrone Jackson, Eugene Sledge and Kenneth Corcoran, Cited as 14 C 3547			
66	Authorizing the Commissioner of the Department of Family and Support Services to enter into a loan agreement and contract with IFF Pay for Success I, LLC	11/05/2014	O2014-8677	42-5
67	Amendment of Municipal Code Title 5 by adding Chapter 5-15 entitled Single-Room Occupancy and Residential Hotel Preservation Ordinance	11/12/2014	SO2014-6997	48-1

**Table 5: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes (Continued)**  
**(Key: 1 – Yes, 0 – No, 2 – Not Voting, 3 – Absent, 4 – Excused from voting)**

Issue #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Date	06/08/11	7/28/11	09/08/11	11/16/11	11/16/11	1/18/12	1/18/12	1/18/12	
Ward	Alderman	A2011-56	O2011-573	Or2011-929	A2011-505	A2011-176	SO2011-9743	O2011-9774	O2011-9778
1	Proco Joe Moreno	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	Robert Fioretti	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
3	Pat Dowell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	William Burns	1	1	1	1	2	0	1	1
5	Leslie Hairston	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
6	Roderick Sawyer	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	Sandi Jackson	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
8	Michelle Harris	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	Anthony Beale	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	John A. Pope	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	James A. Balcer	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
12	George A. Cardenas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	Marty Quinn	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	Edward M. Burke	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	Toni Foulkes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16	Joann Thompson	1	3	3	3	1	2	1	1
17	Latasha R. Thomas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	Lona Lane	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	Matthew O'Shea	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
20	Willi Cochran	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
21	Howard Brookins Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	Ricardo Munoz	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	Michael R. Zalewski	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	Michael Chandler	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	Daniel S. Solis	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
26	Roberto Maldonado	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	Jason Ervin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	Deborah Graham	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	Ariel E. Reboyras	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	Regner Ray Suarez	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	Scott Waguespack	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
33	Richard F. Mell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	Carrie M. Austin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	Rey Colon	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	Nicholas Sposato	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
37	Emma Mitts	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
38	Timothy Cullerton	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
39	Margaret Laurino	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	Patrick J. O'Conner	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	Mary O'Connor	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3
42	Brendan Reilly	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
43	Michele Smith	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	1
44	Thomas Tunney	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	John Arena	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
46	James Cappleman	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
47	Ameya Pawar	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	Harry Osterman	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

49	Joe Moore	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
50	Debra Silverstein	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

**Table 5: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes (Continued)**  
**(Key: 1 – Yes, 0 – No, 2 – Not Voting, 3 – Absent, 4 – Excused from voting)**

	Issue #	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	Date	1/18/12	1/18/12	1/19/12	2/15/12	4/18/12	4/18/12	4/18/12	4/24/12
Ward	Alderman	O2011-6726	O2011-9742	SO2012-582	O2012-583	Or2012-182	SO2012-1473	O2012-1342	n/a
1	Proco Joe Moreno	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
2	Robert Fioretti	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
3	Pat Dowell	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
4	William Burns	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
5	Leslie Hairston	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
6	Roderick Sawyer	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1
7	Sandi Jackson	1	1	1	3	1	0	1	1
8	Michelle Harris	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	Anthony Beale	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	John A. Pope	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	James A. Balcer	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
12	George A. Cardenas	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
13	Marty Quinn	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	Edward M. Burke	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	Toni Foulkes	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	0
16	Joann Thompson	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	Latasha R. Thomas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	Lona Lane	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	Matthew O'Shea	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	Willi Cochran	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
21	Howard Brookins Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	Ricardo Munoz	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
23	Michael R. Zalewski	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
24	Michael Chandler	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	3
25	Daniel S. Solis	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	Roberto Maldonado	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	Jason Ervin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	Deborah Graham	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	1
30	Ariel E. Reboyras	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	1
31	Regner Ray Suarez	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	Scott Waguespack	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0
33	Richard F. Mell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	Carrie M. Austin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	Rey Colon	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
36	Nicholas Sposato	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
37	Emma Mitts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	Timothy Cullerton	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39	Margaret Laurino	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	Patrick J. O'Conner	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	Mary O'Connor	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
42	Brendan Reilly	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
43	Michele Smith	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
44	Thomas Tunney	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	John Arena	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0
46	James Cappleman	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
47	Ameya Pawar	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
48	Harry Osterman	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1

49	Joe Moore	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	Debra Silverstein	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

**Table 5: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes (Continued)**  
**(Key: 1 – Yes, 0 – No, 2 – Not Voting, 3 – Absent, 4 – Excused from voting)**

	Issue #	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	Date	4/24/12	4/24/12	06/06/12	6/27/12	7/25/12	09/12/12	10/31/12	11/15/12
Ward	Alderman	n/a	SO2012 -1366	O2012- 333	SO201 1-8844	SO2012 -4489	O2012- 5539	O2012- 6569	O2012- 7239
1	Proco Joe Moreno	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1
2	Robert Fioretti	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	Pat Dowell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	William Burns	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1
5	Leslie Hairston	0	0	3	1	1	1	1	1
6	Roderick Sawyer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	Sandi Jackson	1	1	3	2	3	1	1	3
8	Michelle Harris	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	Anthony Beale	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
10	John A. Pope	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	James A. Balcer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	George A. Cardenas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	Marty Quinn	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
14	Edward M. Burke	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1
15	Toni Foulkes	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
16	Joann Thompson	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	Latasha R. Thomas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	Lona Lane	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
19	Matthew O'Shea	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	Willi Cochran	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	Howard Brookins Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	Ricardo Munoz	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	Michael R. Zalewski	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	Michael Chandler	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	Daniel S. Solis	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	Roberto Maldonado	3	3	0	0	1	1	1	1
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	Jason Ervin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	Deborah Graham	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	Ariel E. Reboyras	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	Regner Ray Suarez	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
32	Scott Waguespack	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	Richard F. Mell	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
34	Carrie M. Austin	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
35	Rey Colon	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	Nicholas Sposato	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
37	Emma Mitts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	Timothy Cullerton	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39	Margaret Laurino	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	Patrick J. O'Conner	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	Mary O'Connor	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
42	Brendan Reilly	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
43	Michele Smith	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	Thomas Tunney	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	John Arena	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
46	James Cappleman	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
47	Ameya Pawar	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	Harry Osterman	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

49	Joe Moore	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1
50	Debra Silverstein	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

**Table 5: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes (Continued)**  
**(Key: 1 – Yes, 0 – No, 2 – Not Voting, 3 – Absent, 4 – Excused from voting)**

	Issue #	25	26	27	28	29	30
	Date	11/15/12	11/15/12	11/15/12	11/15/12	11/15/12	12/12/12
Ward	Alderman	O2012-7234	O2012-7254	SO2012-7113	O2012-7112	O2012-7405	SO2012-7782
1	Proco Joe Moreno	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	Robert Fioretti	1	1	0	0	0	0
3	Pat Dowell	1	1	1	1	1	0
4	William Burns	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	Leslie Hairston	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	Roderick Sawyer	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	Sandi Jackson	3	3	3	3	3	1
8	Michelle Harris	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	Anthony Beale	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	John A. Pope	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	James A. Balcer	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	George A. Cardenas	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	Marty Quinn	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	Edward M. Burke	4	1	1	1	1	1
15	Toni Foulkes	1	1	1	1	1	1
16	Joann Thompson	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	Latasha R. Thomas	1	1	1	1	1	4
18	Lona Lane	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	Matthew O'Shea	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	Willi Cochran	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	Howard Brookins Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	Ricardo Munoz	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	Michael R. Zalewski	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	Michael Chandler	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	Daniel S. Solis	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	Roberto Maldonado	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	Jason Ervin	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	Deborah Graham	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	Ariel E. Reboyras	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	Regner Ray Suarez	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	Scott Waguespack	1	1	0	0	0	0
33	Richard F. Mell	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	Carrie M. Austin	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	Rey Colon	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	Nicholas Sposato	1	1	1	1	1	0
37	Emma Mitts	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	Timothy Cullerton	1	1	1	1	1	1
39	Margaret Laurino	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	Patrick J. O'Conner	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	Mary O'Connor	1	1	1	1	1	1
42	Brendan Reilly	1	1	1	1	1	1
43	Michele Smith	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	Thomas Tunney	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	John Arena	0	0	0	0	0	0
46	James Cappleman	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	Ameya Pawar	1	1	1	1	1	0
48	Harry Osterman	1	1	1	1	1	1

49	Joe Moore	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	Debra Silverstein	1	1	1	1	1	1

**Table 5: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes (Continued)**  
**(Key: 1 – Yes, 0 – No, 2 – Not Voting, 3 – Absent, 4 – Excused from voting)**

Ward	Issue #	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
	Date	04/10/13	04/10/13	04/10/13	05/08/13	05/08/13	06/05/13	06/05/13	06/05/13
	Alderman	O2013-1606	O2013-1633	O2013-1640	O2013-1588	SO2012-8291	SO2013-4087	SO2012-5127	O2013-1678
1	Proco Joe Moreno	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1
2	Robert Fioretti	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
3	Pat Dowell	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
4	William Burns	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
5	Leslie Hairston	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
6	Roderick Sawyer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	Sandi Jackson	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	Michelle Harris	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	Anthony Beale	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	John A. Pope	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	James A. Balcer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	George A. Cardenas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	Marty Quinn	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	Edward M. Burke	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
15	Toni Foulkes	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
16	Joann Thompson	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
17	Latasha R. Thomas	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	Lona Lane	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	Matthew O'Shea	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
20	Willi Cochran	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
21	Howard Brookins Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	Ricardo Munoz	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	Michael R. Zalewski	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
24	Michael Chandler	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	Daniel S. Solis	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	Roberto Maldonado	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	Jason Ervin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	Deborah Graham	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	Ariel E. Reboyras	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
31	Regner Ray Suarez	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
32	Scott Waguespack	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
33	Richard F. Mell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	Carrie M. Austin	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
35	Rey Colon	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
36	Nicholas Sposato	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
37	Emma Mitts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	Timothy Cullerton	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39	Margaret Laurino	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	Patrick J. O'Conner	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
41	Mary O'Connor	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
42	Brendan Reilly	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
43	Michele Smith	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
44	Thomas Tunney	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
45	John Arena	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1
46	James Cappleman	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	Ameya Pawar	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
48	Harry Osterman	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1



49	Joe Moore	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	Debra Silverstein	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1

**Table 5: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes (Continued)**  
**(Key: 1 – Yes, 0 – No, 2 – Not Voting, 3 – Absent, 4 – Excused from voting)**

	Issue #	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46
	Date	07/24/13	09/11/13	09/11/13	11/13/13	11/13/13	12/11/13	12/11/13	12/11/13
Ward	Alderman	A2013-92	SO2013-5384	O2013-28	O2013-5698	R2013-759	R2013-1104	SR2013-1103	R2013-1102
1	Proco Joe Moreno	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	Robert Fioretti	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
3	Pat Dowell	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	William Burns	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
5	Leslie Hairston	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
6	Roderick Sawyer	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
7	Sandi Jackson	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1
8	Michelle Harris	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
9	Anthony Beale	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1
10	John A. Pope	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
11	James A. Balcer	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
12	George A. Cardenas	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
13	Marty Quinn	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
14	Edward M. Burke	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
15	Toni Foulkes	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
16	Joann Thompson	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
17	Latasha R. Thomas	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
18	Lona Lane	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1
19	Matthew O'Shea	1	2	1	0	1	1	1	1
20	Willi Cochran	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1
21	Howard Brookins Jr.	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
22	Ricardo Munoz	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
23	Michael R. Zalewski	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
24	Michael Chandler	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
25	Daniel S. Solis	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
26	Roberto Maldonado	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
28	Jason Ervin	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
29	Deborah Graham	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
30	Ariel E. Reboyras	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
31	Regner Ray Suarez	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
32	Scott Waguespack	2	0	1	1	0	2	2	2
33	Richard F. Mell	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
34	Carrie M. Austin	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
35	Rey Colon	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
36	Nicholas Sposato	2	0	1	1	0	2	2	2
37	Emma Mitts	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
38	Timothy Cullerton	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
39	Margaret Laurino	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
40	Patrick J. O'Conner	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
41	Mary O'Connor	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
42	Brendan Reilly	1	0	1	0	1	2	2	2
43	Michele Smith	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	Thomas Tunney	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
45	John Arena	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
46	James Cappleman	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1
47	Ameya Pawar	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
48	Harry Osterman	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1

49	Joe Moore	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1
50	Debra Silverstein	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1

**Table 5: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes (Continued)**  
**(Key: 1 – Yes, 0 – No, 2 – Not Voting, 3 – Absent, 4 – Excused from voting)**

	Issue #	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54
	Date	12/11/13	12/11/13	02/05/14	02/05/14	02/05/14	03/05/14	03/05/14	04/30/14
Ward	Alderman	O2013-9185	SO2013-6160	O2014-500	O2014-560	SO2014-69	SO2014-869	SO2014-1282	SO2014-1521
1	Proco Joe Moreno	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	Robert Fioretti	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
3	Pat Dowell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	William Burns	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	Leslie Hairston	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	Roderick Sawyer	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
7	Sandi Jackson	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	Michelle Harris	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	Anthony Beale	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	John A. Pope	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	James A. Balcer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	George A.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	Marty Quinn	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	Edward M. Burke	1	1	4	4	1	4	1	1
15	Toni Foulkes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16	Joann Thompson	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	Latasha R. Thomas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	Lona Lane	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	Matthew O'Shea	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	Willi Cochran	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
21	Howard Brookins	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	Ricardo Munoz	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
23	Michael R.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	Michael Chandler	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	Daniel S. Solis	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	Roberto	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	Jason Ervin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	Deborah Graham	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	Ariel E. Reboyras	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	Regner Ray Suarez	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	Scott Waguespack	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
33	Richard F. Mell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	Carrie M. Austin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	Rey Colon	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	Nicholas Sposato	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
37	Emma Mitts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	Timothy Cullerton	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39	Margaret Laurino	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	Patrick J. O'Conner	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
41	Mary O'Connor	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
42	Brendan Reilly	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1
43	Michele Smith	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	Thomas Tunney	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	John Arena	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
46	James Cappleman	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	Ameya Pawar	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	Harry Osterman	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

49	Joe Moore	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	Debra Silverstein	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

**Table 5: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes (Continued)**  
**(Key: 1 – Yes, 0 – No, 2 – Not Voting, 3 – Absent, 4 – Excused from voting)**

	Issue #	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62
	Date	04/30/14	04/30/14	04/30/14	04/30/14	04/30/14	05/28/14	06/25/14	07/30/14
Ward	Alderman	O2014-2454	SO2014-2504	SO2014-1943	SO2013-3397	SO2014-836	SO2014-1367	SO2014-7247	O2013-7761
1	Proco Joe Moreno	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	Robert Fioretti	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
3	Pat Dowell	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
4	William Burns	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1
5	Leslie Hairston	1	1	1	1	1	3	0	0
6	Roderick Sawyer	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
7	Sandi Jackson	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
8	Michelle Harris	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	Anthony Beale	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
10	John A. Pope	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	James A. Balcer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	George A. Cardenas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	Marty Quinn	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	Edward M. Burke	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
15	Toni Foulkes	3	3	3	3	3	1	1	1
16	Joann Thompson	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	Latasha R. Thomas	3	3	3	3	3	4	3	1
18	Lona Lane	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
19	Matthew O'Shea	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	Willi Cochran	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
21	Howard Brookins Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	Ricardo Munoz	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
23	Michael R. Zalewski	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
24	Michael Chandler	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	Daniel S. Solis	1	1	1	0	1	1	3	1
26	Roberto Maldonado	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	Jason Ervin	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
29	Deborah Graham	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	Ariel E. Reboyras	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	Regner Ray Suarez	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	Scott Waguespack	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
33	Richard F. Mell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	Carrie M. Austin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	Rey Colon	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	Nicholas Sposato	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
37	Emma Mitts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	Timothy Cullerton	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39	Margaret Laurino	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	Patrick J. O'Conner	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	Mary O'Connor	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
42	Brendan Reilly	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
43	Michele Smith	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	2
44	Thomas Tunney	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	John Arena	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
46	James Cappleman	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	Ameya Pawar	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48	Harry Osterman	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1

49	Joe Moore	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	Debra Silverstein	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1

**Table 5: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes (Continued)**  
**(Key: 1 – Yes, 0 – No, 2 – Not Voting, 3 – Absent, 4 – Excused from voting)**

	Issue #	63	64	65	66	67
	Date	07/30/14	07/30/14	09/10/14	11/05/14	11/12/14
Ward	Alderman	O2013-9188	O2014-4176	Or2014-455	O2014-8677	SO2014-6997
1	Proco Joe Moreno	1	1	1	1	1
2	Robert Fioretti	1	1	1	1	0
3	Pat Dowell	1	1	1	1	1
4	William Burns	1	1	1	1	1
5	Leslie Hairston	1	1	1	1	1
6	Roderick Sawyer	1	1	1	1	1
7	Sandi Jackson	3	3	1	1	1
8	Michelle Harris	1	1	1	1	1
9	Anthony Beale	1	1	1	1	3
10	John A. Pope	1	1	1	1	1
11	James A. Balcer	1	1	1	1	1
12	George A. Cardenas	1	1	1	1	1
13	Marty Quinn	1	1	1	1	1
14	Edward M. Burke	1	1	1	1	4
15	Toni Foulkes	1	1	1	1	0
16	Joann Thompson	1	1	1	1	1
17	Latasha R. Thomas	1	1	1	1	1
18	Lona Lane	1	1	1	1	1
19	Matthew O'Shea	1	1	1	1	1
20	Willi Cochran	1	1	1	1	1
21	Howard Brookins	1	1	1	1	1
22	Ricardo Munoz	1	1	1	1	0
23	Michael R.	2	2	1	1	1
24	Michael Chandler	1	1	0	1	1
25	Daniel S. Solis	1	1	1	1	1
26	Roberto Maldonado	1	1	1	1	1
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	1	1	1	1	1
28	Jason Ervin	1	4	1	1	1
29	Deborah Graham	1	1	1	1	1
30	Ariel E. Reboyras	1	1	1	1	1
31	Regner Ray Suarez	1	1	1	1	1
32	Scott Waguespack	1	0	1	1	0
33	Richard F. Mell	1	1	1	1	1
34	Carrie M. Austin	1	1	1	1	1
35	Rey Colon	1	1	1	1	1
36	Nicholas Sposato	1	1	1	1	1
37	Emma Mitts	1	1	1	1	1
38	Timothy Cullerton	1	1	1	3	1
39	Margaret Laurino	1	1	1	1	1
40	Patrick J. O'Conner	2	2	1	1	4
41	Mary O'Connor	0	1	1	0	1
42	Brendan Reilly	1	1	1	1	1
43	Michele Smith	0	1	1	1	1
44	Thomas Tunney	1	1	1	1	1
45	John Arena	1	0	1	1	0
46	James Cappleman	1	1	1	1	1
47	Ameya Pawar	1	1	1	1	1
48	Harry Osterman	1	1	1	1	1

49	Joe Moore	1	1	1	1	1
50	Debra Silverstein	1	1	1	1	1

**End Notes**

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