



Continuing The Rubber Stamp City Council

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The May 2011 elections in Chicago were a turning point for the city. After 22 years, Mayor Richard M. Daley decided he would not seek another term. Several formidable candidates threw their hats in the ring, but ultimately former White House Chief of Staff Rahm Emanuel was elected. What made this election even more pivotal was the fact that 10 alderman retired, which created a chance for real change in the city council. When the dust settled, eight incumbents were also defeated (including long time 50th Ward alderman Bernie Stone) bringing 18 new faces to the council. Richard M. Daley's tenure was characterized by a high degree of control over what was known as a "rubber stamp" council – would Rahm Emanuel continue to do the same? Or would the new aldermen be more independent than their predecessors? In a news conference shortly after he revealed his first budget as Mayor, Emanuel stated, "I said we were gonna form a new partnership between...the mayor and City Council – that voters didn't want Council Wars and they also didn't want a City Council that would be a rubber stamp."¹ Our report seeks to determine whether he lived up to his promises of more independent but collaborative city council.

There are three main factors that distinguish the council under Emanuel from other councils. First, Mayor Emanuel enjoys more support than any other mayor before him including Boss Mayor Richard J. and, his son, Richard M. Daley. Second, even when there is opposition, it is likely to be confined to a small handful of regularly dissenting Aldermen, and not a widespread rebellion. Third, the opposition has split into two new caucuses called "Progressive Reform Caucus" and the "Paul Douglas Alliance" whose members have significantly different voting records and different levels of independence from mayoral control.

Independence is to some extent in the eye of the beholder. The underlying question is whether an alderman is faithfully representing his or her conscience, their judgement as to what is best for the city, and the views and need of the constituents on critical divided roll call votes on

which there is controversy. An alderman who votes 100% of the time with the mayor on controversial and important issues is not exercising independence of judgement. Aldermen who exercised independence in the reign of Mayor Richard J. Daley joked that an independent or reform alderman was one who did not believe in the omnipotence of the mayor. Based upon this and subsequent aldermanic voting behaviors, all independent aldermen vote in opposition to the mayor and his or her administration at least some 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 (40th), Mayor Emanuel's floor leader. Alderman O'Connor voted exactly the same on every issue as Alderman Edward Burke (14th), the head of the powerful Finance Committee. So their voting patterns were used to represent the official position of the mayor's administration.² If an alderman voted the same way as O'Connor and Burke, they were given a score of 1. If they did not, they were given a score of 0. The number of times the aldermen voted with Aldermen O'Connor and Burke was divided by the total number of times they voted, giving them a "score." This score represents the percentage of agreement with Aldermen O'Connor and Burke, and so it also measures the percentage of agreement with Mayor Emanuel as well.

As Alderman Bob Fioretti (2nd) has pointed out, the City of Chicago is supposed to be a strong council-weak mayor form of government but in practice it is not.³ With this form of city government we should expect a more independent council. However, under Rahm Emanuel and a number of his predecessors this has not been the case.

The New Face of City Council

How much independence can be seen in the voting patterns of the 18 newly-elected aldermen? In general, there does not seem to be much difference from their predecessors. Some wards, such as the 41st, lost independence. Their new alderman, Democrat Mary O'Connor voted 100% of the time with Emanuel. By contrast, Republican Brian Doherty, O'Connor's predecessor, voted only 70% of the time with Daley. Similarly, Will Burns, newly elected to the 4th Ward after Toni Preckwinkle vacated the seat to become Cook County Board President, voted 89% with Emanuel; whereas Toni Preckwinkle had voted only 60% of the time with Daley. Deborah Silverstein, who defeated Bernie Stone in the 50th Ward, voted 100% with Emanuel compared to Stone's 86% with Daley in his last term when Stone and Daley were feuding politically. Stone had voted 100% of the time with Richard J. Daley and Michael Bilandic.

Other wards, however, gained independence. John Arena, newly elected alderman of the 45th Ward, voted only 40% of the time with the mayor compared to his predecessor, Patrick Levar, who voted 96% with Mayor Daley. Nicholas Sposato was an breath of fresh independent air for the 36th Ward previously represented by William J.P. Banks – he voted only 67% of the time with the mayor compared to Banks' 98%.⁴

Most wards, however, did not see that much of a change. On average, new aldermen vote about 91% of the time on controversial divided roll call votes with the mayor, while the average vote of their predecessors was almost the same at 90%. It is worth noting the significantly different voting patterns of Sposato and Arena in the new council. If their scores are taken out, the new average is 95%, suggesting that without them city council actually would have actually lost independence among the 18 new aldermen.

**Table 1: Voting Patterns of New Aldermen
(Score of Predecessor in paranthesis)**

Ward	Alderman	% Vote with the mayor
1	Moreno	93 (90)
4	Burns	89 (60)
6	Sawyer	89 (98)
13	Quinn	100 (100)
19	O'Shea	100 (100)
24	Chandler	89 (83)
26	Maldonado	92 (79)
28	Ervin	100 (94)
29	Graham	100 (98)
36	Sposato	67 (98)
38	Cullerton	97 (96)
41	M. O'Connor	100 (70)
43	Smith	93 (88)
45	Arena	40 (96)
46	Cappleman	93 (96)
47	Pawar	93 (90)
48	Osterman	97 (96)
50	Silverstein	100 (86)

*In 2011-2013 there were 30 divided roll call votes. In 2007-2001 there were 54.

Continuing Independence

By and large those who voted the least with Mayor Daley in the 2007-2011 council or who showed the most independence, continued to do so under Mayor Rahm Emanuel. Alderman Fioretti (2nd), Alderman Scott Waguesback (32nd) and Alderman Leslie Hairston (5th), known for their independence, continued that trend with almost the same percentage voting with the mayor from one term to the next. Alderman Brendan Reilly (42nd), also known as an independent, increased his agreement somewhat under Rahm Emanuel but he still only voted with Emanuel 80% of the time, compared to a 68% agreement under Mayor Richard M. Daley.

As mentioned above, added to the ranks of the independent aldermen were Aldermen Sposato (36th) and Arena (45th). This group of six aldermen formed the core of the opposition. Their opposing votes occurred primarily on the same issues, suggesting that there is potential for a new independent or “progressive bloc” as the aldermen often label themselves.

Table 2: Those Voting Least with the Mayors from 2007 – 2011 As Determined by Percent Voting with the Mayor on All Divided Roll Call Votes

Ward	Alderman	2011-13	2007-2011
45	Arena	40%	96%* (Levar)
2	Fioretti	53%	52%
32	Waguespack	63%	67%
36	Sposato	67%	98%* (Banks/Rice)
5	Hairston	73%	73%
42	Reilly	80%	68%

*These percentages are from the voting of the previous 45th and 36th ward aldermen

Support for Emanuel

Looking at the complete voting pattern for all alderman, it is clear that for the 32 incumbent alderman who won reelection, not much changed under Emanuel. In fact, Mayor Emanuel got even more support than Daley. The most significant changes came from Alderman Munoz (22nd) and Alderman Moore (49th)-both seen as independent and progressive aldermen. Their percentages voting in support of the mayor skyrocketed under the new administration. Munoz voted only 65% of the time with Daley but voted 87% of the time with Emanuel. Moore voted only 51% of the time with Daley, but almost reversed himself completely to vote 97% of the time with Emanuel. This could possibly be because both Munoz and Moore were positioning themselves for higher office, and wanted to be perceived as more agreeable. (Moore was seeking to become head of the Illinois Environmental Protection Agency and to have his wife appointed by

Mayor Emanuel to replace him. Moore also was made chairman of the council's Human Relations Committee. Munoz ran in 2012 for Cook County Clerk of the Circuit Court.)

Other aldermen increased their support as well for the mayor and his administration. Sandi Jackson (7th) voted only 53% of the time with Daley, but 90% of the time with Emanuel. Pat Dowell (3rd) increased from 76% under Daley to 93% agreement under Emanuel. Howard Brookins Jr. (21st) also increased his support from 86% to 100%. Most changes were not as great in favor of Emanuel but are still worth noting. Fifteen aldermen: Michelle Harris (8th), Anthony Beale (9th), James Balcer (11th), Toni Foulkes (15th), JoAnn Thompson (16th), LaTasha Thomas (17th), Lona Lane (18th), Willie Cochran (20th), Danny Solis (25th), Walter Burnett (27th), Rey Suarez (31st), Emma Mitts (37th), Margaret Laurino (39th), Mary O'Connor (40th), and Tom Tunney (44th) voted 1 – 10 percent of the time more frequently with Emanuel than they did under Daley.

No incumbent alderman significantly reduced their support for Emanuel. In fact only Carrie Austin (34th) voted less with Emanuel, and she only went from 100% with Daley to 97% with Emanuel. It is evident that the council, when taken as a whole, continued the rubber stamp pattern it had begun under Mayor Daley with Mayor Emanuel.

**Table 3: Voting Patterns
Aldermanic Agreement with Council Floor Leader**

30 Divided Roll Call Votes from 2011 – 2013; 54 Divided Roll Call Votes from 2007 – 2011

Ward	Alderman	% 2011-13	% 2007-11
1	Moreno	93	90* (Flores)
2	Fioretti	53	52
3	Dowell	93	76
4	Burns	89	60* (Preckwinkle)
5	Hairston	73	73
6	Sawyer	89	98* (Lyle)
7	Jackson*	90	53
8	Harris	100	98
9	Beale	97	96
10	Pope	100	100
11	Balcer	93	88
12	Cardenas	97	96
13	Quinn	100	100* (Olivo)
14	Burke	100	100
15	Foulkes	89	86
16	Thompson	100	92
17	Thomas	100	98
18	Lane	97	96
19	O'Shea	100	100* (Rugai)
20	Cochran	97	90
21	Brookins, Jr.	100	86
22	Munoz	87	65
23	Zalewski	97	96
24	Chandler	89	83* (Dixon)
25	Solis	100	98

Ward	Alderman	% 2011-13	% 2007-11
26	Maldonado	92	79* (Ocasio)
27	Burnett, Jr.	100	96
28	Ervin	100	94 (E. Smith)
29	Graham	100	98* (Carothers)
30	Reboyas	100	100
31	Suarez	100	88
32	Waguespack	63	67
33	Mell	100	100
34	Austin	97	100
35	Colon	97	80
36	Sposato	67	98* (Banks)
37	Mitts	100	98
38	Cullerton	97	96* (Allen)
39	Laurino	100	96
40	P. O'Conner	100	96
41	M. O'Connor	100	70* (Doherty)
42	Reilly	80	68
43	Smith	93	88* (Daley)
44	Tunney	100	90
45	Arena	40	96* (Levar)
46	Cappleman	93	96* (Shiller)
47	Pawar	93	90* (Schulter)
48	Osterman	97	96* (M. Smith)
49	Moore	97	51
50	Silverstein	100	86* (Stone)

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

More Subtle Forms of Influence

Aldermen claim that they voted more often with the mayor because Mayor Emanuel was more willing to compromise with them than Mayor Daley had been. When aldermen pushed back on cuts to staff and library service hours in the 2012 budget battles, the mayor agreed to reduce the cuts. Or when the rules for NATO Summit protests were too draconian and aldermen objected, the mayor made the rules less restrictive. So some aldermen argue that they vote with the mayor more often because they are able to work out compromises behind the scenes.

Yet, in two years since the mayor and the city council were sworn in, there have been only 30 divided roll call votes. The number remains at about the same level as under Mayor Daley at about two a month. Historically, the number of divided roll call votes has ranged between 50-100 a year and peaked at 387 divided votes during Mayor Eugene Sawyer's two years in office during the chaos that which followed Council Wars from 1987 – 1989.

Dueling Caucuses?

City council over a number of years has had a progressive caucus, more formally now named the Progressive Reform Coalition. In March 2013, members of the caucus announced their legislative priorities: a moratorium on new charter schools, a privatization ordinance, and the Responsible Bidder's Ordinance.⁵ One day later, however, a group of aldermen split and formed what they called the "Paul Douglas Alliance," after the former Illinois U.S. Senator and former city council member. This caucus is made up of Aldermen: Proco Joe Moreno (1st), Pat Dowell (3rd), Will Burns (4th), Rey Colon (35th), Brendan Reilly (42nd), Michele Smith (43rd), James Cappleman (46th), Ameya Pawar (47th), Harry Osterman (48th) and Joe Moore (49th). Their first order of business is to work to abolish the Legislative Inspector General – an office created specifically to investigate and prosecute aldermen and their staff. Instead the Paul Douglas Alliance wants to give this power to Joe Ferguson, the current Inspector General who now only has jurisdiction over Mayor Emanuel's staff and departments.

It is worth noting that these same aldermen, only two years prior, vehemently opposed such a move when the creation of the office of Legislative Inspector General was being debated. Today, however, they claim bringing themselves under the jurisdiction of Joe Ferguson will be more efficient, reduce duplication, and save the City of Chicago's taxpayers money.⁶ These same

Douglas Alliance aldermen have issued a press release asking Chicago public school officials to consider carefully testimony about individual school closing but did not oppose the more than 50 schools CPS planned to close.

Nine aldermen remain in the original Progressive Reform Coalition according to press accounts: Robert Fioretti (2nd), Leslie Hairston (5th), Roderick Sawyer (6th), Toni Foulkes (15th), Ricardo Munoz (22nd), Scott Waguespack (32nd), Nick Sposato (36th), John Arena (45th), and Ameya Pawar (47th).

Why two caucuses? Some media have speculated that Paul Douglas Alliance members considered some Aldermen in the Progressive Reform Coalition as obstructionist.⁷ In a recent interview with Carol Marin, Alliance members shyed away from this. Their statement of principles notes:

“While we share a set of progressive values and ideals, we take a non-dogmatic, pragmatic approach to achieving those values and ideals because we want results. We are far less interested in glorious defeats than we are in addressing the concrete problems and challenges that our city faces. To that end, we will introduce legislative proposals for the purpose of enacting progressive changes in law and policy.”⁸

Looking at voting patterns, it is easy to see why some members of the media have dubbed it the “not-so-progressive caucus.” The Paul Douglas Alliance votes over 90% of the time with the mayor and 20% more frequently with him than the Progressive Reform Coalition.

Progressive Reform Coalition		
Ward	Alderman	% Vote
2	Robert Fioretti	53
5	Leslie Hairston	73
6	Roderick Sawyer	89
15	Toni Foulkes	89
22	Ricardo Munoz	87
32	Scott Waguespack	63
36	Nick Sposato	67
45	John Arena	40
47	Ameya Pawar	93
<i>Average</i>		<i>73%</i>

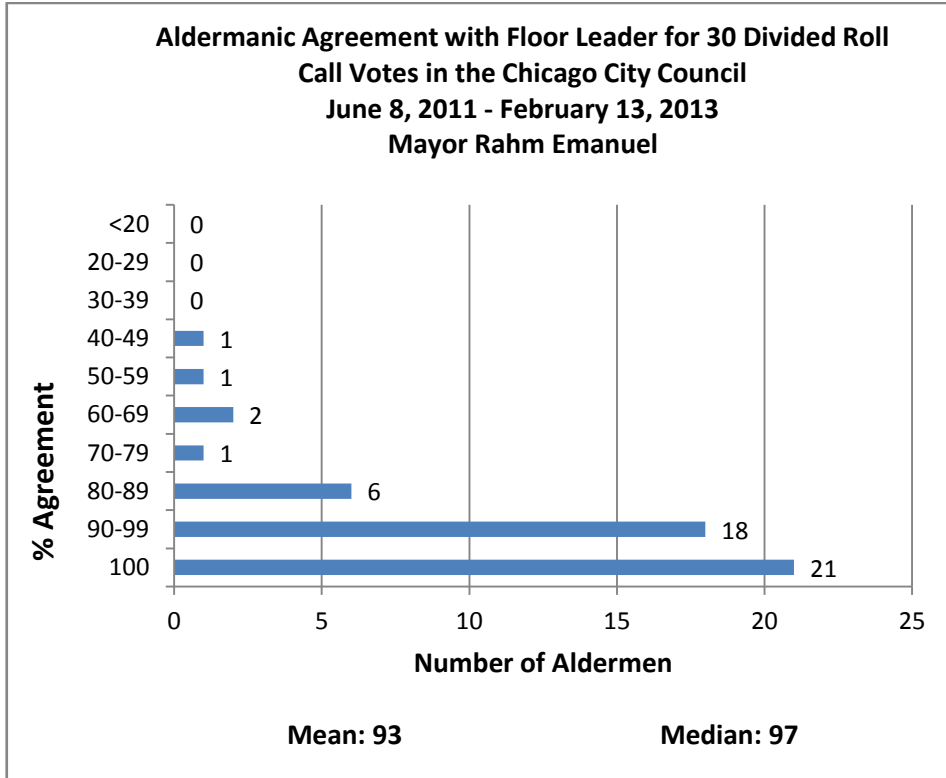
Paul Douglas Alliance		
Ward	Alderman	% Vote
1	Proco Joe Moreno	93
3	Pat Dowell	93
4	Will Burns	89
35	Rey Colon	97
42	Brendan Reilly	80
43	Michelle Smith	93
46	James Capp le man	93
47	Ameya Pawar	93
48	Harry Osterman	97
49	Joe Moore	97
<i>Average</i>		<i>92.5%</i>

It remains to be seen how the different groups of progressive aldermen will vote in the last two years of the current council.

Sizing Up The City Council

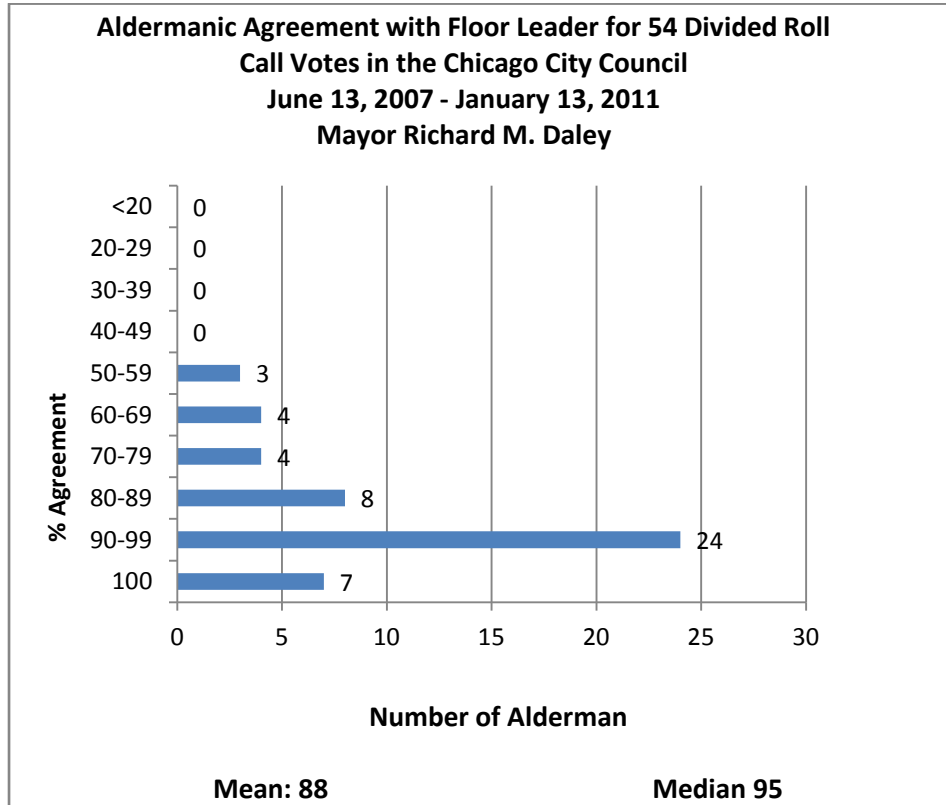
Histograms of voting behavior show that the new council under the Mayor Emanuel is less likely to dissent from the mayor than under Richard M. Daley (Histogram 1). The average level of aldermanic support for Mayor Emanuel is 93% on all divided roll call votes - an increase even from the overwhelming 88% Daley enjoyed during his last term (Histogram 2). While there are still independent alderman like Fioretti and Wageuspack, and new independents such as Arena and Sposato, the overall trend is increasing support for the mayor. Consider as well that in Daley's earlier 2003 – 2006 term, percent agreement with the mayor was only 83% (Histogram 3). This means that in a decade the council has become more of a rubber stamp than it was under Richard M. Daley.

Histogram 1

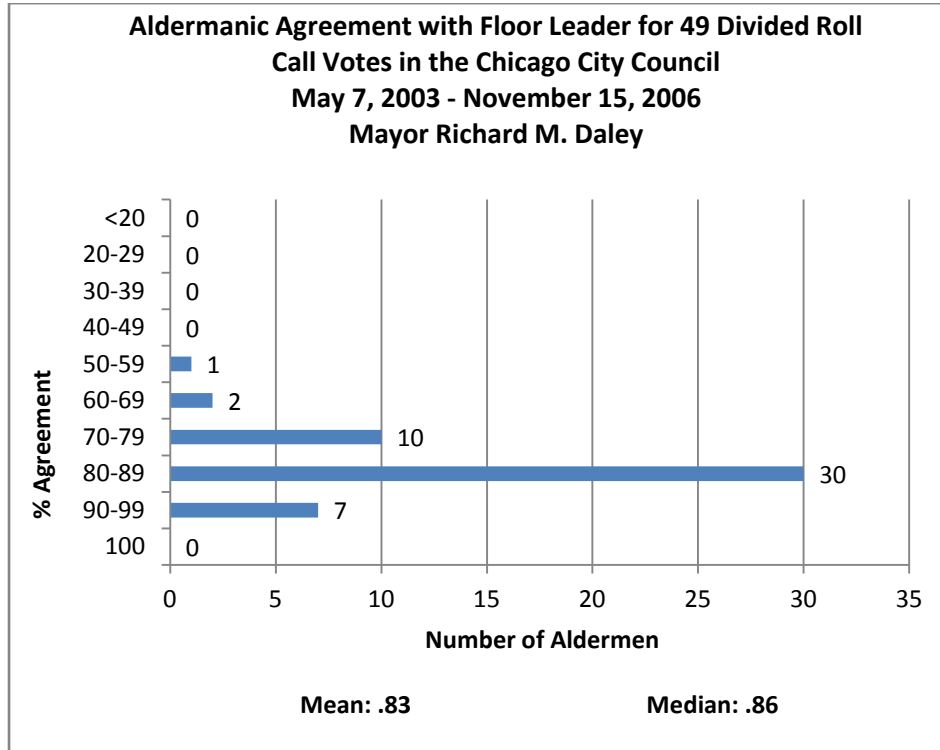


NOTE:
The mean is calculated by adding up all percentages of agreement and dividing by 50 to derive an average score of agreement with the Floor Leader. The median is the middle number, or the number that separates the top half of the data from the bottom half.

Histogram 2

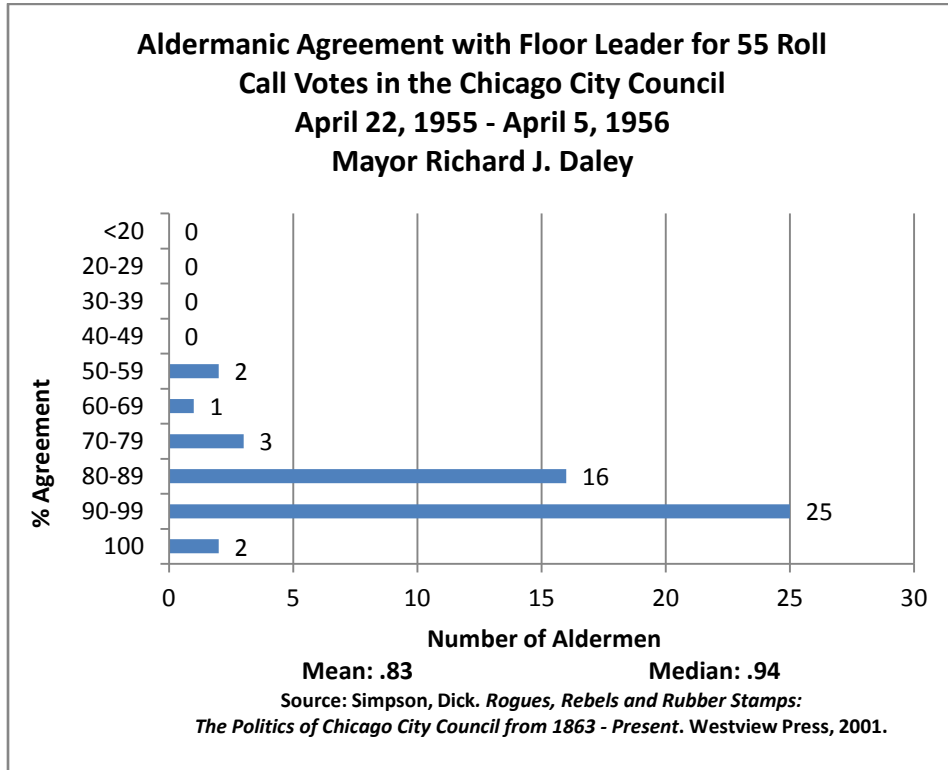


Histogram 3

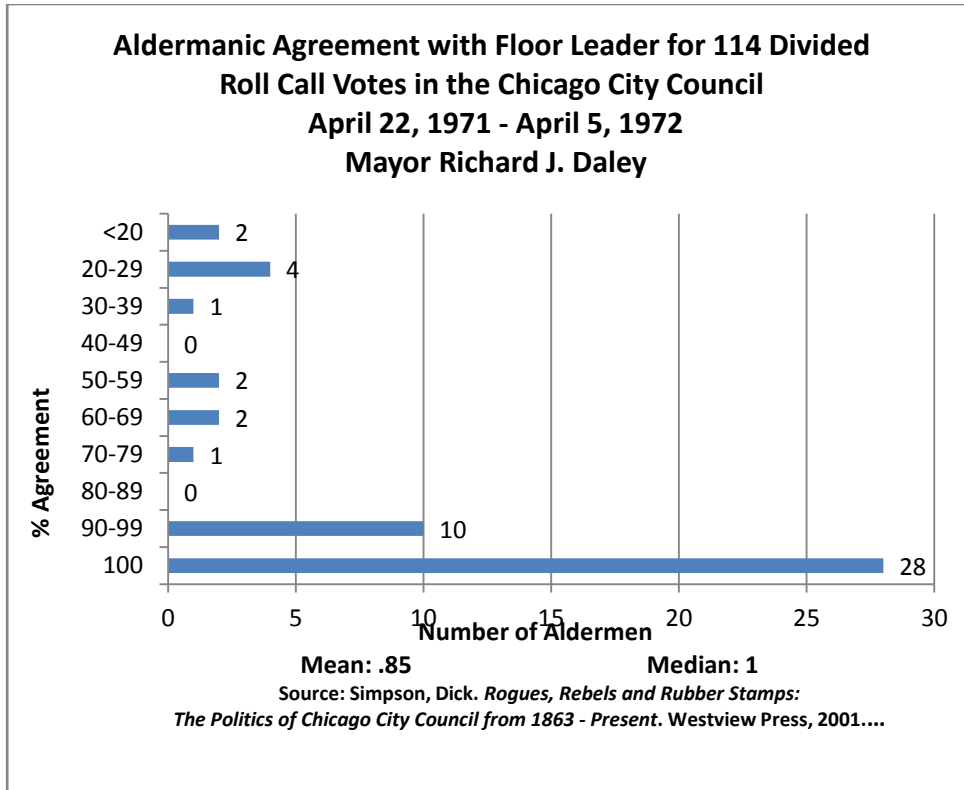


The term “Rubber Stamp City Council” was coined by journalist Mike Royko to describe the Richard J. Daley council. While Richard J. Daley was originally seen as the mayor with a rubber stamp city council, even his control over the council cannot match Emanuel’s. At the beginning and end of his twenty-two years in office he only enjoyed average aldermanic support for his policies of from 83% - 85% (Histograms 4 and 5). Note also that unlike Mayor Emanuel, Richard J. Daley had 55 divided roll call votes in 1955-56 and 114 in 1971-2.

Histogram 4

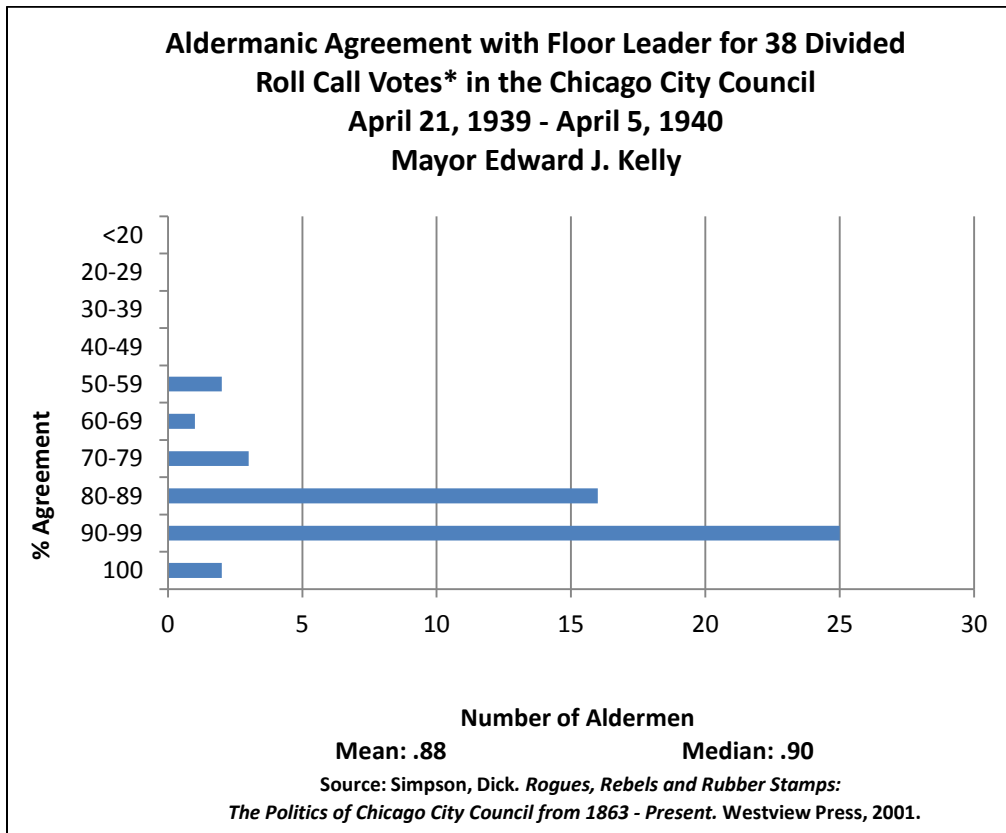


Histogram 5



The final histogram is also telling. Rahm Emanuel enjoys more support than one of the founders of the modern Chicago machine, Mayor Edward Kelley. As one of the heads of the Kelly-Nash Machine, Mayor Kelly, outside of some protest votes by Alderman Dorsey Crowe at two city council meetings when he voted against every ordinance presented, was able to get 88% support from the aldermen. This was enough to govern the city as one of the most powerful mayors up to that time. Mayor Emanuel has even more control than either party bosses Kelly or Daley.

Histogram 6



*Excluding Alderman Crowe's dissent at two meetings

Specifics of Council Voting on the Most Contentious Issues

Several controversial issues did, however, split the Emanuel city council. These included the appointment of a Legislative Inspector General, holding NATO and G8 summits, redistricting the Chicago wards, an agreement with the Illinois Comptroller, speed cameras, Infrastructure Trust, annual appropriations ordinance, cutting back on library hours, and a contract for new digital outdoor advertising signs.

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 more practical and 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.⁹ Library hours had already been cut back by 12 per week for 2011, and in 2009, some 120 employees were laid off.¹⁰ 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 cut back 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 and 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 (34th), chair of the Budget Committee, who had only dissented once since Emanuel had been in office.¹¹ Alderman Walter Burnett, who had never voted against Emanuel, stated “It’s wrong. Its unacceptable. We have to do something else to spread the pain.”¹²

In November 2011, Emanuel received a strong letter from a majority of 28 of the 50 aldermen expressing their displeasure.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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...”¹⁶ Alderman

Nicholas Sposato criticized the move saying “We need our libraries. Its one of the free things with have in the city. The seniors need it. The students need it.”¹⁷ 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.¹⁸

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

The new City Council along with the new Mayor did not divide on any votes for 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 Inspector General, who has the power only to investigate the mayor’s administration and executive branch.

Alderman Joe Moore (49th) 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.”¹⁹ Agreeing with Moore, Alderman Tim Cullerton (38th) 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.”²⁰

Faisal Khan, an attorney from New York, was eventually appointed by 41-7 vote. According the 14th 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.”²¹ But he would only be able to do so with approval from the Board of Ethics, who also had to supply

investigators as Khan will 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.

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

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

Two months later on January 18, 2012 the Council would 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.²²

This amendment to the municipal code also curtailed parade and assembly rights in order to guarantee order in the city. Most of the alderman 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.²³ Enforcement of the new restrictions also brought concern, especially given McCarthy's plan to bring in outsider law enforcement personnel to help maintain order.²⁴

Aldermen voting no on hosting the summits were: Fioretti (2nd), Burns (4th), Hairston (5th), Jackson (7th), and Sposato (36th). Alderman voting no for curtailment of protesting rights was: Fioretti (2nd), Burns (4th), Hairston (5th), and Sposato (36th). A number of aldermen, such as Alderman Pawar (47th), who voted yes on the ordinance, declared that they were satisfied with the compromises that the city administration was making to allow protests at the event but to restrict them in practical ways which still protected protestors' first amendment rights.

January 19: 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.²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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.”²⁷

If they 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 city-wide referendum, which Council leaders insisted would be too costly. Aldermen worked for months to carve out an agreement to prevent this from happening, culminating in an agreement between the two caucuses for 18 African- American wards, 14 Latino wards, and 18 white wards, four of which have Latino “influence.”

The city held several community meetings, although for some it was not enough, especially 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?”²⁸ 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.”²⁹

Other wards also radically changed were the 36th and 15th. Alderman Nicholas Sposato’s largely white 36th ward was redrawn to have a Latino majority. Toni Foulkes, Alderman of the 15th ward, will also. Sposato vigorously opposed the redrawn map accusing the city council of “...gutting out the heart of my ward.”³⁰ Sposato and Fioretti attempted to delay the vote with a parliamentary move that would allow a 24 hour delay for consideration, but Emanuel found a

loophole preventing this move.³¹ 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 basically 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.³²

Aldermen voting no on the new map were: Fioretti (2nd), Sawyer (6th), Zalewski (23rd), Chandler (24th), Waguespack (32nd), Colon (35th), Sposato (36th), and Arena (45th). 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.

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.³³ Emanuel defended the action saying, "I'm actually leveling the playing field so it doesn't tilt in favor of those who cheat."³⁴ 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.”³⁵

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 (2nd) also questioned the nature of 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]?”³⁶

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.³⁷ 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.”³⁸

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

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

Garnering by far the most dissention 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?”³⁹ Ray Suarez (31st) continued this line of argument: “This

camera ordinance will bring a lot of safety to our communities.”⁴⁰ Yet according to the *Chicago Sun-Times*, since 2005 the City has 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.⁴¹ 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.⁴² The majority of the criticism surrounding the plan was not just that it is 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.⁴³ Sensing the public mood Alderman Howard Brookins (21st) 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.”⁴⁴

It wasn’t just convincing the public, many aldermen 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.⁴⁵ Scott Waguespack (32nd), who voted no, cited this reason for opposing the ordinance, “...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.”⁴⁶ He favored instead using “dynamic displays” which are digital signs alerting drivers to their speed. Leslie Hairston (5th), also voting no, was more blunt. She worried about the loss of control by aldermen, who would have no say where the cameras went.⁴⁷ The requirement is only that they are installed in safety zones as set by the state.

Aldermen voting no: Fioretti (2nd), Dowell (3rd), Burns (4th), Hairston (5th), Sawyer (6th), Jackson (7th), Michael Chandler (24th), Waguespack (32nd), Sposato (36th), Reilly (42nd), Arena (45th), Cappleman (46th), Pawar (47th) and Osterman (48th). This was one of the biggest opposition votes to the mayor in the 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.”⁴⁸ 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.”⁴⁹

Emanuel’s rationale for the trust was that he maintained that the city had a 30 – 40 year deficit in financing infrastructure projects. “I will not tie the city’s economic future, its job growth to the dysfunction of Washington and the dysfunction from Springfield.”⁵⁰ Initial plans would have 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 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 (32nd), “The taxpayers [are suspicious] out there, one more mistake and we’re down the tubes.”⁵¹

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 (32nd) 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, and require the trust to operate under the City’s Ethics Code and procurement rules.⁵² 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 (2nd) proposed an alternative that would make the infrastructure trust a city agency, giving the Council jurisdiction over it.⁵³ 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.”⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵

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

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.⁵⁶ In 2012 the vote on the proposed 2013 budget was 46-3 (with 7th Ward Alderman Sandi Jackson conspicuously absent because of her upcoming corruption trial). The chief dissenter was Alderman Bob Fioretti (2nd), 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.⁵⁷ John Arena (45th) 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."⁵⁸

Aldermen voting no: Fioretti (2nd), Waguespack (32nd), and Arena (45th).

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

“Haven’t we learned any lessons yet?”⁵⁹ 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 (42nd) 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.”⁶⁰

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.”⁶¹

Aldermen voting no: Fioretti (2nd), Dowell (3rd), Waguespack (32nd), Sposato (36th), Arena (45th) and Pawar (47th).

Continuing the Rubber Stamp Council

Our report confirms Steve Rhodes analysis in “Why Chicago’s Spineless City Council Just Can’t Say No,” published in the April issue of *Chicago Magazine*. He wrote:

By the time 2012 drew to a close, Emanuel had racked up 1,333 ‘yes’ votes [by aldermen on administration proposals] to 112 ‘nos,’ and he has never lost a vote on the floor.⁶²

He also pointed out that 21 aldermen vote with the mayor 100% of the time and that one-third of all council meetings have no dissenting votes at all.

As a result, Emanuel ends up with a more compliant or rubber stamp council than previous mayors, including political Boss Mayors like Daley and Kelly. Those more independent and progressive reform aldermen have now split into two separate voting blocs, the Progressive Reform Coalition (which votes only 73% of the time with the mayor on average) and the Paul Douglas Alliance (which supports him 93% of the time). The lack of a unified opposition only strengthens mayor control over the council.

In the last two years only seven issues have had six or more aldermen oppose the mayor and his administration. The most contentious issues were votes on the Infrastructure Trust, the appointment of a Legislative Inspector General, and redistricting the wards. Original opposition forced the mayor to compromise on two issues: cutting library hours and the NATO summit.

Overall, the council has become ever more a 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

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

		Issue #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		Date	6/8/11	7/28/11	9/8/11	9/8/11	11/16/11	1/18/12	1/18/12	1/18/12
Ward	Alderman	A2011-56	O2011-5737	Or2011-929	O2011-505	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
	Date	1/18/12	1/18/12	1/19/12	2/15/12	4/18/12	4/18/12	4/18/12
Ward	Alderman	O2011-6726	O2011-9742	SO2012-582	O2012-583	Or2012-182	SO2012-1473	O2012-1342
1	Proco Joe Moreno	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
2	Robert Fioretti	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
3	Pat Dowell	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
4	William Burns	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
5	Leslie Hairston	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
6	Roderick Sawyer	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
7	Sandi Jackson	1	1	1	3	1	0	1
8	Michelle Harris	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	Anthony Beale	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	John A. Pope	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	James A. Balcer	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
12	George A. Cardenas	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
13	Marty Quinn	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	Edward M. Burke	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	Toni Foulkes	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
16	Joann Thompson	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	Latasha R. Thomas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18	Lona Lane	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	Matthew O'Shea	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	Willi Cochran	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
21	Howard Brookins Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	Ricardo Munoz	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	Michael R. Zalewski	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
24	Michael Chandler	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
25	Daniel S. Solis	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	Roberto Maldonado	1	1	1	1	3	3	3
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	Jason Ervin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	Deborah Graham	1	1	1	1	3	3	3
30	Ariel E. Reboyras	1	1	1	1	3	3	3
31	Regner Ray Suarez	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	Scott Waguespack	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
33	Richard F. Mell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	Carrie M. Austin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	Rey Colon	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
36	Nicholas Sposato	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
37	Emma Mitts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	Timothy Cullerton	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39	Margaret Laurino	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	Patrick J. O'Conner	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	Mary O'Connor	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
42	Brendan Reilly	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
43	Michele Smith	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	Thomas Tunney	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	John Arena	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
46	James Cappleman	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
47	Ameya Pawar	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
48	Harry Osterman	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
49	Joe Moore	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	Debra Silverstein	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 #	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
	Date	4/24/12	4/24/12	4/24/12	6/6/12	6/27/12	7/25/12	9/12/12	10/31/12
Ward	Alderman	Table Motion: Fioretti	Table Motion: Waguespack	SO2012- 1366	O2012- 3337	SO2011- 8844	SO2012 -4489	O2012- 5539	O2012- 6569
1	Proco Joe Moreno	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
2	Robert Fioretti	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
3	Pat Dowell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	William Burns	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1
5	Leslie Hairston	0	0	0	3	1	1	1	1
6	Roderick Sawyer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	Sandi Jackson	1	1	1	3	2	3	1	1
8	Michelle Harris	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	Anthony Beale	1	1	1	0	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	3	1	1
14	Edward M. Burke	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
15	Toni Foulkes	0	0	0	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	0	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	0	1	1	1	1	1
23	Michael R. Zalewski	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	Michael Chandler	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
25	Daniel S. Solis	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	Roberto Maldonado	3	3	3	0	0	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	3	1	1	1
32	Scott Waguespack	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
33	Richard F. Mell	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
34	Carrie M. Austin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
35	Rey Colon	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	Nicholas Sposato	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	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	0	1	1	1	1
43	Michele Smith	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	Thomas Tunney	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	John Arena	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
46	James Cappleman	1	1	1	1	1	3	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	3	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 #	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
	Date	11/15/12	11/15/12	11/15/12	11/15/12	11/15/12	11/15/12	12/12/12
Ward	Alderman	O2012-7239	O2012-7234	O2012-7254	SO2012-7113	O2012-7112	O2012-7405	SO2012-7782
1	Proco Joe Moreno	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	Robert Fioretti	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
3	Pat Dowell	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
4	William Burns	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	Leslie Hairston	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	Roderick Sawyer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	Sandi Jackson	3	3	3	3	3	3	1
8	Michelle Harris	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	Anthony Beale	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	John A. Pope	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	James A. Balcer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	George A. Cardenas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	Marty Quinn	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	Edward M. Burke	1	4	1	1	1	1	1
15	Toni Foulkes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16	Joann Thompson	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17	Latasha R. Thomas	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
18	Lona Lane	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19	Matthew O'Shea	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20	Willi Cochran	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	Howard Brookins Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22	Ricardo Munoz	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23	Michael R. Zalewski	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	Michael Chandler	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25	Daniel S. Solis	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26	Roberto Maldonado	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28	Jason Ervin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29	Deborah Graham	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	Ariel E. Reboyras	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	Regner Ray Suarez	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	Scott Waguespack	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
33	Richard F. Mell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34	Carrie M. Austin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	Rey Colon	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36	Nicholas Sposato	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
37	Emma Mitts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	Timothy Cullerton	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39	Margaret Laurino	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40	Patrick J. O'Conner	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	Mary O'Connor	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
42	Brendan Reilly	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
43	Michele Smith	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44	Thomas Tunney	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45	John Arena	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
46	James Cappleman	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	Ameya Pawar	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
48	Harry Osterman	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49	Joe Moore	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	Debra Silverstein	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

NOTES

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² The mayor doesn't vote except in the case of a tie which hasn't happened since Emanuel became mayor, so we can't compare aldermanic votes to the mayor's so we use the vote of his floor leader as a proxy.

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²² Sneed, Michael. "Will taxpayers eventually pick up the tab of G8/NATO summits?" *Chicago Sun-Times*. January 18, 2012.

²³ "City council passes tightened protest rules." *Chicago Examiner*. January 18, 2012.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ "Chicago Redistricting Hearings Nov. 14-17." *Chicago Examiner*. November 12, 2011.

²⁶ Spielman, Fran. "Black Caucus chairman predicts City Council agreement on remap." *Chicago Sun-Times*. January 12, 2012.

²⁷ Spielman, Fran. "Proposed Chicago ward remap would add Hispanic seats." *Chicago Sun-Times*. November 10, 2011.

²⁸ Brown, Mark. "Ward map moving at warp speed." *Chicago Sun-Times*. January 19, 2012.

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³⁰ Dardick, Hal. "Latino map could put 2 aldermen at risk." *Chicago Tribune*. November 18, 2011.

³¹ Wachtler, Mark. "Chicago aldermen slip ward remap past voters." *Chicago Examiner*. January 20, 2013.

³² Ibid.

³³ Spielman, Fran. "City after scofflaws' tax refunds." *Chicago Sun-Times*. February 15, 2013.

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