

The Last of the Daley Years

**Chicago City Council Voting Report #5
May 21, 2007 – January 13, 2011**

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March 2011

For the past four years, Mayor Richard M. Daley has had nearly complete control over the city council. But his power has waxed and waned. When the city council was first elected in 2007, there was more dissent. It died down in 2008-2009. Since 2010, opposition to Mayor Daley has grown once again. Mayor-elect Emanuel will have even weaker control over the new Chicago City Council when he takes over in May 2011.

On February 22, 2011, Chicagoans cast their vote for all 50 aldermen. Seven aldermen ran unopposed – leaving 43 seats contested by a field of 239 candidates. Generally, these seven unopposed aldermen were stronger members of the city council such as Alderman Edward Burke of the 14th ward.

Of the 43 contested seats, 25 of the incumbents won outright, one lost, and ten face a runoff election on April 5th because they were unable to secure more than 50% of the vote. In the February election there were 11 seats vacated by former alderman who were retiring or moving to higher office – an unusually high number. Generally, they were among the most loyal aldermen supporting Mayor Daley. On average they voted with the mayor on divided roll call votes 90% of the time. Table 1 illustrates this pattern. Only Aldermen Toni Preckwinkle and Brian Doherty among the retiring aldermen voted 70% or less of the time with the mayor.

Table 1: Voting Patterns of Retiring Alderman

Ward	Alderman	% Vote
4	Preckwinkle	60
13	Olivo	100
19	Rugai	100
28	E. Smith	94
38	Allen	96
41	Doherty	70
43	Daley	88
45	Levar	96
46	Schiller	96
47	Schulter	90
48	M. Smith	96

Two additional patterns emerged from the February 22 election. First, incumbents who chose to run were generally reelected. Second, nearly all independent aldermen who most often opposed Mayor Richard M. Daley in the 54 divided roll call votes since 2007 also won reelection.

The most likely outcome of the April 5, 2011 runoff elections is that the seven most independent aldermen from the last council, such as Joe Moore (49th) and Ricardo Munoz (22nd), will be joined by three or four additional independents, such as Michele Smith of the 43rd Ward. Nonetheless, the new 2011 council, like the compliant council of the Richard M. Daley years, will still be dominated by regular party “machine” Democrats. This is true even if the Republican Party manages to retain one seat from either the 41st or 45th wards which have the only Republican candidates running.

The 2007 – 2011 City Council

As Table 2 below shows, Mayor Richard M. Daley enjoyed overwhelming support of most aldermen from 2007-2011. Aldermen voted with him on average 82% of the time. Only seven aldermen: Fioretti (2nd), Preckwinkle (4th), Jackson (7th), Munoz (22nd), Waguespack (32nd), Reilly (42nd) and Moore (49th) voted with him less than 70% of the time.

**Table 2: Individual Aldermanic Voting Record
Percentage Vote With the Mayor
For Divided Roll Call Votes, 2007 - 2011**

Ward	Alderman	%
1	Flores/Moreno	90
2	Fioretti	52
3	Dowell	76
4	Preckwinkle/Newsome	60
5	Hairston	73
6	Lyle	98
7	Jackson	53
8	Harris	98
9	Beale	96
10	Pope	100
11	Balcer	88
12	Cardenas	96
13	Olivo	100
14	Burke	100
15	Foulkes	86
16	Thompson	92
17	L. Thomas	98
18	Lane	96
19	Rugai	100
20	Cochran	90
21	Brookins	86
22	Munoz	65
23	Zalewski	96
24	Dixon	83
25	Solis	98

Ward	Ward/Alderman	%
26	Ocasio/Maldonado	79
27	Burnett	96
28	E. Smith/Ervin	94
29	Carothers/Graham	98
30	Reboyas	100
31	Suarez	88
32	Waguespack	67
33	Mell	100
34	Austin	100
35	Colon	80
36	Banks/Rice	98
37	Mitts	98
38	Allen/Cullerton	96
39	Laurino	96
40	O'Conner	96
41	Doherty	70
42	Reilly	68
43	Daley	88
44	Tunney	90
45	Levar	96
46	Shiller	96
47	Schulter	90
48	M. Smith	96
49	Moore	51
50	Stone	86

Whether this level of general subservience and limited dissent will continue in the new council is less clear. The faction supporting Mayor-elect Rahm Emanuel and those regular Democrats who may be more loyal to Alderman Edward Burke (14th) have yet to work out a power sharing arrangement. Thus, it is possible to imagine a three-way split in the council between Emanuel supporters, Burke supporters, and the independent bloc aldermen.

In Table 3 we list the 14 wards facing runoffs, along with the candidates, their incumbency status or profession, and the percentage of the vote they received. Additionally, for incumbent aldermen we give the percentage of times they voted with Mayor Daley on the 54 divided roll call votes during the 2007 – 2011 City Council. To this we add information from the *Chicago Tribune* and the Chicago News Cooperative on which aldermen are receiving contributions from the pro-business political action committee, For A Better Chicago (FABC), and/or help from Mayor- elect Rahm Emanuel and his campaign funds.

Table 3: Candidates in Runoff Elections and Their Voting Patterns

Ward	Candidate	% Feb vote	% vote w/mayor	Emanuel Endorsed	FABC endorsed
6	Freddrenna Lyle (I) Roderick T. Sawyer (Attorney)	44.6 25	98	Incumbent Endorsed	Incumbent Endorsed
15	Toni Foulkes (I) Raymond Lopez (Airline worker)	44.1 15	86		
16	JoAnn Thompson (I) Hale E. Baskin (Real Estate Management)	43.5 22.6	92	Incumbent Endorsed	Incumbent Endorsed
17	Latasha Thomas (I) David Moore (Cook County Board of Review)	48.6 19.6	98	Incumbent Endorsed	Incumbent Endorsed
20	Willie Cochran (I) Che "Rhymefest" Smith (Hip-Hop Artist)	46 20	90	Incumbent Endorsed	Incumbent Endorsed
24	Sharon Denise Dixon (I) Michael Chandler (Former Alderman)***	19.5 13.2	83 91***		
25	Danny Solis (I) Cuauhtémoc Morfin (Construction Company Owner)	48.9 28	98	Incumbent Endorsed	Incumbent Endorsed
36	John Rice (I)**** Nicholas Sposato (Firefighter)	48.1 24	98	Incumbent Endorsed	Incumbent Endorsed
38	Tim Cullerton (I)* Tom Caravette (Realtor)	47.6 22.1	100**	Incumbent Endorsed	Incumbent Endorsed
41	Maurita Gavin (Asst to Alderman Doherty) Mary O'Connor (Small Businesswoman)	25 30.5			
43	Tim Egan (Norwegian American Hospital Foundation) Michele Smith (Ward Committeeman)	28.6 38			
45	John Arena (Small Business Owner) John Garrido (Police Officer)	22.7 32.4			
46	James Cappleman (Clinical Social Worker) Mary Anne Phelan (Attorney)	19.6 19.6			
50	Bernie Stone (I) Debra Silverstein (Accountant)	37.5 33.7	86	Silverstein Endorsed	Silverstein Endorsed

I = Incumbent

*Appointed January 12, 2011, formerly a retired Chicago Department of Buildings Deputy Commissioner

**Cullerton only voted once, at the January 13, 2011 meeting

***Michael Chandler lost to Sharon Denise Dixon in 2007, his percentage of voting with the mayor is from the previous city council term of 2003 - 2007

****Appointed in October 2009 to replace the retiring William J.P. Banks

Sources: Chicago Board of Elections, Chicago News Cooperative, Chicago Tribune and Chicago Sun-Times

The incumbents running in the runoff elections voted with Mayor Richard M. Daley 83% to 100% of the time. In general, the more often the incumbent voted with the mayor, the more serious challenge he or she faces in the runoff election. Aldermen Rice, Solis, Thomas, and Lyle all voted with the mayor 98% of the time, and saw their challengers receive from 20 to 28% of the vote in the February 22nd election.

Alderman Rice of the 36th ward was appointed in October, 2009 to replace the retiring William J. P. Banks. Banks had served the far northwest side neighborhood for 20 years.¹ The 98% support of the mayor in Table 2 represents their combined voting record for the entire four years. For the first two years Banks voted with the mayor on all issues except the highly contentious property tax increase bill in November of 2007. After Rice took over, he voted with the mayor on every council item brought before him, including privatizing the parking meters and allowing a third Wal-Mart to be built. He is facing in the runoff election fire fighter Nicholas Sposato who received 24% of the votes in the primary.

Alderman Danny Solis of the 25th Ward which includes Pilsen, Chinatown, and parts of Taylor Street, also broke with the mayor only once from 2007-2011. He voted against the mayor only on the issue of creating a legislative inspector general to investigate city council members and their employees. In a February 2010 article in the *Chicago Tribune*, Solis said he supported the idea of having a separate inspector for the city council as opposed to expanding the powers of the current inspector general, because, "That would assuage aldermanic concern that the executive branch could exert influence over the council through the inspector general."² This was a particularly salient vote because Solis originally told the press that he supported enlarging the power of the city's own Inspector General.³

Seventeenth Ward Alderman LaTasha Thomas, of the Englewood and Auburn-Gresham neighborhoods, similarly disagreed only once with Mayor Daley. She voted against restricting street performers in Grant Park.

Fredrenna Lyle, Alderman of the 6th Ward, also diverged only once. Her only “no” vote came regarding the acquisition of RCN Cable by Yankee Cable. Two issues were involved in the transfer of the cable franchise. One was whether or not Yankee Cable would continue to support the CAN-TV public channels. The other was whether the franchise could serve minority communities well since it lacks African American, Latino or Asian-American representation on its board of directors. On the same day that she voted on this issue, she was absent from a vote that approved the building of the city’s third Wal-Mart in her own Chatham neighborhood. She said had she been there, she would have voted “no”.⁴

Alderman Cochran of the 20th Ward voted with the mayor 90% of the time. This may be part of the reason he was forced into a runoff election. The six votes that Cochran cast in opposition to the mayor included some of the more contentious issues such as the Yankee Cable acquisition, the ban on street performers in the Grant Park area, and preventing aldermen from hiring their own family members. Cochran, who is just finishing his first term, faces a runoff with Grammy-award winning rapper, Che “Rhymefest” Smith. Cochran was appointed by Mayor Daley to replace Arenda Troutman in 2006 when she was forced to vacate her seat after being charged and convicted of bribery. Much of the criticism in the ward surrounding Cochran has been that he has not done enough to address the crime and poverty that plagues his ward, which includes parts of Englewood, Washington Park, and Back of the Yards.

Of those incumbents running for reelection, Aldermen Foulkes (15th) and Dixon (24th) voted less often with the mayor -- 86% and 83% respectively. Alderman Foulkes’ seven

opposition votes in the council primarily occurred on six issues at the November 2010 council meeting. This meeting focused on the city budget and tax increases. She also voted “no” on the Yankee Cable acquisition. Still, she was vulnerable because he was perceived to have paid little attention to services in her ward, which includes south side neighborhoods hit hard during the recession.⁵

Alderman Dixon voted in the opposition more than any other incumbent runoff candidate, a total of nine times. These votes included “no” to the FY 2008 budget and tax increase, moving the Children’s Museum to Grant Park, increasing the real estate transfer tax to fund the CTA, Yankee Cable, and requiring permits for commercial refuse containers. This is an unusual election because her opponent is former Alderman Michael Chandler whom she beat to win her election in 2007. Chandler is not exactly a reformer either. When he was an alderman, Chandler voted with the mayor 91% of the time from 2003-2007. His opposition votes included his 2006 support of the “big box” ordinance and subsequent overriding the mayoral veto. He also voted against privatizing Loop parking garages. So both Dixon and Chandler have voted with and against Mayor Daley in the city council. The principal issue in the February election was who can provide the best services for the ward and that is likely to be the deciding factor in the April runoff as well.

Perhaps the most curious of all the incumbent aldermen in the runoff election is West Rogers Park’s Alderman Bernie Stone. Alderman Stone has served the 50th ward for 40 years, but will now face a runoff with Debra Silverstein. In February, Stone received 37.5% of the vote and Silverstein, 33.7%. Over the years, Stone was one of the mayor’s strongest supporters, yet his voting record this time indicates only 86% support. Daley supported Alderman Stone in his runoff election in 2007 but then supported State Senator Ira Silverstein (husband of Debra

Silverstein) for the ward committeeman position in 2008. According to the *Sun-Times*, Daley insisted "...it was part of a deal designed to help Stone in the aldermanic race." Stone called the mayor's action a "betrayal."⁶ As a result of his falling out with the mayor, Stone voted "no" seven times, including on the FY2008 budget and its ensuing property tax increase, on increasing the real estate transfer tax to fund the CTA, on a ban preventing aldermen from hiring their own family members, and on a separate inspector general to investigate city council members. He did, however, vote with the mayor on the highly contentious issues of privatizing the parking meters, building the second and third Wal-Marts, and moving the Children's Museum to Grant Park.

One of the longest serving aldermen, Stone began his career under Richard J. Daley in 1973. He now sees an important role for himself in the new council. As he told CBS news, "the new mayor would need veteran aldermen such as himself to 'lean on and depend on for guidance'."⁷ This view is obviously not shared by his challenger, Debra Silverstein, who argued that the ward was ready for change and many of his opponents have implied that Stone might be too old for the job. Silverstein told Fox Chicago News that constituents of the ward felt neglected, and that Devon Avenue is a "diamond in the rough" where "Indians, Pakistanis, Jews and Muslims all work together," but that it needs to be "promoted as an international marketplace."⁸ Mayor-elect Rahm Emanuel has endorsed Silverstein, who is favored to win the runoff election.

The runoff races have the potential to change the face of the city council. Long term, politically entrenched aldermen potentially will be replaced by opponents who increasingly tout independence -- not just to their temporary advantage but as an ideal qualification of office

seekers. The election of a new mayor – despite his ties to Daley – will not automatically be able to rely on the same level of support as his predecessor. The outcome of the runoff elections may have considerable effect on how many Mayor-elect Emanuel supporters populate the council especially if more incumbents despite Emanuel’s support are defeated than expected.

The 2007 Election

The year 2007 saw the election of 11 new aldermen in the Chicago City Council with the help of unions and community organizations. The new council was sworn in on May 21, 2007 and an opposition bloc to Mayor Richard M. Daley immediately formed. They met before city council meetings to coordinate strategy and to support each other’s efforts. As a result, in 2007-08 more aldermen voted more consistently against the mayor than in previous councils. With the onset of the “great recession” in the fall of 2008 however, the mayor and the independents closed ranks to minimize job losses while continuing basic municipal services. There were fewer divided roll call votes throughout 2009. In 2010, as 2011 neared, they split apart again as aldermen were harmed politically by their support of the privatization of the city’s parking meters.

Despite the council’s early independence, the city council from 2007 – 2011 was unable to defeat any of the mayor’s proposals. Nor did the independents force the mayor to use his mayoral veto as they did over the 2006 “Big Box” ordinance, which would have required large stores to pay living wages. They also have been unable to defy the mayor’s wishes as they did when they passed the foie gras ban in the previous council. Still, the independents interjected real democratic debate in what had been a largely rubber-stamp body.

The number of divided roll call votes grew to 20 in 2010, averaging 1.7 divided votes per month. The median agreement (the average percent aldermen who voted for the mayor’s

proposals) dropped to 76.5% in 2007, but returned to levels of 85% or greater every year after 2007. The previous 2003-2007 council's median approval of the mayor proposals was even higher at 92%.

Since 11 aldermen have retired or run for higher office, it is expected that as many as 15 new aldermen will be elected in the 2011 election. This will result in the largest turnover in the last 40 years. In most council years at least 18 of the 50 aldermen years would have been appointed by Mayor Daley to fill vacancies although they had to later run for reelection. Mayor-elect Rahm Emanuel will have appointed no aldermen when he begins his term of office. Because of this and the general desire of aldermen to have more power than they did under Mayor Daley, independence in council voting may well increase. But that will depend primarily on the outcome of the runoff elections, the degree to which Mayor Emanuel seeks to unseat powerful aldermen such as Alderman Burke from their committee chairmanships, and whether with budget cuts looming aldermen will be more willing to buck the new mayor.

Labor Unions and Community Organizations

The 2006 battle over the "Big Box" ordinance fomented the changes in the makeup of the council in 2007. On July 26, 2006, the Chicago City Council defied Mayor Daley by passing an ordinance requiring living wage compensation levels for all workers at all large retailers within the city, with a seemingly veto-proof majority of 35-14 since only 33 votes are needed to override a mayoral veto. However, after the mayor vetoed the ordinance, the council failed to override the veto when Aldermen George Cardenas (12th), Shirley Coleman (16th), and Danny Solis (25th) switched their votes to favor the Mayor's position. In response to the defeat of the "Big Box" ordinance, union leaders targeted vulnerable aldermen in the 2007 elections.

Declaring that they were seeking a council that was more independent of Mayor Daley, they primarily targeted six aldermen for defeat, including the three who had switched their votes on the issue. In addition, they targeted Burt Natarus (42nd), Bernard Stone (50th), and Dorothy Tillman (3rd). Tillman was hardly a cheerleader for the mayor, voting with him only 63% of the time on divided votes, but she had opposed the “Big Box” ordinance. Also targeted, but with less union effort, were Darcel Beavers (7th), Howard Brookins Jr. (21st), Emma Mitts (37th), Vi Daley (43rd), and the open seat vacated by Theodore Thomas (15th).⁹

The result of union efforts, although dramatic, was ultimately mixed. It was evident on the election night of February 27, 2007 that union muscle, in collaboration with community organizations in different wards, had claimed the seat of Darcel Beavers (7th), a Daley appointee to the council. She was defeated by Sandi Jackson, the wife of Congressman Jesse Jackson Jr. Also losing his seat was Burt Natarus (42nd), a long-time supporter of the mayor, to union-backed Brendan Reilly. Twelve other wards were forced into runoff elections on April 17, 2007. Arenda Troutman (20th), who had the third lowest level of agreement with Mayor Daley on divided votes, was defeated handily that evening by Willie Cochran, who was supported by mayoral allies.¹⁰ Troutman had been indicted on charges of corruption seven weeks before the election. It is likely her defeat was unrelated to the battle between unions and the Mayor.

When the returns from the runoff elections were tallied, seven incumbents had been ejected from office, and the open 15th Ward was claimed by union-supported Toni Foulkes.¹¹ Union firepower also helped Bob Fioretti (2nd), Pat Dowell (3rd), Joann Thompson (16th), and Scott Waguespack (32nd) replace Madeline Haithcock, Dorothy Tillman, Shirley Coleman, and Ted Matlak.¹² Union and community organization support also helped to reelect Joe Moore in

the 49th Ward. In the 24th Ward, Sharon Denise Dixon, backed by supporters of Jesse Jackson Jr., defeated incumbent Michael Chandler, despite Chandler's support from mayoral allies.¹³

Although Daley supporters and big businesses like Wal-Mart and Target provided hundreds of thousands of dollars to support mayor-friendly candidates, the unions spent well over \$2 million and handed more defeats to the Mayor's aldermen in the most fiercely contested races.¹⁴ In many of these wards community organizations joined the battle to defeat pro-Daley aldermen who had been unresponsive to their communities. Ultimately, the union's hand was weakened as the economy worsened and unemployment soared in the Chicago metropolitan area from 4.7% in November 2007 to over 10.5% in the summer of 2010.¹⁵ When presented with a second Wal-Mart in June on 2010, the Council unanimously approved after Wal-Mart agreed to construct the new sites utilizing union labor (local news reported that Wal-Mart also agreed to pay 50 cents an hour over minimum wage for starting workers, although the company issued memo does not state that explicitly).¹⁶ When the vote for a third Wal-Mart came one month later, there were four votes in opposition mostly due to the desire to see if Wal-Mart lived up to the promises it made when bargaining for the second.¹⁷

The City Budget Battles

City budgets have been a constant problem for aldermen. Six months after the new council was sworn into office, Mayor Daley on Wednesday, October 10, 2007 proposed massive across the board tax and fee increases in the 2008 budget. These included a \$108 million increase in property taxes, the largest property tax hike in Chicago history. Other increases were \$43.9 million in water fees, \$20.8 million in sewer fees, and \$13.1 million in liquor taxes. Forty-eight million dollars more was to be raised by doubling the monthly phone surcharge. There were even to be new taxes on bottled water and DVD rentals. The total budget would hit

Chicagoans with roughly \$293 million in increased and new taxes and fees, at a time when the Cook County Board and the State of Illinois had also decided to raise taxes and fees.¹⁸

Opponents quickly pointed out the cost of the many scandals in the mayor's administration and labeled the proposed increases a "corruption tax." At the time, Congressman Jesse Jackson Jr., husband of Alderman Sandi Jackson (7th) and a potential mayor candidate in the next election, "estimated that the [corruption] tax exceeded \$1.5 billion in recent years."¹⁹ Although political pressures eventually forced the mayor to pare down some of the proposed increases, opponents were not able to cut the budget enough to avoid all tax increases.²⁰

Even though many aldermen voiced concern about the tax increases, only the independents and a handful of mayoral loyalists voted against them. The 2008 budget passed on a 37-13 vote and was never in any real danger of failing. Those who refused to support the Mayor's 2008 budget were Manny Flores (1st), Bob Fioretti (2nd), Toni Preckwinkle (4th), Sandi Jackson (7th), Toni Foulkes (15th), Ricardo Munoz (22nd), Sharon Denise Dixon (24th), Rey Colon (35th), Brian Doherty (41st), Brendan Reilly (42nd), Eugene Schulter (47th), Joe Moore (49th), and Bernard Stone (50th). The fact that 13 aldermen opposed the budget ordinance was extraordinary considering that the previous council had voted unanimously for the 2007 budget.

Even though 13 aldermen opposed the overall budget, fewer opposed tax and fee increases other than the major property tax hike. Three separate votes were taken on the proposed new taxes as well as tax and fee increases, but on each of these votes 40 aldermen voted in favor of the Mayor's proposals. Only 10 aldermen dissented. In addition to enacting Chicago's record property tax increase, the council approved a new five-cent tax per bottle of water, a doubling in the monthly telephone surcharge from \$1.25 to \$2.50, a 64% increase on the liquor tax, a 33% increase for SUV vehicle stickers, and a 25% tax increase on DVD rentals.

Fees and taxes were also increased for water and sewer services, billboard usage, lease transactions, and natural gas usage by businesses and institutions.²¹ Fines on parking violations were increased across the board, and a new 25-cent per square foot fee was created for certain development projects. Aldermen Bob Fioretti (2nd), Toni Preckwinkle (4th), Sandi Jackson (7th), Toni Foulkes (15th), Howard Brookins Jr. (21st), Ricardo Munoz (22nd), Brian Doherty (41st), Brendan Reilly (42nd), and Joe Moore (49th) opposed all three votes against tax increases. In a stinging reference to the “corruption tax” criticism and, more specifically, the settlement fund for city violations of the Shakman decrees, Alderman Moore inquired, “How many bottles of water must be sold to pay for the \$12 million fund created to compensate victims of the city's rigged hiring system?”²²

Despite being politically very unpopular and despite the new opposition bloc in the council, a measure to increase property taxes by \$83.4 million was still passed by a narrow 29-21 vote. Aldermen supporting the tax increase rallied around a mantra that the massive tax increase was synonymous with “moving forward.”²³ Alderman Ricardo Munoz (22nd) voiced his frustration by asking, “They want us to find more money? For what? For a bloated administration that gets caught with its hand in the cookie jar?”²⁴

Alderman Joe Moore argued that these tax increases would weigh heavily on the poor and working class. He said, “Nothing has eroded public confidence in our local government more than the constant drumbeat of criminal indictments and convictions of people who have enriched themselves at public expense. And nothing has made the public more cynical than the endless string of broken promises to end business as usual in city government.”²⁵ Supporters of the mayor congratulated themselves with doing the “heavy lifting” required to pass the budget and the taxes, and the mayor happily proclaimed after the vote that “weightlifters win.”²⁶

The independent bloc tried to increase the division in the city council over a realty transfer tax to fund the CTA. Yet, on February 6, 2008, the council voted to increase the real estate transfer tax by 40% to subsidize the CTA, while providing some exemptions for senior citizen buyers. Also included in the measure, which passed 41-6, was free CTA ridership for active and disabled military personnel. Aldermen Bob Fioretti (2nd), Sandi Jackson (7th), Sharon Denise Dixon (24th), Rey Colon (35th), Brian Doherty (41st), and Bernard Stone (50th) voted against the new tax increase. Alderman Stone said that the senior exemption “isn’t worth a damn” because seniors were more likely to be selling than purchasing real estate. Despite winning another large tax increase easily, the mayor sharply reacted to the lack of unanimity and snapped, “If Alderman Fioretti believes they don’t need the CTA in his ward, then stand up and say ‘CTA, bypass my people.’ You’ll last about a half a day. They’ll have to send . . . police and [firemen] to protect you and your family.”²⁷

It did not take long for the 2008 budget to unravel as the recession deepened and the revenues to the city’s coffers slowed. Only three months after passing the 2008 budget the mayor ordered \$20 million in further budget cuts, a hiring freeze, less over-time pay for city workers, and more unpaid days off.²⁸ Civic Federation President Laurence Msall said it is wise for the mayor to rein in spending at a time when the national and local economy is “in a state of decline and economically sensitive revenues may be impacted by the recession.”²⁹

To plug a \$150 million hole in the 2009 budget, the city sold off its 36,000 parking meters for 75 years to a private concern for more than \$1 billion.³⁰ The sale of the parking meters passed on a 40 – 5 vote with five aldermen absent on December 4, 2008. When the budget gap grew again, the billion-dollar parking meter fund was left with only \$76 million after the 2011 budget passed on November 17, 2010 with seven votes in opposition. Voting for the

parking meter sale in 2008 was undoubtedly the most controversial vote of the entire four years. Only Alderman Preckwinkle (4th), Hairston (5th), Ocascio (26th), Waguespack (32nd), and Colon (35th) voted against the sale of the parking meters. All of the other aldermen would be forced to defend their vote or absence in the 2011 elections. But they also had to weigh whether the mayor would support a candidate against them if they didn't vote with him.

This is how Mayor Daley defended his actions to balance the 2011 budget without new taxes and the use of the parking meter funds to fill the budget gap: "You have to. That's why I did it. You need vision. If your companies had it, many of your employees would still be working."³¹ Those in opposition, like Alderman Joe Moore, pointed to the budget gap plugged by the parking meter revenue as an "irresponsible" stop-gap measure. The council later tacitly recanted their level of oversight of the parking meter deal by passing a new ordinance requiring 15 days of legislative review of asset sales of over \$100 million. Alderman Leslie Hairston (5th Ward) and Inspector General David Hoffman were the chief critics of the parking meter deal.³²

While the economy has been slow to rebound, it is worth noting that according to U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Chicago metro area in 2010 recovered 56,300 of the 267,900 jobs lost in 2008-09.³³ Yet the 2009 budget sacrificed 929 city workers and an additional 1,057 were dismissed from employment with CTA.³⁴ At the same time, Cook County government dismissed 1,700 in 2007 and a further reduction of 1,075 was proposed by new Board President Toni Preckwinkle for 2011. Greater city government layoffs were avoided by negotiated furloughs with the unions that represent 90% of the city's municipal employees over the summer of 2009 and by the budget balancing act of 2010.³⁵

Chicago Children's Museum

Perhaps no other vote defines the mayor's power than the June 11, 2008 divided roll call on the proposed relocation of the Chicago Children's Museum. Founded in 1981, the museum claimed to have outgrown its current location on Navy Pier and sought to move to Grant Park. Although the museum would be located mostly underground, the plan was opposed by the powerful civic group, Friends of the Park, and by the nearby neighbors.³⁶ The plan's critics argue that the Grant Park location violates the 172 year-old "forever open, clear and free" protection established in 1836 by the Illinois and Michigan Canal commissioners. Critics worried that this museum development could open the door to further building in the 20 square miles of park along Lake Michigan. The mayor's proposal to move the Children's Museum to Grant Park passed the council on a 33-16 vote and is still tied up in court and in the process of raising sufficient funds to build the new facility. Meanwhile, museum opponents hope that Mayor Emanuel will scrap the zoning decision and find a less contentious location. The Children's Museum vote underscores the power of the mayor over the council. Normally, "aldermanic privilege" prevails in zoning decisions. In this case, 42nd Ward Alderman Brendan Reilly sided with his residents and opposed taking land in this section of Grant Park for the Children's Museum, but the mayor marshalled the votes to overrule him.

Inspector General Authority

On May 12, 2010, a total of 17 aldermen voted "no" to the creation of an Inspector General to watch over them. The City Council IG proposal was a substitute for the mayor's proposal to extend the city's existing Inspector General the power to investigate aldermen. Alderman Joe Moore called the proposed City Council Inspector General a "toothless tiger." The new Council IG would report to the Board of Ethics which has never taken action against an

alderman despite the 31 criminal convictions of aldermen since the 1970s.³⁷ Details such as what the office would cost and how it would be funded were left to be worked out later.

In a related but more positive ethics vote on February 10, 2010, the council voted to ban aldermen from hiring their relatives using their aldermanic funds allocated for staff. The ordinance was sponsored by Alderman Tom Allen (38th Ward) and passed 33 - 5 with 10 aldermen not voting or abstaining. Although this has been a major source of aldermanic patronage in the past, this loophole has now been closed.

Sizing up the Council

Histograms of voting patterns in the city council show a new trend. There is no doubt that the previous city council in office from 2003-2007 was a compliant council even though in its final year it was beginning to show signs of some independence. The current 2007-2011 city council saw an increase in the number of aldermen willing to dissent from the mayor. At the same time the mayor's aldermanic support has grown. The average level of support for the mayor on divided roll call votes has risen from 83% to 88%.

While the city council from 2007 – 2011 has shown independence in some of the debate, a large majority of aldermen continue to demonstrate rock solid loyalty to the mayor. Such dissent in the council that has manifested has not slowed the mayor's agenda. He has lost no votes and has not had to use his veto power. An overwhelming majority of 39 aldermen have sided with the mayor on 80% or more of the divided roll call votes. The bloc loyal to Mayor Daley has easily overcome any dissenting votes.

In the previous council from 2003 – 2006, only seven aldermen voted with the mayor over 90% of the time. In this term, there were 20. The Foie Gras ban and the "Big Box" ordinance in the previous 2003-2007 city council garnered a majority vote in defiance of the Mayor's wishes. But in the 2007-2011 council not even an issue as contentious and unpopular as the property tax increase or parking meter privatization could muster enough votes to defeat the mayor's loyal supporters.

Despite the best efforts of the fledgling independent bloc, the current council remains a rubber stamp. The 2003-2007 city council voted with the mayor on average 83% and the current 2007-2011 city council has voted with the mayor 88% of the time. Nonetheless, the council remained polarized, split between now larger pro-mayor and smaller anti-mayor voting blocs. In the previous city council, powerful divisive issues such as the "big box ordinance" received increased public scrutiny because of on-going corruption scandals such as the "Hired Truck" contract schemes.

Other than the property tax and budget votes, the city council of 2007-2011 saw less contentious issues. The Children's Museum vote in June 2008 raised the issue of "Aldermanic Privilege," which is the right of an alderman to control the future developments in his or her

ward. The mayor was able to prevail on this issue with promises of future city projects in aldermen's wards and fear he might oppose their reelection.

There have been countervailing trends in the city council. Some of the new aldermen who defeated pro-Daley incumbents in 2007, are now voting like Daley loyalists. Third Ward Alderman Pat Dowell and 20th Ward Alderman Willie Cochran have voted 76% and 90% of the time, respectively, with Daley including "yes" votes on the city budget and higher taxes. Some previous Daley opponents such as 46th Ward Alderman Helen Shiller voted with Daley 89% of the time. On the other hand, former Daley loyalist, 50th Ward Alderman Bernie Stone, dropped to only 81% support after a political falling out and has been in the opposition on many issues. A number of Daley loyalists like 47th Ward Alderman Eugene Schulner, 38th Ward Tom Allen, and 36th Ward Alderman Bill Banks also split with the mayor when it came to increasing the property tax.

Conclusion

The success of union and community backed candidates in the 2007 elections bolstered the hopes for a more "progressive" council. However, despite the increase in the number of independent voices in the council, the mayor was undefeated even when his policies like tax increases or the parking meter privatization were not popular with most Chicagoans.

An independent bloc was created that met before council meetings to plan strategy and to get information from outside experts. The unions were willing to fund experts to advise the independent aldermen before the budget hearings in 2007. That advice sharpened questions and provided alternatives to the mayor's budgets.

Supporters of Mayor Daley have resisted change to the status quo in the city council. Even some of those aldermen who openly defied Mayor Daley in the previous city councils on issues like the “Big Box” ordinance and racial issues such as city council redistricting have not joined the opposition bloc in this council. Further, some of the aldermen that the labor unions and community organizations helped to elect have strongly pro-Daley voting records.

Over the last four years, the core of the opposition bloc has been only seven aldermen. The divisions of the city council may have led to more debate, but it will take more courage than most of the aldermen have shown to break the rubber stamp mold.

Will the first post-Daley council revert to “Council Wars” or will it continue its “Rubber Stamp” pattern of the Daley years? The runoff elections will decide whether the council will become a genuine legislative body in which aldermen better represent their different constituencies.

Table 3: Description of Divided Roll Call Votes

Issue #	Issue Synopsis	Date	Document No.	Vote
1	Expression Of Support For Passage Of Illinois Senate Bill 1751 Concerning Uninsured And Unlicensed Immigrants	6/13/2007	R2007-1058	49-1
2	Further Regulation Of Public Art Program	6/13/2007	O2007-3106	38-11
3	Authorization For Corporation Counsel To Enter Into And Execute Settlement Agreement Regarding Case Of Stacy Walker-Talbert V. Duane Blackman, Aaron Long And The City Of Chicago	7/19/2007	OR2007-1009	45-1
4	Establishing Office Of Compliance	9/5/2007	SO2007-3954	43-6
5	Amendment Of Various Titles Of Municipal Code Of Chicago Concerning City Organization And Management	11/13/2007	SO2007-5794	43-7
6	2008 Annual Appropriation Ordinance	11/13/2007	O2007-5503	37-13
7	Increasing Filing Fee For Real Property Transfer Declaration	11/13/2007	SO2007-5799	40-10
8	Establishment Of Application Fee For Issuance Of Certificates Of Payments To Condominiums For Water And Sewer Assessments	11/13/2007	SO2007-5800	40-10
9	Revenue Related Matters	11/13/2007	SO2007-5802	40-10
10	Tax Levy On All Taxable Property Within City Of Chicago For Year 2008	11/13/2007	SO2007-5801	29-21
11	Appointment Of Jody P. Weis As Superintendent Of Department Of Police	1/9/2008	A2008-2	44-1
12	Imposition Of Supplemental Real Estate Transfer Tax For Benefit Of And Authorization For Execution Of Intergovernmental Agreement With Chicago Transit Authority	2/26/2008	SO2008-537	41-6
13	Establishing Certain Requirements For Use Of Chicago Real Property Transfer Tax Funds By Chicago-Area Public Transit Systems	2/26/2008	O2008-538	41-6
14	Allow sale of foie gras by food establishments	5/14/2008	O2008-2041	37-6
15	Rezoning the area shown on map numbers 1-E and 2-E (Planned Development Number 677, as amended) concerning the new Chicago Children's Museum.	6/11/2008	SO2008-2623	33-16
16	Further Restrict Issuance of Massage Establishment Licenses.	7/30/2008	SO2008-4315	45-1

17	Qualified Domestic Partners Eligibility for City Benefits.	7/30/2008	SO2008-4302	44-2
18	Amendment of Various Titles of Municipal Code of Chicago Concerning City Organization and Management.	11/19/2008	O2008-6777	49-1
19	2009 Annual Appropriation Ordinance	11/19/2008	O2008-6778	49-1
20	Submission of Final Statement of Objectives and Projected Use of Funds or Community Development Block Grant Year XXXV, as Amended	11/19/2008	O2008-6774	49-1
21	Various Revenue-Related Matters	11/19/2008	O2008-6776	47-3
22	Authorization for Tax Levy on All Taxable Property within City of Chicago for Year 2009	11/19/2008	O2008-6775	49-1
23	Concession and Lease Agreement, Associated Appropriation, Authorization and Code Revision in Connection with Chicago Metered Parking System.	12/4/2008	O2008-7304	40-5
24	Order authorizing the execution of a settlement agreement in the case of Laura Salazar, Independent Administrator of the Estate of Juan Salazar, deceased v. City of Chicago and Officer Rafael Balbontin.	1/13/2009	O2009-1	35-4
25	Funding for the Chicago Access Corporation.	3/18/2009	SO2009-1115	38-11
26	Execution of Intergovernmental Agreement with Illinois Environmental Protection Agency Regarding Procedures for Refuse of Soil and Rubble Excavated Within and for Use by City of Chicago.	5/13/2009	SO 2009-2414	47-1
27	Commercial Refuse Container Permits and Regulations	5/13/2009	O2009-2415	36-10
28	Licensing Chicago Street Performers.	6/3/2009	SO2009-3410	39-9
29	Amendment of Regulations Governing Administration of Classification Plan and Employee Benefits for Classified Positions by Implementation of Mandatory Unpaid Furlough Days and Holidays in year 2009 for Specified Personnel.	6/30/2009	R2009-732	42-6
30	Reaffirmation of Support for Dream Act and Call on United States Department of Homeland Security to Halt Removal of Rigoberto Padilla and Other Immigrant Students While Act Is Under Consideration.	11/18/2009	R2009-1210	49-1
31	2010 Annual Appropriations ordinance, as amended	12/2/2009	O2009-6224	38-12
32	Authorization for Year 2010 Tax Levy on all taxable property within City of Chicago	12/2/2009	O2009-6223	42-8
33	Property tax relief program for qualified homeowners.	12/2/2009	O2009-6230	49-1
34	Prohibiting the Hiring of Aldermanic Family Members.	2/10/2010	SO210-163	33-5

35	Execution of Intergovernmental Agreements with Chicago Board of Education for School Improvements.	5/12/2010	PO2010-1842	36-10
36	Issuance of General Obligation Refunding Bonds, Series 2007A-K for School Purposes.	5/12/2010	SO2010-1851	36-10
37	Execution of Settlement Agreement Re: <u>Thomas Dunn, Denny Robinson, and Veronica Imperial, on Behalf of Themselves and Similarly Situated, and Leonard Kimball, Individually, v. City of Chicago.</u>	5/12/2010	Or2010-370	46-1
38	Amendment of Municipal Code by Creation of New Chapter 2-55 and Authorizing Other Municipal Code Amendments regarding the Office of Inspector General	5/12/2010	SO2010-1850	28-17
39	Resolution urging the Chicago Council's Joint Committee on Finance and Committee on Human Relations to conduct hearings denouncing Arizona Law SB 1070.	6/9/2010	SR2010-639	45-3
40	Amended Resolution Urging the City of Chicago, All City Departments, and City's Sister Agencies to Prospectively Boycott Goods and Services Manufactured, Produced, and Provided by Arizona Based Companies In Protest of Arizona Law SB1070.	6/9/2010	R2010-640	45-3
41	An Ord. Regarding New Standards and Redistricting the Location of Massage Parlors.	6/9/2010	SO2010-2640	30-8
42	An Ordinance Authorizing the Establishment of a Vacant Property Purchase Program to be known as the Vacant REO Purchase Program.	6/30/2010	SO2010-3049	32-14
43	Amendment Regarding Regulations Governing Firearms.	7/2/2010	O2010-3644	45-0
44	A Substitute Ordinance Authorizing the Execution of an Amendment to the Redevelopment Agreement with W2005 CMK Realty, LLC. (3 rd Walmart Development)	7/28/2010	SO2010-3655	45-4
45	A Resolution Urging the City to Consent to and Approve the Transfer of RCN Chicago to Yankee Cable Acquisition, LLC.	7/28/2010	SO2010-753	29-19
46	Settlement Agreement Regarding Case of Gary Kamen v. City of Chicago.	9/8/2010	Karmen v. City of Chicago	48-1
47	Amendments Regarding Chronic Illegal Activity Premises.	10/6/2010	O2010-4213	46-1
48	Substitute Resolution calling for the Reversal on the Federal Policy that Prohibits Gay and Bi-Sexual Men from Donating Blood and Blood Products.	11/3/2010	O2010-4213	46-1

49	Amendment of Various Titles of Municipal Code Concerning City Organization and Management.	11/17/2010	O2010-6148	43-7
50	2011 Annual Appropriation Ordinance, as Amended	11/17/2010	O2010-6918	43-7
51	Submission of Final Statement of Objectives and Projected Use of Funds for Community Development Block Grant Year XXXVII, as Amended.	11/17/2010	O2010-6919	48-2
52	Various Revenue-Related Matters.	11/17/2010	O2010-6113	46-4
53	Year 2011 Tax Levy On All Taxable Property Within City of Chicago.	11/17/2010	O2010-5922	46-4
54	Vote on sustaining the ruling of the Chair to Table a motion to call up for consideration an ordinance previously deferred regarding Amendment of Chapter 2-45 of Municipal Code by adding new Section 115 to establish Affordable Housing Goals.	1/13/2011	O2010-4213	40-1

Table 5: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call votes

Issue #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Date of Vote	06/13/07	06/13/07	07/19/07	09/05/07	11/13/07	11/13/07	11/13/07	11/13/07	11/13/07
Ordinance #	R2007-1058	O2007-3106	OR2007-1009	SO2007-3954	SO2007-5794	O2007-5503	SO2007-5799	SO2007-5800	SO2007-5802
Ward/Alderman									
1 Flores/Moreno	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
2 Fioretti	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
3 Dowell	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4 Preckwinkle/Newsome	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 Hairston	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
6 Lyle	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7 Jackson	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
8 Harris	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9 Beale	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10 Pope	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11 Balcer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12 Cardenas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13 Olivo	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14 Burke	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15 Foulkes	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
16 Thompson	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
17 L. Thomas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18 Lane	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19 Rugai	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20 Cochran	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21 Brookins	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
22 Munoz	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
23 Zalewski	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24 Dixon	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
25 Solis	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26 Ocasio/Maldonado	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
27 Burnett	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28 Ed Smith	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29 Carothers/Graham	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30 Reboyras	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31 Suarez	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
32 Waguespack	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33 Mell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34 Austin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35 Colon	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
36 Banks/Rice	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
37 Mitts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38 Allen/Cullerton	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39 Laurino	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
40 O'Conner	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41 Doherty	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
42 Reilly	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
43 Daley	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44 Tunney	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45 Levar	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
46 Shiller	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47 Schulter	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
48 M Smith	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1
49 Moore	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
50 Stone	1	1	2	1	1	0	1	1	1

Table 5: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call votes (continued)

Issue #	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Date of Vote	11/13/07	01/09/08	02/26/08	02/26/08	05/14/08	06/11/08	07/30/08	07/30/08	11/19/08
Ordinance #	SO2007-5801	A2008-2	SO2008-537	O2008-538	O2008-2041	SO2008-2623	SO2008-4315	SO2008-4302	O2008-677
Ward/Alderman									
1 Flores/Moreno	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
2 Fioretti	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
3 Dowell	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
4 Preckwinkle/Newsome	0	1	1	1	0	0	3	3	1
5 Hairston	1	1	2	2	2	0	1	1	1
6 Lyle	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7 Jackson	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	1	1
8 Harris	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9 Beale	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10 Pope	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11 Balcer	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
12 Cardenas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13 Olivo	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14 Burke	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15 Foulkes	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16 Thompson	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17 L. Thomas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18 Lane	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19 Rugai	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20 Cochran	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21 Brookins	0	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	1
22 Munoz	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
23 Zalewski	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	1
24 Dixon	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
25 Solis	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26 Ocasio/Maldonado	1	2	3	3	2	1	1	1	0
27 Burnett	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
28 Ed Smith	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
29 Carothers/Graham	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30 Reboyras	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31 Suarez	0	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	1
32 Waguespack	0	1	1	1	0	0	3	3	1
33 Mell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34 Austin	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
35 Colon	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
36 Banks/Rice	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37 Mitts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
38 Allen/Cullerton	0	1	1	1	2	0	1	1	1
39 Laurino	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40 O'Conner	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41 Doherty	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
42 Reilly	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
43 Daley	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
44 Tunney	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
45 Levar	0	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
46 Shiller	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47 Schulter	0	1	1	1	2	0	1	1	1
48 M Smith	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
49 Moore	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
50 Stone	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1

Table 5: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call votes (continued)

Issue #	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
Date of Vote	11/19/08	11/19/08	11/19/08	11/19/08	12/04/08	01/13/09	03/18/09	05/13/09	05/13/09
Ordinance #	O2008-6778	O2008-6774	O2008-6776	O2008-6775	O2008-7304	OR2009-1	SO2009-1115	SO2009-2414	O2009-2415
Ward/Alderman									
1 Flores/Moreno	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2 Fioretti	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
3 Dowell	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
4 Preckwinkle/Newsome	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
5 Hairston	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
6 Lyle	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7 Jackson	1	1	1	1	3	3	0	1	0
8 Harris	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9 Beale	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
10 Pope	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11 Balcer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12 Cardenas	1	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	0
13 Olivo	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
14 Burke	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15 Foulkes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
16 Thompson	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
17 L. Thomas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18 Lane	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19 Rugai	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20 Cochran	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	1	1
21 Brookins	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	1	1
22 Munoz	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
23 Zalewski	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24 Dixon	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
25 Solis	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26 Ocasio/Maldonado	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
27 Burnett	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28 Ed Smith	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29 Carothers/Graham	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
30 Reboyras	1	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	1
31 Suarez	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	1
32 Waguespack	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
33 Mell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
34 Austin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35 Colon	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
36 Banks/Rice	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
37 Mitts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38 Allen/Cullerton	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	3	3
39 Laurino	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40 O'Conner	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
41 Doherty	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	2
42 Reilly	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	0
43 Daley	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44 Tunney	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45 Levar	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
46 Shiller	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1
47 Schuller	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
48 M Smith	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
49 Moore	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
50 Stone	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1

Table 5: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call votes (continued)

Issue #	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
Date of Vote	06/03/09	06/30/09	11/18/09	12/02/09	12/02/09	12/02/09	02/10/10	05/12/10	05/12/10
Ordinance #	SO2009-3410	R2009-732	R2009-1210	O2009-6224	O2009-6223	O2009-6230	SO210-163	PO2010-1842	SO2010-1851
Ward/Alderman									
1 Flores/Moreno	1	1	1	2	1	1	3	1	1
2 Fioretti	0	0	1	2	2	1	2	0	0
3 Dowell	0	0	1	2	2	1	2	0	0
4 Preckwinkle/Newsome	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
5 Hairston	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6 Lyle	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
7 Jackson	0	0	1	2	2	1	2	3	3
8 Harris	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9 Beale	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
10 Pope	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11 Balcer	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
12 Cardenas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13 Olivo	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14 Burke	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4
15 Foulkes	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
16 Thompson	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	0
17 L. Thomas	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
18 Lane	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
19 Rugai	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20 Cochran	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
21 Brookins	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22 Munoz	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	0
23 Zalewski	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24 Dixon	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1
25 Solis	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26 Ocasio/Maldonado			1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27 Burnett	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28 Ed Smith	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29 Carothers/Graham	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1
30 Reboyras	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31 Suarez	1		1	1	1	1	0	1	1
32 Waguespack	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	0	0
33 Mell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34 Austin	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3
35 Colon	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36 Banks/Rice	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37 Mitts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38 Allen/Cullerton	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
39 Laurino	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40 O'Conner	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41 Doherty	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
42 Reilly	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	0	0
43 Daley	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	0
44 Tunney	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	0	0
45 Levar	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1
46 Shiller	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47 Schuller	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
48 M Smith	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49 Moore	1	0	1	2	2	1	1	0	0
50 Stone	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1

Table 5: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call votes (continued)

Issue #	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45
Date of Vote	05/12/10	05/12/10	06/09/10	06/09/10	06/09/10	06/30/10	07/02/10	07/28/10	07/28/10
Ordinance #	Or2010-370	SO2010-1850	SR2010-639	R2010-640	SO2010-2640	SO2010-3049	O2010-3644	SO2010-3655	SO2010-753
Ward/Alderman									
1 Flores/Moreno	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2 Fioretti	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
3 Dowell	1	0	1	1	2	0	1	1	0
4 Preckwinkle/Newsome	3	3	1	1	2	0	1	0	0
5 Hairston	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
6 Lyle	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	0
7 Jackson	3	3	2	2	2	0	1	1	0
8 Harris	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
9 Beale	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
10 Pope	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
11 Balcer	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
12 Cardenas	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
13 Olivo	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
14 Burke	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15 Foulkes	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	0
16 Thompson	1	1	1	1	2	0	1	1	0
17 L. Thomas	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2
18 Lane	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
19 Rugai	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
20 Cochran	1	1	1	1	2	0	1	1	0
21 Brookins	1	1	1	1	2	0	1	1	0
22 Munoz	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
23 Zalewski	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
24 Dixon	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
25 Solis	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26 Ocasio/Maldonado	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27 Burnett	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
28 Ed Smith	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
29 Carothers/Graham	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
30 Reboyras	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31 Suarez	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32 Waguespack	1	0	1	1	0	1	3	1	0
33 Mell	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1
34 Austin	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35 Colon	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36 Banks/Rice	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37 Mitts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38 Allen/Cullerton	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
39 Laurino	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1
40 O'Conner	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
41 Doherty	1	1	0	0	0	1	3	1	1
42 Reilly	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
43 Daley	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
44 Tunney	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
45 Levar	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
46 Shiller	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	1	0
47 Schulter	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
48 M Smith	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
49 Moore	1	0	3	3	3	0	1	0	0
50 Stone	1	0	1	1	1	1	3	1	1

Table 5: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call votes (continued)

Issue #	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54
Date of Vote	09/08/10	10/06/10	11/03/10	11/17/10	11/17/10	11/17/10	11/17/10	11/17/10	01/13/11
Ordinance #	Kamen v Chi.	O2010-4213	O2010-4213	O2010-6148	O2010-6918	O2010-6919	O2010-6113	O2010-5922	O2010-4213
Ward/Alderman									
1 Flores/Moreno	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2 Fioretti	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
3 Dowell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4 Preckwinkle/Newsome	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5 Hairston	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
6 Lyle	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
7 Jackson	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
8 Harris	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9 Beale	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
10 Pope	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11 Balcer	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
12 Cardenas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13 Olivo	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14 Burke	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15 Foulkes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
16 Thompson	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
17 L. Thomas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18 Lane	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
19 Rugai	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
20 Cochran	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21 Brookins	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
22 Munoz	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	2
23 Zalewski	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24 Dixon	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25 Solis	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26 Ocasio/Maldonado	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27 Burnett	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
28 Ed Smith	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29 Carothers/Graham	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30 Reboyras	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
31 Suarez	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32 Waguespack	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
33 Mell	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34 Austin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35 Colon	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36 Banks/Rice	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
37 Mitts	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38 Allen/Cullerton	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39 Laurino	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40 O'Conner	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41 Doherty	1	1	3	0	1	1	1	1	1
42 Reilly	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1
43 Daley	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44 Tunney	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45 Levar	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
46 Shiller	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
47 Schulter	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48 M Smith	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49 Moore	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
50 Stone	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

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