



**A More Active City Council
Chicago City Council Report #8
June 17, 2015 – April 13, 2016**

**Authored By:
Dick Simpson
Ion Nimerencu
Maria Estrada
Catie Sherman
Thomas J. Gradel**

**University of Illinois at Chicago
Department of Political Science**

May 23, 2016

After a tough battle for reelection against his challenger, County Commissioner Chuy Garcia, Rahm Emanuel was reelected as mayor of Chicago. The rubber stamp city council that had backed him for his first four years in office also returned to city hall. While more progressives were elected in the 2015 elections, the majority of aldermen who were reelected were reliable supporters of the mayor in his previous term.

With the recent controversy surrounding the mayor, the public is watching to determine if the Chicago City Council will become a genuine legislative body, backing some of the mayor's policies and blocking others. After major police misconduct scandals such as the police shooting of Laquan McDonald, some political observers believed that this controversy would cause aldermen to turn against the mayor to save their own political careers.¹ Because of increasing signs of independence in the city council the mayor even held his first ever meeting to coordinate with all city council committee chairmen to gain better collaboration and support.² It turned out to be primarily a social occasion rather than a political strategy and collaborative gathering but it is significant that it was held at all since the mayor had not done so before.

Votes in the first year of this new council, have been more closely divided. For instance, the popular proposal to make the council more transparent and to provide oversight by the Inspector General further divided Emanuel's formerly rubber stamp council. The close vote to keep the Inspector General from investigating possible waste and mismanagement of city council affairs, caused some Chicagoans to believe aldermen were falling back into their old ways. Nonetheless, for the first time ever, the ordinance that passed gave the Inspector General the authority to investigate direct corruption by aldermen and their staff members.

The number of divided roll call votes have dramatically increased in comparison to the first Emanuel administration. The fact that more divided roll call votes are occurring and those votes are closer, also suggests that the mayor/council relationship is changing. This report seeks to document these changes, to measure them, and to determine what these changes mean.

2016 has brought many challenges for Chicago which makes it more important than ever for aldermen to do a good job representing their communities and the city as a whole. Voters are now questioning the status quo and demonstrations against police brutality and abuse have continued for months, but it is unclear if the Chicago rubber stamp council will come to an end or continue on its usual rubber stamp pattern since Mayor Richard J. Daley's reign began more than sixty years ago.

The first few months of the current administration from June-September, 2015 were pretty much a continuation of the old rubber stamp council. But four things have shaken that order even if the mold has not yet been broken permanently: 1) Rahm Emanuel was forced into a runoff election with Chuy Garcia which revealed that he had less political clout than when he won outright in 2011. 2) The city's budget problems caused the mayor to propose a \$588 million property tax increase and new taxes like the garbage collection tax which was unpopular with both aldermen and citizens. 3) The Laquan McDonald shooting videotape caused a revolt in the African American community which led to months of major protest demonstrations and the firing of the Police Superintendent and the head of IPRA, the police abuse investigative agency. 4) The mayor's public approval rating plummeted to the lowest level since Mayor Bilandic, who lost his subsequent election. According to the latest *New York Times* poll only 25 percent of the public approved the job the mayor is doing and only eight percent of blacks believe the mayor "cares a lot about people like them."³

In short, because Mayor Emanuel has become politically weaker, aldermen are unwilling to follow him blindly on hard votes like raising taxes, and aldermen don't want to go against the clear wishes of their constituents.

Despite these problems, however, Mayor Emanuel has yet to lose a single vote nor has he had to use his veto in the city council. He has compromised on some proposals and stood aside on others such as the Inspector General oversight of the city council which was divided 25-23.

City Hall reporters have noted a definite change of tone in the current council. Fran Spielman of the *Chicago Sun-Times* last January noted in reporting on a Finance Committee meeting that: "Routine matters that once sailed through without a whimper were placed under the microscope... [and predicted] that aldermen were likely to question virtually everything Emanuel does for the next 3½ years..." So, for instance, Mayor Emanuel cut in half his plan to issue \$1.25 billion in general obligation bonds because of aldermanic opposition.⁴ Rick Perlstein in the *New Yorker* has gone so far as to speculate about Emanuel's fall.⁵

This report provides an analysis of aldermanic voting records over the last year and demonstrates that there have been changes in aldermanic behavior especially over the last six months. The city council is still a rubber stamp but a weaker, less reliable rubber stamp than in Emanuel's previous imperious four years.

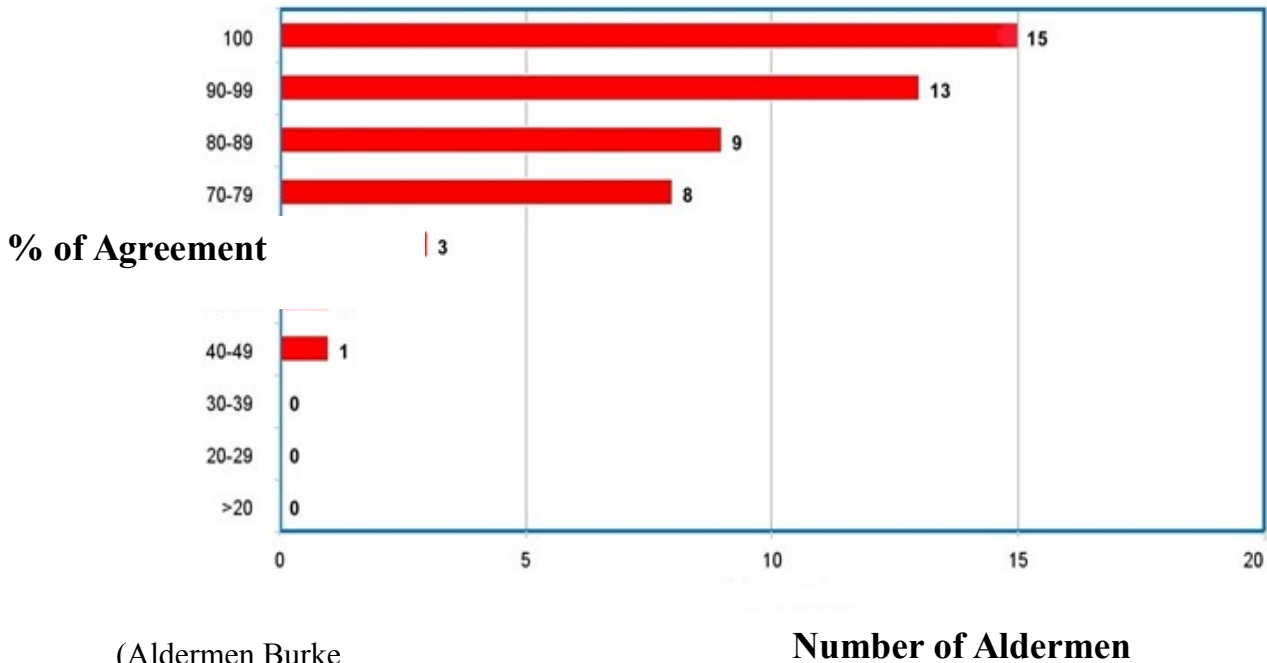
Support for Mayor Emanuel

To assess support of aldermen for Mayor Emanuel, voting records of all 50 aldermen were examined for the 32 divided roll call votes that occurred between June 17, 2015 and April 13, 2016. All yes votes were recorded as 1 and all nay votes as 0. Then, we calculated the number of times the aldermen voted with the administration as determined by the vote of the

mayor's council

floor leaders

Figure 1
Aldermanic Agreement with Mayor for 32 Divided Roll-Call Votes in the Chicago City Council
June 17, 2015 – April 13, 2016
Mayor Rahm Emanuel



(Aldermen Burke

and O'Connor)

and newspaper

Number of Aldermen

Mean: .88

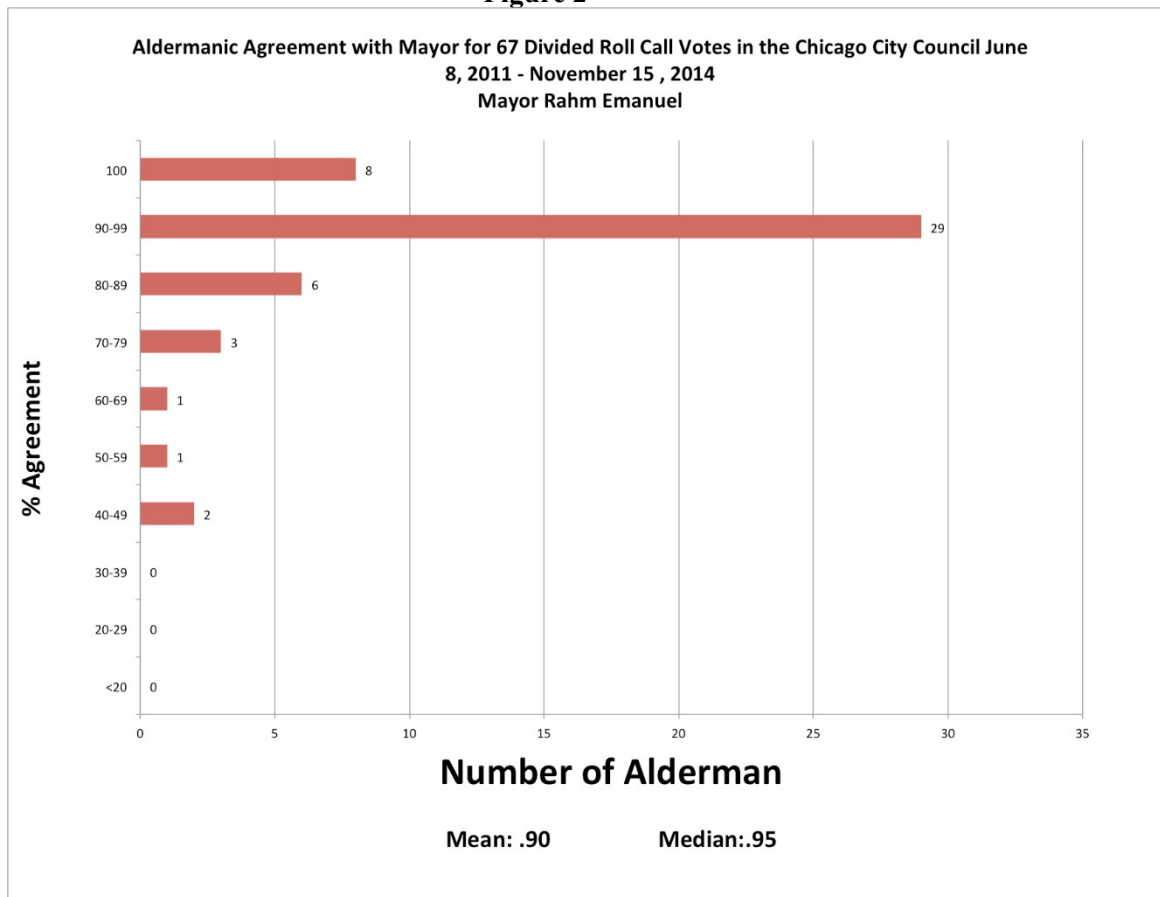
Median: .92

accounts of the mayor's position on issues. The number of votes with the Mayor was then divided by the total number of times each alderman voted to produce the percentage of agreement with Mayor Emanuel. As Figure 1 indicates, 28 of the aldermen voted with the mayor 90% - 100% of the time. Nine aldermen supported him 80% - 90% of the time and the other 13 aldermen voted with the mayor 40% - 80% of the time forming, in effect, a loose opposition bloc in the council.

The aldermanic voting pattern has changed from the previous city council period. In the three years from 2011 – 2014 there were 67 divided roll call votes; whereas there were 32 in less

than a single year in 2015-2016. Moreover, the level of dissent is growing. In the previous Emanuel administration 37 aldermen (or 74% of the city council) supported the mayor 90% of the time or more and now only 28 (or 56%) do. At the other end of the spectrum there are now 13 (26%) aldermen rather than 7 (14%) who vote with the mayor less than 80% of the time. In short, the number of aldermen voting with the mayor 90% -100% of the time has decreased since the previous city council, meaning some machine party loyalists break with the mayor more often on contentious votes such as the property tax increase. Fewer aldermen are voting all the time with the mayor and more are opposing him at least some of the time in key divided roll call votes.

Figure 2



This is less than a full rebellion, but there is an increase in opposition and independence from the mayor among the current aldermen. They are more often willing to produce their own legislation and proposed solutions to critical city problems rather than wait for or clear their proposals with the mayor. Loyal supporters like Aldermen Brookins (21st) and Beale (9th) as well as progressive opponents of the mayor submit proposed legislation without clearing it with the city administration.⁶

What causes this increased independence among aldermen? As stated above, it seems to have been spurred primarily by the difficult city budget crisis which caused the largest property tax increase (and other additional taxes and fees) in Chicago's history and the release of the shooting of Laquan McDonald videotape which made police abuse such a hot button issue that the Police Superintendent and the head of IPRA (the police review agency) were forced to resign. The police abuse issue also caused States Attorney Anita Alvarez to be soundly defeated in her reelection bid in the March 2016 primary election. All of which has led to a loss of clout by the mayor and encouraged more independent behavior by the aldermen.

Council Voting on the Most Contentious Issues June 2015 – April 2016

Several issues have been the most contentious during this early part of Mayor Rahm Emanuel's second four-year term in office. These issues include: (1) the Annual Appropriation Ordinance, (2) budget amendments on motor fuel taxes and various fees, (3) the 2016 Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) Ordinance providing urban housing and expanding economic opportunity in poor communities, (4) the establishment of a debt relief program, installation and removal of parking meters and bus shelters, (5) the 2015 - 2018 property tax increase, (6) further regulation of transportation services, (7) the Zoning

Reclassification for the Lucas Museum on the Lakefront, (8) expanding the powers of the Office of Inspector General and Board of Ethics to examine city council programs, and (9) the Office of Inspector General and Board of Ethics being empowered to investigate aldermen and their staffs regarding potential corruption. This has been a tumultuous time in Chicago and that has been reflected in the votes in the Chicago City Council.

Accordingly aldermen have been split in their voting from 100% support of the mayor to as little as 40% of the time. As Table 1 indicates fifteen aldermen have provided the mayor 100% support, including his city council floor leaders, Aldermen Pat O'Connor (40th) and Ed Burke (14th). The five aldermen who voted least with the mayor include Carlos Ramirez-Rosa (35th), Brendan Reilly (42nd), Chris Taliaferro (29th), Scott Waguespack (32nd), and Anthony Napolitano (41st) who range from 44-69% support.

**Table 1: Voting Patterns
Aldermanic Agreement with Mayor Emanuel
32 Divided Roll Call Votes From June 17, 2015 – April 13, 2016**

Ward	Alderman	% 2015 - 2016	Ward	Alderman	% 2015 - 2016
4	William Burns*/Sophia King	100	1	Proco Joe Moreno	91
7	Gregory Mitchell	100	5	Leslie Hairston	91
8	Michelle Harris	100	19	Matthew O'Shea	91
9	Anthony Beale	100	23	Michael Zalewski	89
11	Patrick Thompson	100	3	Pat Dowell	88
14	Edward Burke	100	43	Michele Smith	88
18	Derrick Curtis	100	47	Ameya Pawar	87
25	Daniel Solis	100	2	Brian Hopkins	84
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	100	44	Thomas Tunney	84
30	Ariel Reboyras	100	38	Nicholas Sposato	81
34	Carrie Austin	100	31	Milagros Santiago	81
37	Emma Mitts	100	33	Deborah Mell	81
39	Margaret Laurino	100	36	Gilbert Villegas	79
40	Patrick O'Connor	100	28	Jason Ervin	78
49	Joseph Moore	100	17	David Moore	75
15	Raymond Lopez	97	26	Roberto Maldonado	75
21	Howard Brookins, Jr.	97	50	Debra Silverstein	75
22	Ricardo Munoz	97	10	Susan Sadlowski Garza	72
46	James Cappleman	97	45	John Arena	72
12	George Cardenas	97	48	Harry Osterman	72
13	Marty Quinn	94	35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	69
16	Toni Foulkes	94	42	Brendan Reilly	68
24	Michael Scott, Jr.	94	29	Chris Taliaferro	63
6	Roderick T. Sawyer	93	32	Scott Waguespack	53
20	Willie Cochran	93	41	Anthony Napolitano	44

*Alderman William Burns resigned and was replaced by Sophia King for one vote but both had a 100% voting record with the mayor.

However, to really understand the votes of the aldermen, we turn to an analysis of the most controversial issues they confronted in the first year of this administration.

Annual Appropriation Ordinance Year 2016 amendments – 36 Yes, 14 No; Property Tax Levy and Other Tax Increases 35-15.

The earliest controversies to split the council in ways that the mayor could not fully control, although he was able to get his way in the end, was the vote on the city budget and various amendments on the use of motor fuel taxes, the Community Development Block Grant Funds, debt relief program, and installation and removal of parking meetings and bus shelters. These all occurred in a series of votes at the meeting on October 28, 2015.

One of the most divisive issues in the City Council was the Mayor's budget proposal that included the largest property tax increase in Chicago's history. On October 28, 2015 the Chicago City Council approved \$755 million in various tax hikes and a record breaking property tax increase of \$543 million. Thirty-five aldermen voted in favor of raising fines such as a booted cars fine increase from \$60 to \$100 and increases in fines for failing to do snow removal. The City Council also approved an amnesty program that would help Chicagoans pay their parking tickets without the risk of higher penalties.

First Ward Alderman Joe Moreno was among those who supported the spending plan and the tax hikes. During the October 28th meeting he defended his position saying, "I just wanted to point out that this vote on this budget was a big deal, obviously . . . a huge deal, and it was mentioned in the 35th ward, my esteemed colleagues that we should be going to large corporations and getting higher taxes." He said that corporations were getting a \$5.5 million tax break today. "So, again, let's keep it real. [Aldermen who were] going to be against it, fine. But

the hypocrisy of voting against this budget because we're not raising taxes and supporting \$5.5 million in tax breaks today is unconscionable.” Moreno like 33 other alderman were in full support of this tax hike while, Aldermen Ramirez-Rosa, Hopkins, Moore, Garza, Ervin, Taliaferro, Santiago, and eight others voted against the property tax hikes.

Alderman Ramirez-Rosa in opposing the property tax hike argued that, “it was a sad day in Chicago.”⁷ He complained, "It's a sad day when we can't look at cutting our own six-figure salaries. It's a sad day when we can't look at meaningful TIF [Tax Increment Financing] reform. It's easy to go to those with the least power and say, 'Give me more out of your pocket.' What's tough is turning to your political campaign contributors and asking them to pay their fair share.”⁸

Like many of her colleagues, Deborah Mell, who usually votes with the city administration voted against the tax hike. “My ward [will have to] foot the bill for this. Some of them are just getting back on their feet and are going to take a big hit from this. I think we could have explored other options.”

Alderman David Moore was the only council member to vote for Emanuel’s \$7.8 billion spending plan but not for the \$755 million revenue package increase to fund it. He explained that he voted against the revenue packet because “98% of his constituents opposed the \$9.50 a month per unit fee for city trash pickup at single family homes, duplexes, and 3-4 flat apartment buildings.” According to the *Chicago Tribune*, Alderman Moore wanted to in fact see a higher property tax increase that would have raised this hike to \$62.7 million instead of the garbage tax.

Aldermen like Moreno felt that the council had no other choice but to raise property taxes saying, "Someone says that they're sad in the 35th Ward," Moreno said, referring to Ramirez-Rosa. "You know what I'm sad about is that people aren't willing to bring their own solutions to the table, but yet vote against the solutions that have been brought about by [Mayor Emanuel's]

administration.... Aldermen have no choice whatsoever but to support this very politically challenging budget.”⁹

Before the Chicago city council convened for the meeting, Paris Schutz, a WTTW reporter, asked if the mayor needed the budget to pass with a large majority? Emmanuel replied that he would like to have a majority vote on this to “stand together.” He predicted, however, “There would be a majority and the majority will clearly stand for Chicago’s future.”

It’s clear that the Alderman who voted against the tax hikes were strongly opposed to them and stood their ground in voting against the budget. They voted against it because their constituents would suffer from these increased taxes. They felt that other options should have been explored before voting for such a record breaking property tax hike.

2016 Revenue Ordinance concerning various fines and fees – 35 Yes, 15 No.

The revenue ordinance, which also passed on October 28, 2015, containing various fines and fee increases, had serious implications for Chicago businesses and residents. All of the tax increases gained substantial attention in both local and national media. The revenue ordinance not only increased fees and fines, but it also created new taxes. In addition to the \$ 543 million property tax increase to pay for police and fire pensions, the city council adopted such fines and fees as: a \$ 9.50-a-month garbage collection fee to raise \$62.7 million; \$13 million in higher fees for building permits; a \$1 million tax on e-cigarettes; and \$48.8 million in fees and surcharges on taxicabs and ride-sharing services; and a 15 percent increase in taxicab fares in exchange for allowing Uber, Lyft, and Sidecar to pick up at the airports and McCormick Place.

The Chicago Liquid Nicotine Product Tax will now cause consumers to pay \$1.25 per electronic cigarette plus \$0.25 per fluid milliliter of consumable liquid, gel, or other solution

contained in the product. The amusement tax was extended to streaming and on-line gaming delivered electronically to mobile devices.

For many years, Chicago's property taxes were used to cover the costs of collecting garbage. The ordinance now established a new refuse collection fee for buildings of 4 units or less. The fee of \$9.50 per unit per month is added to water and sewer charges. Other fees and fines that were increased were fines for uninsured motorists; building permit fees for new construction; a \$50 fee for certificate of condo or townhome owner who wishes to transfer condominium property; and rideshare provider fees.

Mayor Emanuel urged the City Council to go down in history "as the men and women who pulled Chicago back from the financial brink and vowed to stand behind aldermen who stand with him – whether or not a second term is his last." He declared, "Now is the time. This is the council. Let us commit to finishing this job. Don't worry about my re-election. Worry about the future of Chicago"

2016 Management Ordinance establishing a debt relief program and installation and removal of parking meters and bus shelters. 36 Yes, 14 No.

This ordinance includes a series of provisions governing functions and duties of several different city departments. Mostly it set fees and fines although it did create a debt relief program. It covered snow removal, the installation and removal of parking meters and bus shelters. The ordinance also authorized the Commissioner of the Department of Transportation to install, modify and remove loading zones, after assessing the impact on public safety, as well as consultations with the Alderman of the affected ward. For driveways requiring sign installation the new fees are \$500 per year in the central business district, and \$110 elsewhere.

The ordinance allows for a 66 percent increase in Chicago booting fees and “self-release” Denver boots with a daily fine of \$50 if the boot is not returned within seven days.

A debt relief program was created for debts incurred prior to 2012 including city taxes, administrative adjudications, vehicle offenses that are not currently or previously adjudicated by the Department of Administrative Hearings or a court, or in an installment plan.

Because of all these fee increases, this was a controversial vote. “This is probably going to be the hardest vote I’ve ever made in my life, at this council,” said Ald. Walter Burnett Jr., 27th, who has represented the Near West Side for 20 years. “It’s a very tough vote. Any time you raise any fees – I don’t care what it is, even if it’s a sticker on a car – you’re worried about a political challenge. But at the same time we know our community wants all the services they’re getting now, and we want to continue to give them services, and this is absolutely the only way we can do it”¹⁰

This is how Alderman Gilbert Villegas 36th Ward, explained his vote against the ordinance. : “The way it was lump-summed, there were some things I could have supported. But the reality is when you put it all together as a leave-it-or-take-it, I decided my community is going to be impacted too much.”¹¹

Further regulating transportation network services and public chauffeur licenses – 38 Yes, 11 No.

At the same city council meeting on October 28, 2015, Mayor Emmanuel and the city council agreed on changing regulations governing transportation services and chauffeur licenses. The idea which was originally brought by Alderman Ed Burke (14th) and Alderman Beale (9th) was to increase fares.¹² Chauffeur licenses held by well-known services like Uber, Lyft,

Rideshare and Chicago taxis were all to see increases on ride share fees but all of them would be allowed on taxi turf in areas such as O’Hare, McCormick Place and Midway. Though the idea was to increase fares but Burke and Beal did not originally include letting Uber and Lyft into airport areas. Beal released a statement to the Chicago Tribune saying, “From the parties I talked to, this is not a good compromise, and me and Ald. Burke are going to try to come up with an ordinance that levels the playing fields for all parties.”

The increase in taxi fees were expected to bring in substantial new revenue along with the new garbage fee. Though transportation services beyond Chicago taxi cabs would be able to profit on cab turf at the airports like O’Hare and Midway, they would have to pay for the privilege. This includes paying the City \$5 dollars for every pickup and drop off at the airports. This would bring an additional \$30 million into the city coffers. Other fare increases would be from 50 cents to a dollar during surcharge times.

The fare increase was meant to create a level playing field for taxicab drivers who have been impacted by the new competition. As Alderman Arena stated, “You’re accessing a generous revenue opportunity [at the airports], let’s make sure it’s not any car anywhere that can do this. Let’s at least have a standard.” Many aldermen felt that this fare increase only helps the taxicab industry who have heavily lost due to the rise in the use of Uber, and other transportation services. Trying to strike a balance between the new transportation services and the traditional cab industry is a battle which is still ongoing in the city council.

Lucas Museum Rezoning. – 40 Yes, 9 No.

The zoning reclassification of the areas along Museum Campus Drive and surrounding properties was done to make way for the George Lucas Museum of Narrative Art. Getting the go

ahead from the city council was not the only hurdle that George Lucas faced. Friends of the Park sued the proposed museum and the city claiming that the 300,000 square foot museum violated public trust and was not in the public interest. The lakefront area along Lake Michigan received special protection from private development from city ordinances, state and federal legislation, and previous lawsuits. Friends of the Park did not object to the museum itself, but only to it being located on the lakefront.

Nine Aldermen voted against adding the museum to the lakefront despite Mayor Emmanuel's argument that doing so would actually add green space as well as the museum to what is now a parking lot. The nine Aldermen voted against the museum on the lakefront included; Ameya Pawar (47th Ward), Leslie Hairston (5th Ward) Scott Waguespack (32nd Ward), and Finance chair Edward Burke (14th Ward). The proposal was passed with minimal debate in the council but was later blocked in the courts. It also is an ongoing battle and it is uncertain that even with the city council rezoning that the museum will be built in Chicago.

Office of Inspector General and Board of Ethics authorized to investigate aldermen and their staffs (29 Yes, 19 No) but to prevent his investigating city council programs for waste and corruption (25 Yes, 23 No).

- These were the closest votes in the first year of the second Emanuel administration. After being established in 2010, the City Hall Inspector General has been in charge of reviewing all executive officials under the mayor. Despite the existence of the office of Chicago Inspector General, the public outrage over the long history of aldermanic misconduct led first to the creation instead of a separate office of Legislative Inspector General. Aldermen argued at the time that this was necessary to protect the legislative branch of government from executive

control and to maintain a separation of powers. So they made this separate council watchdog with limited authority. The previous legislative inspector general had much less power and staff than the executive inspector general. An example of the council's watchdog's limited investigative authority was that the Inspector General still cannot launch an investigation into aldermanic wrongdoing without a signed, sworn complaint. Also, it did not have the power to examine waste and fraud through the normal audit and review process that is enforced at every other City Hall office.¹³

Originally, the proposed new ethics ordinance gave the Executive Inspector General the power to investigate the aldermen and their staffs and to examine city council programs. It was supposed to be voted on in January 2016 but some aldermen opposed it. Thus, the ordinance was split into two separate ordinances and voted on at February's meeting. One of these new ordinances gave the inspector general the ability to investigate the aldermen and their staffs. This ordinance passed 29 to 19.

The other ordinance which would have brought the aldermen under the oversight that they have been avoiding for years and subjected them to the same scrutiny that all other parts of the municipal government face did not pass. Had it passed, it would have given the city inspector general, Joseph Ferguson, the authority to examine city council programs that spend hundreds of millions of dollars a year. Instead, there were many restrictions placed on the inspector general.

Just the month before, the sponsors of the stronger original ordinance were confident that they had acquired enough support to pass it. Then Aldermen Burke and Austin moved to delay this vote until February 10 and some aldermen who supported the original ordinance backed down.¹⁴ A number of supporting organizations claimed that this measure to prevent oversight

passed because a majority of aldermen did not want to deal with the scrutiny or they did not want to stand up to Burke.¹⁵ On the other hand, Fourth Ward Alderman Will Burns claimed that the original ordinance would have given too much power to the Inspector General. Burns said, "Some law enforcement officers -- and don't mistake it, IG's consider themselves prosecutors -- we know there have been people railroaded and falsely convicted and on death row."¹⁶ The supposition was that aldermen or their staff members could be falsely accused or prosecuted by the City Inspector General.

The support for broader power for the Inspector General came from Michele Smith (43rd) ward, Ameya Pawar (47th), and George Cardenas (12th). They argued that it is important to make sure Chicago public servants are accountable by working toward a more open, transparent, and ethical government.¹⁷ "This ordinance was drafted with an eye to bringing equity to ethical oversight of City Council," Alderman Smith said.¹⁸

Opposing the original ordinance was Finance Committee Chairman Edward Burke (14th) and Budget Committee Chairman Carrie Austin (34th). Burke did not comment in the debate but Alderman Austin said she would like to see the powers separated between the council and the mayor who appoints the city inspector general. She had an additional personal reason for opposing Ferguson's increased oversight. Her son resigned from his \$72,000-a-year job with the Department of Streets and Sanitation after Inspector General Ferguson found that he had crashed a city vehicle and tried to cover it up.¹⁹

After this vote, Inspector General Ferguson commented, "Instead of embracing oversight for itself consonant with that for the rest of City government and operations, [the council] retreated." He pointed out that the aldermen prevented this oversight "at a moment when our City

is under intense national scrutiny,"²⁰ referring regard to the Laquan McDonald and other police shootings.

The aldermen passed the first substitute ordinance that allowed the inspector general oversight over the aldermen and their staffs but they did not pass the second ordinance that would have allowed the inspector general more investigative ability over city council programs. This keeps the inspector general from investigating city council programs that involve millions of taxpayers' dollars but he can still investigate aldermen if he has a signed complaint. These two votes give Inspector General Ferguson restricted investigative ability over the city council but it is more oversight than anyone other than the U.S. Attorney has had over the aldermen and their staffs.

Tax on non-cigarette tobacco products and associated tobacco regulations – 35 Yes, 12 No.

This ordinance places a tax on certain tobacco products such as chewing tobacco, cigars, and loose tobacco. This ordinance was supposed to be voted on in February, but the vote was held off until the March city council meeting and underwent some changes. Among those changes, with Mayor Emanuel's support, the minimum age to buy cigarettes and other tobacco products was raised to 21. This ordinance has been called a victory in the fight against youth smoking. The main tax change was raising the tax on small cigars from 15 to 20 cents per cigar. Also, there was a decrease in the per-ounce tax on roll-your-own tobacco. The Emanuel administration estimated that the ordinance will raise about \$6 million annually.²¹

The opposition for the increased taxes on tobacco products comes from aldermen from areas closer to the suburbs or Indiana. They are worried that their convenience stores and gas stations will lose business because people will now go outside the city to purchase these

products. Not only this, but there could still be a legal challenge ahead because Illinois state law does not give municipalities the right to impose their own taxes on chewing tobacco. The Illinois Retail Merchants Association argued that Emanuel's move is illegal.²²

In addition, the passage of this ordinance added a 50 cent tax increase on taxi fares for people paying with credit cards. This tax is meant to lessen the impact of the charges card companies make cab companies pay for their transactions. This is part of the ongoing fight between the cab and ride-sharing industries over regulations.²³

Also included in this ordinance was a decrease on Chicago's portion of sales tax on tampons and sanitary pads. Supporters of this ordinance consider this to be fair as women need to buy the products. Currently, they are taxed at 10.25 percent, and, since the Chicago tax is 1.25 percent, that was removed to make these purchases cheaper for women.

Continuing the Rubber Stamp Council?

As revealed in the voting record of the first year, the city of Chicago still faces a rubber stamp council. Though there have been changes in voting in the most recent council meetings, the rubber stamp is not gone for good. Many Chicagoans still don't believe that aldermen are voting the public interest but only giving way to the will of the mayor. The restrictions placed on the Inspector General in investigating the aldermen themselves confirm their skepticism. Chicagoans will also feel these new laws in their pocketbooks more this year with newly implemented tax hikes that are just now arriving with the new property tax and garbage tax bills.

However, there is no doubt that Mayor Emanuel has less complete control of this city council than he had in his first term. The city will continue to face challenges in the next three years that will test the ability of the mayor and the city council to govern effectively.

Table 2: Description of the Divided Roll Call Votes

Issue #	Issue Synopsis	Date	Document #	Vote
1	Issuance of 2015 General Obligation Bonds and associated authority to select dissemination agent	6/17/2015	SO2015-4194	41-3
2	An ordinance regarding sundry amendments and corrections to the City of Chicago Ethics Ordinance	7/29/2015	O2015-4685	46-2
3	A substitute ordinance amending Chapter 7 of the Municipal Code of Chicago relating to Refuse Removal	7/29/2015	SO2015-4701	47-1
4	Recommendation of an ordinance to issue City of Chicago general (municipal) Obligation bonds series for 2015	9/24/2015	O2015-5438	46-2
5	An ordinance authorizing the issuance of Chicago O'Hare International Airport General Airport Senior Lien Revenue Bonds, Series 2015A and 2015B	9/24/2015	O2015-6123	46-2
6	Ordinance authorizing securities in the form of a bond of the City of Chicago wastewater transmission revenue bonds for project and refunding series	9/24/2015	SO2015-6215	46-2
7	Intergovernmental agreement with Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) for additional police services	9/24/2015	O2015-5964	48-1
8	Annual Appropriation Ordinance Year 2016 amendment regarding appropriate use of motor fuel taxes	10/28/2015	SO2015-6371	36-14
9	2016 Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) Ordinance regarding urban housing and expanding economic opportunity	10/28/2015	SO2015-6372	36-14
10	Establishment of debt relief program, and installation and removal of parking meters and bus shelters	10/28/2015	O2015-7390	36-14
11	2016 Revenue Ordinance concerning various fines and fees	10/28/2015	SO2015-7403	35-15
12	2015 -- 2018 Property Tax Levies	10/28/2015	O2015-7393	35-15
13	Amendment of Municipal Code Titles 9 and 10 by further regulating transportation network services and public chauffeur licenses	10/28/2015	SO2015-7989	38-11
14	Zoning Reclassification Map No. 4-E at 1410 Museum Campus Dr, 458 E 18th St, 600 E Waldron Dr, 1559 S Lake Shore Dr and properties with address ranges of 414-508 E 18th St, 415-509 E 18th St, 1600-1800 S Museum Campus Dr and 1800-1930 S Burnham Harbor Dr - App No. 18482 (Lucas Museum of Narrative Art)	10/28/2015	SO2015-6360	40-9
15	Support of Class 7(c) tax incentive for property at 825 W	12/9/2015	O2015-	49-1

	47th St		8054	
16	Sale of City-owned property at 5709 South State Street	12/9/2015	O2015-8174	49-1
17	Amendment of Municipal Code Section 9-68-020(c) to increase maximum allowable number of one-day parking permits available for purchase for each residential address per month	12/9/2015	O2015-7191	49-1
18	Authorizing Issuance of Sales Tax Revenue Bonds, Series 2016	1/13/2016	O2015-8872	43-2
19	Authorizing Issuance of City of Chicago General Obligation Bonds	1/13/2016	SO2015-8692	40-2
20	Authorizing Issuance of Chicago Midway Airport Revenue Bonds, Series 2016	1/13/2016	O2015-8874	42-2
21	Authorizing Issuance of City of Chicago Second Lien Wastewater Transmission Revenue Bonds, Project and Refunding Series 2016	1/13/2016	SO2015-8871	43-2
22	Authorizing Issuance of City of Chicago Second Lien Water Revenue Project and Refunding Bonds, Series 2016B	1/13/2016	SO2015-8870	42-2
23	Office of Inspector General and Board of Ethics for examining city council programs	2/10/2016		25-23
24	Office of Inspector General and Board of Ethics for investigating aldermen and their staffs	2/10/2016	SO2015-4229	29-19
25	Settlement agreement regarding United States Department of Justice allegations against Chicago Police Department for National Origin Discrimination before 2011	2/10/2016	Or2016-40	45-3
26	Negotiated sale and conveyance of City-owned property to The University of Chicago and The University of Chicago Charter School Corporation	2/10/2016	O2016-467	46-1
27	Amendment of Municipal Code Section 17-9-0129 concerning medical cannabis dispensing organizations and cultivation centers	2/10/2016	O2015-8241	46-2
28	Zoning Reclassification Map at N Clarendon Ave and N Clarendon Ave - App No.	2/10/2016	SO2013-2478	45-3
29	Amend Title 3 and Chapter 4-64 of the Municipal Code of Chicago concerning a tax on non-cigarette tobacco products and associated tobacco-regulated regulations	3/16/2016	SO2016-105	35-12
30	Zoning Reclassification Map at W 47th St and S Richmond St - App No. 18607	3/16/2016	O2015-8498	46-1
31	Zoning Reclassification Map at N Clybourn Ave, W Diversey Pkwy, W Diversey Pkwy, N Leavitt Ave, N Leavitt Ave, N Hoyne Ave, N Hoyne Ave, N Damen Ave	3/16/2016	O2015-6430	45-2

	and W Oakdale Ave - App No. 18535			
32	Home Rule Powers in Relation to Special Assessment Proceedings	4/13/2016	O2016-1599	45-5

	Issue #	1	2	3	4
	Date	6/17/2015	7/29/2015	7/29/2015	9/24/2015
Ward	Alderman	SO2015-4194	0215-4685	S0215-4701	0215-5438
1	Proco Joe Moreno	1	1	1	1
2	Brian Hopkins	1	1	1	1
3	Pat Dowell	1	1	1	1
4	William D. Burns * /Sophia King	3	1	1	1
5	Leslie A. Hairston	1	1	1	1
6	Roderick T. Sawyer	1	1	0	1
7	Gregory I. Mitchell	1	1	1	1
8	Michelle A. Harris	1	1	1	1
9	Anthony Beale	1	1	1	1
10	Susan Sadlowski Garza	1	1	1	1

11	Patrick D. Thompson	4	1	1	1
12	George A. Cardenas	3	1	1	1
13	Marty Quinn	1	1	1	1
14	Edward M. Burke	4	1	1	4
15	Raymond A. Lopez	1	1	1	1
16	Toni Foulkes	1	1	1	1
17	David H. Moore	1	1	1	1
18	Derrick G. Curtis	1	1	1	1
19	Matthew J. O'Shea	1	1	1	1
20	Willie Cochran	1	3	3	1
21	Howard Brookins, Jr.	1	1	1	1
22	Ricardo Munoz	1	1	1	1
23	Michael R. Zalewski	1	1	1	1
24	Michael Scott, Jr.	1	1	1	1
25	Daniel Solis	1	1	1	1
26	Roberto Maldonado	3	1	1	1
27	Walter Burnett, Jr.	1	1	1	1
28	Jason C. Ervin	1	1	1	1
29	Chris Taliaferro	1	1	1	1
30	Ariel Reboyras	1	1	1	1
31	Milagros S. Santiago	1	1	1	1
32	Scott Waguespack	0	1	1	0
33	Deborah Mell	1	1	1	1
34	Carrie M. Austin	1	3	3	3
35	Carlos Ramirez-Rosa	0	1	1	1
36	Gilbert Villegas	1	1	1	1
37	Emma Mitts	1	1	1	1
38	Nicholas Sposato	1	0	1	1
39	Margaret Laurino	1	1	1	1
40	Patrick O'Connor	1	1	1	1
41	Anthony V. Napolitano	1	0	1	1
42	Brendan Reilly	1	1	1	1
43	Michele Smith	1	1	1	1
44	Thomas Tunney	1	1	1	1
45	John Arena	0	1	1	0
46	James Cappleman	1	1	1	1
47	Joseph Moore	1	1	1	1

Table 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes June 2015 – April 2016

47	Joseph Moore	1	1	1	1
----	--------------	---	---	---	---

Table 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes June 2015 – April 2016

	6	7	8	9	10	11
	9/24/2015	9/24/2015	10/28/2015	10/28/2015	10/28/2015	10/28/2015
0215-6123	S0215-6215	0215-5964	SO2015-6371	SO2015-6372	O2015-7390	SO2015-7403
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	0	0	0	0
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1

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

0	0	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	4	1	1	1	1
1	0	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
0	0	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	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
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	1	3
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
0	1	1	1	1	1	1
0	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
0	1	1	1	1	1	1
0	0	0	1	1	1	0
0	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
0	1	1	1	1	1	1
0	0	0	1	1	1	0
0	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
0	0	1	1	1	1	1
0	4	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	3
1	0	1	1	1	1	3
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
0	0	1	1	1	1	0
0	1	0	1	1	1	1
1	1	0	1	1	1	1
1	1	0	0	1	1	1
1	1	0	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	0	1	1	1	1

Table 3: Aldermanic Voting Records for Divided Roll Call Votes June 2015 – April 2016

0	0	1	1	1	1	1
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
(Key: 1 – Yes, 0 – No, 2 – Not Voting, 3 – Absent, 4 – Excused from Voting, 5 – Vacancy)						
1/13/2						
SO20						
8692	O2015-8874	SO2015-8871	SO2015-8870	(A)	(B)	Or2016-40
1	1	1	1	0	0	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	0	0	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	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	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	0	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	4	4	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	0	0	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	0	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	0	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	0	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	3	3	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	0	1	1	1
1	1	1	0	1	1	1
1	1	1	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	1	1	1
3	3	3	2	1	1	1
1	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	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	0	1	0	1	1	0
1	1	1	3	3	3	0
1	1	1	1	1	1	0
1	0	1	0	1	1	0
1	1	1	1	1	0	0
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	0	1	1	1	1
1	1	0	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1

End Notes

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

1 "Editorial: Aldermen Scared Straight into Doing Their Job." *Chicago Sun-Times*, January 13, 2016.

2 Fran Spielman, "Rahm's Team Meeting," *Chicago Sun-Times*, April 29, 2016, p. 12.

3 Fran Spielman, "Rahm Blames Bad Poll Results on 40 Years of Financial Neglect," *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 12, 2016, p. 17.

4 Fran Spielman, "As Rahm Fights for Political Life, Aldermen Show Independence," *Chicago Sun-Times*, January 12,

5 Rick Perlstein, "The Sudden But Well-Deserved Fall of Rahm Emanuel," *The New Yorker*, Daily Comment, December 31, 2015.

6 Spielman, "Rahm Fights for Political Life..."

7 Ellyn Fortino, "Chicago City Council OK's Budget, Record Property Tax Hike & Lucas Museum." *Progress IL*, October 28, 2015.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Hal Dardick, and Bill Ruthhart, "2015 Emanuel's tax hike tab: \$ 755 million", *Chicago Tribune*, October 28, 2015.

11 Ibid,

12 Hal Dardick, "Emanuel Calls for New Ride-share, Taxi Fees." *Chicago Tribune*, September 18, 2015.

13 "Chicago Aldermen, Grow a Spine." *Chicago Tribune*, February 7, 2016.

14 Ibid.

15 "Spineless Aldermen Put One over on Chicago." *Chicago Tribune*, February 10, 2015.

16 Ibid.

17 Michele Smith, Ameya Pawar, and George Cardenas. "As Aldermen, Let's Stand up for Ethics." *Chicago Tribune*, January 9, 2016.

18 John Byrne. "Chicago Aldermen Take Step toward New Ethics Oversight." *Chicago Tribune*, January 11, 2016.

19 "Chicago aldermen are one step from passing inspector general ordinance." *Chicago Tribune*, January 12, 2016.

20 "Spineless Aldermen Put One over on Chicago." *Chicago Tribune*, February 10, 2015.

21 John Byrne. "Smoking age now 21; cab ride fee added: Chicago also will exempt tampons from city sales tax." *Chicago Tribune*, March 17, 2016.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.