AFSCME Council 31

WHERE DO YOUR UNION DUES GO?

A LOOK AT AFSCME Council 31 SPENDING IN FISCAL YEAR 2025 (Jan. 1 – Dec. 31, 2025)

The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees is the largest public (non-teacher) union in the state of Illinois, sends more money to its national headquarters than it spends representing workers who pay its dues. More than 37 cents of every dollar the AFSCME Council 31 spent last fiscal year went straight up to AFSCME International in Washington, D.C. — $19.7 million of the union's $53.2 million in total disbursements, a single line item that is $8.9 million larger than what Council 31 spent on actually representing its members.[12] Only $10.9 million (20.4%) hit "Representational Activities," the LM-2 line that captures negotiating contracts, processing grievances, and handling arbitrations — the core work that public-sector members in Illinois pay for.[3]

AFSCME Council 31 — the Illinois District Council of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, headquartered in Springfield — receives no direct dues. Instead, the Council collected $28.3 million in "Per Capita Tax" payments from its constituent local unions in 2025 and an additional $19.7 million in cash "On Behalf of Affiliates," for total receipts of $53.8 million.[4] Of that, every dollar collected for AFSCME International was forwarded — $19.7 million in pass-through that exactly equals the per-capita transfers received from below.[5] What's left over after the international skim is what Council 31 has to spend on the 60,518 Illinois state employees, child-welfare workers, university workers, and municipal employees it represents.[6]

Council 31 spent $3.4 million on "Political Activities and Lobbying" in 2025 — the union's highest political spending in a decade — with $2.3 million of that paid directly into the AFSCME Council 31 Political Account, the union's own state PAC.[78] Another $73,019 went to a single Crowne Plaza Hotel — charged to the political account, not representation.[9] [10] The AFSCME Council 31 Political Account itself has disbursed $7.0 million across 1,545 partisan transactions since 2017 — 98.1% to Democrats and just $17,250 to Republicans across nine contributions in nine years, a 395-to-1 Democrat-to-Republican giving ratio.[11] The single largest individual check in the dataset is $767,800 paid to Friends of Michael J. Madigan on September 18, 2018 — the former Illinois House Speaker who was convicted on ten federal corruption counts on February 12, 2025.[1213] Among the Springfield legislators the PAC has directly funded is Rep. Kelly Cassidy (D-Chicago) — $23,500 across nine contributions 2017–2025 — chief House sponsor of HB 4664, the 2023 law that makes Illinois a sanctuary for puberty blockers, cross-sex hormones, and gender-transition procedures for minors performed on patients traveling from states that restrict such procedures.[14] [15]

Executive Director Roberta Lynch took home $181,404 in FY2025 — but she is the only officer position drawing meaningful compensation; the rest of the union's elected Executive Board members collected stipends ranging from $1,800 to $15,000.[16] The real compensation lives on the employee schedule, where 9 staff members were paid over $150,000 in FY2025 (12 if you broaden the threshold to $145,000) — led by Associate Director Michael Newman at $200,140 (a 35% increase over his 2016 pay), Director of Organizing Abigail Davis at $181,735, Regional Director Ed Caumiant at $178,379, Business Manager Stacy Pflugmacher at $177,303, and Associate Director Tracey Abman at $170,866.[17]

AFSCME Council 31's total covered workforce dropped from 66,151 in 2016 to 60,518 in 2025 — a loss of 5,633 dues-paying or fee-paying public employees (8.5%) over a decade — but the loss was concentrated entirely in the agency-fee population.[18] Regular dues-paying membership held essentially flat over the same window (59,557 → 60,518, +1.6%). What disappeared completely was the union's agency-fee population, which collapsed from 6,594 in 2016 (and a 7,047 peak in FY2017, the last full pre-Janus year) to zero in every year since 2020 — a 100% loss the moment Illinois public employees gained the right to walk away after the 2018 Janus v. AFSCME Council 31 Supreme Court decision.[19] Meanwhile Council 31's annual receipts have grown 23% over the same decade ($43.8M → $53.8M), meaning each remaining member is now financing a substantially larger pie than the union's shrunken covered workforce would suggest.[20]

AFSCME Council 31 closed the year sitting on $54.4 million in net assets — including $65.4 million parked in investment securities — wealth equivalent to nearly $900 sitting in the union's accounts for every dues-paying member it represents.[21] In sum: AFSCME Council 31 ships 37% of dues straight to Washington, spends only 20.4% on actually representing Illinois public workers, pumps $2.3 million into its own PAC, drops half a million on hotels charged to political activities, sits on $54.4 million in net assets, and has lost 8.5% of its total covered workforce (every single agency-fee payer) since Janus. Illinois public employees who don't like that arrangement have a constitutional right to leave.

FINANCIAL POSITION

AFSCME Council 31 closed FY2025 (Jan 1 – Dec 31, 2025) with $77.5 million in total assets and $23.1 million in total liabilities, leaving $54.4 million in net assets — roughly $899 sitting in the union's accounts for every dues-paying member it represents.[22] Of that asset base, $65.4 million is parked in investment securities, $6.4 million in cash, and $4.9 million in fixed assets.[23] The investment position alone is more than the union's total annual budget.

Council 31's receipts have grown 23% over the past decade — from $43.8 million in FY2016 to $53.8 million in FY2025 — while the workforce paying those per-capita taxes shrank 8.5%.[24] The union's revenue model is distinct from a local: of $53.8 million in 2025 receipts, $28.3 million came as Per Capita Tax from constituent local unions, $19.7 million came in as cash "On Behalf of Affiliates" that flows straight back out to AFSCME International, $1.1 million in interest, $179 thousand in rents, and $4.6 million in "Other Receipts."[25]

Total liabilities — dominated by $22.9 million in "Other Liabilities" (largely pension and post-retirement health benefit obligations for the union's own staff) — actually fell from $24.7 million at start of year to $23.1 million by year-end as Council 31 chipped away at the long-term post-retirement balance.[26]

Item	Amount
Total Assets	$77,514,980
Total Liabilities	$23,103,904
Net Assets	**$54,411,076**
Investment Securities	$65,403,773
Cash	$6,383,443
Fixed Assets	$4,868,932
Other Liabilities (pension/post-retirement)	$22,930,490

SPENDING BREAKDOWN

AFSCME Council 31 spent $53.2 million in FY2025. Of that, just $10.9 million — 20.4% — went to "Representational Activities," the LM-2 line that captures contract negotiation, grievance processing, and arbitration.[27] That means nearly 80 cents of every dollar Council 31 spent went to something other than representing Illinois public employees at the workplace.

The single largest line item — at $19.7 million, larger than the union spent on representation by approximately $8.9 million — was "To Affiliates of Funds Collected," the LM-2 line that captures money forwarded to a parent or affiliated union.[28] That entire $19.7 million flows up from Illinois local unions through Council 31 to AFSCME International in Washington, D.C. Roughly 37 cents of every dollar Council 31 spent in FY2025 was a pass-through to AFSCME's national headquarters — money that exists on the Council 31 books for a few days and then leaves the state.

Other major spending categories: $6.7 million (12.6%) on benefits for the union's own staff, $4.8 million (9.0%) on general overhead, $4.5 million (8.5%) on investment purchases, $3.4 million (6.3%) on political activities and lobbying, $2.1 million (4.0%) on union administration, $993 thousand (1.9%) on direct taxes, and $206 thousand (0.4%) on contributions, gifts, and grants to outside organizations.[29]

Category	Amount	% of Total
To Affiliates of Funds Collected	$19,748,533	37.1%
Representational Activities	$10,854,799	20.4%
Benefits to Staff	$6,676,207	12.6%

General Overhead	$4,755,998	9.0%
Purchase of Investments & Fixed Assets	$4,529,540	8.5%
Political Activities & Lobbying	$3,350,569	6.3%
Union Administration	$2,112,912	4.0%
Direct Taxes	$993,294	1.9%
Contributions, Gifts & Grants	$206,133	0.4%

What Do These Categories Mean?

To Affiliates of Funds Collected: Money forwarded to a parent or affiliated organization. For AFSCME Council 31, this is the conduit to AFSCME International in Washington, D.C. — $19.7 million in FY2025, the union's single largest spending line (37.1% of disbursements).
Representational Activities: Contract negotiation, grievance handling, arbitration, and organizing — the union's core function. Council 31 spent just $10,854,799 (20.4% of disbursements) here.
Benefits to Staff: Health insurance, pensions, and other benefits for the union's own employees — not members. $6,676,207 (12.6% of disbursements) in FY2025.
General Overhead: Day-to-day operating costs — rent, utilities, supplies, equipment, and office administration. $4,755,998 (9.0%) in FY2025.
Purchase of Investments & Fixed Assets: Dues money used to buy investment securities and capital assets such as buildings and equipment, rather than spent representing members. $4,529,540 (8.5%) in FY2025.
Political Activities & Lobbying: Partisan campaign spending, PAC contributions, ballot measures, and direct lobbying. Distinct from representational work. $3,350,569 (6.3%) in FY2025.
Union Administration: Internal governance — officer elections, conventions, executive board meetings, and auditing. $2,112,912 (4.0%) in FY2025.
Direct Taxes: Taxes paid directly by the union, such as payroll and unemployment taxes on its own staff. $993,294 (1.9%) in FY2025.
Contributions, Gifts & Grants: Donations and grants to outside organizations and causes (charitable and advocacy) — separate from partisan political spending. $206,133 (0.4%) in FY2025.

POLITICAL SPENDING

AFSCME Council 31 reported $3.4 million on "Political Activities and Lobbying" in FY2025 — its highest annual political spending in a decade, more than 2.3 times the prior three-year average of $1.5 million.[3031] The single largest political expenditure was $2.3 million paid directly into the AFSCME Council 31 Political Account, the union's own state-registered PAC.[32]

Beyond the PAC contribution, Council 31's also paid $427,460 to the Crowne Plaza Hotel and $58,393 to the historic Abraham Lincoln Hotel in Springfield — both charged to political activities rather than representational work. The combined $485,853 in hotel costs is equivalent to nearly 15% of the entire political budget being spent on lodging and event hosting.[3334]

Council 31's "Contributions, Gifts and Grants" was small in dollar terms ($206 thousand) but ideologically focused: $77,792 to the University of Illinois, $50,000 to the Center for Tax & Budget Accountability (a left-leaning Chicago think tank), $24,000 to the Illinois AFL-CIO, $15,000 to Citizen Action Illinois (a progressive advocacy organization), $10,000 each to the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Illinois Economic Policy Institute, and Power to the Polls (an organizing project), and $5,000 grants to numerous community and advocacy groups including the Illinois Legislative Black Caucus and Illinois Legislative Latino Caucus.[35]

Over the past decade AFSCME Council 31 has spent $17.4 million on Political Activities and Lobbying alone — an average of $1.7 million per year regardless of what its members thought of any particular Illinois election or political cause.[36]

Fiscal Year	Political Spending
FY2016	$2,913,051
FY2017	$898,934
FY2018	$1,610,962
FY2019	$1,536,770
FY2020	$1,518,061
FY2021	$1,155,535
FY2022	$1,705,037
FY2023	$1,271,051
FY2024	$1,471,267
FY2025	$3,350,569
TOTAL	**$17,431,237 (10-year cumulative on Line 51 alone — separate from the IL state-capitol lobbying registration discussed below)**

PAC POLITICAL SPENDING

AFSCME Council 31's political budget tells only part of the political story. The AFSCME Council 31 Political Account — the union's separately-registered Illinois state PAC, funded year over year by Council 31's $2.3 million FY2025 transfer plus prior-year deposits — has disbursed $7.0 million across 1,545 partisan transactions since 2017. Of that total, $6.8 million (98.1%) flowed to Democratic candidates and committees, $110,000 (1.6%) went to liberal committees (most prominently DSPolitical, a Democratic-aligned political services firm), $7,500 (0.1%) reached conservative single-issue committees, and just $17,250 (0.2%) reached Republican candidates — nine modest contributions across nine years.[37]

The single most politically explosive concentration in the dataset is a single check. On September 18, 2018 — seven weeks before the November general election that returned Michael J. Madigan to his final term as Illinois House Speaker — the AFSCME Council 31 Political Account cut Friends

of Michael J. Madigan a single contribution of $767,800, plus a second $55,400 contribution in a separate cycle, for $823,200 across two checks total. On February 12, 2025, a federal jury in Chicago convicted Madigan on ten federal corruption counts — bribery conspiracy, multiple Travel Act violations, wire fraud, and bribery — making the AFSCME Council 31 PAC one of the largest single union benefactors of a now-convicted federal felon's campaign committee.[3839]

The partisan picture is overwhelmingly one-sided. Nine years and 1,545 transactions yielded just nine contributions totaling $17,250 to Republican candidates — most to Sen. John Curran ($5,000), Sen. Terri Bryant ($4,000 across two), Sen. David Welter ($2,500), Aurora Mayor Richard Irvin ($2,500), and Sen. Craig Wilcox ($2,000) — against $6.8 million flowing to Democrats. That is a 395-to-1 Democrat-to-Republican giving ratio. The AFSCME Council 31 PAC is not a labor PAC that occasionally supports Democrats; it is a Democratic-Party state-level electoral operation.[40]

Among the Springfield legislators that PAC has directly funded is Rep. Kelly Cassidy (D-Chicago, House District 14) — the chief House sponsor of Illinois HB 4664 (Public Act 102-1117). The 2023 law makes Illinois a sanctuary state for puberty blockers, cross-sex hormones, and surgical gender-transition procedures performed on minors traveling from states that restrict such procedures. Illinois State Board of Elections records show the AFSCME Council 31 Political Account cut Cassidy's Citizens for Cassidy committee nine direct checks totaling $23,500 between 2017 and 2025: $3,000 on July 18, 2017; $5,000 on February 5, 2018; $5,000 on July 25, 2018; $1,000 on July 29, 2019; $3,000 on November 10, 2021; $1,000 on September 26, 2022; $1,000 on November 22, 2022; $2,500 on September 12, 2023; and $2,000 on September 25, 2025 — sustained funding across every cycle since the year before Janus.[4142]

Recipient	Amount	Party
Friends of Michael J. Madigan (former Speaker, convicted Feb 2025)	$823,200	D
Raoul (Kwame, Attorney General — combined)	$152,000	D
Democrats for the Illinois House	$147,700	D
Friends of Robert Martwick (State Senate)	$134,300	D
ISDF (Illinois State Democratic Fund)	$132,700	D
Friends of Mike Halpin (State Senate)	$117,800	D
Democratic Majority	$116,800	D
Friends of Jerry Costello (State House)	$110,800	D
Committee to Elect Jay C. Hoffman (State House)	$109,800	D
Welch, The People for Emanuel Chris (IL House Speaker)	$178,200	D
Friends of Christian Mitchell (former State Rep, Pritzker administration)	$104,800	D

Friends of Don Harmon (IL Senate President, two committees combined)	$101,800	D
TOTAL	**$2,229,900 (top 12 recipients — 32.1% of $6.95M partisan total)**	

WASTEFUL SPENDING

AFSCME Council 31 spent $511,038 on four hotels in FY2025 — and unlike most unions whose hotel spending is distributed across many properties for many purposes, Council 31's hotel bill is dominated by one venue: the Crowne Plaza Hotel at $427,460, with the entire bill charged to the union's political account rather than to representational activities.[43][44] The Crowne Plaza is the union's primary venue for political and legislative-cycle events; $427,460 is equivalent to roughly 13% of all the union's political spending for the year going to a single hotel.

The other three hotels — the Pres. Abraham Lincoln Hotel in Springfield ($58,393, charged to Representational), the DoubleTree by Hilton Lisle Naperville ($18,945, Union Administration), and a Holiday Inn Express ($6,240, Union Administration) — together total $83,578.[45]

Vendor	Amount
Crowne Plaza Hotel (charged to political account)	$427,460
Pres. Abraham Lincoln Hotel (Springfield)	$58,393
DoubleTree by Hilton Lisle Naperville	$18,945
Holiday Inn Express	$6,240
TOTAL	**$511,038**

TOP COMPENSATION

AFSCME Council 31's officer payroll is tiny — just $369,008 in gross compensation across 42 listed officers — because the union's operational leadership is classified on the Schedule 12 (Employee) payroll instead.[46] The exception is Executive Director Roberta Lynch, who is listed on Schedule 11 and was paid $181,404 in FY2025 (up 8.8% from her 2016 compensation of $166,754).[47][48] The rest of the 41 Executive Board members collected stipends ranging from approximately $1,800 to $15,000 each.

The real compensation picture lives on Schedule 12, where Council 31 paid out $13.2 million in gross compensation across 129 listed employees in FY2025 — $10.0 million net of deductions.[49] Nine staff members were paid more than $150,000 in FY2025 — twelve if the threshold is broadened to $145,000 — led by Associate Director Michael Newman at $200,140, Director of Organizing Abigail Davis at $181,735, Regional Director Ed Caumiant at $178,379, Business Manager Stacy Pflugmacher at $177,303 (the union's certified President for LM-2 filing purposes), Associate Director Tracey Abman at $170,866, Regional Director David Beck at $160,228, Supervising Counsel Thomas Edstrom at $159,066, Regional Director Carla Gillespie at

$152,963, Director of Political & Legislative Affairs Joanna Webb-Gauvin at $151,929, Staff Representative Erik Hostetter at $148,262, Staff Representative Timothy Lavelle at $146,887, and Regional Director Douglas Woodson at $145,527.[50]

Employee	Total Compensation
1. Michael Newman — Associate Director	$200,140
2. Abigail Davis — Director of Organizing	$181,735
3. Ed Caumiant — Regional Director	$178,379
4. Stacy Pflugmacher — Business Manager	$177,303
5. Tracey Abman — Associate Director	$170,866
6. David Beck — Regional Director	$160,228
7. Thomas Edstrom — Supervising Counsel	$159,066
8. Carla Gillespie — Regional Director	$152,963
9. Joanna Webb-Gauvin — Dir. of Political & Legislative Affairs	$151,929
10. Erik Hostetter — Staff Representative	$148,262
11. Timothy Lavelle — Staff Representative	$146,887
12. Douglas Woodson — Regional Director	$145,527
TOP 12 EMPLOYEES TOTAL	**$1,973,285**

Employee	FY 2016 Pay	FY 2025 Pay	% Change
Michael Newman — Associate Director	$148,271	$200,140	**+35.0%**
Stacy Pflugmacher — Business Manager	$107,027	$177,303	**+65.7%**
Joanna Webb-Gauvin — Dir. Political/Legislative	$106,063	$151,929	**+43.2%**
Carla Gillespie — Regional Director	$92,671	$152,963	**+65.1%**

Over the past decade, mid-tier and senior Council 31 staff compensation has grown by up to 66% — substantially outpacing inflation and the wage growth of most Illinois state-employee members the union represents.[51]

Officer	Title	Total Compensation
Roberta Lynch	Executive Director	$181,404

EMPLOYEE BENEFITS

On top of the $13.2 million AFSCME Council 31 paid its 129 employees in cash compensation, the union spent another $6.7 million on benefits for those same employees and officers in FY2025 — bringing total staff cost to nearly $20 million, or roughly $327 per member.[52] The single largest benefit was $2.8 million in pension contributions to the AFSCME Employees Pension Plan, plus $2.9 million in self-funded health benefits paid to Prairie States Enterprises (split between insurance claims of $2.4 million and health insurance premiums of $528 thousand), $798 thousand in pharmacy claims paid to Navitus Pharmacy Benefits, and $177 thousand in life and long-term disability coverage from Reliance Standard.[53]

Council 31's pension and health-benefit package for staff — a defined-benefit pension plan plus a self-funded medical plan with separate pharmacy benefits manager — is structurally richer than the benefits most of the Illinois public employees who pay dues to Council 31 receive from the State of Illinois.[54]

Benefit Type	Amount
Pension Contributions — AFSCME Employees Pension Plan	$2,762,133
Insurance Claims — Prairie States Enterprises (self-funded)	$2,402,924
Pharmacy Claims — Navitus Pharmacy Benefits	$798,499
Health Insurance Premiums — Prairie States Enterprises	$527,996
Life / Disability Insurance — Reliance Standard	$176,856
Membership Fees — California Coalition of Employee Benefit Plans	$7,799
TOTAL BENEFITS	**$6,676,207**

MEMBERSHIP DECLINE

AFSCME Council 31's total covered workforce has dropped from 66,151 in FY2016 to 60,518 in FY2025 — a loss of 5,633 (8.5%) over a decade — but the loss was concentrated entirely in the agency-fee population that walked away after Janus.[55] Regular dues-paying membership went from 59,557 in FY2016 to 60,518 in FY2025 — essentially flat at the endpoints (+1.6%) — though it dipped to a low of 53,014 in FY2022 before recovering. The union is well below the 89,000-plus members AFSCME Council 31 claimed in earlier eras when full-shop agency-fee enforcement was legal.

The dramatic story is on agency-fee payers — workers who, before the 2018 Janus v. AFSCME Supreme Court decision, were forced to pay a percentage of dues as a condition of working in an Illinois public-sector bargaining unit even if they chose not to join the union. Council 31's agency-fee population went from 6,594 in FY2016 and a 7,047 peak in FY2017 (the last full pre-Janus year) to zero in every year since FY2020.[56] Every Illinois public employee who was paying involuntarily before Janus has walked away in the years since — a 100% loss within two years of gaining the legal right to do so.

Meanwhile, Council 31's total receipts have grown 23% over the same decade (from $43.8M in FY2016 to $53.8M in FY2025).[57][58] The union is collecting more dollars from a workforce that — accounting for the lost agency-fee payers — is substantially smaller than it was ten years ago. Per-member income has risen significantly, even as representational spending stagnated as a share of total disbursements.

2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025
59,557	57,995	57,000	59,817	57,335	55,182	53,014	55,771	59,183	60,518

YOUR RIGHT TO LEAVE

If you are an Illinois public-sector employee — a state worker, child-welfare worker, university employee, or municipal worker — represented by AFSCME Council 31 and you don't think your dues should be subsidizing $19.7 million per year forwarded to AFSCME International in Washington, D.C., $2.3 million pumped into the union's own state PAC, $427,460 spent at a single Crowne Plaza Hotel charged to political activities, or nine employees earning over $150,000 each (twelve over $145,000) — you have a constitutional right to stop paying.

The Supreme Court's 2018 decision in Janus v. AFSCME Council 31 — the case that bears this very union's name — made clear that no public employee can be forced to pay any dues or fees to a union as a condition of employment. You can resign your membership at any time, stop your dues deductions, and continue working in your job. The 100% elimination of agency-fee payers at Council 31 since 2020 shows how many of your colleagues have already made that decision.

If you'd like help understanding your rights, exiting your union, or finding alternative representation, contact Americans for Fair Treatment. Visit americansforfairtreatment.org or call (833) 969-FAIR.

Data sourced from the U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Labor-Management Standards (OLMS), Form LM-2 for AFSCME Council 31 (File No. 511-506) for fiscal year January 1 – December 31, 2025, plus historical Form LM-2 filings 2016–2024. PAC contribution data sourced from Illinois State Board of Elections committee filings 2017–2026 (AFSCME Council 31 Political Account) via the AAF State PAC Partisan Tracker (state-pac-widgets.vercel.app/IL/AFSCME-Council-31-PAC.html).

NUMBERS TO HIGHLIGHT

Key statistics from AFSCME Council 31's January 1 – December 31, 2025 LM-2 filing

20.4%	Share of disbursements spent on actual representational activities
37.1%	Share forwarded to AFSCME International in Washington, D.C.
$19.7M	Pass-through to AFSCME national, the single largest spending line
$2.3M	Pumped into AFSCME Council 31's own state PAC
$427,460	Paid to the Crowne Plaza Hotel — charged to political activities
64%	of listed employees were paid more than $100,000 in FY2025 (82 of 129)
$54.4M	Net assets sitting in union reserves
$65.4M	Parked in investment securities — more than the union's annual budget
-100%	Loss of agency-fee payers since Janus (6,594 in 2016 / 7,047 peak in 2017 → 0 from 2020)
-8.5%	Decline in total covered workforce over the decade (66,151 → 60,518) — driven entirely by 6,594 agency-fee payers walking away after Janus
$7.0M	Partisan disbursements from AFSCME Council 31 PAC 2017–2026 (98.1% Democrat, just $17,250 to Republicans)

$767,800 Single check to Madigan's campaign Sept 18, 2018 — Madigan convicted on 10 federal corruption counts Feb 2025

395-to-1 Democrat-to-Republican giving ratio of AFSCME 31's PAC 2017–2026

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[1] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement B – Statement of Disbursements (Lines 50–65)

[2] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement B – Statement of Disbursements (Lines 50, 51, 52, 63)

[3] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement B – Statement of Disbursements (Lines 50–65)

[4] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement B – Statement of Receipts (Line 37)

[5] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement B – Statement of Disbursements (Lines 50, 51, 52, 63)

[6] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement B – Statement of Receipts (Line 37)

[7] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement B – Statement of Disbursements (Lines 50, 51, 52, 63)

[8] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedules 16–17 – Political Activities & Lobbying / Contributions, Gifts & Grants payees

[9] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedules 15–18 – Payee Spending; AAF analysis of hotel, banquet hall, and event-venue disbursements

[10] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedules 16–17 – Political Activities & Lobbying / Contributions, Gifts & Grants payees

[11] AAF State PAC Partisan Tracker, AFSCME Council 31 Political Account (IL); compiled from Illinois State Board of Elections committee filings 2017–2026 via state-pac-widgets.vercel.app/IL/AFSCME-Council-31-PAC.html.

[12] AFSCME Council 31 Political Account contribution record: $767,800 single contribution to 'Friends of Michael J. Madigan' filed September 18, 2018 with the Illinois State Board of Elections (a second contribution of $55,400 was filed in a separate cycle, bringing the two-check total to $823,200).

[13] United States v. Michael J. Madigan, N.D. Ill. Case No. 1:22-cr-00115; Feb. 12, 2025 jury verdict convicting former Illinois House Speaker Michael J. Madigan on 10 federal corruption counts (bribery conspiracy, wire fraud); see U.S. Department of Justice press release of Feb. 12, 2025.

[14] AFSCME Council 31 Political Account contribution records to 'Citizens for Cassidy' / 'Citizens for Kelly Cassidy': nine direct contributions 2017–2025 totaling $23,500 — 2017-07-18 ($3,000), 2018-02-05 ($5,000), 2018-07-25 ($5,000), 2019-07-29 ($1,000), 2021-11-10 ($3,000), 2022-09-26 ($1,000), 2022-11-22 ($1,000), 2023-09-12 ($2,500), and 2025-09-25 ($2,000).

[15] Illinois HB 4664 (102nd Reg. Sess.), chief House sponsor Rep. Kelly M. Cassidy; signed by Gov. JB Pritzker Jan. 13, 2023 (Public Act 102-1117), shields Illinois providers of reproductive and gender-affirming care — including puberty blockers, cross-sex hormones, and gender-transition procedures for minors — from out-of-state legal action and disciplinary inquiries.

[16] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedule 11 – All Officers and Disbursements to Officers

[17] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedule 12 – Disbursements to Employees

[18] Form LM-2 historical filings 2016–2025 (File No. 511-506), Line 1 – Members & Agency Fee Payers

[19] Form LM-2 historical filings 2016–2025 (File No. 511-506), Line 1 – Members & Agency Fee Payers

[20] Form LM-2 historical filings 2016–2025 (File No. 511-506), Line 1 – Members & Agency Fee Payers

[21] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement A – Assets & Liabilities (Lines 29, 34, 35)

[22] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement A – Assets & Liabilities (Lines 29, 34, 35)

[23] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement A – Assets & Liabilities (Lines 29, 34, 35)

[24] Form LM-2 historical filings 2016–2025 (File No. 511-506), Line 1 – Members & Agency Fee Payers

[25] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement B – Statement of Receipts (Line 37)

[26] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement A – Assets & Liabilities (Lines 29, 34, 35)

[27] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement B – Statement of Disbursements (Lines 50–65)

[28] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement B – Statement of Disbursements (Lines 50, 51, 52, 63)

[29] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement B – Statement of Disbursements (Lines 50–65)

[30] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement B – Statement of Disbursements (Lines 50, 51, 52, 63)

[31] Form LM-2 historical filings 2016–2025 (File No. 511-506), Line 1 – Members & Agency Fee Payers

[32] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedules 16–17 – Political Activities & Lobbying / Contributions, Gifts & Grants payees

[33] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedules 16–17 – Political Activities & Lobbying / Contributions, Gifts & Grants payees

[34] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedules 15–18 – Payee Spending; AAF analysis of hotel, banquet hall, and event-venue disbursements

[35] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedules 16–17 – Political Activities & Lobbying / Contributions, Gifts & Grants payees

[36] Form LM-2 historical filings 2016–2025 (File No. 511-506), Line 1 – Members & Agency Fee Payers

[37] AAF State PAC Partisan Tracker, AFSCME Council 31 Political Account (IL); compiled from Illinois State Board of Elections committee filings 2017–2026 via state-pac-widgets.vercel.app/IL/AFSCME-Council-31-PAC.html.

[38] AFSCME Council 31 Political Account contribution record: $767,800 single contribution to 'Friends of Michael J. Madigan' filed September 18, 2018 with the Illinois State Board of Elections (a second contribution of $55,400 was filed in a separate cycle, bringing the two-check total to $823,200).

[39] United States v. Michael J. Madigan, N.D. Ill. Case No. 1:22-cr-00115; Feb. 12, 2025 jury verdict convicting former Illinois House Speaker Michael J. Madigan on 10 federal corruption counts (bribery conspiracy, wire fraud); see U.S. Department of Justice press release of Feb. 12, 2025.

[40] AAF State PAC Partisan Tracker, AFSCME Council 31 Political Account (IL); compiled from Illinois State Board of Elections committee filings 2017–2026 via state-pac-widgets.vercel.app/IL/AFSCME-Council-31-PAC.html.

[41] AFSCME Council 31 Political Account contribution records to 'Citizens for Cassidy' / 'Citizens for Kelly Cassidy': nine direct contributions 2017–2025 totaling $23,500 — 2017-07-18 ($3,000), 2018-02-05 ($5,000), 2018-07-25 ($5,000), 2019-07-29 ($1,000), 2021-11-10 ($3,000), 2022-09-26 ($1,000), 2022-11-22 ($1,000), 2023-09-12 ($2,500), and 2025-09-25 ($2,000).

[42] Illinois HB 4664 (102nd Reg. Sess.), chief House sponsor Rep. Kelly M. Cassidy; signed by Gov. JB Pritzker Jan. 13, 2023 (Public Act 102-1117), shields Illinois providers of reproductive and gender-affirming care — including puberty blockers, cross-sex hormones, and gender-transition procedures for minors — from out-of-state legal action and disciplinary inquiries.

[43] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedules 15–18 – Payee Spending; AAF analysis of hotel, banquet hall, and event-venue disbursements

[44] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedules 16–17 – Political Activities & Lobbying / Contributions, Gifts & Grants payees

[45] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedules 15–18 – Payee Spending; AAF analysis of hotel, banquet hall, and event-venue disbursements

[46] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedule 11 – All Officers and Disbursements to Officers

[47] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedule 11 – All Officers and Disbursements to Officers

[48] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedule 12 – Disbursements to Employees

[49] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedule 12 – Disbursements to Employees

[50] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedule 12 – Disbursements to Employees

[51] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedule 12 – Disbursements to Employees

[52] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedule 20 – Benefits

[53] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedule 20 – Benefits

[54] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Schedule 20 – Benefits

[55] Form LM-2 historical filings 2016–2025 (File No. 511-506), Line 1 – Members & Agency Fee Payers

[56] Form LM-2 historical filings 2016–2025 (File No. 511-506), Line 1 – Members & Agency Fee Payers

[57] Form LM-2 historical filings 2016–2025 (File No. 511-506), Line 1 – Members & Agency Fee Payers

[58] Form LM-2 (File No. 511-506), Statement B – Statement of Receipts (Line 37)