Playing Favorites:

Understanding the Demographics of Economic Development Subsidies in Illinois

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Subsidies play a prominent role in economic development policy at both the state and local levels in Illinois, yet subsidy policies continue to lack the strict scrutiny they deserve. Illinois residents are already grappling with increased taxes following the protracted two-year budget impasse, and it is as important as ever to guarantee their hard-earned money is helping those who need it most. This report – the second in a series by the Illinois Economic Policy Institute (ILEPI) – evaluates subsidies in the context of their geographic distribution and demographics. It poses the question of whether business tax subsidies help the people and communities who are most in need of economic aid.

The Distribution of State Subsidies in Illinois

Since 1985, businesses in 242 municipalities received subsidy support from the state. Overall, the allocation of subsidies is not evenly distributed throughout the state by population, favoring municipalities that are majority white and those with poverty rates below the state's average.

- Hoffman Estates received the highest value, totaling over $520 million, which is 26 percent of total state subsidies distributed in Illinois; conversely, Hoffman Estates only has 0.4 percent of Illinois' population.
- With the exception of Chicago and Joliet, subsidies per capita for each of the top 10 municipalities exceed $1,000, with Marissa having the highest in the state at $13,451; the average subsidy per capita for all municipalities is $695.
- Of the 242 municipalities that received state subsidies, 77 percent had a smaller share of minority population than the state in 2010.

The Distribution of State Subsidies in the Chicago Region

While state subsidies are relatively prevalent across the entire Chicago region – which in this report includes Cook, DuPage, Kane, Kendall, Lake, McHenry, and Will Counties – particular localities benefit more.

- The southern portions of Chicago and Cook County have noticeably higher poverty and unemployment rates, yet only 80 subsidies were issued to locations there, while just over 130 and 120 subsidies were issued to locations in DuPage and Lake Counties, respectively.
- With the exception of Chicago, the ten municipalities that received the highest value of subsidies – which account for 91 percent of all subsidies in the region – all have higher median incomes and lower poverty rates than the state average.

The Distribution of Local Subsidies in Chicago

In addition to receiving state subsidies, the City of Chicago has a long history of offering local subsidies in the form of Tax Increment Financing and Small Business Improvement Funds.

- The north side of Chicago has received over 1,600 local subsidies, while the south side has received fewer than 500.
- Although a large number of the local subsidies do focus on areas with higher poverty and unemployment rates, there is still a concentration of larger deals in the more affluent downtown area and a significant shortage on the south side of Chicago.

Illinois and the City of Chicago have spent over $2.1 billion and $2.4 billion, respectively, since 1985 on subsidies to private corporations. Yet inequality continues to rise and workers continue to grapple with under- and unemployment. Before another company convinces Illinois to shell out millions, or even billions, of dollars in subsidies in the name of job creation – much like Foxconn has recently done with their $3 billion deal in Wisconsin – the state must carefully consider whether this money can be used in a better way.

INTRODUCTION

Subsidies play a prominent role in economic development policy at both the state and local levels in Illinois. Subsidy policies, however, continue to lack the strict scrutiny they deserve and subsidizing private corporations is not always in the best interests of taxpayers. Illinois residents are already grappling with increased taxes following the protracted two-year budget impasse, and it's as important as ever to guarantee their hard-earned money is helping those individuals and communities who need it most.

Furthermore, in light of Wisconsin recently announcing a deal with Foxconn, a Taiwan Electronics Manufacturer, totaling roughly $3 billion in taxpayer incentives – and some arguing that the deal comes as a loss to Illinois (Maisch, 2017) – it is worthwhile to understand the historical context of Illinois' own subsidy programs and how similarly large "megadeals" in Illinois have unfairly favored comparatively small percentages of the state's population. This report – the second in a series by the Illinois Economic Policy Institute (ILEPI) – evaluates subsidies in the context of their geographic distribution and demographics. This analysis once again poses the question of whether public subsidies, in the name of job creation and retention, are truly worthwhile.

Economic inequality has consistently worsened throughout the country since the 1970s (Sommeiller et al., 2016). In recent years, income inequality in Illinois reached levels not experienced in decades, with the ratio of the top one percent to the median worker increasing by 173 percent between 1980 and 2013 (Manzo, 2016). And while cumulative jobs and output have grown in 95 of the top 100 largest metropolitan areas in the United States, the average worker is not experiencing improved living standards, earnings, and employment, particularly in minority populations (Liu, 2016).

These conditions create prime opportunities for public subsidies to help Illinois residents. Ideally, economic development policies should inspire long-term higher growth and increases in real per capita income over a long period of time, while also reducing the number of impoverished people (McFarlane, 1999). As stated by Liu in her report, *Remaking Economic Development,* "the potential of economic development is to do what markets alone cannot do: influence growth through action and investments" (2016). Consequently, subsidies should be focused in areas where the market alone would not naturally inspire development and growth, which should include disadvantaged areas most in need of economic aid.

This report utilizes the economic subsidy database maintained and tracked by Good Jobs First, a national policy resource center. Their Subsidy Tracker 3.0 compiles data from over 900 known state, local, and federal programs and allows the public to understand the number, type, and magnitude of business subsidies afforded to companies (Good Jobs First, 2017). The maps in this report account for 95 percent of all subsidies listed in this database for Illinois. Due to incomplete address information, select subsidies were unable to be included; most notably, the Illinois Film Tax Credits were not mapped.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF STATE SUBSIDIES IN ILLINOIS

The following section maps subsidies awarded to businesses aggregated by municipality. It is important to note that while this section attributes the subsidies to municipalities, the local governments did not receive the funds; rather, private companies located within their boundary received the assistance. As shown in Figures 1 and 2, state subsidies have been issued to businesses throughout the entire state, with a general concentration around the Chicago region.

Figure 1: State Subsidies by Municipality, 1985-2016

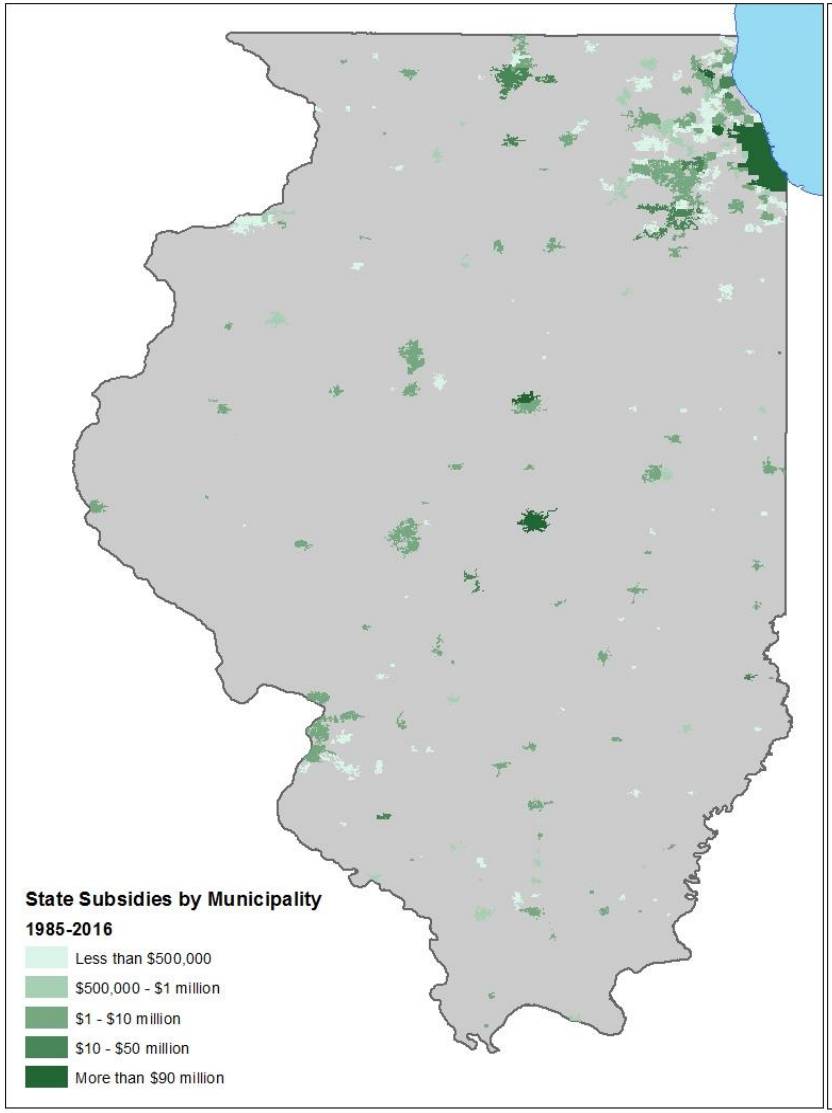
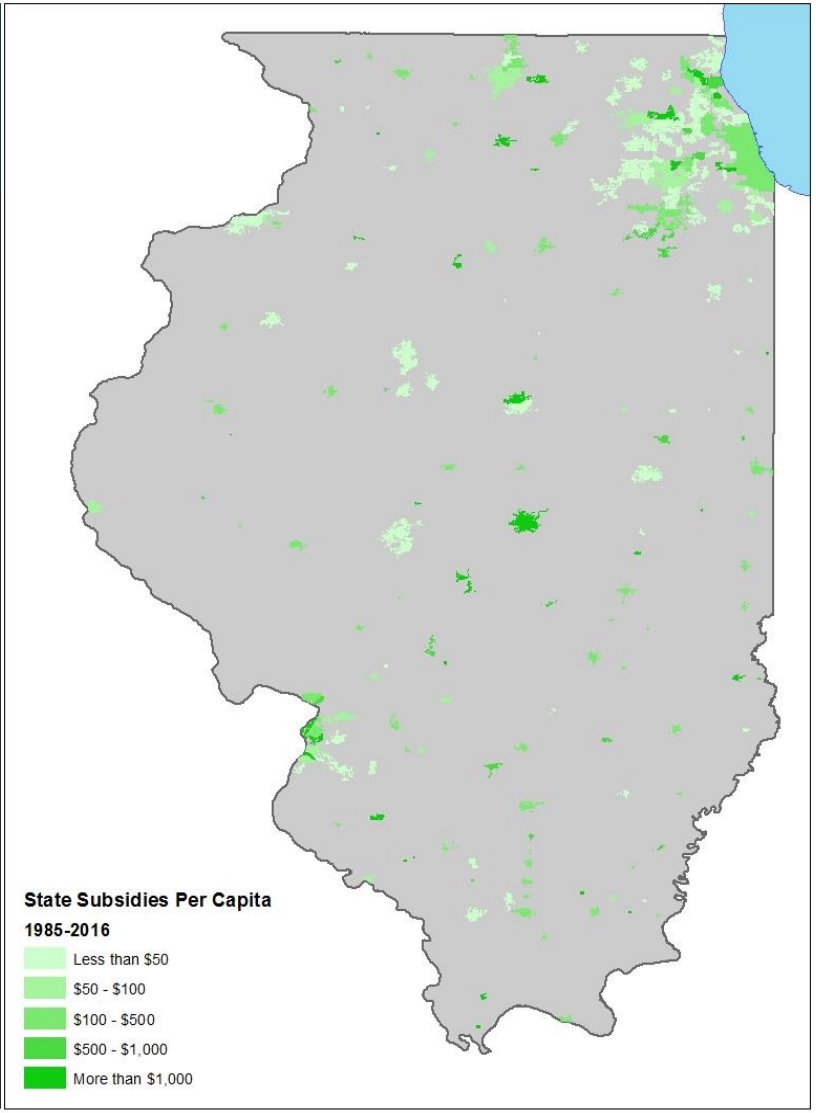


Figure 2: State Subsidies Per Capita by Municipality, 1985-2016



*"Megadeals" are included in state subsidy values, acknowledging that some megadeals may include local contributions. Megadeals, defined by Good Jobs First, are deals over $50 million that are given to a single company.
** If a reasonable address could not be found, the subsidy was not included in the map. Illinois Film Tax Credits were not included for this reason.
Source: Good Jobs First

In all, businesses in 242 municipalities have received subsidy support from the state since 1985. While a handful of the municipalities had subsidies totaling several hundred million dolars over the years, 131 had less than $1 million and 98 received less than $500,000.

A closer analysis of the ten municipalities that enjoyed the most in business subsidies since 1985 shows that the monetary value is not evenly distributed throughout the state, by population (Figure 3). Hoffman Estates received the highest value, totaling over $520 million, which is 26 percent of the total state subsidy value distributed in Illinois; conversely, Hoffman Estates only has 0.4 percent of Illinois' population. Similarly, both Normal and Libertyville respectively received 13 and 6 percent of subsidies, yet only comprise 0.4 and 0.2 percent of the total state population. Furthermore, with the exception of Chicago and Joliet, the subsidies received per capita for each of the top 10 municipalities exceed $1,000, with Marissa having the highest of the state at $13,451; the average subsidy per capita for all municipalities stands at $695.

Figure 3: Top 10 State Subsidy Locations by Municipality, 1985-2016

Municipality	Total Subsidy Value*	% Total State Subsidies	2015 Population	% Total State Population	Subsidies Per Capita
Hoffman Estates	$520,296,090	25.9%	52,271	0.41%	$9,954
Chicago	$336,842,252	16.8%	2,717,534	21.11%	$124
Normal	$253,561,339	12.6%	54,488	0.42%	$4,654
Libertyville	$119,020,575	5.9%	20,395	0.16%	$5,836
Decatur	$90,101,659	4.5%	74,654	0.58%	$1,207
Robinson	$49,906,462	2.5%	7,506	0.06%	$6,649
Lisle	$48,297,044	2.4%	22,747	0.18%	$2,123
Joliet	$46,449,759	2.3%	147,918	1.15%	$314
Belvidere	$30,341,713	1.5%	25,741	0.20%	$1,179
Marissa	$27,049,600	1.3%	2,011	0.02%	$13,451

*Includes "megadeals" in state subsidy values, acknowledging that some megadeals may include local contributions. Megadeals, defined by Good Jobs First, are deals over $50 million that are given to a single company.

Sources: Good Jobs First (Total Subsidy Value); U.S. Census Bureau (2015 Population)

Understanding that these municipalities attract employees from nearby communities, it is still clear that subsidies can heavily favor certain locales. As discussed in *Subsidizing the Few*, "megadeals" represent some of the most egregious forms of publicly funded subsidization (Craighead, 2017), and, in this analysis, ranks six municipalities in the top 10. Hoffman Estates, Chicago, Normal, Libertyville, Lisle, and Joliet all received megadeals. The dichotomy between the distribution of state population and subsidies received further exemplifies the issues with large subsidy deals in the name of job creation and retention.

In addition to uneven distribution across population, state subsidies have also favored municipalities that are majority white and have poverty rates below the state's average. Figure 4 summarizes demographic data for the 242 municipalities that received state subsidies for both 2000 and 2010; because the majority of state subsidies were awarded after 2004, these years provide the general make-up of communities while locations were being selected. While evidence of inequality slightly improved between 2000 and 2010, it continued to persist in 2010. Of the 242 municipalities that received state subsidies, 77 percent had a smaller share of minority population than the state in 2010; the average percent of minority population in these municipalities stood at 24 percent, which is 12 percentage points lower than the state. Additionally, 54 percent had a poverty rate lower than

the state's average of 13 percent in 2010. The complete list of municipalities and the corresponding demographic data can be found in Appendix A.

Figure 4: Summary of State Subsidies by Municipality (1985-2016) and Select Demographic Measures

	% Minority		Poverty Rate		Median Income	
	2000	2010	2000	2010	2000	2010
Illinois	32%	36%	11%	13%	$46,590	$55,735
Number of Municipalities Below/Above State	204	187	153	131	87	86
Percent of Municipalities Below/Above State	84%	77%	63%	54%	36%	36%
Average of Municipalities	18%	24%	10%	13%	$46,693	$54,052

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 5 analyzes the percent of minority population, the poverty rate, and the median income for the top 10 municipalities receiving business subsidies for the years 2000 and 2010. In 2000, seven of these top 10 municipalities had a smaller share of minority population than the state's 32 percent, with three having less than 10 percent and four having less than 25 percent. The same seven remain below the state's 36 percent in 2010. Only five and four municipalities have poverty rates below the state's average in 2000 and 2010, respectively. Four also have median incomes above the state's overall average in both 2000 and 2010. Hoffman Estates, which has received the most in subsidies since 1985, has a poverty rate less than half of the state's rate and a median income almost $20,000 above the state's level in both 2000 and 2010.

Figure 5: Top 10 State Subsidy Locations by Municipality (1985-2016) and Select Demographic Measures

Municipality	Subsidies Per Capita	% Minority Population		Poverty Rate		Median Income	
		2000	2010	2000	2010	2000	2010
Hoffman Estates	$9,954	32%	43%	4%	6%	$65,937	$75,506
Chicago	$124	69%	68%	20%	21%	$38,625	$46,877
Normal	$4,654	14%	18%	19%	23%	$40,379	$50,304
Libertyville	$5,836	9%	13%	4%	4%	$88,828	$102,493
Decatur	$1,207	23%	29%	17%	21%	$33,111	$37,683
Robinson	$6,649	5%	17%	11%	23%	$30,153	$37,565
Lisle	$2,123	20%	27%	4%	4%	$65,821	$77,619
Joliet	$314	39%	47%	11%	12%	$47,761	$60,714
Belvidere	$1,179	23%	35%	10%	15%	$42,529	$46,580
Marissa	$13,451	2%	3%	10%	19%	$31,684	$44,286
Illinois	-	32%	36%	11%	13%	$46,590	$55,735

*Minority is defined as not white population

Sources: Good Jobs First; U.S. Census Bureau

THE DISTRIBUTION OF STATE SUBSIDIES IN THE CHICAGO REGION

While state subsidies are relatively prevalent across the entire Chicago region – which in this report includes Cook, DuPage, Kane, Kendall, Lake, McHenry, and Will Counties – particular localities benefit more. As summarized in Figure 6, similar to the statewide distribution, a few municipalities account for a large portion of all subsidies distributed in the Chicago region; Hoffman Estates received 42 percent of total Chicago area subsidies, yet only accounts for 0.6 percent of the region's population. Conversely, despite Chicago being home to three megadeals, the city only accounts for 27 percent of subsidies, yet almost 32 percent of the region's population.

Figure 6: Top 10 State Subsidy Locations in the Chicago Region by Municipality, 1985-2016

Municipality	Total Subsidy Value*	% Total Chicago Area Subsidies	2015 Population	% Total Chicago Area Population**	Subsidies Per Capita
Hoffman Estates	$520,296,090	41.6%	52,271	0.6%	$9,954
Chicago	$336,842,252	26.9%	2,717,534	31.9%	$124
Libertyville	$119,020,575	9.5%	20,395	0.2%	$5,836
Lisle	$48,297,044	3.9%	22,747	0.3%	$2,123
Joliet	$46,449,759	3.7%	147,918	1.7%	$314
Deerfield	$21,276,742	1.7%	18,588	0.2%	$1,145
Downers Grove	$13,376,517	1.1%	49,504	0.6%	$270
Lake Forest	$11,896,885	1.0%	18,951	0.2%	$628
Channahon	$11,360,095	0.9%	12,845	0.2%	$884
Mundelein	$9,064,745	0.7%	31,624	0.4%	$287

*Includes "megadeals" in state subsidy values, acknowledging that some megadeals may include local contributions. Megadeals, defined by Good Jobs First, are deals over $50 million that are given to a single company.

**Chicago area population includes total population of Cook, DuPage, Kane, Kendall, Lake, McHenry, & Will Counties

Sources: Good Jobs First (Total Subsidy Value); U.S. Census Bureau (Chicago Area Population)

The areas in the western and northern suburbs – which include Hoffman Estates, Libertyville, and Lisle – not only received more subsidies, but ones of higher values. There is a noticeable trend of larger subsidy deals happening in locations further from the City of Chicago. This is notable because they are also more likely to occur in areas with lower poverty and unemployment rates (Figures 7 and 8). The southern portions of Chicago and Cook County have significantly higher poverty and unemployment rates, yet far more subsidies were offered elsewhere. Specifically, just over 130 and 120 subsidies were issued to locations in DuPage and Lake Counties, respectively, yet only 80 are evident in the southern portions of Chicago and Cook County.

Of the ten municipalities that received the highest value of subsidies since 1985, all have higher median incomes than the state average, with the notable exception of Chicago (Figure 9). Furthermore, the same nine municipalities also have lower poverty rates than Illinois as a whole, with the majority more than 9 percentage points lower. Lastly, six of the top 10 municipalities have a lower percentage of minorities than Illinois, with five below 20 percent. Favoritism towards more affluent municipalities was evident in about half of the top 10 municipalities at the state level; however, the top 10 municipalities in the Chicago region, which account for 91 percent of all subsidies in the region, entirely favors wealthy suburbs over the City of Chicago.

Figure 7: State Subsidy Locations (1985-2016) and Poverty Rate by Census Tract, Chicago Region

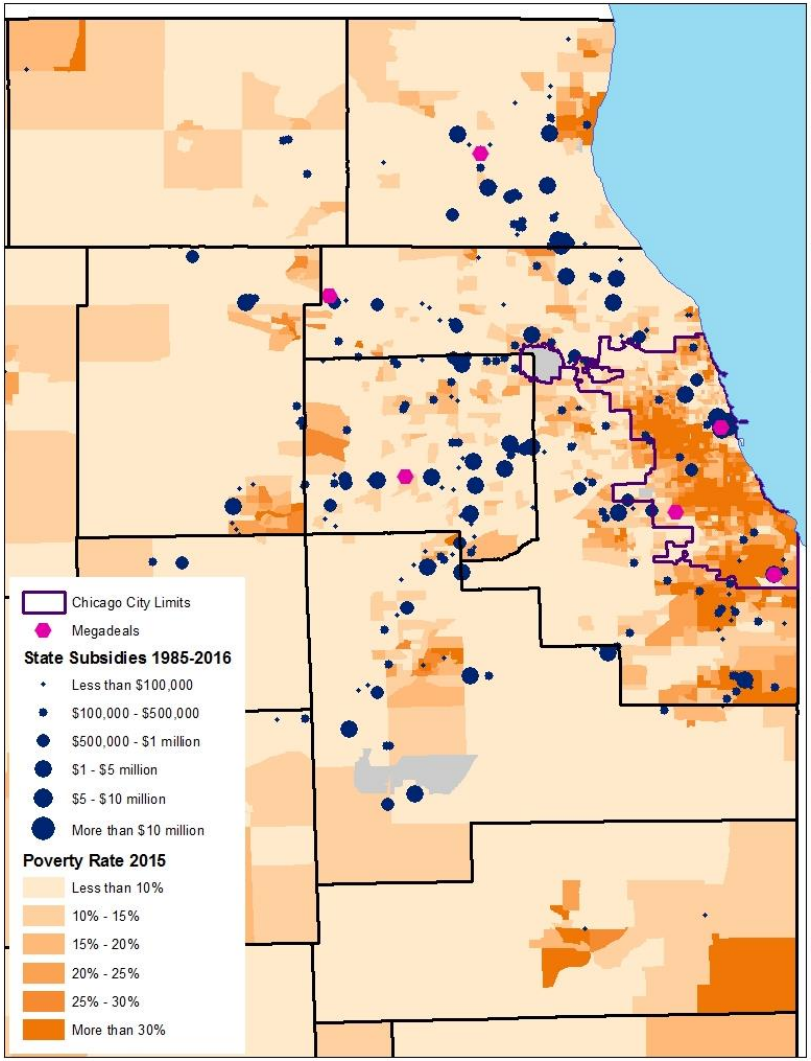
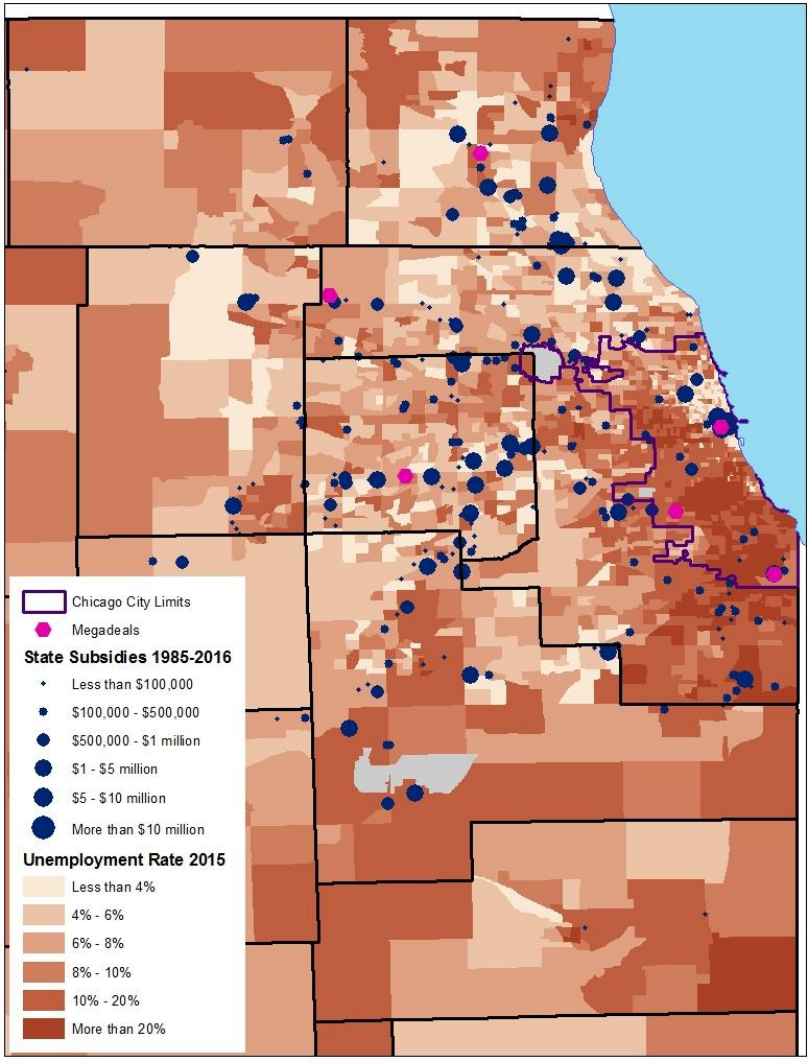


Figure 8: State Subsidy Locations (1985-2016) and Unemployment Rate by Census Tract, Chicago Region



* Megadeals, defined by Good Jobs First, are deals over $50 million that are given to a single company.
** If an address was not listed through Subsidy Tracker 3.0, an internet search using the company name, city, and subsidy details was performed to identify the best address. If a reasonable address could not be found, the subsidy was not included in the map.

Source: Good Jobs First; U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 9: Top 10 Subsidy Locations in the Chicago Region by Municipality (1985-2016) and Select Demographic Measures

Municipality	Subsidies Per Capita	% Minority Population*		Poverty Rate		Median Income	
		2000	2010	2000	2010	2000	2010
Hoffman Estates	$9,954	32%	43%	4%	6%	$65,937	$75,506
Chicago	$124	69%	68%	20%	21%	$38,625	$46,877
Libertyville	$5,836	9%	13%	4%	4%	$88,828	$102,493
Lisle	$2,123	20%	27%	4%	4%	$65,821	$77,619
Joliet	$314	39%	47%	11%	12%	$47,761	$60,714
Deerfield	$1,145	5%	8%	2%	2%	$107,194	$131,534
Downers Grove	$270	12%	15%	2%	3%	$65,539	$78,523
Lake Forest	$628	8%	10%	2%	3%	$136,462	$136,801
Channahon	$884	5%	11%	2%	3%	$71,991	$83,628
Mundelein	$287	34%	42%	5%	5%	$69,651	$82,759
Illinois	-	32%	36%	11%	13%	$46,590	$55,735

*Minority is defined as not white population

Sources: Good Jobs First; U.S. Census Bureau

DISTRIBUTION OF LOCAL SUBSIDIES IN CHICAGO

With Chicago being the most segregated metropolitan area in the United States, where the white population is the only demographic group to see a rise in incomes between 1990 and 2012 (Grabinsky & Reeves, 2015), it is worth taking a closer look at the geographic distribution of local subsidies throughout the City. In addition to receiving state subsidies, the City of Chicago has a long history of offering local subsidies in the form of Tax Increment Financing and Small Business Improvement Funds. Figures 10 and 11 illustrate the locations of all local subsidies in Chicago.

Figure 10 shows a noticeable concentration of poverty, with poverty rates reaching over 30 percent in the western and, more significantly, southern portions of the City. Across the country, the number of high-poverty neighborhoods has dramatically increased since 2000 with the number of people living in these areas nearly doubling since 2000. Minority populations are more likely to reside in high-poverty neighborhoods, with one-in-four African Americans and one-in-six Latino and Latina Americans residing in such areas, compared to only one-in-thirteen white Americans (Jargowsky, 2015).

Despite this trend, there is a noticeable tendency towards subsidies being predominantly located in the western and northern portions of the City. If the City is roughly divided in half between north and south, the northern half received over 1,600 local subsidies, while the southern portion received fewer than 500. Although a large number of the local subsidies do focus on areas with higher poverty and unemployment rates, particularly in the western portion of the City, there remains a concentration of larger deals in the more-affluent downtown area and a significant shortage on the south side of Chicago.

Figure 10: Local Subsidy Locations (1985-2016) and Poverty Rate by Census Tract, Chicago

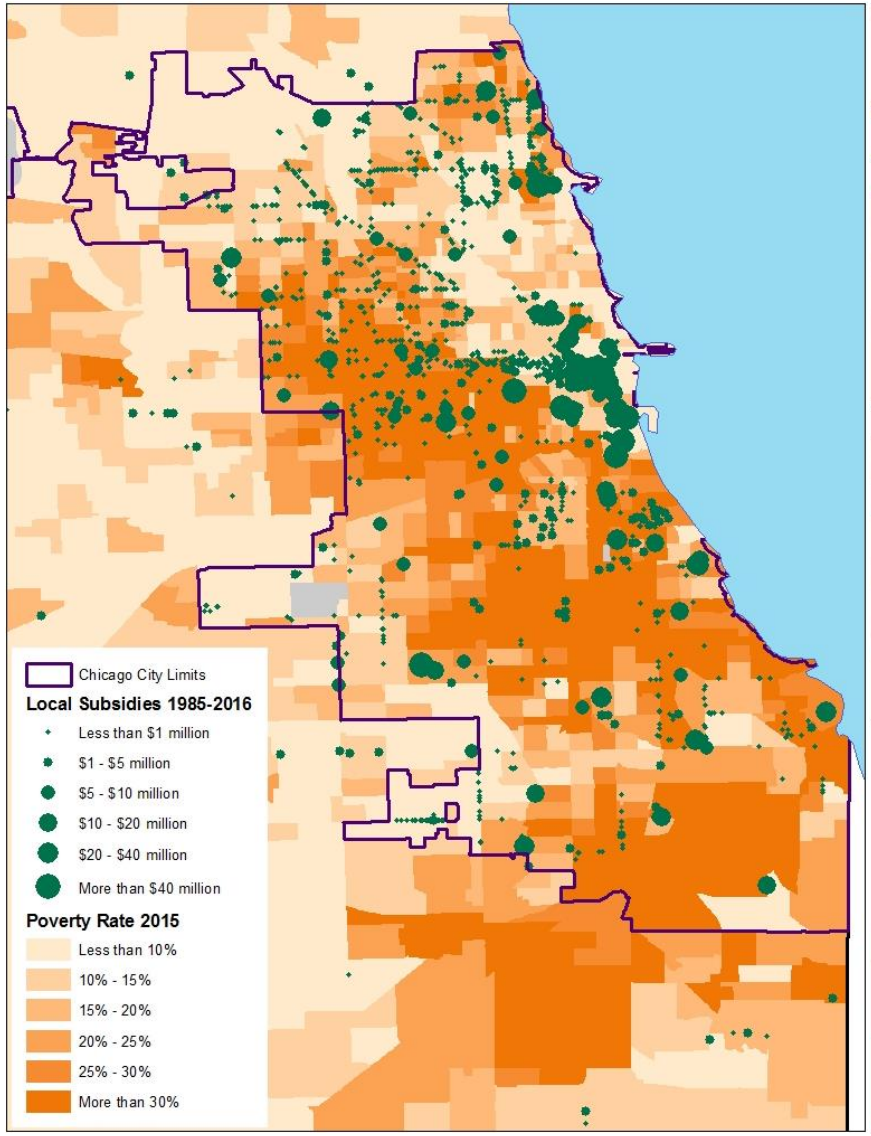
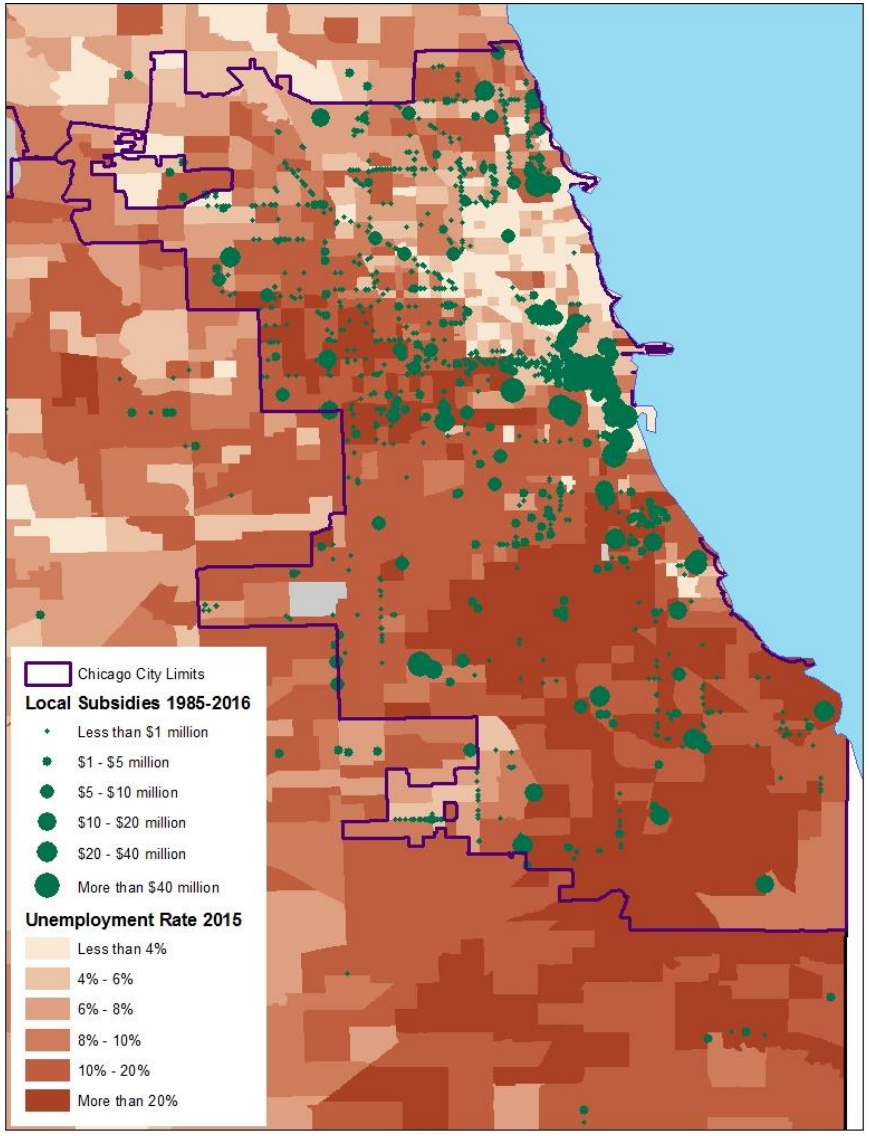


Figure 11: Local Subsidy Locations (1985-2016) and Unemployment Rates by Census Tract, Chicago



* Megadeals, defined by Good Jobs First, are deals over $50 million that are given to a single company.
** If an address was not listed through Subsidy Tracker 3.0, an internet search using the company name, city, and subsidy details was performed to identify the best address. If a reasonable address could not be found, the subsidy was not included in the map.

Source: Good Jobs First; U.S. Census Bureau

CONCLUSION

As Illinois continues to face budget shortfalls and rising inequality, state and local officials must carefully consider the use of economic development subsidies and whether they are helping those individuals and communities who need it most. Given the current state of Illinois' financing and the recent increase in taxes, taxpayers have a right to know exactly how their money is being used and who it is aiding. This report shows that state and local subsidies are more likely to favor communities and areas that are majority white, have lower poverty rates, and have lower unemployment rates. Particularly in the Chicago region, the municipalities that obtained the highest total value of subsidies were largely affluent, with low poverty rates and high median incomes.

Illinois and the City of Chicago have spent over $2.1 billion and $2.4 billion, respectively, since 1985 on subsidies to private corporations. Yet inequality continues to rise and workers continue to grapple with under- and unemployment. Before another company tries to convince Illinois to shell out millions or billions of dollars in subsidies in the name of job creation – much like Foxconn has recently done with their almost $3 billion deal in Wisconsin – the state must carefully consider whether this money can be used in a better way. As explored in the following report in this series, investments in infrastructure, education, or working-class tax credits provide larger economic benefits to the state and truly support individuals in need as opposed to private corporations.

As stated by Liu, "the lackluster U.S. economy is delivering a humbling lesson about economic development: Top-line growth doesn't ensure bottom-line prosperity" (2016). Policymakers must have a comprehensive approach to economic development that can include business subsidies, but also helps areas in need and ties in with local communities to ensure the future success of both residents and the economy.

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APPENDIX A

Subsidies by Municipality (1985-2016) and Select Demographic Measures

City	Minority Population		Median HH Income		% All People with Income Below Poverty Level	
	2000	2010	2000	2010	2000	2010
Addison	40%	52.5%	$ 54,090	$ 61,287	9.6%	10.6%
Albion	1.5%	3.2%	$ 29,476	$ 33,844	12.2%	11.5%
Allerton	3.1%	2.7%	$ 42,250	$ 60,750	4.5%	7.8%
Alsip	23.3%	41.5%	$ 47,963	$ 51,424	6.6%	8.8%
Alton	28.4%	32.6%	$ 31,213	$ 38,073	18.7%	21.6%
Annawan	1.2%	3.9%	$ 38,571	$ 53,214	9.7%	6.7%
Arcola	21.7%	31.8%	$ 38,125	$ 41,154	3.7%	16.7%
Arlington Heights	12.4%	15.4%	$ 67,807	$ 75,257	2.5%	4.0%
Aurora	47.9%	60.1%	$ 54,861	$ 60,689	8.5%	11.9%
Aviston	1.8%	1.9%	$ 47,917	$ 72,143	2.8%	3.2%
Bannockburn	14.0%	25.1%	$ 150,415	$ 191,250	3.0%	4.1%
Bartlett	16.4%	26.8%	$ 79,718	$ 90,371	1.9%	4.4%
Bedford Park	9.1%	26.2%	$ 49,722	$ 62,404	2.1%	11.3%
Belleville	19.5%	31.8%	$ 35,979	$ 45,459	11.7%	12.8%
Belvidere	22.8%	35.4%	$ 42,529	$ 46,580	10.0%	15.1%
Bensenville	47.9%	57.2%	$ 54,662	$ 52,500	6.5%	15.7%
Benton	1.7%	3.3%	$ 27,177	$ 29,093	17.5%	22.1%
Bloomington	16.7%	25.4%	$ 46,496	$ 56,510	7.8%	10.5%
Blue Island	63.8%	79.0%	$ 36,520	$ 43,335	13.3%	19.2%
Bolingbrook	42.1%	58.3%	$ 67,852	$ 81,108	4.1%	6.1%
Breese	2.1%	3.6%	$ 47,639	$ 58,136	3.2%	2.3%
Bridgeview	17.9%	23.5%	$ 42,073	$ 44,877	7.2%	15.8%
Broadview	79.7%	87.0%	$ 47,651	$ 47,722	6.4%	8.3%
Buffalo Grove	13.5%	23.3%	$ 80,525	$ 87,054	2.3%	3.3%
Burr Ridge	16.4%	22.7%	$ 129,507	$ 143,669	2.8%	2.4%
Cahokia	42.9%	66.4%	$ 31,001	$ 32,219	24.9%	30.3%
Canton	12.0%	14.3%	$ 31,011	$ 37,727	13.4%	17.0%
Carbondale	35.3%	39.9%	$ 15,882	$ 17,526	41.4%	44.5%
Carlinville	3.4%	4.3%	$ 34,259	$ 42,079	12.5%	13.4%
Carmi	2.3%	3.4%	$ 25,667	$ 34,681	15.1%	16.8%
Carol Stream	27.0%	36.8%	$ 64,893	$ 71,544	3.4%	8.1%
Centralia	14.2%	15.6%	$ 31,905	$ 33,484	14.6%	20.0%
Centreville	96.7%	98.3%	$ 23,500	$ 27,681	34.4%	35.4%
Champaign	28.7%	35.2%	$ 32,795	$ 40,116	22.1%	26.2%
Channahon	5.2%	11.1%	$ 71,991	$ 83,628	1.7%	3.0%
Chester	5.6%	35.0%	$ 39,079	$ 45,168	9.7%	14.7%
Chicago	68.7%	68.3%	$ 38,625	$ 46,877	19.6%	20.9%
Chicago Heights	63.2%	76.7%	$ 36,958	$ 38,972	17.5%	24.4%
Cicero	80.4%	90.8%	$ 38,044	$ 43,799	15.5%	16.9%
Clinton	4.1%	5.9%	$ 36,279	$ 40,132	10.8%	8.8%
Coffeen	1.3%	1.0%	$ 29,375	$ 29,167	20.6%	19.5%
Collinsville	9.8%	17.2%	$ 42,353	$ 48,816	7.2%	14.3%
Colona	5.4%	8.9%	$ 41,476	$ 46,594	7.6%	13.8%
Coulterville	3.7%	4.8%	$ 26,776	$ 38,750	18.6%	21.5%
Crest Hill	30.6%	43.4%	$ 45,313	$ 52,978	4.8%	9.2%
Crystal lake	10.3%	16.7%	$ 66,872	$ 75,021	3.5%	4.6%
Cutler	0.9%	2.3%	$ 30,417	$ 32,000	29.2%	13.9%
Danville	31.7%	40.6%	$ 30,431	$ 32,484	18.1%	29.9%

Darien	18.3%	22.7%	$ 74,836	$ 76,054	2.2%	5.1%
Decatur	23.0%	29.4%	$ 33,111	$ 37,683	16.5%	20.9%
Deerfield	5.4%	8.0%	$ 107,194	$ 131,534	1.6%	1.5%
DeKalb	24.4%	31.1%	$ 35,153	$ 40,228	21.3%	26.3%
Des Plaines	24.0%	32.0%	$ 53,638	$ 60,875	4.6%	6.2%
Dieterich	0.7%	1.6%	$ 45,972	$ 47,557	7.5%	7.4%
Dixon	16.6%	19.3%	$ 35,720	$ 41,649	10.1%	11.3%
Downers Grove	12.2%	15.1%	$ 65,539	$ 78,523	2.3%	3.2%
Du Quoin	10.5%	10.9%	$ 29,124	$ 32,064	18.1%	17.1%
Dupo	3.4%	6.0%	$ 43,036	$ 46,375	4.3%	12.3%
Dwight	4.6%	5.4%	$ 40,071	$ 45,865	10.8%	15.9%
East Alton	3.9%	5.6%	$ 28,404	$ 35,496	13.3%	25.9%
East Moline	26.3%	35.8%	$ 35,836	$ 39,497	13.9%	16.8%
East St. Louis	98.8%	99.2%	$ 21,324	$ 20,386	35.1%	41.0%
Edwardsville	12.9%	14.6%	$ 50,921	$ 66,462	8.6%	13.0%
Effingham	12.7%	5.4%	$ 34,761	$ 39,977	9.6%	12.4%
Eldorado	2.6%	3.4%	$ 22,500	$ 24,855	23.1%	29.6%
Elgin	46.2%	47.4%	$ 52,605	$ 57,216	8.1%	11.9%
Elk Grove Village	17.6%	22.5%	$ 62,132	$ 69,235	2.0%	3.9%
Elkville	6.4%	8.9%	$ 27,969	$ 30,119	21.2%	31.3%
Elwood	5.2%	9.1%	$ 53,125	$ 74,167	4.6%	4.5%
Equality	2.4%	1.2%	$ 22,171	$ 26,708	20.7%	15.9%
Evanston	37.4%	38.8%	$ 56,335	$ 68,107	11.1%	11.4%
Fairfield	1.9%	3.2%	$ 25,797	$ 32,599	13.1%	20.6%
Farina	0.9%	0.0%	$ 31,406	$ 38,611	10.8%	10.8%
Farmersville	2.3%	0.6%	$ 35,893	$ 45,789	8.2%	21.5%
Flanagan	1.5%	3.2%	$ 39,479	$ 52,670	4.9%	6.1%
Flora	2.5%	4.1%	$ 28,157	$ 37,155	11.3%	19.3%
Forest Park	47.9%	50.3%	$ 44,103	$ 51,780	7.0%	7.8%
Freeport	19.1%	24.7%	$ 35,399	$ 37,039	13.1%	19.5%
Galatia	2.3%	3.9%	$ 23,750	$ 28,684	16.7%	19.8%
Galesburg	17.9%	22.0%	$ 31,987	$ 33,510	14.7%	20.8%
Geneva	5.5%	8.6%	$ 77,299	$ 91,581	2.2%	2.5%
Gibson City	2.4%	3.7%	$ 33,638	$ 44,267	9.4%	6.4%
Glen Ellyn	13.0%	17.4%	$ 74,846	$ 90,820	2.8%	5.4%
Glenview	16.9%	20.7%	$ 80,730	$ 107,037	2.0%	3.8%
Granite City	6.9%	12.9%	$ 35,615	$ 38,845	11.3%	16.6%
Grayslake	12.0%	20.9%	$ 73,143	$ 91,762	3.0%	4.4%
Greenville	19.4%	22.6%	$ 35,650	$ 49,079	11.8%	11.3%
Gridley	2.6%	3.8%	$ 46,458	$ 57,560	6.4%	2.6%
Gurnee	21.3%	33.3%	$ 75,742	$ 85,726	3.0%	4.1%
Hanover Park	46.5%	62.0%	$ 61,358	$ 63,649	6.1%	11.1%
Harrisburg	10.1%	12.5%	$ 26,507	$ 33,278	13.2%	21.7%
Harvard	40.7%	48.1%	$ 44,363	$ 45,991	9.1%	22.7%
Harvey	93.7%	96.4%	$ 31,958	$ 32,923	21.7%	30.9%
Hennepin	6.1%	5.8%	$ 46,827	$ 44,750	2.9%	5.9%
Henning	0.0%	1.6%	$ 40,250	$ 57,813	4.5%	4.7%
Herrin	4.0%	7.7%	$ 28,532	$ 36,559	16.0%	14.3%
Highland	2.5%	3.8%	$ 39,524	$ 53,350	6.8%	4.4%

Hillsboro	3.4%	18.2%	$ 33,075	$ 41,657	17.2%	7.2%
Hoffman Estates	31.7%	43.4%	$ 65,937	$ 75,506	4.4%	6.2%
Homewood	23.6%	43.5%	$ 57,213	$ 71,195	4.3%	7.4%
Hoopeston	10.3%	11.9%	$ 31,947	$ 38,343	13.8%	23.9%
Huntley	7.6%	15.5%	$ 60,456	$ 70,526	2.8%	4.4%
Ina	48.8%	54.9%	$ 24,453	$ 36,250	19.2%	12.9%
Industry	3.0%	1.9%	$ 35,455	$ 34,167	13.8%	22.1%
Itasca	17.0%	22.5%	$ 70,156	$ 81,294	4.7%	2.6%
Jacksonville	10.4%	16.3%	$ 33,117	$ 39,425	12.4%	20.9%
Johnston City	1.9%	3.6%	$ 25,143	$ 35,857	22.5%	31.5%
Joliet	39.0%	47.0%	$ 47,761	$ 60,714	10.8%	11.9%
Kankakee	52.2%	62.1%	$ 30,469	$ 31,379	21.4%	31.2%
Kewanee	11.6%	17.7%	$ 29,895	$ 32,068	13.9%	20.9%
Lake Forest	7.6%	9.8%	$ 136,462	$ 136,801	2.1%	2.5%
Lake Zurich	11.0%	17.4%	$ 84,125	$ 106,663	2.5%	2.3%
Lanark	3.1%	2.5%	$ 35,500	$ 40,950	8.0%	12.9%
Lansing	18.0%	48.2%	$ 47,554	$ 50,563	5.4%	11.4%
Lawrenceville	3.2%	4.6%	$ 24,951	$ 25,789	16.9%	27.9%
Lemont	4.8%	8.0%	$ 70,563	$ 89,309	3.6%	1.7%
Lena	1.9%	2.6%	$ 39,947	$ 44,179	4.7%	6.9%
Libertyville	9.3%	12.5%	$ 88,828	$ 102,493	3.5%	3.7%
Lincoln	5.9%	8.6%	$ 34,435	$ 39,438	10.7%	13.2%
Lincolnshire	7.8%	10.2%	$ 134,259	$ 143,041	1.6%	2.4%
Lisle	20.0%	26.8%	$ 65,821	$ 77,619	3.6%	3.6%
Lockport	7.3%	12.0%	$ 59,179	$ 79,096	3.5%	3.8%
Loves Park	9.0%	15.2%	$ 45,238	$ 49,503	5.0%	9.2%
Machesney Park	6.3%	11.3%	$ 48,315	$ 54,422	5.3%	10.3%
Macomb	12.5%	16.3%	$ 25,994	$ 24,575	29.1%	33.6%
Madison	45.5%	61.2%	$ 24,828	$ 29,896	24.0%	26.6%
Mapleton	3.1%	2.6%	$ 45,357	$ 38,929	6.6%	5.3%
Marion	8.0%	13.7%	$ 30,364	$ 37,500	14.9%	18.6%
Marissa	1.7%	2.7%	$ 31,684	$ 44,286	9.5%	19.3%
Marshall	1.9%	2.4%	$ 33,413	$ 44,981	6.2%	12.6%
Mascoutah	9.0%	12.3%	$ 46,451	$ 64,432	7.8%	9.0%
Mattoon	4.2%	6.5%	$ 31,800	$ 34,807	13.4%	16.7%
McCook	9.8%	29.4%	$ 43,125	$ 62,955	1.8%	2.5%
McHenry	9.1%	16.0%	$ 55,759	$ 65,701	4.6%	7.9%
McLeansboro	2.1%	3.7%	$ 22,183	$ 26,503	19.7%	22.6%
Melrose Park	59.5%	77.3%	$ 40,689	$ 43,478	10.2%	14.5%
Meredosia	0.2%	1.4%	$ 32,961	$ 33,438	9.2%	20.3%
Metropolis	9.9%	13.8%	$ 25,371	$ 32,715	17.2%	16.9%
Mettawa	7.4%	17.7%	$ 127,388	$ 139,271	4.6%	0.0%
Milan	9.0%	13.3%	$ 34,556	$ 38,675	10.7%	17.0%
Milledgeville	2.2%	2.1%	$ 35,313	$ 42,273	5.2%	6.3%
Minooka	3.9%	18.4%	$ 75,249	$ 80,325	2.2%	4.1%
Moline	17.7%	24.9%	$ 39,363	$ 49,290	9.5%	9.7%
Monmouth	9.2%	19.8%	$ 33,641	$ 34,403	11.1%	18.6%
Montgomery	18.6%	39.7%	$ 51,028	$ 68,895	3.7%	4.5%
Morton	2.6%	4.8%	$ 53,689	$ 67,305	5.0%	6.1%
Mounds	63.6%	78.1%	$ 17,727	$ 16,780	42.8%	44.4%
Mount Carroll	2.1%	4.4%	$ 34,861	$ 39,279	8.5%	14.3%

Mount Olive	1.6%	1.7%	$ 35,065	$ 40,703	6.1%	15.1%
Mount Prospect	26.2%	31.0%	$ 57,165	$ 67,882	4.6%	5.6%
Mount Sterling	2.1%	3.0%	$ 27,434	$ 34,155	10.9%	14.2%
Mount Vernon	16.5%	20.5%	$ 28,145	$ 32,219	17.1%	26.6%
Mundelein	23.5%	41.7%	$ 69,651	$ 82,759	4.6%	4.8%
Naperville	17.1%	27.0%	$ 88,771	$ 101,911	2.2%	3.4%
Neoga	2.9%	2.6%	$ 34,500	$ 39,083	11.8%	11.3%
New Lenox	4.4%	8.0%	$ 67,697	$ 88,778	2.4%	2.6%
Niles	19.7%	28.4%	$ 48,627	$ 50,829	5.4%	7.0%
Normal	13.8%	17.5%	$ 40,379	$ 50,304	19.3%	23.1%
Norris City	1.7%	1.9%	$ 22,121	$ 30,560	14.4%	14.8%
North Aurora	18.1%	26.7%	$ 58,557	$ 79,583	3.0%	4.9%
North Chicago	60.9%	63.7%	$ 95,665	$ 44,904	15.1%	19.5%
Northbrook	12.2%	15.9%	$ 91,313	$ 113,089	2.3%	3.4%
Northfield	8.8%	11.0%	$ 43,856	$ 107,279	1.6%	1.6%
Oak Brook	24.5%	31.6%	$ 146,537	$ 131,719	2.1%	1.7%
Oakbrook Terrace	22.1%	33.3%	$ 59,148	$ 58,814	3.3%	9.4%
Olney	2.9%	4.5%	$ 28,084	$ 37,669	17.0%	15.7%
Oregon	5.2%	6.9%	$ 34,842	$ 47,284	15.9%	8.4%
Ottawa	8.5%	11.7%	$ 36,513	$ 46,556	11.3%	12.3%
Palestine	1.4%	2.5%	$ 28,911	$ 35,086	15.8%	13.1%
Paris	2.2%	2.9%	$ 30,902	$ 33,007	12.7%	17.6%
Paxton	2.9%	4.4%	$ 37,804	$ 45,771	4.8%	10.2%
Pekin	5.2%	6.7%	$ 37,972	$ 41,913	9.4%	12.3%
Peoria	31.7%	39.6%	$ 36,397	$ 45,863	18.8%	19.1%
Percy	3.0%	11.5%	$ 31,333	$ 29,412	11.3%	25.7%
Peru	6.2%	9.6%	$ 37,060	$ 49,179	7.5%	11.3%
Pinckneyville	29.3%	33.8%	$ 30,391	$ 37,220	11.0%	14.0%
Plano	27.7%	41.2%	$ 46,526	$ 58,132	5.4%	6.9%
Quincy	7.5%	10.0%	$ 30,956	$ 39,024	12.2%	16.0%
Rankin	7.5%	10.0%	$ 29,063	$ 25,417	13.6%	15.5%
Rantoul	24.5%	37.8%	$ 36,904	$ 35,700	10.7%	20.7%
Red Bud	1.9%	2.4%	$ 40,300	$ 46,782	9.4%	9.4%
Ridge Farm	0.9%	2.4%	$ 33,333	$ 36,705	10.5%	22.6%
Ridgway	1.1%	2.2%	$ 27,670	$ 30,721	18.0%	21.4%
Riverdale	89.8%	96.2%	$ 38,321	$ 42,690	18.4%	23.0%
Riverton	1.7%	3.8%	$ 45,531	$ 58,250	6.8%	9.7%
Riverwoods	7.4%	9.0%	$ 158,990	$ 171,979	3.2%	5.8%
Robinson	5.1%	16.8%	$ 30,153	$ 37,565	11.1%	23.3%
Rochelle	22.3%	27.7%	$ 37,984	$ 45,035	10.4%	15.8%
Rock Falls	13.8%	18.6%	$ 34,442	$ 36,553	11.5%	18.6%
Rock Island	31.6%	32.2%	$ 34,729	$ 41,475	14.5%	15.7%
Rockford	25.7%	41.6%	$ 37,667	$ 38,573	14.0%	23.3%
Romeoville	22.8%	49.6%	$ 60,738	$ 67,165	1.9%	7.3%
Roscoe	6.3%	11.5%	$ 59,267	$ 67,530	2.9%	4.1%
Roselle	15.3%	21.4%	$ 65,254	$ 77,207	2.0%	3.4%
Rosemont	42.1%	47.7%	$ 34,663	$ 32,396	14.9%	17.0%
Roxanna	1.7%	3.0%	$ 38,800	$ 40,260	3.8%	14.9%
Salem	3.4%	4.9%	$ 34,339	$ 35,145	9.2%	22.1%
Sauget	30.1%	6.9%	$ 35,833	$ 32,955	17.3%	18.1%

Sauk Village	46.8%	76.2%	$ 46,718	$ 51,908	9.6%	15.3%
Savanna	8.1%	10.3%	$ 27,180	$ 31,776	16.7%	20.8%
Schaumburg	24.5%	34.8%	$ 60,941	$ 66,741	3.0%	5.5%
Shabbona	2.0%	2.9%	$ 45,526	$ 44,148	5.3%	3.2%
Shawneetown	4.0%	5.8%	$ 20,789	$ 25,541	27.8%	25.0%
Shelbyville	1.9%	2.7%	$ 32,458	$ 37,636	9.9%	14.2%
Sheldon	2.8%	4.0%	$ 35,463	$ 40,132	10.7%	21.8%
Silvis	19.8%	24.2%	$ 35,047	$ 34,464	9.5%	11.9%
Skokie	34.4%	44.5%	$ 57,375	$ 66,655	5.4%	8.9%
South Beloit	13.7%	15.8%	$ 35,597	$ 53,357	10.0%	12.8%
South Chicago Heights	28.0%	53.2%	$ 39,639	$ 44,766	6.7%	19.5%
South Holland	56.4%	81.7%	$ 60,246	$ 60,644	4.6%	9.2%
Springfield	19.7%	25.3%	$ 39,388	$ 47,209	11.7%	16.2%
St. Charles	9.6%	17.0%	$ 69,424	$ 77,324	3.4%	4.6%
Staunton	1.7%	2.8%	$ 35,893	$ 37,287	6.6%	11.0%
Steger	16.8%	36.2%	$ 43,275	$ 44,079	8.5%	10.8%
Stockton	0.7%	3.4%	$ 35,921	$ 38,350	8.2%	10.8%
Streamwood	31.0%	49.2%	$ 65,076	$ 69,710	3.0%	5.8%
Sycamore	9.0%	12.9%	$ 51,921	$ 66,539	3.7%	6.7%
Taylorville	2.7%	4.3%	$ 34,235	$ 37,617	10.1%	16.7%
Tinley Park	9.5%	15.6%	$ 61,648	$ 76,605	2.5%	5.8%
Toledo	1.6%	1.8%	$ 26,094	$ 31,648	16.8%	18.3%
Tuscola	2.6%	4.7%	$ 39,608	$ 46,288	4.1%	7.9%
Ullin	46.1%	32.4%	$ 20,000	$ 25,938	16.8%	22.6%
University Park	88.5%	94.5%	$ 50,652	$ 46,082	9.1%	16.9%
Urbana	34.6%	42.3%	$ 27,819	$ 34,951	27.3%	29.8%
Vernon Hills	22.0%	34.6%	$ 71,297	$ 87,494	2.9%	3.8%
Warrenville	16.9%	30.2%	$ 62,430	$ 76,458	1.6%	8.5%
Watseka	4.8%	6.4%	$ 30,440	$ 33,058	15.4%	17.3%
Wauconda	14.8%	24.2%	$ 57,805	$ 68,916	4.0%	4.1%
Waukegan	69.1%	78.3%	$ 42,335	$ 47,987	13.9%	13.9%
Wenona	3.7%	5.6%	$ 36,711	$ 35,000	7.8%	17.4%
West Chicago	52.9%	60.2%	$ 63,424	$ 64,795	9.3%	10.9%
West Frankfort	2.0%	4.0%	$ 25,358	$ 28,509	18.6%	27.1%
Westchester	17.3%	34.1%	$ 58,928	$ 69,679	2.5%	3.6%
Westmont	25.9%	34.1%	$ 51,422	$ 59,974	5.8%	7.7%
Wheeling	33.6%	47.7%	$ 55,491	$ 55,869	5.3%	9.0%
Williamsville	2.6%	2.1%	$ 50,238	$ 70,500	3.1%	4.9%
Wilmington	4.0%	6.7%	$ 45,659	$ 54,683	5.2%	5.1%
Winnebago	3.0%	4.5%	$ 59,891	$ 80,518	1.1%	3.2%
Wood Dale	18.4%	28.0%	$ 57,509	$ 63,012	4.1%	7.2%
Woodridge	29.9%	36.5%	$ 61,944	$ 71,332	3.8%	6.2%
Yorkville	4.8%	16.6%	$ 60,391	$ 82,007	1.4%	3.1%
Zion	47%	64.0%	$ 45,723	$ 50,874	11.9%	14.8%
Average	17.8%	23.6%	$46,693	$54,052	10.0%	13.2%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau