

Chicago City Council's Newly Found Independence

**Chicago City Council Report
May 7, 2003 – December 7, 2005**

Authored By:

Dick Simpson

Elias Cepeda

Socrates Harisiadis

Sharmeen Hussain

Sumaira Hussain

Kevin Navratil

James Renzetti

Tom Sdralis

**University of Illinois at Chicago
Department of Political Science and the Great Cities Institute
January 25, 2006**

The current Richard M. Daley City Council is more of a complete rubber stamp than the famous council under his father, Mayor Richard J. Daley who ruled from 1955-1976. Yet, there is a newly found independence in the council during the last few months. Due to the continuing patronage and corruption scandals at city hall, Mayor Daley's political strength has weakened. As a result, some aldermen are more willing to challenge the administration and bring new ideas to the council. The *New York Times* recently proclaimed that the “corruption scandal [is] loosening Mayor Daley’s grip on Chicago” as “corruption shadows his every step.”¹ This city council report confirms that conclusion.

In the first eighteen months after this council was sworn in on May 7, 2003, there was less controversy than in the Richard J. Daley years. Only nine divided roll call votes occurred. Divided roll call votes are those in which at least one alderman votes against the majority. Although nine divided roll call votes occurred in this period, opposition aldermen were not as unified as they were under the first Mayor Daley. Therefore, opponents to the mayor failed to present a consistent alternative program.

However, during the last year, from November 26, 2004 to December 15, 2005, as city hall scandals increased and Mayor Richard M. Daley weakened politically, this formerly compliant council began to find some sparks of independence. During the last year, there were 20 divided roll call votes in which at least a single alderman was willing to oppose proposals by the city administration. The mayor even lost two council votes, something that had occurred neither under the first Mayor Daley nor under the current Mayor Richard M. Daley until now.

Today’s city council is a relatively young legislative body with fewer long-time, elder “political hacks”. It has more women and many more minority members than earlier city councils. Therefore, we would expect it to be more liberal and more willing to challenge the mayor. Instead it remains primarily a rubber stamp council despite new sparks of independence.

Aldermen vote unanimously with the city administration on more than a thousand routine pieces of legislation each year. On the 29 more controversial divided roll call votes from 2003-2005, the aldermen, on average voted with the mayor more than 84%

of the time. 36 of the aldermen voted with the mayor on all but a handful of the 29 more controversial votes.

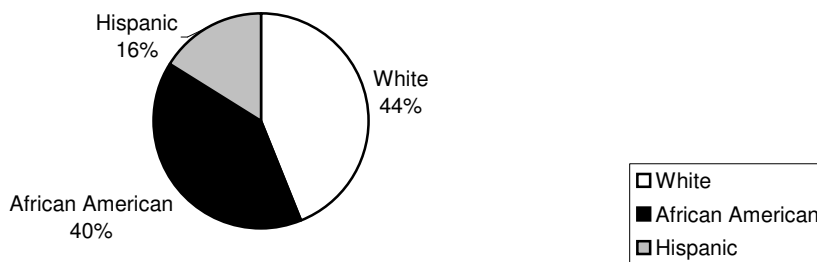
While the Chicago Democratic Machine may not be “dead, dead, dead” as Mayor Harold Washington declared, its patronage precinct captain army is much smaller since the adoption of the second Shakman Decree in 1983.² Richard M. Daley’s patronage army may be as few as 5,000 foot soldiers in comparison to his father, Mayor Richard J. Daley, who commanded somewhere between 20,000 – 35,000 very loyal patronage workers.³ Current federal indictments and investigations, along with the appointment of a federal hiring monitor, are supposed to eliminate the patronage system of hiring at city hall altogether. So aldermanic opponents to the mayor and his administration should have been able to be elected even if the mayor opposed them in 2003, and should be even more able to do so in 2007. Despite that, the current aldermen remain overwhelming pro-administration.

More aldermanic elections were contested in 2003 than at the height of the Richard J. Daley Machine. But the current city council in the beginning months of its term was far less willing than earlier councils to oppose the mayor. They are only now beginning to find some independence in the ordinances they introduce and in their voting behavior.

Composition of the 2003-2007 Chicago City Council

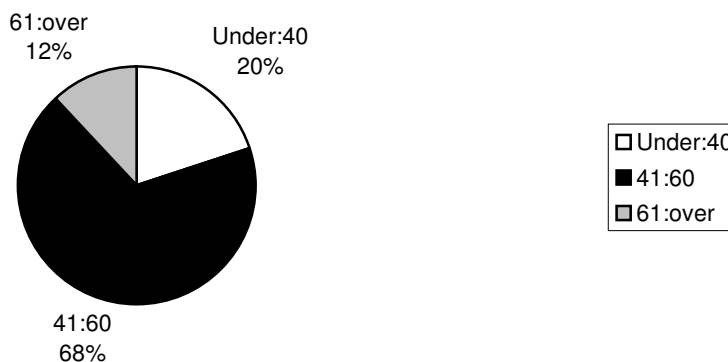
The 50 aldermen of the current Chicago City Council represent a variety of different racial backgrounds. Eight are Hispanics, 22 are Caucasians, and 20 are African Americans.

Figure 1
Race of Chicago City Council Members, 2004



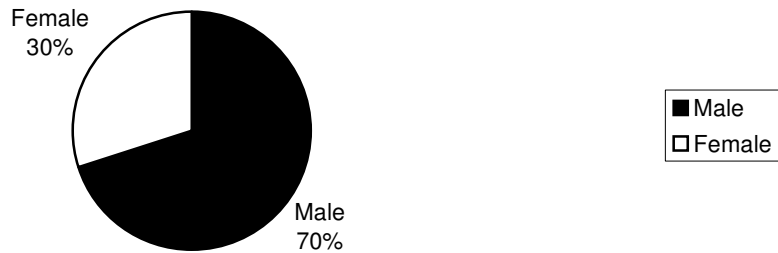
This racially diverse city council is also a relatively young legislative body: 20% of the “young whippersnappers” are less than 40 years old. Aldermen 41-60 years of age, represent the vast majority (68%) of the council while “senior statesmen,” who are 60 or older, are a mere 12% of the city council. But these elder aldermen include some of the most powerful like Finance Chairman, 61 year-old Alderman Edward Burke (14th Ward), and the governor’s father in-law, 67 year-old Alderman Richard Mell (33rd Ward). By comparison, the 1974 city council under Richard J. Daley had a few more aldermen under 40 years of age (32%). Those from 41-60 were fewer (46%) but 20% were over 60 of age. For the next two decades many of these aldermen were frequently reelected and the council aged considerably.

Figure 2
Age of Chicago City Council Members, 2004



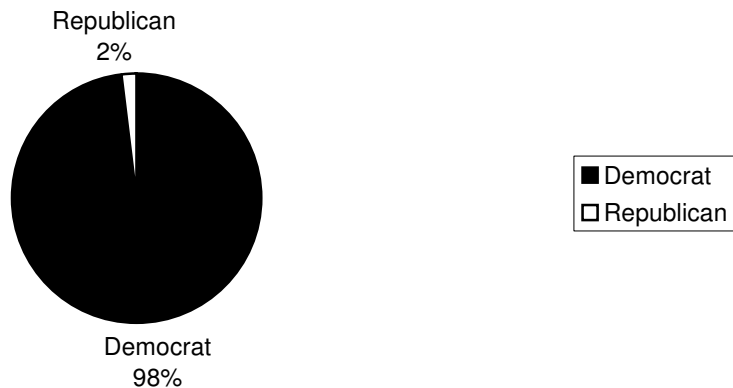
The City Council is still a male dominated legislative body although the gender split has greatly improved since 1971 when only 2 women and 48 men served. Today, there are 15 women and 35 male aldermen.

Figure 3
Gender of Chicago City Council Members, 2004



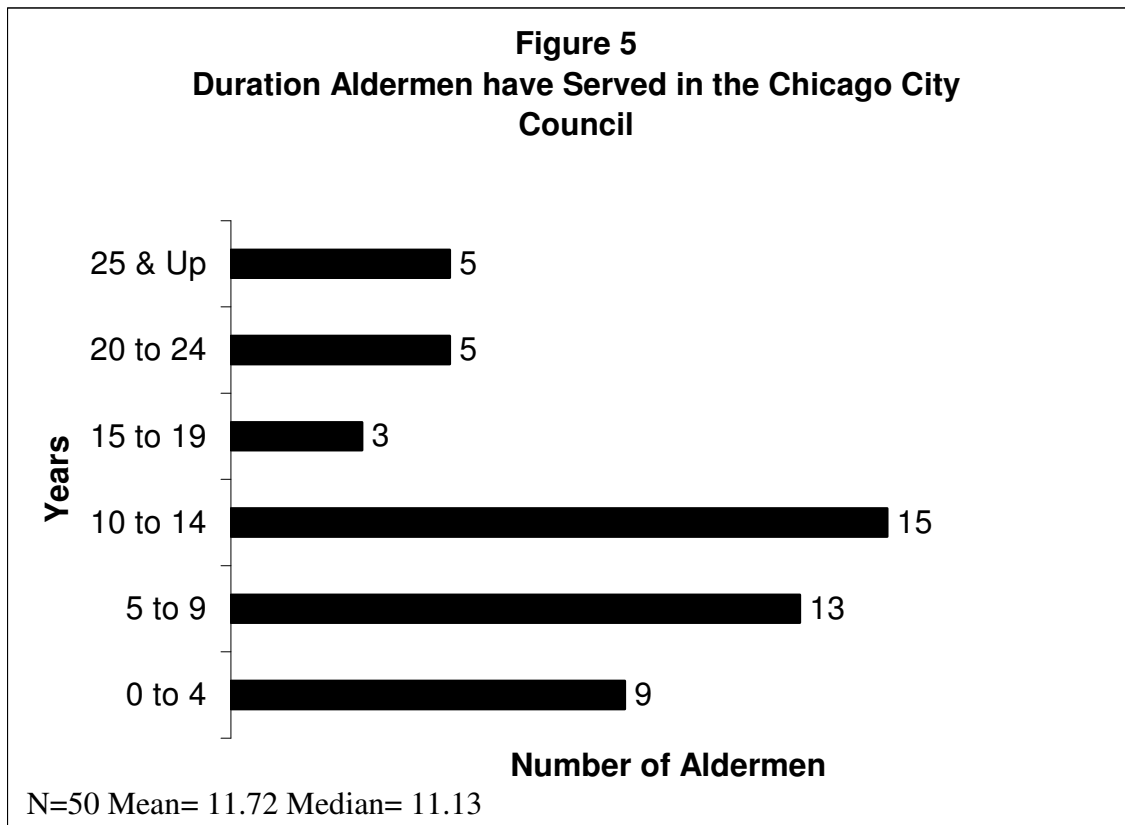
Although the aldermen’s racial backgrounds vary, their party affiliation does not. The Chicago City Council is completely dominated by a single party. Forty-nine out of the 50 aldermen are Democrats. Brian Doherty (41st Ward) is the lone Republican.

Figure 4
Party Affiliation of Chicago City Council Members, 2004



The strongest characteristic of today’s city council is that it has considerable political seniority and safe alderman seats that go unchallenged or have no credible opposition. Only five of the 50 aldermen are serving their first term and have been in the council for only three and a half years. Thirteen aldermen have been in the council for 5-7 years. Seventeen aldermen have served for 8-13 years while five aldermen have been in the council more or less permanently, from 14 to more than 25 years. Aldermen

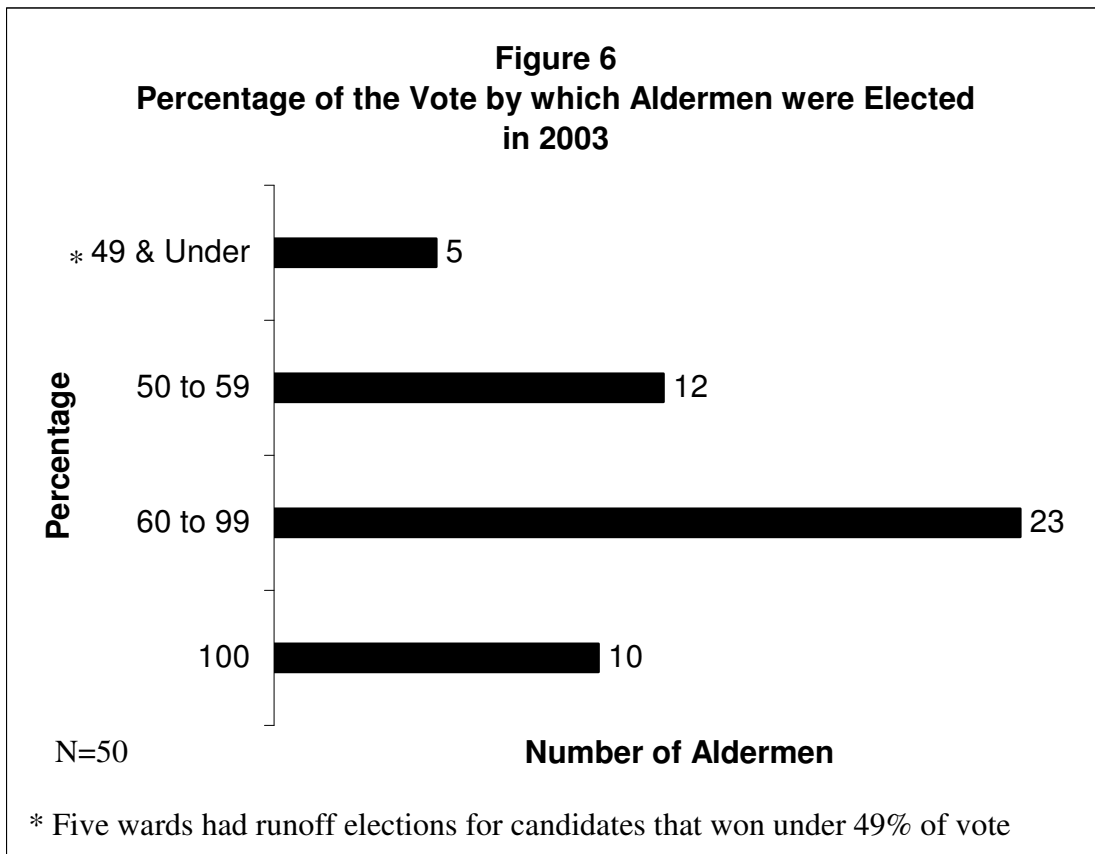
on average have served in the city council for 13 years as of November 2004. [For details of years served see Figure 10 in the Appendix.]



Aldermanic elections are not as contested as they were in the “Council Wars” period under Mayor Harold Washington, but they are more contested than they were in the “Rubber Stamp Councils” of Mayors Richard J. Daley and Michael Bilandic. In 1979, at the end of Bilandic’s reign, 20 of the 50 aldermen (40%) were elected without an opponent even on the ballot. By Harold Washington’s second election in 1987, this number had plunged to six (12%).

In the 2003 election ten aldermen (20%) were elected without an opponent and another 23 (46%) were elected by a landslide vote of over 60%, such that an opponent might as well not been on the ballot. Thus, 33 (66%) of the aldermen were elected by landslide elections with no significant opposition. That discourages future challenges unless there is a major change in the political environment such as Mayor Richard M. Daley deciding not to run for reelection in 2007. In 2003, there were only five aldermen (10%) who got less than 50% of the vote in the primary election and had to go to a runoff election. If elections were closely contested there would be a higher number

of runoff elections and a lower number of aldermen unanimously reelected without an opponent.



The Rubber Stamp Council from 2003-2004

Alderman Ted Matlak (32nd Ward) explained the aldermanic rubber stamp behavior of the first months of the current city council this way:

“The council works very well presently. We are happy with Mayor Richard M. Daley’s vision of Chicago. On specific ward issues, the city administration works with the individual aldermen. Most of the time, if there are any problems with major issues that face the entire city, the aldermen work out compromises with each other before the issue comes up for a vote on the floor.”⁴

Alderman Joe Moore (49th Ward) gave this explanation of the “pliant” council:

“It is the current climate of the times. There is a lack of any cutting edge issues such as the Vietnam War or Civil Rights. And there are no egregious actions on the part of the Daley administration as there had been in Richard J. Daley’s time....Each time there

is an abuse [such as corruption] Mayor Daley offers a new round of ethics ordinances to combat it. Therefore, [liberal] Lakefront voters think the city is run efficiently with no egregious corruption or waste.”⁵

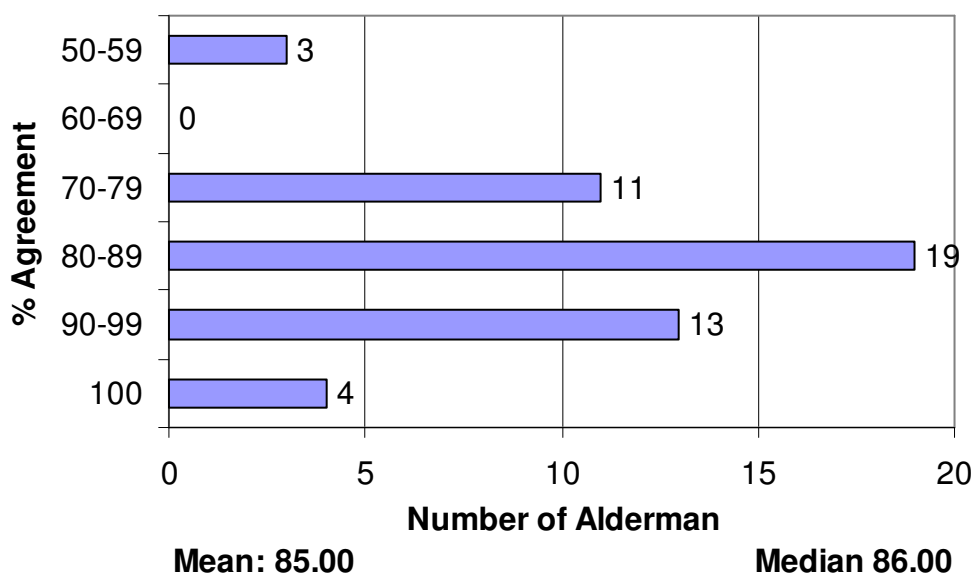
Increasing Dissent in the 2004-2005 City Council

When Mayor Richard M. Daley and the new city council took office after the last city election in April 2003, there were only nine divided roll call votes in the first eighteen months, or one every two months. A divided roll call vote is one in which even one alderman votes contrary to the majority. It signals dissent, often over the most important and controversial issues voted upon by the city council.

Since November 2004, the pace of dissent has picked up to one or two divided roll call votes a month. There has been more voting conflict and more significant legislation initiated by aldermen in the city council since the corruption and patronage scandals have weakened the mayor politically. Mayor Daley has seen his job approval rating by voters plunge from over 70% to 53% according to a 2005 *Chicago Tribune* poll, but he still maintains tight-fisted control of the city council, even though new opposition is beginning to show itself.

The level of dissent or independence needs to be kept in prospective. In a normal city council year, Aldermen officially cast from 1,000 – 2,000 votes, but most of these pass unanimously. There are about 100-150 major pieces of legislation voted on each year that affect all citizens like budget appropriations, tax levels, and city ordinances that regulate our lives. This council in the last two and a half years has voted on 4,000 or more pieces of legislation, about 400 or so have been on important matters like taxes and the smoking ban that effect all Chicagoans. Surprisingly, there have been only 29 divided roll call votes so far this mayoral term since May 7, 2003, and 20 of those have been in the last year.

**Aldermanic Agreement with Floor Leader for
29 Divided Roll Call Votes in the Chicago City
Council, May 7, 2003 - December 7, 2005
Mayor Richard M. Daley**



In contrast to the 29 divided roll call votes in two and a half years from May 7, 2003 until December 7, 2005 in Mayor Richard M. Daley’s reign, Mayor Richard J. Daley’s first year in office from 1955-1956 saw 114 divided roll call votes. There continued to be a similar level of confrontation in the city council in the 1970s at the height of the first Mayor Daley’s power⁶

Since 2003, Mayor Richard M. Daley has lost two votes – the Patriot Act Resolution and the Iraq War resolution. This is significant because that did not happen in Richard J. Daley’s administration. The first Mayor Daley never lost a vote and never had to veto legislation to prevail.

Three other aldermen voted with Mayor Richard M. Daley and his floor leader, Alderman Ed Burke, 100% of the time, but 14 more aldermen have voted with him at least 90% of the time. 18 additional aldermen have a greater than 80% voting record, meaning that they voted against the mayor and his floor leader only a couple of times, most often on the Patriot Act and Iraq War resolutions. So, the mayor and his administration had 36 (72%) of the council supporting him virtually all the time, with only three aldermen voting in

opposition to the mayor more than 40% of the time. The entire city council supports the mayor on average 84% of the time on these 29 divided roll call votes and 100% of the time on the thousand or more unanimous votes each year.

The three principal dissenters are 3rd Ward Aldermen Tillman (who voted with the mayor and his floor leader only 54% of the time), 4th Ward Alderman Preckwinkle (58%), and 20th Ward Alderman Troutman (58%). All three voted against the mayor and his floor leader 11 times in two and a half years. They are followed by another slightly larger group of four aldermen who voted against the mayor eight times: 28th Ward Alderman Ed Smith (71%), 22nd Ward Alderman Ricardo Munoz (71%), 35th Ward Rey Colon (72%), and 24th Ward Michael Chandler (72%). 49th Ward Alderman Joe Moore (73%) voted against the mayor six times. They, in turn, are loosely joined by another group of six who voted up to 79% of the time with the mayor. These two or three bands of opposition aldermen have not agreed upon a broad political platform as an alternative to the mayor's policies.

Aldermen Tillman, Preckwinkle, and Troutman who most often voted in opposition to the mayor and had some of the stronger floor speeches on issues before the city council are most focused on the continued discrimination against their African American constituents in areas such as jobs and contracts at city hall, companies doing business with the city that benefited from slavery, and the need for more affordable housing. These three principal dissenters are African American women, which give them a particular perspective in challenging the mayor's administration.

By themselves, however, they do not create a consistently organized opposition bloc. Their natural allies, such as lakefront liberal 49th Ward Alderman Joe Moore and liberal Latino Aldermen like 22nd Alderman Ricardo Munoz and Rey Colon often do not join the three African-American women aldermen in opposing the administration on the race issues. Other issues which some aldermen who vote most in the opposition, like Wal-Mart and banning foie gras, do not create a unified voting bloc either. So while there is opposition to Mayor Daley at some level, it is not consistent and unified.

Roll Call Vote Analysis 2003-2004

Since the current city council was sworn in on May 7, 2003, there were nine divided roll call votes in the first eighteen months in which any alderman was willing to oppose the proposals of the city administration. Of the first nine divided votes, the only

roll call votes of significance were: 1) a resolution killing all pending legislation (which was really a surrogate vote on affordable housing), 2) a resolution opposing the U.S. Patriot Act, and 3) two separate votes on locating Wal-Mart Stores in the 21st and 37th wards.

One continuing conflict was dominant at the last meeting of the last city council and still continues to plague the council today. On April 9, 2003, just before the new city council took office, the old council that had been elected in 1999, approved an affordable housing ordinance sponsored by Mayor Daley. It was a substitute ordinance for a much stronger ordinance originally proposed by 4th Ward Alderman Toni Preckwinkle. Daley's substitute ordinance passed only after mayoral loyalists sidetracked amendments that would have given the measure more teeth. The Daley proposal was substituted by a vote of 30-14.

In the debate on affordable housing, Alderman Dorothy Tillman (3rd Ward) attacked flaws in the mayor's ordinance. This prompted Alderman Burton Natarus (42nd) to criticize Dorothy Tillman's performance in her own ward. Natarus questioned, "why an alderman has been here for twenty-five years, and the 3rd Ward is nothing but a vacant lot."⁷

On the other side of the argument, Alderman Walter Burnett Jr. (27th) spoke eloquently on the city's severe shortage of affordable housing, urging the mayor to do more saying, "there are people on your own staff who were hard pressed to find housing they can afford,"⁸

After the vote, Mayor Daley told reporters that he understood that some people felt that the ordinance did not go far enough, but that he believed that the city was moving in the right direction in providing affordable housing. He has continued since this critical vote in 2003 to oppose mandatory set-asides of affordable housing on residential developments in the city, which is the ultimate goal of affordable housing advocates. In April 2003 Daley said: "Private developers are paying huge amounts of taxes," he said. "They are giving their fair share."⁹

This affordable housing debate was the last significant issue decided by the former council and it set the stage for the significant fights in the current council.

1. Defeating Pending Legislation

At the first meeting of the new council, pro-administration aldermen like Alderman Ted Matlak (32nd Ward) voted to defeat all pending legislation introduced before January 1, 2003, because according to him, legislation “could be pending for a hundred years.”¹⁰

Alderman Toni Preckwinkle (4th Ward) opposed the resolution and convinced 19 of her colleagues to join her in voting against it primarily because it would also defeat the affordable housing legislation that she had introduced in the last council. This issue has continued to bubble below the surface during the entire term of the new council and is likely to be brought to the floor for another vote before the 2007 city elections.

2. The Patriot Act Resolution

The vote on the Patriot Act was one of the two most striking votes in the city council since Daley became mayor in 1989. It is the first vote that the mayor lost and a vote in which his floor leader, Alderman Edward Burke (14th Ward), voted on the losing side. By a vote of 37-7 the city council passed a resolution strongly critical of the sections of the Patriot Act which curbed civil liberties by allowing the federal government to monitor phone conversations and email, inspect library and video rental records, and to search homes and businesses without first getting court approval based upon evidence that someone was about to commit or had committed a crime.

U.S. Attorney Patrick Fitzgerald and Mayor Daley supported the Patriot Act and urged aldermen not to pass the resolution. In response, Alderman Freddrenna Lyle (6th Ward) said in the debate that she “didn’t want to sit around and wait until [the act was misused]...[The act] solidified racial profiling and declares open season on people of color.” Alderman Leslie Hairston (5th Ward) went even further arguing, “This is precisely how Hermann Goering explained Hitler’s takeover of the German Government”¹¹

The debate on the Patriot Act was heated and the vote overwhelming, but it was still only a resolution on an action by the federal government, not a change in Chicago’s laws. Its significance lies in the fact that it was the first vote which either Richard J. Daley or Richard M. Daley lost directly in their rubber stamp councils. It was also the harbinger of a more independent streak in the city council which would increase.

3. Wal-Mart

The Chicago City Council voted on amending the municipal code to develop Wal-Mart stores in the 21st and 37th Wards on May 26, 2004. The 21st Ward ordinance received a 25-21 vote, but it failed to pass because it needed 26 votes to become law since it involved a zoning change.

While the amendment of municipal code to develop Wal-Mart in the 37th ward was controversial, it passed with a wide margin of 32-15. The two ordinances had been stalled in the council because community organizations and labor leaders had concerns over Wal-Mart's union and labor policies. Wal-Mart pays their workers low wages and their super stores sell at such low prices that they cause many older and smaller neighborhood stores to close. The aldermen voting against this ordinance felt that Wal-Mart's stand on union policies was sufficient reason for them to prevent a Wal-Mart from being developed on the west side.

In the end, a majority of aldermen voted for the Wal-Mart in support of Alderman Emma Mitts (37th Ward) who led the fight for it to be built in her ward. She argued that, "We don't have what other aldermen have in their community. We've been neglected for and unobserved for 20 years."¹² Alderman Howard Brookins Jr. who backed a similar proposal in the 21st Ward argued, "There's no place I can go to unions and get 330 jobs for young men out of the community,"¹³

Mayor Daley supported Wal-Mart but didn't pressure aldermen to vote for it. He said, "If you look at the city, they're building all around the city. And why can't we have one, I mean, that's a legitimate question. Whether on the south side or whether on the west side [Wal-Mart should be able to build]. You can't say the south side could have one but the west side can't. It doesn't make sense."¹⁴

The south side proposal failed, however. One community resident who opposed Wal-Mart in the 21st Ward posted the following comment on an Internet web site:

"Many people didn't want to approve the Wal-Mart in the 21st ward because it wouldn't be in the interest of the people, but more so in the interest of Wal-Mart. A group of us spent an hour going door-to-door in the 21st ward last weekend, and I can tell you exactly how the people I talked to felt about it. Every person I talked to was opposed, including several who were unemployed. The feeling was, 'yes, we're poor, but \$7 dollars an hour

without affordable benefits isn't going to bring us out of poverty'. In an hour we collected about 500 signatures of people in the 21st ward who didn't want more poverty-wage jobs in their community.”¹⁵

One reason that the 37th Ward ordinance passed and the 21st Ward Ordinance failed is that some, “black aldermen who wanted to teach a harsh lesson to a freshman member accused of lacking proper respect for more senior council members.”¹⁶ A journalist noted that this debate reminded some observers of the strident and polarizing debates during the Council Wars under the late Mayor Harold Washington’s tenure.¹⁷

The community spokespersons feared that allowing Wal-Mart to open stores in Chicago would just help it to become the richest, most powerful retailer in the world. According to them, Wal-Mart makes such a large profit because it pays its workers low wages and does not provide good benefits. Since Wal-Mart is already the biggest company in the world with over \$233 billion in sales last year, many aldermen, labor, and community groups felt that the company should provide better wages and benefits if the city council were to let them open stores in Chicago.

Roll Call Votes: 2004-2005

While in the first eighteen months the council approved nearly all of the mayor’s proposals, the pace and level of dissent has increased during the last year from December 2004 – December 2005. The key votes during this period are: 4) budgets and taxes, 5) reparations debate over O’Hare Revenue Bonds, 6) Shakman Decree Order, 7) Iraq War resolution, 8) non-smoking ordinance, and 9) the city budget again.

4. Budget and Taxes

Despite passing overwhelmingly by a 47-3 margin, the Mayor’s proposed 2005 budget was his first since 1999 to have even a single “no” vote cast against it. Three Aldermen, Dorothy Tillman (3rd), Toni Preckwinkle (4th), and Arenda Troutman (20) all voted against the Mayor’s \$5.1 billion spending plan. Tillman, Preckwinkle and Troutman opposed the budget because they felt that the tax burden on the city’s poor residents was increasing too much. In addition, the city’s increasing privatization of jobs that were formerly government ones, and

the dwindling nine percent share of city contracts awarded that year to African Americans, was the tipping point for the three African American council women and caused their opposition.

After likening Budget Committee Chairman Alderman William Beavers (7th) to a plantation owner in the manner in which he ran budget meetings, Tillman summed up the dissenting groups view on privatization: “I don’t believe in privatizing. Privatizing means no black folks,” said Tillman.

In response, Beavers criticized Tillman for only attending two budget hearings. “I’m not going to let nobody come down here one day, one hour and disrupt the hearing. Some people tried to do that, and I put them in their place. They say I act like a man running a plantation. But if you act like a sharecropper, you should be treated like you’re on a plantation,” Beavers said.¹⁸

The opposition increased with five aldermen voting “no” on a subsequent ordinance to fund the spending plan with tax increases. Once again, Aldermen Tillman and Troutman voted “no” and Aldermen Murphy (18th), Brookings (21st) and Doherty (41st) joined them in voting against the tax ordinance. The revenue plan to fund the mayor’s budget included a 300% increase on the cigarette tax, an increase in the sales tax to 9%, a half percent increase bringing the hotel tax up to 3.5%, tax increases on wine, liquor, and musical and theatrical entertainment, and an increase in the natural gas tax rate.

Aldermen Murphy, Brookings and Doherty specifically opposed the revenue package because of the sales tax increase. They predicted that it would force Chicago residents to shop in the suburbs, where the sales taxes are less, and thereby, hurt city shop owners. Alderman Brookings said that he refused to approve increasing the tax burden on residents because Mayor Daley had not been making good use of funds, specifically with some of his privatization programs like the Hired Truck Program. “Scandal after scandal where we could have been

saving money. We blow money on the Hired Truck Program. We blew money with respect to the towing program,” said Brookings. Despite the dissention, the Mayor’s revenue plan to fund the spending budget passed. The mayor’s political floor leader, Alderman Pat O’Connor (40th) called the mayor’s budget and tax package, a “good budget for a very bad time”.

Although the budget was the largest in Chicago’s history and contained tax increases, the mayor held firm on not increasing property taxes. He said in defense of his new taxes, “Real estate taxes would drive renters and homeowners -- not to the suburbs, [but] to bankruptcy... that would be a disaster.” Because the budget didn’t raise property taxes, even though there were sales and other tax increases, most aldermen felt that they could vote for it and still keep the support of their constituents.

5. Reparations

Reparation is an issue that has been simmering in the city council for a number of years. Some major finance and insurance companies in America were founded at a time when they benefited directly from the work of slaves – particularly in the South before the Civil War. Just as Jewish leaders have demanded reparations from Germany companies who stole from Jewish individuals and families in Germany at the time of the Holocaust, some African-American leaders and organizations have demanded reparations, or at least acknowledgment of the slavery history of American companies. Some major firms do profitable business with the city of Chicago, and since 2003, a city ordinance requires that they disclose in detail any past connections to slavery.

In June and July this issue brought about divided roll call votes and controversy on letting city bonds. On June 8, 2005, the city council approved a \$1.5 Billion bond deal for expansion of O’Hare International Airport. While building new runways at O’Hare has caused extensive

fighters with suburbs surrounding the airport, the issue in the city council was that one of the eight underwriters of the bonds, Lehman Brothers, lied about their past connection to slavery. In their official filing with the city, Lehman Brothers alleged that a predecessor partnership founded in 1850 had purchased a slave named Martha and that partnership founders may have personally owned slaves but that the company had not otherwise profited from slavery.

Third Ward Alderman Dorothy Tillman, who led the opposition to allowing Lehman Brothers to underwrite the bonds, declared that Lehman Brothers “was founded on the backs of slaves. Lehman Brothers didn’t get rich because they had one slave named Martha.” Fourth Ward Alderman Toni Preckwinkle agreed with Tillman and declared that the Lehman Brothers filing was a “nonsensical response to a serious issue...it is disappointing that...Lehman Brothers chose to disrespect us in the way that they did”

On the other side, the mayor’s floor leader Alderman Edward Burke argued that the attempt to disbar Lehman Brothers was “putting at risk one of the biggest public works projects in the history of the city,” and that it was urgent to approve the bond issue before interest rates rose again.¹⁹ The issue was headed to defeat until Alderman Burke moved to hold it in committee. Aviation Department staff then mollified the aldermen promising that the slavery issue would be resolved or Lehman Brothers would be removed from the approved underwriters. The final vote after the aldermanic discussions with the Aviation Department was 38-9. While some of the original opponents were convinced not to oppose the bond issue after these assurances, not all were converted. All the White aldermen voted for the bonds and while some minority aldermen also did so, only Blacks and Latinos voted no in the final vote.

At a later hearing in September 2005, Lehman Brothers publicly admitted that they “were involved in a more direct way [with slavery]...in the cotton trade.”²⁰

The reparations issued recurred in the next month on July 27, 2005 in a vote to approve an \$800 million general obligation bond issue (\$300 million for neighborhood infrastructure improvements and \$500 million to refinance existing city bonds at lower rates). This time the offending firms were Morgan Stanley and LaSalle Bank. Both denied any previous slave ties.

This time the vote was 45-1 with only Alderman Tillman voting in opposition. The difference in the two reparation votes was that Alderman Edward Burke pointed out that the underwriting team on these bonds would be led for the first time by firms owned by African Americans. If the aldermen held up approval of the bonds they would be denying two African-American firms an unprecedented financial role. After quoting Dr. King's "I Have a Dream Speech," Burke concluded that the city council "has an opportunity to implement, in just a very small way, some of Dr. King's dream....The descendants of slaves will sit at a boardroom table in downtown Manhattan...and sign documents with the sons of Wall Street titans."²¹

6. *Shakman Decree*

At the same July 27, 2005 meeting where the reparations issue was voted upon, 49th Ward Alderman Joe Moore surprised the council by offering an order to require the city to drop its lawsuit to void the Shakman Decree that outlaws patronage in local government. A week earlier, the U.S. Attorney's office had indicted two highly placed city officials for systematically violating the Shakman Decree in rigging the hiring process to favor individuals who work for Daley supported precinct organizations like the Hispanic Democratic Organization (HDO). Michael Shakman then went back to federal court to ask that Mayor Richard M. Daley's administration be held in contempt and that an independent monitor be appointed to force revisions in the hiring process at city hall. The *Chicago Tribune* followed with a study that

found more than 1,200 workers in five city departments were from the pro-Daley groups like HDO. The evidence that patronage was alive and well was overwhelming.

Alderman Joe Moore's order for the city's law department to terminate its legal efforts to vacate or amend the Shakman Decree got a surprising strong vote in the council. The final vote was 11 in favor with only 26 opposed, 11 not voting, and two aldermen absent from the meeting. Alderman Moore argued that the council needed "to send a strong message to taxpayers in the city" that the city would not continue to use patronage. He defused the city's argument that the decree is simply too burdensome. He charged, "it defies logic...[to argue] that [the] Shakman [Decree] is not necessary....There is something wrong with political hiring in the city.... [Many] people who get jobs are well-connected and it's based on what they do on Election Day....[The city] needs to clean up corrupt hiring practices."²²

Among the aldermen not voting on the controversial order was 47th Ward Alderman Eugene Schuler who said, "I think it's a good [order], but we need to bring the Corporation Council [the city's law department] down and see what they are doing before we decide."

Although the lone Republican, 41st Ward Alderman Brian Doherty supported the administration and voted no on the order, he said afterwards that there is "a new-found independence within the council. Frankly, they've been emboldened by problems coming out that we didn't know existed."²³

7. Iraq War Resolution

On September 14, 2005 the city council again defied Mayor Daley and his floor leaders in voting 29-9 for a resolution in which the U.S. Government was urged to withdraw troops from Iraq. Many pro-Daley aldermen crossed over to oppose him on this issue. One example of how heated the debate became is that after a five-minute speech in support of the resolution, 42nd

Alderman Burt Natarus collapsed with a mild heart attack from which he later recovered. The meeting lasted for five hours with the debate on the Iraq taking most of the time.

Since the President and the Congress were not moving forward with withdrawing troops, 49th Ward Alderman Joe Moore, a chief sponsor of the resolution, argued that it was the council's responsibility to speak out on the issue as "elected officials closest to the people."²⁴

On the other side of the issue, 12th Ward Alderman George Cardenas, who had served in the Navy, argued "we can't turn our backs now and say that [the Iraq War] is wrong, the lives that were lost were for no reason at all." Alderman Burke concurred, saying that while he agreed with those who said we should not have been in Iraq to begin with, "as long as we've got American men and women in uniform in Iraq, anything we do to...in anyway dilute their morale is wrong."²⁵

However, the opinion of the majority of aldermen was that the war was ill-conceived, it had cost too many American lives, and that large sums of money spent on the war could have been better spent on important programs in the U.S. 31st Alderman Ray Suarez said this was a personal war of President Bush's, "This is a cowboy war." 50th Ward pro-Daley Alderman Bernard Stone added his voice saying, "you are not supporting the troops when they are being killed. Why should this slaughter continue? What purpose does it serve? Why should our troops die for no reason?"²⁶

8. Smoking Ordinance

After an unprecedented \$4 million lobbying campaign by an anti-smoking coalition led by the American Cancer Society, smoking was banned in restaurants, bars, and all public places starting January 16, 2006. Smoking will even be prohibited on public sidewalks if they are within 15 feet of the entrance to places where smoking is banned. Some bars and restaurant bars

will be able to wait two and a half years until July 1, 2008 before smoking will be banned in their establishments, but to do so they will have to install very expensive air-cleaning equipment to make the air free of carcinogens and make exposure to second-hand smoke equivalent to the air outside.²⁷

28th Ward Alderman Ed Smith as chair of the Health Committee led a crusade to pass the legislation. He argued that this was a life and death issue, and while he agreed to a compromise to phase-in the ordinance in the case of bars, he refused to allow any proposals to pass that would not eventually make the non-smoking ban universal. In a very unusual, spontaneous action, he received a standing ovation for his efforts before the new ordinance passed by an overwhelming vote of 46-1.

Alderman Smith had an unusual ally in 50th Ward Alderman Bernard Stone who broke into a happy, if off-key rendition, of “Cigarettes and wild, wild women. They’ll drive you crazy.” He said he was alive today only because he had kicked his three-pack-a-day smoking habit some 27 years ago.

42nd Ward Alderman Burt Natarus who represents the downtown Loop area pushed hard to water down the ordinance in order to permit bars and some restaurant bars to continue to allow smoking if they obtained a more expensive city license, but the restaurant owner’s proposal championed by Alderman Natarus was derailed.

Alderman Natarus who promoted the so-called compromise proposal and finally negotiated the two and a half year phase-in of the restrictions for some bars received \$151,830 in campaign contributions from restaurant owners including \$13, 500 from Gibsons, \$7,500 from Lettuce Us Entertain You restaurants, and \$6,500 from Billy Goat Tavern.²⁸ Some critics claimed that his opposition to the smoking ordinance came from his indebtedness to these

contributors rather than simply being the alderman who represented the Loop area. Mayor Richard M. Daley, who publicly favored a compromise and got the vote put off until a compromise ordinance was produced, also received \$94,753 from many of the same restaurant owners including \$9,478 from Gibsons, \$8,800 from Lettuce Us Entertain You restaurants, and \$5,000 from Billy Goat Tavern. The mayor's press secretary insisted that the contributions had "no impact on the mayor's decision making" or his repeated calls for a compromise. Daley had used his clout to defeat a similar smoking ban three years earlier, but did not do so this time. Press Secretary Jacquelyn Heard said further, "The suggestion that he's allowing himself to be used by the restaurant industry or that his opinion is somehow influenced by contributions is patently absurd."²⁹

Some observers believe that the impasse between various aldermen over different versions of the smoking ordinance compromise was resolved when Daley dropped his support for a permanent exemption and agreed to a complete smoking ban. His Office of Intergovernmental Affairs was deeply involved in the negotiations. Eventually, he simply no longer stood in the way and aldermen had a green light to vote for the compromise.³⁰

Because of the compromise, even smoking ban foe, Alderman Natarus, voted for the ordinance. The lone no vote was 41st Ward Republican Alderman Brian Doherty who feared that family-owned taverns in his far Northwest Side ward might be forced to close because smokers would go to bars in the near-by suburbs. He argued, "Smoking is a legal product. It's heavily taxed. It's another example of government coming in and telling people how they should run their businesses."³¹

22nd Ward Alderman Ricardo Munoz said afterwards, "Five years ago, we would have never gotten a hearing on the smoke-free Chicago ordinance." 49th Ward Alderman Joe Moore

said aldermen were “just much more cantankerous, more willing to challenge administrative officials...”³²

Daley’s weakening political strength because of the continuing patronage and corruption scandals, along with his defeats in the Patriot Act Resolution, Iraq War Resolution, and now the smoking ban, has emboldened some aldermen to dream of passing other legislation. 49th Ward Alderman Joe Moore believes that a weakened Mayor Daley wouldn’t waste his now limited political capital to block an ordinance banning foie gras. Although Daley had earlier ridiculed the foie gras ban as a “Big Brother government intrusion,” Moore believes that Daley now “has to husband his political capital for issues he really cares about....The mayor has taken a lighter hand in the council as of late. Democracy in Chicago. It’s wonderful. Let a thousand flower bloom behind the Iron Curtain,”³³ Moore said.

Even the mayor’s floor leader 14th Alderman Ed Burke persists in offering legislation like his proposal to post grades for potential clients to read on restaurant scorecards of city investigations for cleanliness. The mayor complained that it would be just another bureaucratic mandate because “Restaurants have to be clean. ...That’s why you go into a restaurant.” Despite the mayor’s public opposition, even powerful mayoral supporters are now emboldened to offer their own legislation.³⁴

9. The 2006 City Budget

The 2006 city budget of \$5.2 Billion passed with a 48-1 vote in December 2005 with less dissent than the 2005 city budget passed just a year ago. The *Sun-Times* had labeled the December 2004 fight over the 2005 budget, with five dissenting votes, a “mini-revolt.”³⁵ Yet, the revolt did not continue at the same level in December 2005. The 2006 proposed budget had a sweetener. Aldermen got a \$120,000 increase in the \$1.2 million dollars that are provided them

in each ward for street repair as well as sidewalk and alley improvements. Also there was once again no property tax increase.

4th Ward Alderman Toni Preckwinkle cast the lone opposing vote on the 2006 budget because, she said, the Daley administration had shown a “pattern of insensitivity” to African-Americans in letting city contracts and that it had failed to prevent a pattern of corruption that has had a “demoralizing effect” on the city.³⁶

Although the 2006 city budget raised the tax on cigarettes to \$.68 a pack, it did not raise property taxes. The pro-administration aldermen praised the mayor’s budget. 29th Ward Alderman Isaac Carothers declared, “I think it is keeping Chicago going in the right direction.” The mayor’s political floor leader, 40th Ward Alderman Patrick O’Connor further declared, “We are going to do better, and we going to better with less money. It is a tremendous accomplishment in a day where you find cities across the nation basically spending in the red and going more broke and more broke every day”³⁷

But Alderman Preckwinkle’s argument that African American firms had received less than 10% of the city contracts for the last two years resonated with many of the other aldermen. Later in the council meeting they joined together to introduce a resolution calling for bimonthly reports on minority contracts from the city’s purchasing officer. Preckwinkle also questioned the city’s continuing fighting of a court case filed by African-American firefighter candidates challenging hiring procedures and the administration’s continuing attempts to overturn the Shakman patronage decree at a time when the federal government is prosecuting corruption and patronage hiring at city hall. Overall she decried this budget because it represents “ a pattern of insensitivity...that is profoundly troubling to me.”³⁸

28th Ward Alderman Ed Smith, while voting in favor of the budget, joined in the complaint about minority contracting reminding the council that “Every year, we have to go back and talk about the same thing over and over again. It just does not seem to get through that we [African Americans] want our fair share.”³⁹ It appears that the fight over the division of city jobs and contracts and the process of patronage political hiring is certain to continue during the last year and a half of this city council.

City Council’s Newly Found Independence?

There is some evidence that rebellion may be brewing in the Chicago City Council. Most often in the council, such opposition as exists takes the form of opposition on specific issues, or the threat of opposition, to force the Daley administration to give concessions. Aldermen are not generally willing to oppose the mayor outright – after all, he appointed 19 of them to fill vacancies and many others are firmly controlled by the powerful ward committeemen who slated them. But in several cases, aldermen have succeeded in influencing the administration to support policies it previously opposed and some aldermen are more willing to challenge Daley than previously. For example, Alderman Toni Preckwinkle introduced her own legislation to force developers to set aside affordable housing in larger developments and was the lone vote opposing Daley’s 2006 budget because of contract discrimination against African-Americans and because of the continuing patronage and corruption in the Daley administration. While her affordable housing ordinance did not pass as introduced, the Daley administration adopted a watered down version and developed a partial affordable housing program in response.

A Daley appointee, 44th Ward Alderman Tom Tunney in 2003, was able to force the city administration to put an additional \$1 million in AIDS prevention funding by threatening a floor fight on the 2004 budget. Daley may have one of the strongest rubber stamp councils in Chicago’s political history because the council lacks the core of consistent opposition that existed in the council under his father, but there are some stirrings of opposition and new ideas in the council.

There have been some previous insurrections under Mayor Richard M. Daley. In 1993,

City Clerk James Laski (then 23rd Ward Alderman) rallied other aldermen to fight a proposed \$12 million property tax increase. Daley was forced to withdraw his proposal. In 1999, when city contracts set-asides for African-American owned businesses fell to the 9% level, African-American aldermen were able to force changes in the bidding process that increased black participation. However, the contracts given to Africa-Americans have now dropped to 8% and the Black Aldermen are again outraged, although an outright revolt has not occurred.

About the current council and the possibility of a revolt, Alderman Howard Brookings (21st Ward) observes: “I do see there is a steady change in the council being more skeptical and acting more as a watchdog and fulfilling its functions to what we were elected to do. I don’t think it’s an insurrection. I think it is an awakening. The mayor is strong and he gets 50 votes because he carried each ward including my ward. But people got their tax bills. They are not happy. All they see is rising taxes and decreases in service, and that continues to happen.”⁴⁰

41st Ward Alderman Brian Doherty, the lone Republican alderman, says of the current council stirrings: “It’s more of a dust-up than it is a revolution.”⁴¹ Yet, as the mayor continues to be weakened by the corruption and patronage investigations, Aldermen like Joe Moore believe that mayor has a lighter hand on the council. This is most obvious in the votes Daley has lost on the Patriot Act and the Iraq War Resolution, but it is also evident in the mayor’s refusing to fully employ his clout to block the smoking ban ordinance that he had blocked in the past.

How And Why the Study Was Done

In a democracy, the public is supposed to be able to hold their public officials accountable. Citizens need to know whether or not the aldermen they elected are fairly and accurately representing their interests and their views at city hall. Yet, in Chicago it is difficult to know for sure how the aldermen vote. There are public records published, but not in a way that is easy for the average citizen or community organization to track. This report is meant to help the media, community organizations and average citizens to know what is happening at city hall so they can render their own judgment.

The authors of this report went through the electronic listing of roll call votes as they were collected by the Chicago City Clerk and published on the clerk's web site: <http://www.chicityclerk.com/citycouncil/rollcall/index.html>. The clerk publishes on his web site the attendance and divided roll call votes of the council about a month after a council meeting. The site also contains an archive of the three previous meetings. However, more complete information for the past year or previous years is not available on the web site so citizens or community groups wishing to track city council voting would have to visit the clerk's web site monthly to update their own council voting records.

For this report, the information from the clerk's web site was then crosschecked against the records in the official *City Council Journal of Proceedings* that for the two and a half years studied was more than 60,000 pages. If only the pages for which the clerk lists divided roll call votes are checked, it is easier for citizens and community groups to crosscheck the votes and the descriptions of legislation.

For of the divided roll call votes in this study, copies of the legislation and news stories were collected on the debate on each significant issue. When newspaper accounts proved insufficient, aldermen were interviewed to get their reasons for their vote and their general explanation of city council voting behavior.

Other data used in the report are also from public sources. For instance, election results were obtained from the Chicago Board of Election. Information on the race and gender of the aldermen was collected from the City Clerk's web site. Through these reports the University of Illinois at Chicago Political Science Department and Great Cities Institute seek to make tracking voting in the council easier for citizens, civic groups, and community organizations. Technical assistance will be provided to media and community organizations to develop their own vote tracking systems and city council voting report cards. This report and its data may be freely copied so long as the source is properly cited.

Conclusion

Overall, there have been a number of important debates in the Chicago City Council during the last two and a half years. By law, this is a strong council/weak mayor system in

which the city council has a very important role to play as the legislative branch of government. In practice, mayors have most often been dominant since 1931 when the machine reversed the formal weak-mayor governmental structure. The mayor was granted even greater powers when in 1955 Mayor Richard J. Daley convinced the state legislature to give the budget-making powers to the mayor's office.

Mayor Richard M. Daley has more control over the council than any other Chicago mayor in the city's history, more so than even his all-powerful father. A consistent organized opposition bloc has yet to challenge the mayor's administration. Nonetheless, because of the continuing patronage and corruption scandals at city hall, Mayor Daley's political strength has weakened. As a result, some aldermen are more willing to challenge the administration and bring new ideas to the council.

In a relatively young, more racially and sexually representative city council, we would expect its members to raise more issues like affordable housing and the Patriot Act rather than always acquiesce to Mayor Richard M. Daley. In the last year or so, the council has begun to do so. It has begun to find a new level of independence. But it is still not a truly viable legislative branch of government in a representative democracy. Aldermen are neither fully trustees nor delegates of their constituents because they remain to a large degree under the control of the New Daley Machine.⁴² But they are beginning to try to act like genuine legislators with an agenda of their own. Some of them press their issues within the administration, but sometimes even pro-administration aldermen openly oppose the mayor and his floor leaders. Aldermen with more independent leanings are getting bolder in offering criticisms of the mayor and his administration and in presenting alternative legislation.

This report is the only way that citizens and community organizations have to hold their aldermen accountable for their voting and city council role for the last two and a half years. They can determine for themselves whether their alderman has represented them and their

community. A number of community, political, and civic organizations will be posting the report on their websites, notifying their members through emails, or printing it in their membership newsletters. There is still a year before the election for voters to evaluate how effective their individual aldermen have been.

Appendix: Figures 8a - 11

Figure 8a
Aldermanic Divided Role Call Votes, 2003-2004

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Aldermen</u>	<u>Affordable Housing</u>	<u>Resolution defeating all pending legislation prior to 1/1/03</u>	<u>Opposing U.S. Patriot Act</u>	<u>Development of Wal-Mart in the 37th Ward</u>	<u>Development of Wal-Mart in the 21st Ward</u>
1	Manuel Flores	Not in Council	Absent	Yes	Yes	No
2	Mandeline Haithcock	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
3	Dorothy Tillman	No	No	Yes	Absent	Absent
4	Toni Preckwinkle	No	No	Yes	Present but not voting	No
5	Leslie Hairston	No	Absent	Yes	Yes	No
6	Freddrenna Lyle	No	Absent	Yes	Yes	No
7	William Beavers	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
8	Todd Stroger	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
9	Anthony Beale	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
10	John Pope	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
11	James Balcer	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
12	George Cardenas	Not in Council	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
13	Frank Olivo	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
14	Edward Burke	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
15	Theodore Thomas	No	No	Yes	No	No
16	Shirley Coleman	Present but not Voting	Absent	Yes	Yes	No
17	Latasha Thomas	Yes	Yes	Present but not voting	Yes	Present but not voting
18	Thomas Murphy	Yes	Absent	Present but not voting	No	No
19	Virginia Rugai	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
20	Arenda Troutman	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
21	Howard Brookins Jr.	Not in Council	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
22	Ricardo Munoz	No	No	Yes	No	No
23	Michael Zalewski	Yes	Yes	Present but not voting	No	No
24	Michael Chandler	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
25	Daniel Solis	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Present but not voting
26	Billy Ocasio	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
27	Walter Burnett Jr.	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
28	Ed Smith	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
29	Isaac Carothers	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
30	Ariel Reboyras	Not in Council	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

Aldermanic Divided Role Call Votes, 2003-2004

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Aldermen</u>	<u>Affordable Housing</u>	<u>Resolution defeating all pending legislation prior to 1/1/03</u>	<u>Opposing U.S. Patriot Act</u>	<u>Development of Wal-Mart in the 37th Ward</u>	<u>Development of Wal-Mart in the 21st Ward</u>
31	Regner "Ray" Suarez	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
32	Theodore Matlak	Yes	Yes	Present but not voting	Yes	Yes
33	Richard Mell	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
34	Carrie Austin	Yes	No	Present but not voting	Yes	Yes
35	Rey Colon	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
36	William J.P. Banks	Yes	Yes	Present but not voting	No	No
37	Emma Mitts	Absent	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
38	Thomas Allen	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
39	Margaret Laurino	Yes	Yes	Absent	No	No
40	Patrick O'Connor	Absent	Yes	Yes	No	No
41	Brian Doherty	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
42	Burton Natarus	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
43	Vi Daley	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
44	Thomas Tunney	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
45	Patrick Levar	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
46	Helen Shiller	No	No	Yes	No	No
47	Eugene Schulter	Yes	Absent	Absent	No	No
48	Mary Ann Smith	Yes	Yes	Yes	Absent	Absent
49	Joe Moore	No	No	Yes	No	No
50	Bernard Stone	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Mayor	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Figure 8b
Aldermanic Divided Role Call Votes, 2004-2005

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Aldermen</u>	<u>2005 City Budget</u>	<u>Reparationst</u>	<u>Shakman Decree</u>	<u>Iraq War Resolution</u>	<u>Smoking Ban</u>	<u>Percent Agreement with Mayor</u>
1	Manuel Flores	Yes	No	Absent	Yes	Yes	77%
2	Mandeline Haithcock	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	85%
3	Dorothy Tillman	No	Yes	Not Voting	Yes	Yes	54%
4	Toni Preckwinkle	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	58%
5	Leslie Hairston	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	79%
6	Freddrenna Lyle	Yes	Yes	Not Voting	Yes	Yes	85%
7	William Beavers	Yes	Yes	No	Not Voting	Yes	89%
8	Todd Stroger	Yes	Yes	No	Not Voting	Yes	96%
9	Anthony Beale	Yes	Yes	No	Not Voting	Yes	93%
10	John Pope	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	90%
11	James Balcer	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	100%
12	George Cardenas	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	100%
13	Frank Olivo	Yes	Not Voting	Not Voting	Yes	Yes	80%
14	Edward Burke	Yes	Not Voting	No	No	Yes	100%
15	Theodore Thomas	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	75%
16	Shirley Coleman	Yes	Yes	Not Voting	Not Voting	Yes	92%
17	Latasha Thomas	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	89%
18	Thomas Murphy	Yes	Not Voting	Yes	No	Yes	84%
19	Virginia Rugai	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	97%
20	Arenda Troutman	No	No	Not Voting	Yes	Yes	58%
21	Howard Brookins Jr.	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	74%
22	Ricardo Munoz	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	71%
23	Michael Zalewski	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	85%
24	Michael Chandler	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	72%
25	Daniel Solis	Yes	Yes	No	Absent	Yes	96%
26	Billy Ocasio	Yes	No	Yes	Absent	Yes	81%
27	Walter Burnett Jr.	Yes	No	Absent	Not Voting	Yes	87%
28	Ed Smith	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	71%
29	Isaac Carothers	Yes	Yes	No	Not Voting	Yes	96%
30	Ariel Reboyras	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	90%

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Alderman</u>	<u>2005 City Budget</u>	<u>Reparations</u>	<u>Shakman Decree</u>	<u>Iraq War Resolution</u>	<u>Smoking Ban</u>	<u>Agreement with Mayor-</u>
31	Regner "Ray" Suarez	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	79%
32	Theodore Matlak	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	100%
33	Richard Mell	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	85%
34	Carrie Austin	Yes	Yes	No	Not Voting	Yes	93%
35	Rey Colon	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	72%
36	William J.P. Banks	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	96%
37	Emma Mitts	Yes	Yes	Not Voting	Yes	Yes	89%
38	Thomas Allen	Yes	Yes	Not Voting	Not Voting	Yes	92%
39	Margaret Laurino	Yes	Yes	No	No	Absent	96%
40	Patrick O'Connor	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	82%
41	Brian Doherty	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	81%
42	Burton Natarus	Yes	Yes	No	Not Voting	Yes	86%
43	Vi Daley	Yes	Yes	Not Voting	Yes	Yes	89%
44	Thomas Tunney	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	90%
45	Patrick Levar	Yes	Yes	No	Not Voting	Yes	93%
46	Helen Shiller	Yes	Yes	Not Voting	Yes	Yes	77%
47	Eugene Schulter	Yes	Yes	Not Voting	Yes	Absent	83%
48	Mary Ann Smith	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	87%
49	Joe Moore	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Absent	73%
50	Bernard Stone	Yes	Not Voting	Not Voting	Yes	Yes	81%
	Mayor	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	

Figure 9
2003-2005 Chicago City Council Divided Roll Call Votes

<u>Issue No.</u>	<u>Issue Synopsis</u>	<u>Date Voted</u>	<u>Journal Page</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1	Resolution defeating all pending legislation prior to 1/1/ 03 except voting matters	5/7/2003	1727	25-20
2	Sale of city property to Adjacent Neighbor	7/9/2003	3770	47-1
3	Motion to authorize corporation council to enter into an executive settlement in the case of Ollins v. City of Chicago	7/29/2003	4988	45-2
4	Establishment of pilot camera program at bus stops	7/29/2003	6166	45-3
5	Resolution opposing U.S. Patriot Act	10/1/2003	8851	37-7
6	Sale of property at 10309 S. Sealy Ave.	2/11/2004	18245	45-1
7	Rezoning of Roosevelt/Morgan B5-4	5/26/2004	25345	46-1
8	Amendment of municipal code to develop Wal-Mart in the 37th ward	5/26/2004	25726	32-15
9	Amendment of municipal code to develop Wal-Mart in the 21st ward	5/26/2004	25739	25-21
10	2005 Annual Appropriation Ordinance	12/15/2004	39688	47-3

11	Corrections and of Year XXXI Community Development Block Grant	12/15/2004	39720	47-3
12	Series of Amendments to Year 31 Community Development Block Grant	12/15/2004	39840	47-3
13	Amendment to the 2005 budget to include the taxes to pay for the budget	12/15/2004	40756	45-5
14	Authorization for the City's lawyers to enter into and execute a settlement regarding the case of Mother And Father, et. al. v. Cassidy, et al.	1/11/2005	41586	45-1
15	Appointment of Winston Mardis as member and chairman of Chicago Cable Commission	2/9/2005	41588	48-1
16	Authorization for issuance of City of Chicago general obligation refunding bonds Series 2005 and levy and collection of direct annual tax	2/9/2005	43004	41-3
17	Authorization to enter into and execute agreement with RCN for provision cable TV service	3/9/2005	45541	48-1
18	President George W. Bush and United States Congress urged to preserve and uphold current social security system	4/6/2005	46842	46-1

19	Authorization to execute an intergovernmental agreement with the CTA regarding the transfer of Tax Increment Financing funds for construction of an airport check-in facility, a station facility and Off-Block improvements at 108 N. State Street (Block 37)	5/11/2005	47045	47-1
20	Approval for the restructure of a loan agreement and transfer of property from Woodland Park Partners to Woodland Park Associates, L.L.C. for the development of affordable condominium units at 3401 S. Cottage Grove Avenue.	5/11/2005	47049	46-1
21	Approval for the restructure of a loan agreement and transfer of partnership interest from North Washington Park Partnership to Plaza On The Park, L.L.C. for the Development of affordable condominium units at various locations.	5/11/2005	41586	46-1
22	Authorization for issuance and sale of Chicago-O'Hare International Airport General Airport Third Lien Revenue Bonds.	6/8/2005	41588	37-9

23	Authorization for issuance of City of Chicago General Obligation Project and Refunding Bonds, Series 2005 and levy and collection of Direct Annual Tax	7/27/2005	43004	46-1
24	Corporation Counsel and Department of Law ordered to stop their legal efforts to vacate or amend provisions of the Shakman Decree.	7/27/2005	45541	11-26
25	The Council urges the U.S. Government to withdraw the military from Iraq.	9/14/2005	46842	29-9
26	Amendment Of Title 13, Chapter 12, Section 145 of Chicago's Municipal Code by further regulation of Abatement Proceedings for Improperly Maintained Buildings and Structures.	11/1/2005	47045	38-8
27	Amendment Of Title 17 of Chicago's Municipal Code (Chicago Zoning Ordinance) by Reclassification Of Area Shown On Map Number 17-O.	11/30/2005	47049	47-1
28	Amendment Of Title 7 Of Municipal Code Of Chicago By Repeal Of Existing Chapter 32 and Establishment of New Chapter 32 Entitled "Chicago Clean Indoor Air Ordinance Of 2005" (Non-smoking ordinance).	12/7/2005	63213	46-1

29	Designation Of Various Financial Institutions as Municipal Depositories for City Of Chicago and Chicago Board Of Education Funds for Fiscal Year 2006.	12/7/2005	63228	36-1
----	--	-----------	-------	------

Figure 10

Years Served in City Council as of 2004

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Alderman</u>	<u>Years in Council</u>
1	Manuel Flores	1
2	Mandeline Haithcock	11
3	Dorothy Tillman	20
4	Toni Preckwinkle	13
5	Leslie Hairston	5
6	Freddrenna Lyle	6
7	William Beavers	21
8	Todd Stroger	3
9	Anthony Beale	5
10	John Pope	5
11	James Balcer	7
12	George Cardenas	1
13	Frank Olivo	10
14	Edward Burke	34
15	Theodore Thomas	5
16	Shirley Coleman	13
17	Latasha Thomas	4
18	Thomas Murphy	13
19	Virginia Rugai	14
20	Arenda Troutman	14
21	Howard Brookins Jr.	1
22	Ricardo Munoz	11
23	Michael Zalewski	9
24	Michael Chandler	9
25	Daniel Solis	8
26	Billy Ocasio	11
27	Walter Burnett Jr.	9
28	Ed Smith	21
29	Isaac Carothers	5
30	Ariel Reboyras	1

31	Regner "Ray" Suarez	13
32	Theodore Matlak	6
33	Richard Mell	29
34	Carrie Austin	10
35	Rey Colon	1
36	William J.P. Banks	21
37	Emma Mitts	4
38	Thomas Allen	11
39	Margaret Laurino	10
40	Patrick O'Connor	21
41	Brian Doherty	13
42	Burton Natarus	33
43	Vi Daley	5
44	Thomas Tunney	2
45	Patrick Levar	17
46	Helen Shiller	17
47	Eugene Schulter	29
48	Mary Ann Smith	15
49	Joe Moore	13
50	Bernard Stone	31

Figure 11: 29 Divided Roll Call Votes from 2003-2005

Issue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Agree	Dis.	NA	Percent Agreement with Mayor
Ald. 1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	21	6	2	77%
Ald. 2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	1	1	3	23	4	2	85%
Ald. 3	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	3	1	1	1	1	0	13	11	5	54%
Ald. 4	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	3	15	11	3	58%
Ald. 5	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	22	6	1	79%
Ald. 6	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	23	4	2	85%
Ald. 7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	1	1	1	3	24	3	2	89%
Ald. 8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	3	1	1	1	1	27	1	1	96%
Ald. 9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	3	1	1	1	1	26	2	1	93%
Ald.10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	26	3	0	90%
Ald.11	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	30	0	0	100%
Ald.12	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	25	0	4	100
Ald.13	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	20	5	4	80%
Ald.14	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	0	0	1	1	1	3	26	0	4	100%
Ald.15	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	21	7	1	75%
Ald.16	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	23	2	4	92%
Ald.17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	3	24	3	2	89%
Ald.18	2	2	1	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	21	4	4	84%
Ald.19	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	28	1	0	97%
Ald.20	0	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	1	1	1	0	1	3	1	0	1	1	15	11	3	58%	
Ald.21	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	3	20	7	2	74%
Ald.22	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	20	8	1	71%
Ald.23	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	23	4	2	85%
Ald.24	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	21	8	0	72%
Ald.25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	1	1	1	25	1	3	96%
Ald.26	0	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	1	1	1	21	5	3	81%
Ald.27	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	0	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	20	3	6	87%
Ald.28	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	3	20	8	1	71%

Ald.29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	3	1	1	1	3	26	1	2	96%		
Ald.30	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	26	3	0	90%		
Ald.31	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	23	6	0	79%		
Ald.32	1	1	1	1	3	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	27	0	2	100%		
Ald.33	0	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	23	4	2	85%		
Ald.34	0	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	3	1	1	1	1	25	2	2	93%		
Ald.35	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	21	8	0	72%		
Ald.36	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	3	1	1	24	1	4	96%
Ald.37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	25	3	1	89%		
Ald.38	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	24	2	3	92%		
Ald.39	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	2	2	25	1	3	96%		
Ald.40	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	23	5	1	82%		
Ald.41	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	22	5	2	81%		
Ald.42	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	3	1	1	1	1	24	4	1	86%		
Ald.43	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	25	3	1	89%		
Ald.44	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	25	3	0	89%		
Ald.45	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	3	1	1	1	1	27	2	2	93%		
Ald.46	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	20	6	3	77%		
Ald.47	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	2	19	4	6	83%		
Ald.48	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	2	1	1	20	3	6	87%	
Ald.49	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	19	7	3	73%		
Ald.50	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	22	5	2	81%		
Mayor	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1						

ENDNOTES

¹ Jodi Wilgoren, “Corruption Scandal Loosening Mayor Daley’s Grip on Chicago, *New York Times*, January 6, 2006, national web edition.

² Dick Simpson, *Chicago’s Future in a Time of Change*, Champaign, IL: Stipes, 1996, pp. 147-154

³ In the Shakman Decree, Judge Nicholas Bua in his opinion of September 24, 1979 declared that over 20,000 positions in various local governments were patronage employees and former Alderman Leon Despres testified that the number may have been as high as 35,000. Mark J. Konkol, Scott Fornek, Fran Spelman and Art Golab in “HDO: ‘A Hispanic Organization Like You Have Never Seen,’” *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 12, 2005 estimated that 482 political campaigners in HDO had city patronage jobs with an average salary of \$57,918. The *Chicago Tribune* in their study of only five city departments in 2005 found 1200 patronage employees in those departments alone.

⁴ Interview with Alderman Matlak, November 8, 2004.

⁵ Quoted in Dick Simpson, *Rogues, Rebels, and Rubber Stamps*, Boulder, CO: Westview, 2001, p. 272.

⁶ Simpson, *Rogues, Rebels, and Rubber Stamps*, Chapter 10.

⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, April 10, 2003, p. 1

⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, April 10, 2003, p. 1

⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, April 10, 2003, p. 1

¹⁰ Interview with Alderman Matlak, November 8, 2004.

¹¹ *Chicago Tribune*, October 3, 2003, p.31

¹² NBC5.com, March 31, 2004.

¹³ NBC5.com, March 31, 2004.

¹⁴ NBC5.com, March 31, 2004.

¹⁵ www.thesentimentalist.com/archives/000150.html

¹⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, May 27, 2004, p.1

¹⁷ www.nlcen.org/june04/walmart.html.

¹⁸ Fran Spielman, "Daley Budget Survives Mini-Revolt," *Chicago Sun-Times*, December 16, 2004, p. 17

¹⁹ Gary Washburn, "Big O'Hare Bond Deal Survives," *Chicago Tribune*, June 9, 2005.

²⁰ Gary Washburn, "Panel Oks Call for Iraq Pullout," *Chicago Tribune*, September 9, 2005, p. 4.

²¹ Fran Spielman, "Aldermen OK Deal Despite Possible Past Slavery Ties," *Chicago Sun-Times*, July 28, 2005, p. 24.

²² Angela Caputo, "Ald. Moore's Surprise Shakman Vote Catches City Council Off Guard," *Pioneer Press*, August 3, 2005, p. 3.

²³ Angela Caputo, "Ald. Moore's Surprise Shakman Vote Catches City Council Off Guard," *Pioneer Press*, August 3, 2005, p. 3.

²⁴ Gary Washburn and Robert Becker, "Iraq Vote Follows Council Scare," *Chicago Tribune*, September 15, 2005, p. 3.

²⁵ Fran Spielman, "Chicago Biggest City Yet to Call For Bringing Troops Home," *Chicago Sun-Times*, September 15, p. 9.

²⁶ Gary Washburn and Robert Becker, "Iraq Vote Follows Council Scare," *Chicago Tribune*, September 15, 2005, p. 3.

²⁷ Fran Spielman, "City Council Snuffs Out Cigarettes," *Chicago Sun-Times*, December 8, 2005, p.8.

²⁸ Fran Spielman, "Restaurants Gave \$150k to Smoking Ban Foe," *Chicago Sun-Times*, November 6, 2005, p.3.

²⁹ Fran Spielman, "Restaurant Owners Stuff Daley with \$95,000," *Chicago Sun-Times*, October 10, 2005, p.12.

³⁰ Fran Spielman, "City Council Snuffs Out Cigarettes," *Chicago Sun-Times*, December 8, 2005, p.8.

-
- ³¹ Fran Spielman, “City Council Snuffs Out Cigarettes,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, December 8, 2005, p.8.
- ³² Jodi Wilgoren, “Corruption Scandal Loosening Mayor Daley’s Grip on Chicago,” *New York Times*, January 6, 2006, national web edition, p. 2.
- ³³ Fran Spielman, “Alderman Trying to Push Foie Gras Ben Through Council,” *Chicago Sun-Times*. December 14, 2005, p. 24.
- ³⁴ Fran Speilman, “Daley Can’t Swallow Restaurant Score Cards,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, January 13, 2006.
- ³⁵ Fran Spielman, “Daley Budget Survives Mini-Revolt,” *Chicago Sun-Timem* December 16, 2004, p. 17.
- ³⁶ Gary Washburn, “Daley Gets His Budget, Criticism,” *Chicago Tribune*, Metro December 15, 2005, Section, p. 1.
- ³⁷ Gary Washburn, “Daley Gets His Budget, Criticism,” *Chicago Tribune*, December 15, 2005, Metro Section, p. 11.
- ³⁸ Fran Spielman, “Council Oks Hike in Cigarette Tax,” *Chicago Sun Times*, December 15, 2005, p. 8.
- ³⁹ Fran Spielman, “Council Oks Hike in Cigarette Tax,” *Chicago Sun Times*, December 15, 2005, p. 8.
- ⁴⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, November 22, 2004, pp. 1-2.
- ⁴¹ *Chicago Tribune*, November 22, 2004, p.2.
- ⁴² Dick Simpson, Ola Adeoye, Daniel Bliss, Kevin Navaril, and Rebecca Raines, “The New Daley Machine 1989-2004.” This paper was presented in slightly different versions at the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2004; the international Cities Future Conference, Chicago, July 2004; American Political Science Association, September 2004; and the Social Science History Association, November 2004.