

JOLIET



INDUSTRIAL CITIES INITIATIVE

Edited by Susan Longworth



Acknowledgements

The Industrial Cities Initiative (ICI) is a project of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago's Community Development and Policy Studies Division, led by Alicia Williams, vice president. Susan Longworth edited this document.

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Introduction

The Community Development and Policy Studies (CDPS) division of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago undertook the Industrial Cities Initiative (ICI) to gain a better understanding of the economic, demographic, and social trends shaping industrial cities in the Midwest. The ICI was motivated by questions about why some Midwest towns and cities outperform other similar cities with comparable histories and manufacturing legacies. And, can ‘successful’ economic development strategies implemented in ‘outperforming cities’ be replicated in ‘underperforming cities?’

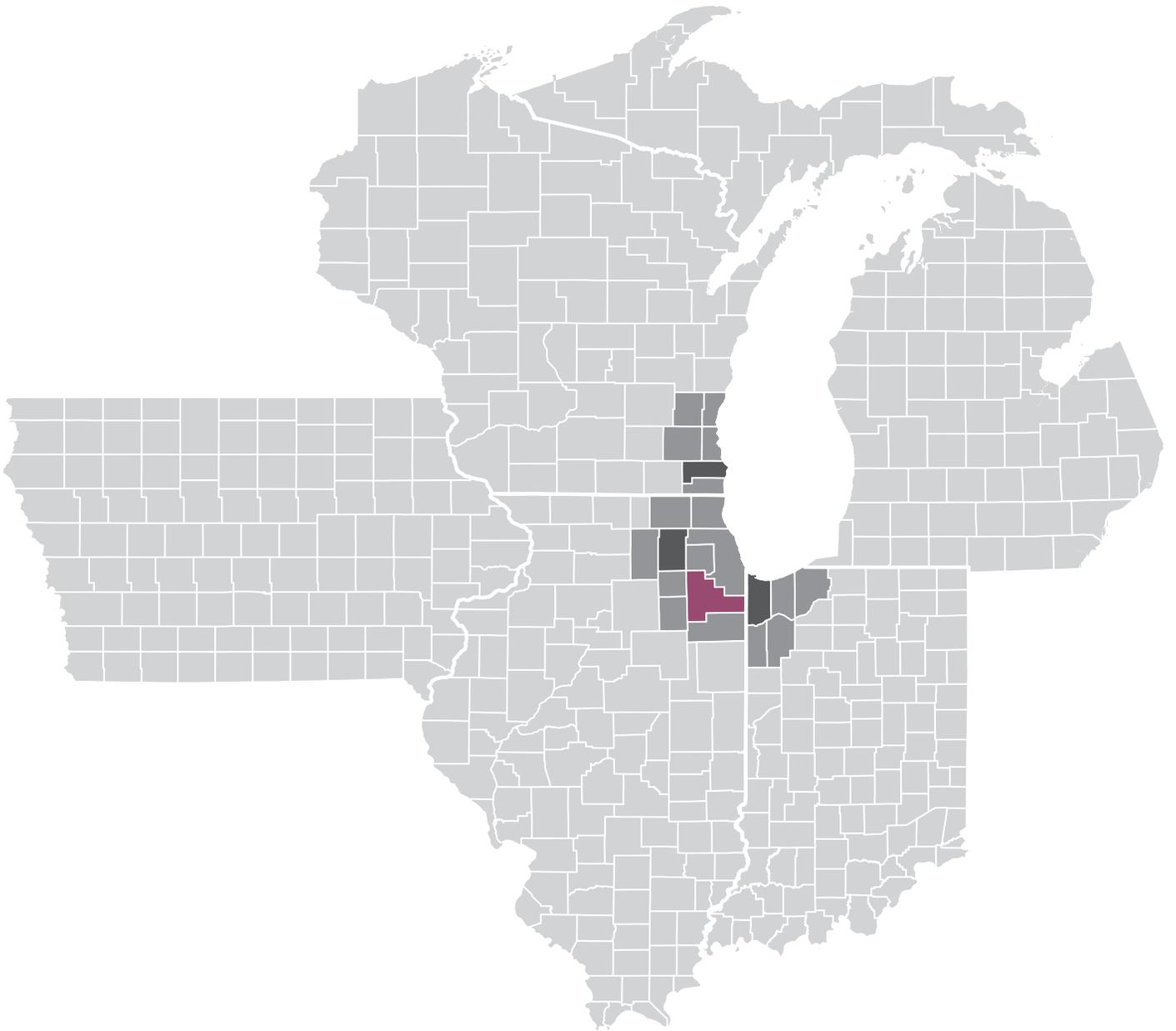
The effort to improve the economic and social well-being of these cities and their residents occurs in an environment shaped by:

- **Macroeconomic forces:** Globalization, immigration, demographic trends including an aging population, education and training needs, and the benefits and burdens of wealth, wages, and poverty impact these cities, regardless of size or location.
- **State and national policies:** Economic development leaders contend that state and national policies pit one city against another in a zero-sum competition for job- and wealth-generating firms.
- **The dynamic relationship of city and region:** Although cities remain the economic entities, regional strengths and weaknesses to a large extent determine the fate of their respective cities.

As a first phase, we profiled ten midwestern cities whose legacy as twentieth century manufacturing centers remains a powerful influence on the well-being of those cities, their residents and their regions. However, the objective of the ICI was not only to look at the individual conditions, trends and experience of these places, but to also explore these cities in comparison to peers, their home states and the nation.

Therefore in addition to reviewing an individual profile that may be of particular interest, we also advise reading the Summary of Findings (http://www.chicagofed.org/ICI_Summary.pdf) which explains further the motivation and context for the ICI and provides thematic observations that emerged from the interviews, as well as supporting data. Overarching trends, relating to human capital – its quantity and quality, industry concentrations, employment and productivity outlooks, educational attainment, diversity and inclusion, housing and poverty, and access to capital that are described in each of the profiles are coalesced in the Summary of Findings to arrive at conclusions and next steps. They constitute an essential component of the overall narrative.

In addition, attached to each profile is a series of appendices. These important documents provide insight into the data methodology and resources used, and a data summary for each city.



JOLIET, IL

Overview

Joliet, Illinois is located approximately 35 miles southwest of the city of Chicago. Joliet is the county seat of Will County, Illinois. It remains an industrial city, where 15 percent of employment involves either the creation or movement of goods.¹ It is also the home of two casinos, a Frontier League baseball team, the Chicagoland Speedway, and the historic Rialto Square Theatre. From 1858 to 2002, it was also home to the Joliet Correctional Center featured in many movies and songs.

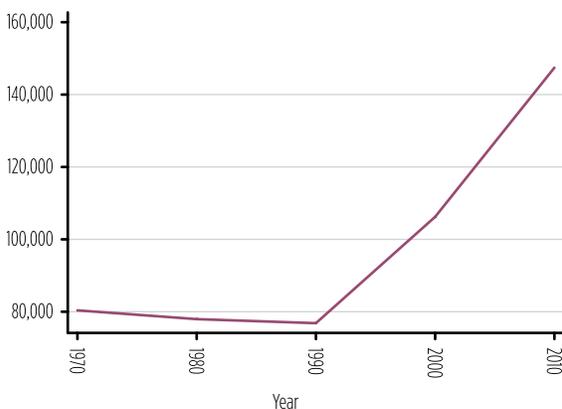
Joliet was incorporated as a city in 1852, although it had existed as a settlement since the 1600s and as a village since 1834. Even in those early days, Joliet had a locational advantage being on the Des Plaines River and later the Sauk Trail, the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and the Rock Island Railroad. Early industry in Joliet centered on its abundant supply of limestone, which fed local needs for building, especially following the Chicago Fire of 1871. Joliet was also the site of some of the earliest steel mills built in the United States, beginning in 1869. These assets drew residents – in particular immigrants from Ireland

and southeastern Europe — as well as businesses that benefitted from the resources and industry of the region. Joliet’s economy deteriorated during the 1970s with the decline of the U.S. steel industry, and by 1983, according to local officials, the city led the nation in unemployment. In the same year, civic and business leaders united to develop strategies to turn around the Joliet economy in ways that were sustainable.²

Today, Joliet’s population is 147,433, an increase of 39 percent since 2000, making it the fourth largest city in Illinois. Joliet has experienced significant population growth over the past two decades, almost doubling in size since 1990 (chart 1). In contrast, the population of the state of Illinois has increased much more slowly, only gaining 12 percent since 1990, compared to 21 percent for the country as a whole. However, the two decades from 1970 to 1990 saw Joliet’s population decline by almost 5 percent, while the state and nation grew by 3 percent and 22 percent, respectively (chart 2).

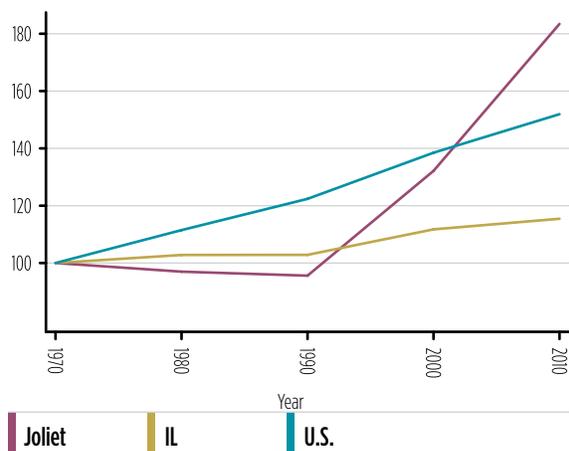
However, the recent population growth has also brought an increase in challenges. The percent of families living in poverty in Joliet has typically run higher than state levels, and this trend continues, with almost 10 percent of Joliet families living under the poverty line, compared with 9 percent for the state as a whole. Joliet has become more diverse with an almost 100 percent increase in the Hispanic population since 1990, which now comprises more than 25 percent of

Chart 1. Total population: Joliet, 1970-2010



Source: U.S. Census Bureau (A-1).

Chart 2. Total population (indexed, 1970=100): Joliet and comparison areas, 1970-2010



the total population.³ The growth in the Hispanic population far exceeds growth in the population as whole, and outpaces trends at both the state and national levels.

Framed by U.S. Interstate highways to the east (I-355), west (I-55), and south (I-80), Joliet is part of the Chicago-Naperville-Elgin Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA). The Des Plaines River runs through Joliet, as do several commuter and freight rail lines.^{4, 5} The potential for high speed rail development promises to further leverage Joliet's location, if it comes to fruition.

Joliet has capitalized on these sustainable assets, as well as its commuter-distance location to Chicago, to evolve from an isolated victim of the rust-belt into a regional center with a firm foothold in the global supply chain. This change did not happen overnight and did not happen by accident.

Regional presence

Local leaders speak with pride of Joliet as the source of limestone for the Chicago Water Tower completed in 1869. Today, Joliet's reach extends far beyond the metropolitan region. Because of its sustainable assets – the rail lines, the expressways, and waterways, as well as proximity to two international airports – Joliet has a firm foothold in the global supply chain as a leading inland port. Local leaders, following the 1980s recession, worked to leverage these permanent assets to ensure that future jobs could not be moved: "People will always need to buy things and have them shipped to them," said one interviewee. Given Joliet's (and Will County's) physical location and the development of two intermodal facilities for transferring freight between rail and highway, it has built itself a position in the global supply chain.

When fully developed, the Centerpoint Intermodal Center-Joliet, will cover 3,600 acres with up to 20 million square feet of industrial facilities, as well as 450 acres of container/equipment management yards. Further, it is expected to create approximately 5,400 direct intermodal and industrial jobs at full capacity.⁶ The BNSF's intermodal is located in Elwood, Illinois, two miles to the south of Joliet. Together, these two centers create the largest inland port in the nation.⁷ By comparison, according to interviewees, trains from the West Coast take three days to travel to Chicago and then, due to congestion, another three days to off-

load rail cars once they are in the city. This time can be cut almost in half, as it takes less than eight hours to off-load at the intermodal in Elwood.

Leading multinationals with a presence in the Joliet region, include: Dow Chemical, Exxon Mobil, LlyondellBassell, Caterpillar, and others. However, few of these corporations have roots in Joliet. Most are multinational corporations and consider only the economics of investment decisions. Countering the prime location, is the cost of doing business in Illinois, the high price of unionized labor, relatively high corporate taxes, and the uncertainty stemming from the state's chronic financial challenges. Headquarters locations range from Texas to Kansas to Switzerland and The Netherlands. Managers cycle through the area on two-to-three-year rotations, further undermining any opportunity to make local connections or commitments.

An indicator of Joliet's connection to the world appeared in a 2011 letter to the editor of the Joliet Herald News. In the letter, Joliet City Manager Tom Thanas responded to a recent article attacking the city for overstating the seriousness of a municipal budget deficit. Manager Thanas devotes a portion of the letter to defending the reasons for preserving a "rainy day" fund balance. Included on the list are unforeseen natural disasters, workers' compensation claims, changes to state and federal legislation, and finally, the following: "Calamitous economic fluctuations in the national and international markets caused by national and world events including acts of terrorism, defaults of major nations, and credit control of the U.S. economy by countries like China and India."⁸

Caught off guard by global market shifts in the 1980s, Joliet intends to be well-prepared in the future.

While Joliet enjoys productive relationships with its state elected officials, many interviewees spoke of the overall business and labor climate in Illinois as a challenge to attracting and retaining businesses. Joliet's proximity to the Indiana border serves to increase the urgency of competition from a neighbor that became a right-to-work state in 2012.⁹

Economic development

The Will County Center for Economic Development (CED) was created in 1983 by local business leaders

who realized that they needed to proactively address the economic challenges facing their community in the wake of numerous plant closings. At that time the initiative was called Greater Joliet, Inc., reflecting the focus on the city. However, it soon became evident to the founders of this organization that Will County possessed “business assets that had never been packaged or promoted,” including rail, air, and surface transportation, locational advantages, room to grow, and a plentiful workforce – assets which continue to sustain the region today.¹⁰

All civic leaders, public and private, interviewed for this study point to the CED as a cornerstone of the region’s economic future. Its executive director is mentioned in every discussion regarding economic development as a leader with a vision and the ability to communicate that vision to a variety of audiences. Joliet is only a part of that vision, a difficult shift for residents and leaders who remember when Joliet defined the vision. Today, however, discussions starting with questions about Joliet are answered in the context of Will County, reflecting that the city is now part of something larger, no longer standing alone. The CED board is a who’s who of community leadership, and there is significant crossover between the board of the CED and boards of other community organizations. Community leadership appears widespread, but some civic leaders question its depth and whether enough attention is paid to cultivating the next generation.

Local leaders speak of a willingness to “do what it takes” for a community that does not shy away from noise, dirt, and other “unsavory” industries, pointing to the Chicagoland Speedway as an example when Joliet moved quickly to leverage a sustainable asset – its proximity to the famous Route 66. Other efforts include the Citgo and Exxon Mobil refineries that, while not in Joliet, still create high quality jobs for the region and at 35 years old, are still new by industry standards. While some longtime residents may miss the agrarian economy that characterized Will County for many generations, economic developers look at the county’s remaining high percentage of available land as yet another asset to be capitalized upon. There is, quite literally, room to grow.

With much of Joliet and the surrounding county focused on the rest of the world, local leaders still hope to revitalize the city’s historic downtown. Efforts to shore up the downtown business district

have existed for decades and include a laundry list of community development initiatives: planters, festivals, new lighting, brick cross walks, etc. Most interviewees agree that the impact of these efforts has been short-lived if there was any at all. There is concern about the future of the Slammers, the local Frontier-League baseball team which plays at Silver Cross Field.¹¹ And, discussions continue about how to capitalize on the old Joliet Correctional Center – two ideas include a hotel and a museum. The future of these types of efforts is now in question given municipal budget challenges, which even threaten a city subsidy to the Rialto Square Theatre.

In September 2012, Joliet broke ground on a \$42 million Regional Multi-Modal Transportation Center in downtown next to the historic Joliet Union Station. When completed, this center will bring together private and public transportation investment options and combine eight land-based transportation modes, including:

- Amtrak’s Lincoln Service and Ann Rutledge Service daily between Chicago and St. Louis. This line is slated to be the future high speed rail line.
- Amtrak’s Texas Eagle, which runs two trains between Chicago and San Antonio with three weekly connections to New Orleans and Los Angeles (intercity passenger rail).
- Metra’s Rock Island Line to Chicago’s LaSalle Street Station and Heritage Corridor Line to Chicago Union Station (regional commuter rail service).
- Pace Bus connections (public local bus).
- Paratransit, intercity and private charter buses to one central location with direct access to I-80.
- Shuttle services to both Chicago-area international airports (O’Hare and Midway).
- Private taxi service and car rental/sharing services.
- Convergence point with bike parking/rental options for several major bike trails.

- “Complete two-way streets” where pedestrians and bicyclists can travel safely on sidewalks and bike lanes.¹²

The one-mile radius around the multimodal center is an economically distressed area, with a 22 percent poverty level compared to 10 percent for Joliet, overall.¹³ It is expected that the development of the multimodal center will bring needed construction and follow-on retail and office jobs to the area, as well as additional retail and service business opportunities.

The project is currently behind schedule with a groundbreaking that took place in September 2012, as opposed to December 2010, as originally projected.¹⁴ The impact of the recession on budgets and timelines has been significant.

In addition, Joliet Junior College (JJC) is constructing a culinary arts and office complex at the other end of downtown from the multimodal center. The hope is that student traffic will lead to new coffee shops, restaurants and other services. Past similar efforts have not had the expected impact: the casinos were expected to reinvigorate the downtown area with restaurants and other entertainment opportunities.

In 2010, several on-line business resources posted a list of “16 U.S. Cities that Could Face Bankruptcy in 2011.” Joliet had the dubious distinction of making the list along with other cities like Detroit, Washington, DC, Newark, Honolulu, and Cincinnati.¹⁵

Joliet leaders acknowledge their budget challenges and have worked since 2009 to return the city to an operating surplus. As early as 2007, city finance managers sounded the alarm as revenues started decreasing, while expenses continued to rise.

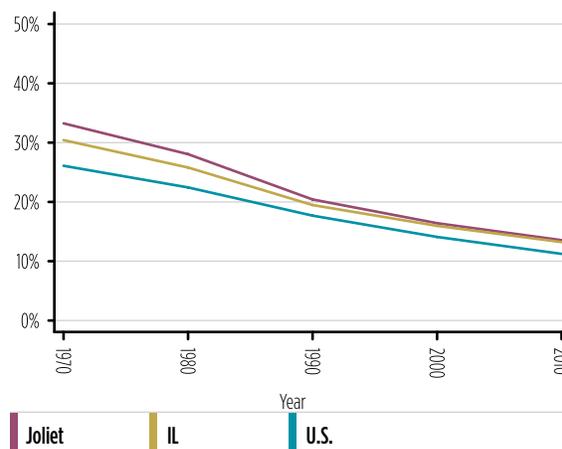
According to local contacts, early warning signs included: falling gambling revenues, which by 2010 had fallen by more than 50 percent, due to a fire; the economy; a smoking ban; and increased competition from nearby facilities in Indiana (where there was no smoking ban). Originally intended to finance economic development and neighborhood improvement projects, casino revenue had been increasingly used to subsidize operations. In fact, beginning in 2006, no gaming revenue was allocated to economic development; and by 2009, less than 20 percent was going to neighborhood projects, with the vast majority closing revenue gaps in the city’s operating budget.¹⁶

The city faced a \$27 million deficit going into 2012 budget sessions. Various proposed budgets privatized crossing guards, eliminated mosquito spraying, and threatened to cut subsidies to area cultural institutions. The final budget, approved in December 2011, included all of those proposals in various forms: the crossing guards took pay cuts and made other concessions to avoid privatization; cultural institutions also took a blow. The police and fire unions also agreed to two-year pay freezes. These concessions combined with increased revenues – returning to near pre-recession levels – enabled the city to present a balanced budget in 2013 without raising taxes or further reducing services. Some challenges remain: the state of Illinois has expanded gaming licenses, which will increase competition with and reduce revenues from Joliet’s two casinos – by as much as \$5 million per year, according to Mayor Giarrante’s 2013 State of the City Address. Municipal leaders must also resolve the dilemma of managing the costs of retiree pensions and other benefits, which will burden the city for years to come.^{17,18} As a result, while Joliet’s future is firmly linked to the global economy, legacy issues close to home still influence politics and priorities.

Industry analysis

In 1970, more than a third of Joliet’s population was employed in the manufacturing sector. By 2010, that percentage had fallen to 14 percent (chart 3). The loss of manufacturing jobs mirrors state level trends.

Chart 3. Percent employed in manufacturing: Joliet and comparison areas, 1970-2010



Source: U.S. Census Bureau (A-1).

Historically, Joliet relied on companies like U.S. Steel, Texaco and Caterpillar, along with numerous smaller manufacturers, to create quality jobs. Manufacturing employment began to decline in 1970, and by 1990 Joliet had seen a 39 percent decline in the number of people employed in the sector. While the number of manufacturing jobs rebounded between 1990 and 2000, they have never returned to levels seen in 1970.¹⁹ Embedded in these figures is other data that paints a picture of Joliet's challenges during the 1970s and 1980s:

- According to census data, between 1970 and 1980, there was an increase of only seven jobs in Joliet. In contrast, jobs in the entire Chicago PMSA grew by 13 percent.²⁰
- The labor force in Joliet, between 1970 and 1980 grew by 6 percent – less than one-third the pace of the state.²¹
- By 1983, Joliet had the highest unemployment in the nation at 27 percent.²²

- Between 1980 and 1990, the number of jobs in Joliet grew by 4 percent.
- However, in the 1990s, jobs in Joliet grew by 43 percent – far exceeding the 7 percent pace of the surrounding region, coinciding with an almost 40 percent increase in population.²³

Civic leaders acknowledge that while the manufacturing sector still offers good employment opportunities – and some even struggle to fill open positions – the heyday of manufacturing in Joliet when one graduated from high school into lifetime employment is gone.

Since the recession in the 1980s, Joliet has worked hard to diversify its employment base. Today, 70 percent of jobs are spread across seven industries, with two – health care/social assistance and retail trade – comprising more than 35 percent of all jobs.²⁴ Joliet's largest employers today include the hospitals and casinos, as well as Caterpillar, a major manufacturer

Table 1: Top 5 industries in Will County, IL by 2011 location quotient

Industry	Will County, IL						U.S.			
	Location Quotient		Employment				Employment		Output	
	2001	2011	2001	2011	% Share	Annual Rate of Change, 2001-2011	Annual Rate of Change, 2000-2010	Annual Rate of Change, 2010-2020 (Projected)	Annual Rate of Change, 2000-2010	Annual Rate of Change, 2010-2020 (Projected)
Petroleum and coal products manufacturing	10.33	4.61	1,407	791	0.47%	-5.60%	-0.80%	-1.30%	0.50%	2.10%
Warehousing and storage	0.78	2.86	447	2,860	1.71%	20.39%	2.00%	2.40%	2.60%	3.60%
Health and personal care stores	1.61	2.68	1,701	4,081	2.44%	9.15%	-0.60%	1.20%	1.30%	3.70%
Support activities for transportation	1.05	2.65	630	2,306	1.38%	13.85%	0.00%	2.00%	0.80%	4.00%
Chemical manufacturing	2.20	2.14	2,369	2,585	1.55%	0.88%	-2.20%	-0.70%	0.50%	2.90%
Total, top 5 industries by location quotient			6,554	12,623	7.55%	6.77%				
Total, all industries			123,085	167,283	100.00%	3.12%				

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (A-2).

Table 2: Joliet job growth by industry, 2001-2021

	2001 Jobs		2011 Jobs		2021 Jobs	
Health care and social assistance	8,039	18%	12,909	21%	15,445	23%
Retail trade	8,025	18%	10,680	17%	10,417	16%
Accommodation and food service	2,819	6%	4,716	8%	5,160	8%
Manufacturing	4,699	10%	4,589	7%	4,040	6%
Transportation and warehousing	2,277	5%	4,149	7%	4,998	7%
Admin./support and waste management and remed. services	3,605	8%	3,395	6%	4,160	6%
Other services (except public administration)	2,640	6%	3,393	6%	3,717	6%

Source: Will County Workforce Investment Board.

Table 3: Joliet job growth, earnings, and training

Occupation	2001 Jobs	2011 Jobs	2021 Jobs	Growth 2000-2011	Growth 2011-2021	2011 Average Hourly Earnings	Annual (=2,080 hrs/year)	Training
Health diagnosing and treating practitioners	2,316	3,840	4,662	40%	18%	\$36.70	\$76,336	First professional degree
Primary, secondary, and special education teachers	2,065	3,020	3,271	32%	8%	\$33.52	\$69,722	Bachelor's degree
Other management occupations	1,517	2,196	2,456	31%	11%	\$24.92	\$51,834	Bachelor's or higher degree, plus work experience
Business operations specialists	1,454	2,088	2,311	30%	10%	\$21.63	\$44,990	Bachelor's or higher degree, plus work experience
Health technologists and technicians	1,076	1,720	1,978	37%	13%	\$18.95	\$39,416	Associate degree
Motor vehicle operators	1,675	2,531	2,966	34%	15%	\$16.28	\$33,862	Short-medium term on-the-job training
Material moving occupations	2,120	2,817	2,958	25%	5%	\$11.76	\$24,461	Short-medium term on-the-job training
Information and record clerks	1,441	2,200	2,355	35%	7%	\$11.54	\$24,003	Short-medium term on-the-job training
Retail sales workers	3,756	5,413	5,527	31%	2%	\$11.24	\$23,379	Short-term on-the-job training
Food and beverage serving workers	1,586	2,588	2,922	39%	11%	\$7.79	\$16,203	Short-term on-the-job training
Totals	19,006	28,413	31,406	49%	11%	\$19.54	\$40,643	

Sources: 1) Will County Workforce Investment Board Occupation Data, 2001-2021; 2) Bureau of Labor Statistics: Education and Training Measures http://www.bls.gov/emp/ep_table_111.htm.

of farm and land-moving equipment. Seven of Will County's top ten employers are located in Joliet.

The employment profile of Will County has changed over the last decade. Table 1 features the top industries in Will County by location quotients (LQs). Warehousing and storage has increased from a LQ of 0.78 to a LQ of 2.86 in 2011, demonstrating the impact of the intermodals. Two of the top five industries by LQ are in the manufacturing sector, although as table 1 indicates a high LQ does not necessarily translate into high numbers of jobs. The subsector with the highest LQ for Will County is petroleum and coal products manufacturing, with a very high LQ of 4.61 (down from 10.33 in 2001). However, only 791 jobs are classified in this subsector (0.5 percent of all jobs in the county) in 2011 – half the number in 2001. Employment over the coming decade is projected to decrease in both manufacturing industries, which show growth in output but not jobs.

The actual number of jobs in the manufacturing sector in Joliet has increased by 1,500 over the past decade, according to the American Community Survey (ACS). However, given that the overall number of jobs has grown by more than 20 percent, the share of manufacturing jobs has fallen, further indicating a diversification away from manufacturing in the Will County economy that would likely be reflected in the population of Joliet as well.²⁵

Job growth through 2021 is projected to respond to changing demographic patterns, as the region's population continues to grow and age. Occupation data shows that jobs in the health care sector are projected to grow by more than 15 percent. Jobs for teachers and other education-related professions are on a similar trajectory. Material moving occupations also show strong growth projections, as do jobs in the retail and food service sectors (table 2).²⁶

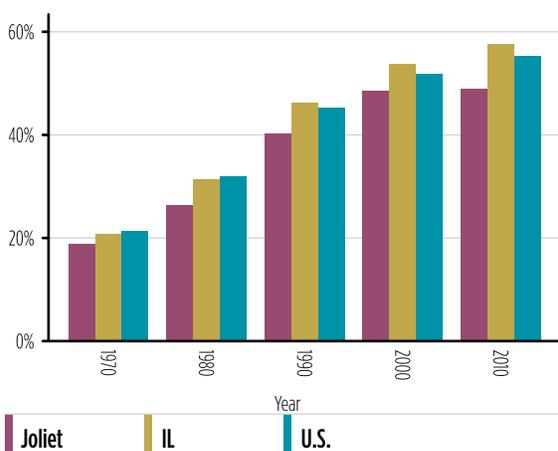
Human capital

As indicated by table 3, few of the “high-growth” occupations in Joliet, through 2021, offer employees the possibility of making a living wage of \$43,388.²⁷ Further, there is a direct link between earnings and training, with the five highest paying jobs requiring a college degree and the five lowest paying jobs requiring short- to medium-term, on-the-job training.

However, according to 2010 ACS data, only 49 percent of Joliet's population has at least some college, compared to 58 percent and 55 percent for Illinois and the U.S., respectively (chart 4).

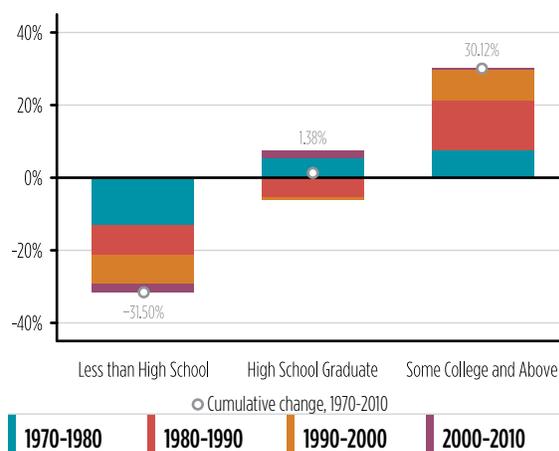
Almost 19 percent of Joliet residents over the age of 25 do not have a high school diploma, compared to 14 percent at the state level and 15 percent at the national level. The 2011 Illinois School Report Cards showed that Joliet's two public high schools are struggling: out of 18 high schools in Will County, Joliet West High

Chart 4. Percent some college and college grad: Joliet and comparison areas, 1970-2010



Source: U.S. Census Bureau (A-1).

Chart 5. Percentage point changes in educational attainment: Joliet, 1970-2010



School and Joliet Central High School ranked 16th and 18th respectively.^{28, 29, 30}

Chart 5 demonstrates that education levels in Joliet remained virtually unchanged over the past decade, even as state and national college attainment indicators continued to increase. In light of the projections for high growth, living wage jobs, this is a not a favorable trend.

Nevertheless, leaders interviewed stressed that manufacturing is not dead in Joliet, and in fact it is projected to still account for more than 4,000 jobs through 2021. Local leaders emphasize that these remain good jobs and speak frequently of a future of high-paying, high-skilled jobs in “advanced manufacturing.” However, most struggle to define which occupations will increase over the coming decade, as the result of new opportunities in “advanced manufacturing.” Others speak of “re-shoring” as increasing transportation costs emphasize the need to manufacture closer to customers. Nevertheless, some manufacturing jobs remain unfilled. JJC, the nation’s first public community college, offers multiple workforce training programs. The average age of a participant in these programs is 45, according to program leadership, reflecting the demand for retraining and retooling. Multiple community leaders attest that the younger generation is not interested in manufacturing, citing a “stigma” associated with these jobs that is hard to dispel. Nevertheless, JJC plays an important role in business attraction and retention, serving as a quasi “R&D” department for the college nimbly responding to employers’ requests for skills and training programs.

JJC is also making significant investments to position itself as a resource for the city’s future. Demolition is underway to clear space for the college’s City Center Campus. This center will house culinary programs, as well as workforce development, GED/ESL training, and adult education. The potential to inject increased foot traffic into the downtown area, in addition to providing centralized job training services, fuels much anticipation for the center’s 2015 opening.³¹ In addition, JJC has completed its Health Professions Building located on its main campus on the outskirts of Joliet. According to the College’s website, this new facility will “help expand the high-demand nursing, allied health and emergency services programs. In addition to increased academic space and improved equipment, the new building will give the college the opportunity to expand into

other allied health fields based on employment needs and labor market demands.”³²

Despite these efforts, with a higher cost of living and lower paying jobs, Joliet, and in fact the county as a whole, is seeing a spatial mismatch between its jobs and its workers. Will County imports roughly half of its workforce, led by workers commuting from neighboring Cook County. At the same time, more than 70 percent of Will County residents work outside of Will County, higher than a target range of about 50 percent, but not unexpected given the proximity to the jobs offered by Chicago and other area job centers. Nevertheless, an analysis of the County’s Resident Income Account, which compares income of residents and non-residents, yields the following conclusions:

- Non-resident workers (workers who live elsewhere and work in Will County) make, on average, significantly less than resident workers.
- Outside income generates close to two-thirds of Will County residents’ wealth.
- Jobs that residents hold within the county tend to be higher paying positions.³³

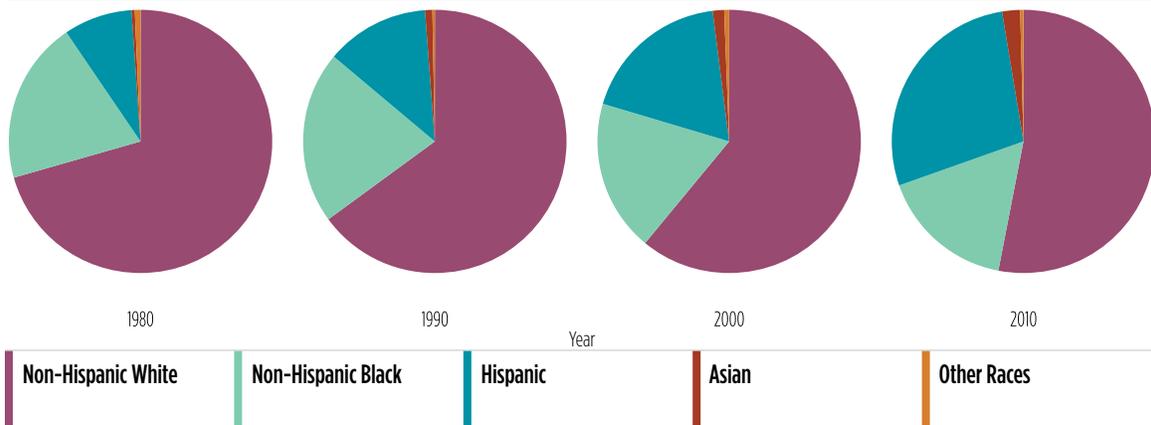
Together, these conclusions paint a picture of a place that is not creating jobs for its residents and where the personal wealth of the region depends largely on income earned elsewhere, pointing again to a city and county with deep and important connections to its neighbors.

Race and diversity

As mentioned in the introduction, Joliet is a city of increasing racial and ethnic diversity. Charts 6-9 show this progression beginning in 1980.

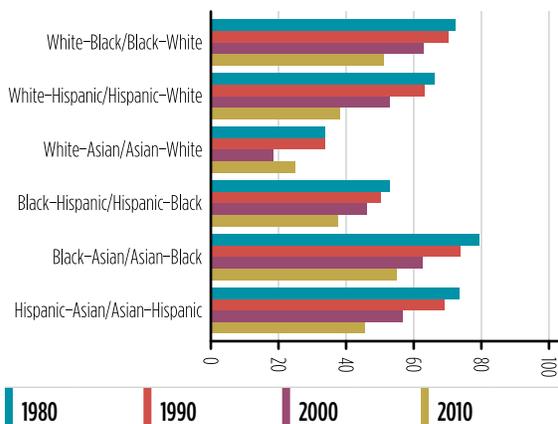
According to the City’s 2013 Community and Economic Development Action Plan prepared as part of their Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Consolidated Plan, there are ten census tracts in Joliet where there is a racial concentration of Blacks.³⁴ There are also ten census tracts that are ethnically concentrated for Hispanics. Two of these census tracts are concentrated both racially and ethnically.³⁵ Of the 45 census tracts that are either partially or fully within Joliet city limits, 18 are racially or ethnically concentrated. These areas are primarily concentrated on the eastern side of the city

Charts 6-9. Racial and ethnic composition: Joliet, 1980-2010



Source: Brown University (A-8).

Chart 10. Dissimilarity index: Joliet, 1980-2010



Source: Brown University (A-8).

and interviewees referred to an east side/west side divide, when asked about diversity in the city. Many of the census tracts that are over 51 percent low- and moderate-income (LMI) are also areas of racial and ethnic concentration. According to the city's 2013 action plan, of the 48 census block groups that are at least 51 percent LMI, 37 of those (77 percent) are located in areas of minority concentration.

One of the community's Hispanic leaders spoke of a lack of nearby services in the community. Without a bank branch in the neighborhood, residents are reliant on grocery stores to cash checks. Further, the only Social Security office and cable payment centers are located on the west side of town, too far for residents reliant on public transportation.

Community amenities are few and perceived as inaccessible; for example, the nearest fitness center is on the west side and residents don't feel comfortable there.

Although interviewees referred to Joliet as a historically segregated town, data shows that it is making some progress.³⁶ A recent dissimilarity index³⁷ reflected moderate segregation (chart 10).

Based on interviews, this chart would appear to reflect local sentiments: that progress has been made, but work remains to be done.

Banking

Joliet is served by 22 financial institutions³⁸ with 50 branches in the city. BMO Harris has the largest market share of deposits (29 percent) followed by First Midwest (27 percent), a community bank³⁹ that is almost one-tenth of the size of Harris in terms of assets. These two banks have more than 50 percent market share in Joliet. Including First Midwest, 13 community banks control 57 percent of the market.

Real deposits in Joliet have increased by 8 percent over the past decade, falling significantly behind population growth (see chart 11).

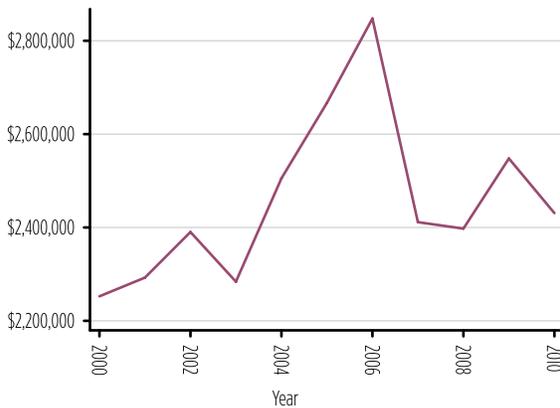
However, the banks and their branches are not distributed evenly across the city, as indicated by FDIC and reflected in table 4.⁴⁰ This would seem to corroborate feedback from community leaders regarding areas of need, but with little service.

Table 4: Joliet select bank data, 2012

	Num-ber of Institu-tions	Number of Branches	Deposits (000s)	Popula-tion	Deposits (000s) per/ Capita	Popula-tion per Branch
Joliet City	22	51	\$2,802,646	133,515	\$20.99	2,618
60431	13	17	\$722,142	11,046	\$65.38	650
60432	4	7	\$587,712	23,978	\$24.14	3,425
60433	1	1	\$26,978	22,255	\$1.18	22,255
60434	1	1	\$101,071	n/a		
60435	15	24	\$1,373,242	54,845	\$25.04	2,285
60436	1	1	\$1,285	21,391	\$0.06	21,391

Source: Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC).

Chart 11. Total deposits (thousands of real \$, 2010=100): Joliet, 2000-2010



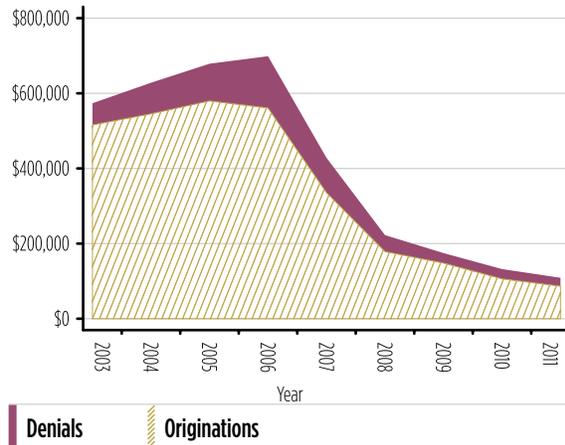
Source: FDIC Summary of Deposits (A-6).

These data are illustrative, but not conclusive, suggesting a need for further research and analysis.

As shown in chart 12, the number and value of home loan originations fell precipitously by 2007. Denials also fell, but at a less dramatic rate, reflecting a lack of demand on the part of borrowers.

Lending to small business owners also decreased dramatically through the recession and has only begun to rebound in 2011 (chart 13), although the real value of the loans remains low. Chart 14 reflects this slow recovery as 2011 levels remain below 2009 levels as a percentage of 2006 lending. When compared to U.S. levels, it appears that while

Chart 12. Value of HMDA loan originations and denials (thousands of real \$, 2010=100): Joliet, 2003-2011



Source: HMDA (A-4).

lending in Joliet was more resilient in the depth of the recession, the recovery is lagging.

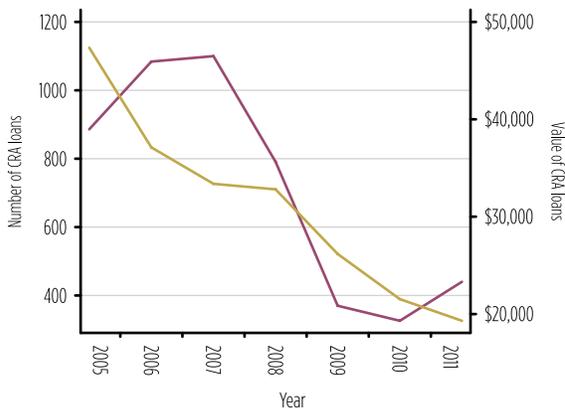
Housing

Improving access to affordable housing was identified as the highest priority need in Joliet's 2013 Action Plan, as real incomes continue to fall and the percentage of Joliet residents facing a rent burden continues to rise (chart 15).

However, the economic environment has restricted the amount of funding available to purchase and redevelop homes and apartments. Even though the price of acquisition may be favorable (again, due to the current housing crisis), the cost to rehabilitate these homes, many of which are in Joliet's older neighborhoods, is often prohibitive.⁴¹

Joliet did receive \$4.8 million in Neighborhood Stabilization Program (NSP) funds and is on target for disbursing those funds. Since the establishment of the NSP Program, a total of five rental properties have been completed. All five rental properties are occupied by households with incomes at or below 50 percent of the area median income. A total of 13 properties have been acquired, with 11 completed and sold, thus far, to qualified, first-time home buyers. Nine properties

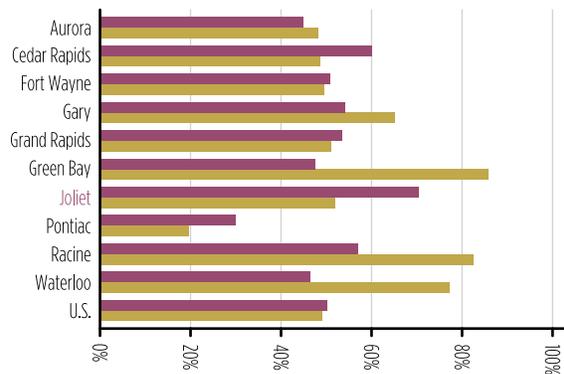
Chart 13. Number and value of CRA loans (thousands of real \$, 2010=100): Joliet, 2005-2011



Number of CRA loans

Value of CRA loans

Chart 14. Value of CRA loans (thousands of real \$, 2010=100) in all case study cities as a percentage of 2006 levels



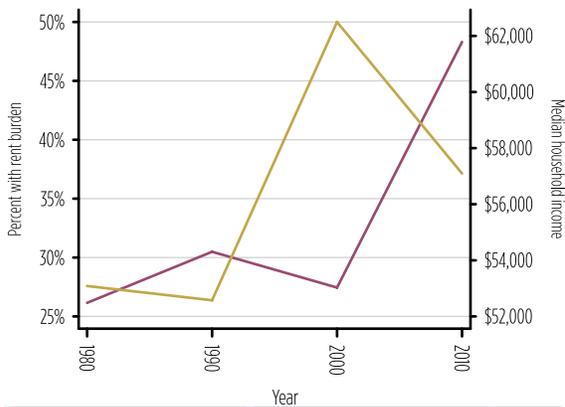
2009

2011

Limited to loans made to businesses with less than \$1M in annual revenues

Source: CRA (A-5).

Chart 15. Rent burden and median household income (real \$, 2010=100): Joliet, 1980-2010



Percent with rent burden

Median household income

Percent rent burden represents the proportion of renting households whose gross rent exceeds 35% of income. Source: U.S. Census Bureau (A-1).

have been acquired and land-banked. A further 24 properties are earmarked for demolition and 13 have, in fact, been demolished.⁴²

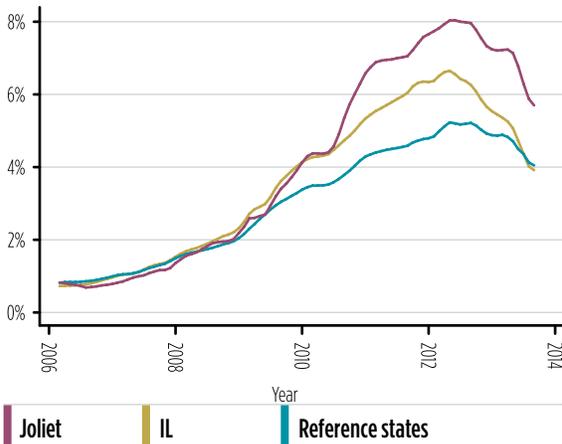
Home ownership rates in Joliet are higher than both state and national levels: the average home ownership rate in Joliet between 2006 and 2010

was 74 percent higher than the state level of 69 percent and significantly above the U.S. rate of 65 percent.⁴³ Community leaders in low-income areas note that home ownership rates are high and vacancy rates are low, with few rental properties. In order to achieve this, leaders say that multiple families may occupy the same house, each contributing to the global income of the household, including the mortgage.

Census data would appear to support this, as the average household size in Joliet, 3.03 persons, is larger than the 2.61 state average or the 2.71 national average. Further, data also supports the contention that multiple earners (perhaps even across multiple families or generations) live in one household, as the Joliet per capita income is 22 percent below state levels and, yet, median household income is 9 percent above the state figure.⁴⁴

Despite this data, Joliet and Will County have had a disproportionate share of foreclosures, when compared to the Chicago MSA. As indicated in chart 16, foreclosure inventory rates (FIR) in the city of Joliet were roughly the same as the state of Illinois and other states with foreclosure processing periods of 180 days or more, until 2009. Since then, Joliet's FIR has diverged significantly and remains above both state and comparison area levels. Further examination, and a more detailed

Chart 16. Foreclosure inventory rate: Joliet and comparison areas, Jan 2006 – Sep 2013



For smoothing purposes, rates are expressed as 3-month moving averages.
Reference group consists of states in which the typical foreclosure process period is over 180 days.

Source: LPS Applied Analytics (A-7).

level of analysis, would be needed to reconcile these figures with Joliet's overall high home ownership rates, but one would expect that this dynamic puts further pressure on the availability of affordable rental housing.

Conclusion

Joliet is not a city without challenges, as reflected in the data and reported by interviewees. However, it also possesses many assets that have sustained it in the past and it is hoped well into the future. Joliet is no longer a self-contained rust belt town: its jobs are global, although they might not pay well; its workforce is abundant, although leaders question their readiness for the twenty-first century; it is well-positioned to take advantage of advancements in transportation – with the potential for high-speed rail and an additional airport – although there is some concern that associated benefits will pass it by; its proximity to Chicago is an asset for residents, although it may have over-estimated housing demand. Joliet knows itself and has always worked hard, reported interviewees. There is strong leadership, united and committed to the future of the county and its county seat. The recession has not been kind to Joliet – as it rarely is to aging industrial cities – and the future remains uncertain. But as leaders repeated again and again ... they have been here before.

Notes

1. Will County Workforce Investment Board, Occupation Report: 2001-2011.
2. Encyclopedia of Chicago History. Available at www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/676.html.
3. U.S. Census Bureau (see Appendix A-1). Full citations and descriptions for datasets used throughout the ICI profiles are provided in Appendix A. These include data from the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, HMDA, CRA, Summary of Deposits, Lender Processing Services, Brown University, and Living Wage Project.
4. Will County Department of Highways General Highway Map. 2008.
5. Chicago Rail Junctions – Joliet. 2011. Available at <http://www.dhke.com/CRJ/joliet.html>.
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21. U.S. Census Bureau (A-1).
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34. Brown University (A-8).
35. Joliet 2013 Action Plan. Available at <http://www.visitjoliet.org/modules/showdocument.aspx?documentid=1703>.
36. Brown University (A-8).
37. Ibid.
38. FDIC Summary of Deposits (A-6).
39. Community bank is a bank with total assets less than \$1 billion or total assets greater than or equal to \$1 billion where: (1) Loan to assets greater than 33 percent; (2) core deposits to assets greater than 50 percent; (3) more than one office but no more than the indexed maximum number of offices, 75; (4) number of large MSAs with offices less than two; (5) number of states with offices less than three; no single office with deposits greater than \$5 billion.
40. FDIC Summary of Deposits. Available at <http://www2.fdic.gov/sod/sodInstBranch.asp?barItem=1>.
41. City of Joliet 2013 Action Plan. p. 19. Available at <http://www.visitjoliet.org/modules/showdocument.aspx?documentid=1703>.
42. 2013 Joliet Action Plan. p.5. Available at <http://www.visitjoliet.org/modules/showdocument.aspx?documentid=1703>.
43. U.S. Census Bureau (A-1).
44. Ibid.

Appendix A: Overview of key data sources and compilation methods

[1] U.S. Census Bureau

The U.S. Census collects information on the American population and housing every ten years for use in policy-making and research. Until recently, it was distributed in two forms: a short form that counts all residents as mandated by the Constitution, and a long form that samples the population for characteristics such as income, housing, and education. After the 2000 Census, the long form was replaced by the American Community Survey (ACS). All three are discussed below.

With a few exceptions, the Census-derived time series presented in these profiles represent an amalgamation of data points from these three sources. While we made every effort to ensure comparability between figures over time, in some cases – detailed in table 2 – this was not possible and/or was difficult to assess. Furthermore, for the sake of narrative efficiency, we indicated all ACS data as corresponding to 2010 throughout the text and charts, even though the majority of it actually corresponds to the five-year timeframe between 2005 and 2009.

Please note that, for tabulation purposes, the Census treats cities as political units rather than spatially-fixed communities. As such, apparent changes over time may reflect changes caused by annexation, as well as changes within the original city boundaries. The table below indicates the extent of annexation for each of the ten case cities between 1970 and 2010.

Table 1. Change in land area by city, 1970-2010

City	Land Area in Square Miles		Percent Change
	1970	2010	
Fort Wayne	51.5	110.6	115%
Gary	42.0	49.9	19%
Grand Rapids	44.9	44.4	-1%
Pontiac	19.7	20.0	1%
Aurora	14.1	44.9	219%
Joliet	16.5	62.1	276%
Racine	13.1	15.5	18%
Green Bay	41.7	45.5	9%
Cedar Rapids	50.7	70.8	40%
Waterloo	59.2	61.4	4%

Notes: 1. Data for 1970 come from 1972 County and City Databook as accessed through ICPSR.
2. Data for 2010 come from the U.S. Census Bureau State and County Quickfacts.

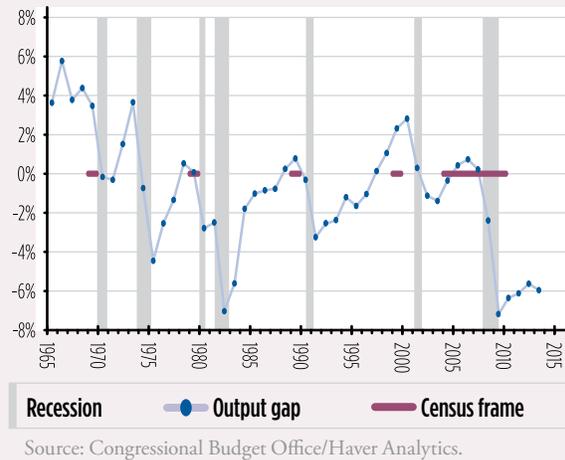
Inset 1: Census data and the business cycle

For most characteristics, observed changes over time neatly capture the long-term trends that interest us. For a handful of characteristics, however, historically meaningful structural changes may be somewhat obscured by short-term fluctuations in the business cycle. To illustrate, Census data indicate that real median family income in Green Bay increased by just over 12 percent between 1990 and 2000. This probably understates the true gain, however, insofar as the first measurement reflects income closer to the peak of a business cycle than the second one.¹

This concern mainly applies to income- and employment-related characteristics. Ideally, in the interest of holding cyclical change constant and thereby isolating structural change, comparisons between these types of characteristics should be made between measurements taken during the same stage of the business cycle (e.g., peak-to-peak or trough-to-trough). When not possible, however, such comparisons should at least take into account that differences in timing with respect to the business cycle may be relevant.

These differences are captured in chart 1, which displays the timeframe for income questions (Census frame) from the Census and ACS in relation to fluctuations in the business cycle. Note that both the formal definition of business cycles (in shading, and an informal measure depicted by the output gap (i.e., the difference between actual GDP and potential GDP), are depicted. The output gap rises during economic expansions and falls during contractions. We express it as a percent of real potential GDP to isolate this cyclical effect from long-term, structural increases in GDP. In the context of our example, the red line in 1989 highlights the period for which income was reported in the 1990 Census and the red line in 1999 highlights the same for the 2000 Census. Visually, we can see that the 1990 frame is closer to a recession and decline in the output gap; indicating it occurred closer to the peak of a business cycle.

Chart 1. Real U.S. output gap as a percent of real potential GDP



Source: Congressional Budget Office/Haver Analytics.

Lastly, in addition to the official U.S. Census website for sharing recent data (American FactFinder), for historical data we relied on two intermediary venues that organize the myriad older Census products into a coherent framework. In particular, for the period 1970-1990, we relied heavily on the National Historical Geographic Information System (NHGIS) maintained by the University of Minnesota. As a supplement, we also used data provided by the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) maintained by the University of Michigan. Accordingly, the full citation for any specific Census-derived figure should be considered as “[the source] as obtained through [the venue], [the year]”. Additional detail for each of these venues is provided below.

Sources

[i] Short Form

Citation: *U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Census, Short Form.*

In contrast to the long form or ACS, all persons complete the short form. All households and group quarters receive a questionnaire by mail every ten years. It asks for the age, sex, and race/ethnicity for each person living at the address, as well as whether the residence is owned or rented.² Addresses are primarily obtained from the Master Address File from previous Census years and the Delivery Sequence File from the U.S. Postal Service. Follow-ups are conducted by telephone and personal interviews for nonrespondents. Missing data are imputed. Since the published figures are enumerations and not estimates from a sample, there are no calculable margins of error associated with sampling bias. However, the decennial Census is accompanied by a post-enumeration survey to assess coverage error.⁴ The post-enumeration survey for the 2010 Census did not find a significant percent net undercount or overcount for the household population.⁵

[ii] Long Form

Citation: *U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Census, Long Form.*

For Censuses 1970-2000, one in six residents received a long form questionnaire with detailed questions on population and housing. Though results from the long form are technically estimates (not enumerations), the Census Bureau considers the figures sufficiently precise that it does not publish margins of error.

[iii] American Community Survey

Citation: *U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey.*

The Census Bureau officially introduced the ACS in 2005 as a replacement for the Decennial Census long form. Instead of sampling the population at one point in time every ten years, the ACS draws monthly rolling samples from U.S. households and group quarters for release every year. Because these annual samples are smaller than the long form samples (about 1 in 40), geographies with smaller populations require greater than single-year periods to achieve appropriate margins of error. Thus the ACS also releases rolling three-year and five-year estimates, where the multi-year estimates are constructed by pooling data from all years. For our analysis of industrial cities, appropriate margins of error were typically only obtainable from 5-year data. In some cases, our assessment of the standard error relative to the estimate allowed us to use three-year data (this measure is known as the coefficient of variation (CV); see discussion below for additional detail). It should be noted that we only considered margins of error when selecting the timeframe for an estimate. We did not test whether differences in estimates are statistically significant. Comparisons of ACS data made in the profiles may not be statistically significant when the estimates are very close or from a small population.

[iv] County and City Data Book

Citation: *U.S. Census Bureau, County and City Data Book [United States] consolidated files, 1944-1977.*

The County and City Data Book is a compendium of local-area data compiled by the U.S. Census Bureau from a variety of sources. It was published as a supplement to the Statistical Abstract of the United States in 1952, 1956, 1962, 1972, 1977, 1983, 1988, 1994, 2000, and 2007. For budget reasons, the Bureau terminated the program in 2011.

Venues

[i] American Factfinder

Citation: *U.S. Census Bureau, American FactFinder, <http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml>.*

American FactFinder provides access to data about the United States, Puerto Rico, and the Island Areas. The data in American FactFinder come from several censuses and surveys.

For more information see “Using FactFinder” and “What We Provide.”^{9,1}

[ii] NHGIS

Citation: *Minnesota Population Center. National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 2.0. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota 2011, <http://www.nhgis.org>.*

The National Historical Geographic Information System (NHGIS) provides, free of charge, aggregate census data and GIS-compatible boundary files for the United States between 1790 and 2012.

[iii] ICPSR

Citation: *The Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/>.*

The Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research maintains an extensive archive of data sets in the social sciences. Data are available to researchers at no charge.

[iv] Miscellaneous

Percent manufacturing in 1960 and two other national figures for 1970 were not found in the above venues and thus obtained elsewhere, as indicated below.

- Percent Manufacturing from University of Virginia Library
Citation: *University of Virginia Library, County and City Data Books, <http://www2.lib.virginia.edu/ccdb>.*
- Median Family Income from Current Population Reports
Citation: *U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Department of Commerce, Current Population Reports, Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 78. May 20, 1971, <http://www2.census.gov/prod2/popscan/p60-078.pdf>.*
- Median Value of Owner Occupied Homes from Historical Census of Housing Tables
Citation: *U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Department of Commerce, Historical Census of Housing Tables, Home Values, <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/census/historic/values.html>.*

Table 2. U.S. Census figures by Decennial Form

Order	Figure	Description	Census Form	Notes
1	Total population	Total number of persons	Short	--
2	% < 19	% of total population aged 19 and under	Short	--
3	% 20-24	% of total population aged 20-24	Short	--
4	% 25-44	% of total population aged 25-44	Short	--
5	% 45-64	% of total population aged 45-64	Short	--
6	% > 65	% of total population aged 65 and over	Short	--
7	% Black	% of population that identified themselves as Black	Short	To ensure comparability with earlier years, universe is constrained to persons who identified with only one race.
8	% White	% of population that identified themselves as White	Short	To ensure comparability with earlier years, universe is constrained to persons who identified with only one race.
9	% Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	% of total population that reported a Hispanic country of origin	Short	Not found for 1970 and 1980. Unlike race figures, universe includes the entire population.
10	% Less than HS	% of population aged 25 and over that did not graduate from high school	Long	See % HS Grad note.
11	% HS Grad	% of population over 25 who graduated from high school but never attended college	Long	In 1970, there is no explicit distinction between high school graduate and non-high school graduate. Individuals assumed to have graduated high school if and only if they completed 4 years of high school.
12	% Some College & College Grad	% of persons aged 25 and over that ever attended college	Long	--
13	% Manufacturing	% of employed population aged 16 and over that work in the manufacturing industry	Long	Figures for 1970 appear to omit approximately 3-8% of eligible universe. Figures for 1960 come from County and City Data Book.
14	Civilian Work Force	Full civilian work force, including the unemployed	Long	--
15	% Civilian Unemployed	% of individuals who are in the labor force but not employed	Long	--
16	Real Median Family Income	Real median family income, adjusted using CPI-U-RS (2010=100)	Long	See extended note to figure 16 below.
17	% Families Below Poverty Line	% families below poverty line	Long	--
18	Mean Commute Time	Mean travel time to work (minutes)	Long	Only found for 2000 and 2010.
19	% Married (individuals 15 years and over)	% of population aged 15 and over that are married	Long	In 1970, includes persons 14 years and over.
20	Average HH size	Average number of persons per household	Short	Only found for 2000 and 2010.
21	Average Family Size	Average family size	Short	Not found for 1970 and 1980.
22	Total Units	Total number of housing units	Short	--
23	% Owner Occupied	% of occupied housing units that are owner occupied	Short	--
24	Real Median Value of Owner Occupied Homes	Real median value of specified owner occupied homes	Long	See extended note to figure 24 below.
25	% homes w- 0 Vehicle	% of occupied units with no vehicles	Long	--
26	% homes w- 1 Vehicle	% of occupied units with exactly 1 vehicle	Long	--
27	% homes w- 2+ Vehicles	% of occupied units with 2 or more vehicles	Long	--

... continued on next page

Table 2. U.S. Census Figures by Decennial Form

28	% Foreign Born	% of entire population that was born abroad to non-native parents	Long	See extended note to figure 28 below.
29	Real Median Household Income	Real median household income, adjusted using CPI-U-RS (2010=100)	Long	See extended note to figure 29 below.
30	% Rent Burden	% of renting HHs whose gross rent is greater than or equal to 35% of income	Long	See extended note to figure 30 below.

General notes

In all cases:

- All data from 2000 and after were obtained through American FactFinder.
- Non-ACS figures that take into account income (median family income, median household income, and rent burden) are based on income from the year immediately prior to the indicated year (e.g., 1970 income data corresponds to 1969); the timeframe for ACS income-related figures is also offset by one year (e.g., income data from the 2005-2009 timeframe corresponds to 2004-2008).
- Real dollar amounts were adjusted using the CPI-U Research Series (CPI-U-RS, 2010=100).

Unless otherwise indicated:

- Figures indicated as deriving from the “Short Form,” do in fact derive from the Decennial Census Short Form for all years.
- Figures indicated as deriving from the “Long Form” derive from the Decennial Census Long Form for all years except 2010; in that case, data were derived from the 2005-2009 American Community Survey.
- All figures from 1960-1990 were obtained through the NHGIS.

Extended notes to figures

- 16 In 1970, city- and state-level figures were taken from the County and City Data Book as obtained through the ICPSR, while the U.S. level figure was taken from a Current Population Reports publication (see <http://www2.census.gov/prod2/popscan/p60-078.pdf>). We were unable to find sufficient documentation to confirm comparability between 1970 and later years.
- 24 The following caveat applies to comparisons between 1970 and later years: For 1980-2010, the population of units includes only “specified” units, which represents a subset of single-family homes (see http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/meta/long_HSG495210.htm for the definition of “specified” as employed in the ACS). In 1970, however, city- and state-level figures were taken from the County and City Data Book as obtained through the ICPSR. The codebook entry for that year is indicated as “OOU.SINGLE FAMILY MEDIAN VAL. \$1970.” We were unable to determine if this contains all single family homes, or just a subset thereof. The U.S. level figure for 1970 was obtained from Historical Census of Housing Tables (see <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/census/historic/values.html>), and appears to subset the population of units in a manner consistent with the definition of “specified.” Any potential difference in the underlying universe should be mitigated by our using the median rather than the mean.
- 28 For 1970 and 2000: We assume, but cannot verify, that “foreign” excludes individuals born abroad to native parents. In Joliet in 1970, 2.3% of the eligible universe appears to be missing. For the last data point, we used a narrower three-year timeframe (2009-2011), as the coefficients of variation were generally acceptable. The CV for Gary, however, straddled the informal threshold between “Good” and “Fair”.
- 29 We assume, but cannot verify, that the population includes all households, as opposed to a subset of households that meet a certain criteria. For 2010, we used ACS data from the 2009-2011, as all coefficients met the informal criteria for “good” reliability.
- 30 2010 figures correspond to ACS five-year estimates from the 2007-2011 timeframe. Due to changes in the universe, comparability might be problematic for 1970, and is definitely problematic for 2007-2011. Figures relating to 1980-2000 all take into account “specified renter occupied housing units,” while 1970 takes into account “renter-occupied units for which rent tabulated,” and 2010 takes into account “renter-occupied housing units.” The Census Bureau makes the disclaimer that the ACS data is not suitable for comparison with earlier long form data due to this change in the universe. By this logic, 1970 may be problematic as well. Renters who did not pay rent or who had a non-positive income are omitted from all calculations. Although we cannot verify the definition of gross rent for all years, in recent years “Gross rent is the contract rent plus the estimated average monthly cost of utilities...and fuels...if these are paid for by the renter.” (For example, see [http://www.socialexplorer.com/data/ACS2012/metadata/?ds=Social+Explorer+Tables%3A++ACS+2012+\(1-Year+Estimates\)&table=T102B.](http://www.socialexplorer.com/data/ACS2012/metadata/?ds=Social+Explorer+Tables%3A++ACS+2012+(1-Year+Estimates)&table=T102B.))

Inset 2: Detailed discussion of ACS reliability and the coefficient of variation

Inherent in the design of the ACS is a tradeoff between timeliness, accuracy, and geographic specificity; given limited resources and therefore a limited sample size, it's impossible to have all three of these desirable properties simultaneously.

To give researchers better control over how exactly these tradeoffs are calibrated, the ACS provides estimates of demographic characteristics in terms of 5-year, 3-year, and 1-year timeframes. The 5-year estimates are the most reliable because they have the largest sample size. Furthermore, 5-year estimates are available for all geographies for which the ACS tabulates data. The obvious downside of the 5-year data is that it applies to a long period, and may therefore be unsuitable for understanding short-term trends and/or the current picture. The 1-year data, on the other hand, is suitable for analyzing short-term dynamics. The downside is that it is only available for larger geographies, and that estimates may have a high margin of error. The properties of the 3-year data are somewhere in between those of the 1-year and 5-year data.

Given that we are dealing with midsize cities, the choice was really between the 3-year and 5-year estimates. (1-year estimates are available for most cities, but omit Pontiac as well as several cities used for comparison. Further, as will be explained below, cities that barely met the population thresholds for inclusion in the 1-year data may suffer from high margins of error that would make their use questionable.)¹¹

To make the decision between the 3-year and 5-year data, we follow the Census Bureau's advice and look at a metric known as the Coefficient of Variation (CV). The Bureau emphasizes that an acceptable CV should ultimately be a function of the estimate's intended use, and declines to provide specific interpretive thresholds. However, an informative user guide compiled by the Washington State Office of Financial Management suggests that, as a general rule, estimates with CVs less than 15% may be considered "good," estimates with CVs between 15% and 30% may be considered "fair," and estimates with CVs in excess of 30% should be used "with caution."¹²

Throughout, we only used 3-year data when the CVs were acceptable for all case study cities.

[2] U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

[i] Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages

Citation: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages [www.bls.gov/cew/].

Employment and location quotient data by industry are from the Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages as obtained through the Location Quotient Calculator. Employment is calculated from quarterly reports filed by nearly every employer in the U.S.

When used in the profiles, these data reflect annual averages for the county corresponding to the case-study cities. Please see below for the definition of "location quotient." Information on living wage calculations, which generally accompany these data in the profiles, is provided in A-9.

[ii] Occupational Employment Statistics

Citation: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, *Occupational Employment Statistics*, (www.bls.gov/oes/).

Employment, location quotient, and wage data by occupation are from the May 2012 release of the Occupational Employment Statistics for Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Areas. These estimates were calculated based on a rolling sample of establishments from May 2012, November 2011, May 2011, November 2010, May 2010, and November 2009.¹ The Employer Cost Index is used to express wage data across the timeframe in terms of May 2012 constant dollars.

When used in the profiles, these data reflect figures for the CBSA or Metropolitan Division corresponding to the case study cities. Please see below for the definition of “location quotient.” Information on living wage calculations, which generally accompany these data in the profiles, is provided in A-9.

[iii] Employment Projections

Citation: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, *Employment Projections* (www.bls.gov/emp/).

All employment and output projections by industry are at the national level, and were taken from table 2.7 of the 2010-2020 Employment Projections Program.¹⁶

Inset 3: Location Quotient Definition

A location quotient (LQ) measures the concentration of a characteristic in one level of geography relative to that same concentration in a reference geography. In the profiles, we employ location quotient to examine employment by industry between county and U.S., and employment by occupation between MSA and U.S.

LQs greater than one indicate that the characteristic is more concentrated in the local geography than the nation, while LQs less than one indicate it is less concentrated. For example, the 2011 LQ of paper manufacturing in Kane County, IL, is 2.43. This means that the share of paper manufacturing employment in Kane County is 2.43 times greater than the national share.

Mathematically, a LQ is a representation ratio defined by:

$$LQ = \frac{e_i/e}{E_i/E}$$

Where:

e_i = Local employment in industry i

e = Total local employment

E_i = Base area employment in industry i

E = Total base area employment

[3] CPI-U-RS

Citation

- For 1978 and onward: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Consumer Price Index Research Series Using Current Methods (CPI-U-RS), U.S. city average, all items, December 1977=100 (see http://www.bls.gov/cpi/cpiursai1978_2012.pdf).
- For years prior to 1978: extrapolations as calculated by the U.S. Census Bureau (see <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/income/data/incpovhlth/2012/CPI-U-RS-Index-2012.pdf>).

All values presented in real dollars were adjusted for inflation using the Consumer Price Index research series (CPI-U-RS) as employed by the U.S. Census Bureau. The CPI-U-RS is officially published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) for a period beginning in 1978.¹ The Census Bureau derives values for prior years by applying the ratio of the CPI-U-RS and CPI-U in 1977 to the 1947-1976 CPI-U. Though the index is published such that December 1977=100, we transformed the series to present values in terms of 2010 dollars.

The CPI-U-RS tracks historical changes in the cost of living more consistently and accurately than the commonly reported Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers (CPI-U). It is more consistent because it applies current methodology to all years in the series, while the CPI-U – despite improving over the years – is not adjusted retroactively. Incorporating these improvements, in turn, improves accuracy. Current methods have reduced upward bias, which the Boskin commission reported to be 1.1 percent per year. For example, the CPI now accounts for lower-level substitution bias (i.e., substitutions made among purchases within the same class of good.) Accordingly, the research series exhibits lower rates of inflation than the CPI-U. These improvements are especially significant for longitudinal analysis where rates compound over time. The CPI-U estimates that the price level rose by 462 percent between 1970 and 2010, whereas the CPI-U-RS estimates the increase at 401 percent.²⁰

It should be noted that the CPI-U-RS, while an improvement over the CPI-U, still does not represent the BLS' best measure of a cost-of-living index because it does not accommodate for substitutions made between classes of goods (aka, upper-level substitutions).²¹ To appreciate the significance of this type of substitution, it's helpful to note that a cost-of-living index should estimate the increase in income necessary to make a consumer just as happy after an increase in the price level as before. As an example, if the price of pork increases relative to beef, a consumer may be just as happy purchasing more beef and less pork. Thus an index which presumes the consumer purchases the same amount of pork at a higher price is upwardly biased. The BLS produces a series that accounts for this effect, the Chained CPI-U, but it only extends back to year 2000. Examining the change in price level between 2000 and 2010 (years for which all three indices are available), the Chained CPI estimates an increase of 23 percent, while the CPI-U and CPI-U-RS both estimate an increase of 27 percent.²³

It should also be noted that the CPI-U-RS is a national index and may not reflect regional differences in the cost of living across the 10 cities. Thus readers are cautioned against interpreting cities with comparatively lower median incomes or median incomes that fail to keep pace with the CPI-U-RS as strictly worse off.

[4] HMDA

Main Citation: *Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council (FFIEC), Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) loan application register flat files (<http://www.ffiec.gov/bmda/bmdaflat.htm>).*

Tract-to-City Crosswalk: *2000 U.S. Census Bureau boundary data, as obtained through Maptitude Version 5.*

The Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) requires that certain lending institutions publically report information pertaining to loan applications for home purchases, improvements, and refinancing. Policymakers and regulators use the resulting report – which includes borrower characteristics such as race and income – to assess whether institutions are meeting the credit needs of the community, as well as to deter discriminatory practices. In addition to these regulatory purposes, the data are well suited to place-based analysis in general because they include the Census tract of the property.

In the profiles, we limited our data to home purchase loans that were either originated or denied by the lending institution after a full review of the application. Preapprovals and withdrawn applications were not considered. Data were aggregated by Census tract and then converted to city-level data using 2000 Census boundary data as obtained through Maptitude. All dollar values were adjusted for inflation using the CPI-U-RS.

[5] CRA

Main Citation: *Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council (FFIEC), Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) aggregate flat files (<http://www.ffiec.gov/cra/craflatfiles.htm>).*

Tract-to-City Crosswalk: *2000 U.S. Census Bureau boundary data, as obtained through Maptitude Version 5.*

The Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) requires certain depository institutions to report data on business lending for the public.²⁵

Data include loans made in amounts of less than \$1 million; to better focus on lending to small businesses we further limit the data to loans made to businesses with less than \$1 million in revenues. Tract-level data was converted to city-level data using 2000 Census boundary data as obtained through Maptitude. All dollar values were adjusted for inflation using the CPI-U-RS. Note that, unlike HMDA, CRA does not provide data regarding applications.

[6] FDIC Summary of Deposits

Main Citation: *FDIC Summary of Deposits (<http://www2.fdic.gov/sod/>).*

Geocoding-related Citations:

- Maptitude Version 5.
- 2000 U.S. Census Bureau boundary data, as obtained through Maptitude Version 5.
- The Google Geocoding API, Version 2 (<https://developers.google.com/maps/documentation/geocoding/>).
- Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago calculations.

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) Summary of Deposits is an annual report that reflects, among other things, the geographic distribution of deposits held by all FDIC-insured institutions. Information in the report is obtained from two sources: 1) a mandatory survey required of all FDIC-insured institutions that operate two or more branch locations, including foreign institutions that operate in the U.S. and 2) the Call Report, which may be used in place of the survey in cases where an institution operates in only one location. These data comprise the vast majority of deposits and deposit-like instruments held in the U.S.; credit unions – whose deposits collectively summed to about 12 percent of that of commercial banks in 2004 account for the remainder.²⁷

In the survey, institutional respondents are asked to allocate total deposits to physical bank locations in a manner consistent with their respective internal practices. For example, the allocation of a certain account to a certain branch office for SOD purposes might derive from matching the account holder’s address to the nearest branch, where the account is most active, or where the account was opened.

Furthermore, respondents are instructed to consolidate the deposits of limited-service outlets (such as ATMs) into more substantial branches located nearby (preferably in the same county). The sum of deposits distributed over the various locations should match the analogous figure in the Call Report or Report of Assets and Liabilities.²⁹

The subsequent availability of detailed address fields in the report can be used to pinpoint the exact latitude and longitude of bank locations (and their corresponding deposits), thereby making this source particularly useful for the sort of place-based analysis employed throughout the profiles. This process of converting addresses to coordinates is known as “geocoding”, and is implemented by a piece of software called a “geocoder.”

We used two geocoders to match deposits with the profiled cities: Maptitude (v5) and the Google Geocoding API (v2). After determining the coordinates of bank locations, we then used Maptitude again to determine the corresponding city with respect to boundaries from the 2000 Census.

It is important to note that all geocoders rely on matching techniques with degrees of uncertainty in order to reconcile text-based address fields between multiple data sources. Consequently, any geocoding procedure is subject to multiple types of error including: 1) failure to match at all, 2) matching to the wrong location, and 3) matching to a correct but imprecisely defined location (e.g., a zipcode as opposed to a building).

Regarding the first type of error, our geocoding success rate generally fell between about 90 percent and 95 percent, depending on the year. The second type of error, while important, is difficult to quantify. Since our goal was to link banking data with a relatively large target (cities), we imagine that the third type of error is insignificant.

A few general caveats are worth mentioning given how deposits are reported and geocoded:

- First, note that deposits figures reported throughout the profiles relate to deposits corresponding to bank locations in the cities, not residents of the cities. Throughout the profiles, however, we implicitly presume that these two measures are highly correlated, and use them interchangeably.
- Second, between the survey instructions and Banks’ internal practices, an area’s figures may be skewed upward if it contains a central location within which large amounts of deposits from nearby limited-service locations are consolidated. (This effect was particularly noticeable in the case of Green Bay, WI, where one location with consolidated deposits drove per-capita deposits to a level nearly three times higher than that of the next highest case study city.)
- Lastly, given that geocoding outcomes tend to be more successful for recent periods than for earlier periods, estimated growth in deposits may be subject to upward bias. Using two geocoders mitigates but does not eliminate this bias.

Miscellaneous notes:

- While all discussions pertaining to deposits amounts draw from geocoded data, discussions relating to institutional characteristics and market structure (e.g., number of branches, market share, community versus non-community bank) draw from Summary of Deposits data as assigned to cities based on their zipcodes. This assignment, in turn, was based on 2000 city and 2007 zipcode boundaries from the Census, as obtained through Maptitude.
- The FDIC began including the results of its internal geocoding procedure starting with the 6-2012 release. All deposits figures in our analysis, however, are entirely based on geocodes obtained through Maptitude and Google as described above.
- Data were aggregated by Census tract and then converted to city-level data using 2000 Census boundary data as obtained through Maptitude. All dollar values were adjusted for inflation using the CPI-U-RS.

[7] LPS Applied Analytics

Main Citation: *Lender Processing Services (LPS) Applied Analytics.*

Zipcode-to-City Crosswalk: *2000 U.S. Census Bureau boundary data, as obtained through Maptitude Version 5.*

Proprietary loan-level microdata furnished by LPS Applied Analytics details the monthly performance of mortgage loans in the residential housing market. LPS collects this data from large mortgage servicers, who collectively represent about two-thirds of this market.

The underlying raw data include numerous mortgage types including first mortgages, second mortgages, and various grades of home equity lines of credit. In an effort to better align our measures with properties as opposed to loans, however, we take into account only first-lien mortgages. Furthermore, we used Census data (as obtained through Maptitude V5) to assign loans to case study cities using the zipcode of the underlying property.

A variety of possible metrics may be derived from mortgage performance data to help gain insight into the health of a given housing market, including but not limited to: the foreclosure start, transition, and inventory rates. Throughout the profiles, we focus exclusively on the foreclosure inventory rate, a static measure that represents the number of mortgages in foreclosure as a proportion of all mortgages. The start and transition rates, on the other hand, are dynamic measures that provide insight into the flow of loans into and out of foreclosure status.³⁰

It's important to note that foreclosure inventory rates are highly sensitive to state laws that govern how foreclosures are processed. A foreclosure in Illinois, for example, takes about 300 days and often longer because every foreclosure must be processed through the courts. However, some states, like Michigan, do not require foreclosures to go through the courts. Still, depending on the situation, certain states like Iowa and Wisconsin employ both methods. All things being equal, foreclosure rates tend to be lower in states that rely primarily on non-judicial procedures, as any potential buildup resulting from new foreclosures in these states is tempered by the speed with which they can be resolved.³¹

Given this sensitivity to various legal procedures, foreclosure inventory rates should only be compared among states with similar process periods. In the profiles, we compare the foreclosure inventory rate in a given city with its home state and the average of a group of reference states. The four reference groups were constructed based on the quartiles of the process period, as shown in table 3.

Table 3. Typical foreclosure process period for reference states

Group	Process Period (days)	States
1	< 63	AL CT DC GA MD MI MO NH RI TN TX VA WY
2	63-136	AK AR AZ CA FL KS MA MN MS NC NV VT WA WV
3	136-180	CO IA ID KY LA MT ND NE NM OR SC SD UT
4	>180	DE HI IL IN ME NJ NY OH OK PA WI

Source: RealtyTrac (see <http://www.realtytrac.com/real-estate-guides/foreclosure-laws/>).

[8] Brown University

Citation: *Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences, Brown University, US2010 Project*, (<http://www.s4.brown.edu/us2010/Data/data.htm>).

Measures of residential segregation and racial/ethnic composition are from US2010, a project of Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences at Brown University, and based on data from the Decennial Census and the 2005-09 American Community Survey.

The dissimilarity index measures the extent to which one group is distributed proportionally across census tracts in a city relative to another group.³² The index ranges from 0 to 100 and equals zero if every tract exhibits the same ratio between groups as the city as a whole. The index equals 100 if the two groups are entirely segregated by census tract. Values of 60 or above are considered fairly high. It means that 60 percent of one group must move to a different tract to achieve a proportional distribution. Values between 40 and 60 are considered moderate, while values less than 40 are fairly low.

More generally, the index for two racial groups is defined as:³³

$$\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^N \left| \frac{x_i}{X} - \frac{y_i}{Y} \right|$$

Where:

x_i = the population of group X in census tract i

X = the total population of group X in the city

y_i = the population of group Y in census tract i

Y = the total population of group Y in the city

[9] Living Wage Project

Citation: *Poverty in America*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Living Wage Project*, *Living Wage Calculator* (<http://livingwage.mit.edu/>).

Estimates of living wages are from the Living Wage Calculator, a tool provided by the Living Wage Project under the Poverty in America program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. A living wage represents a minimum cost of living for low wage families in a particular area based on cost estimates for food, child care, healthcare, housing, transportation, other necessities, and taxes. It is intended to highlight that working families may not earn enough to live locally, even if they earn more than the minimum wage and are not officially in poverty.

All estimates cited in the profiles are for one adult raising one child. The calculator uses data from a variety of federal sources to estimate costs, including the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Estimates are made with respect to the latest source data that was available in June 2012.

Though the calculator allows users to select estimates for either place or county, it does not detail the various levels of geography represented by the source data. Therefore we cannot distinguish which cost estimates, if any, are particular to the place or county, and which represent some broader level of geography. Estimates cited in the profiles were selected by place, and these are likely more representative of the MSA or metropolitan division, where one exists.

Additionally, the calculator does not report whether values are given in constant dollars. Given the latest update in June 2012, we speculate that all values can be generally assumed to be in “recent” dollars.

Notes

1. As the table below indicates, please note that income reported in the 1980 and 1990 Census corresponds to income from 1979 and 1989, respectively.
2. U.S. Census Bureau, Explore the Form, available at <http://www.census.gov/2010census/about/interactive-form.php>.
3. U.S. Census Bureau, Summary Population and Housing Characteristics, Selected Appendixes, May 2012, available at <http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/cph-1-a.pdf>.
4. U.S. Census Bureau, Coverage Measurement, available at https://www.census.gov/coverage_measurement/.
5. U.S. Census Bureau, Census Coverage Estimation Report, May 2012, available at http://www.census.gov/coverage_measurement/pdfs/g01.pdf.
6. U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, Design and Methodology, available at http://www.census.gov/acs/www/methodology/methodology_main/.
7. Basic information on sample size and data quality by state can be found at http://www.census.gov/acs/www/methodology/sample_size_and_data_quality/.
8. U.S. Census Bureau, County and City Data Book: 2007, available at <http://www.census.gov/prod/2008pubs/07cldb/ccdb-07.pdf>.
9. U.S. Census Bureau, Using FactFinder, available at http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/using_factfinder.xhtml.
10. U.S. Census Bureau, What We Provide, available at http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/what_we_provide.xhtml.
11. U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, Guidance for Data Users, available at http://www.census.gov/acs/www/guidance_for_data_users/estimates/.
12. Washington State Office of Financial Management, American Community Survey User Guide, May 2012, available at http://www.ofm.wa.gov/pop/acs/userguide/ofm_acs_user_guide.pdf.
13. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages, Location Quotient Calculator, available at http://data.bls.gov/location_quotient/ControllerServlet.
14. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages, Frequently Asked Questions, available at <http://www.bls.gov/cew/cewfaq.htm#Q14>.
15. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Occupational Employment Statistics, Overview, available at http://www.bls.gov/oes/oes_emp.htm.
16. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment Projections, available at http://bls.gov/emp/ep_table_207.htm.
17. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Help & Tutorials, available at http://www.bls.gov/help/def/lq.htm#location_quotient.
18. Bureau of Labor Statistics, CPI Research Series Using Current Methods, available at <http://www.bls.gov/cpi/cpirsdc.htm>.
19. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Price Measurement in the United States: a decade after the Boskin Report, Monthly Labor Review, May 2006, available at <http://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2006/05/art2full.pdf>.
20. Calculated from the annual averages of the national CPI-U, All items as obtained from <http://www.bls.gov/cpi/data.htm>.
21. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Frequently Asked Questions about the Chained Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers, available at <http://www.bls.gov/cpi/cpisupqa.htm>.
22. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Note on the Chained Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers, available at <http://www.bls.gov/cpi/superlink.htm>.
23. Calculated from the annual averages of the national Chained CPI-U, All items as obtained from <http://www.bls.gov/cpi/data.htm>.
24. Depository and non-depository institutions alike are covered by HMDA, subject to their asset size, presence in the MSA, and whether they are involved in the business of residential mortgage lending. See page 3 of the HMDA reporting guide (<http://www.ffiec.gov/hmda/pdf/2010guide.pdf>) for details.
25. Subject to asset thresholds updated annually (for example, see: <http://www.ffiec.gov/cra/pdf/Explanation%20of%20the%20Community%20Reinvestment%20Act%20Asset%20Threshold%20Change%20121712.pdf>), all state member banks, state nonmember banks, national banks, and savings associations are required to report. Institutions that do not meet these thresholds have the option of reporting voluntarily.
26. Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Summary of Deposits Reporting Instructions, available at http://www2.fdic.gov/sod/pdf/SOD_Instructions.pdf, page 1.
27. Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, Are credit unions regulated or supervised by the Federal Reserve System?, Dr. Econ blog, March 2005, available at <http://www.frbsf.org/education/publications/doctor-econ/2005/march/credit-unions-regulation-supervision>.
28. Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Summary of Deposits Reporting Instructions, available at http://www2.fdic.gov/sod/pdf/SOD_Instructions.pdf, page 1.
29. *Ibid*, page 3.
30. For a detailed discussion of how these rates interrelate, please see our guest blog at http://midwest.chicagofedblogs.org/archives/2011/10/emily_engel_for.html.
31. Lower inventories, however, do not necessarily translate into healthier housing markets. Properties that moved through foreclosure quickly in Michigan, for example, may show up subsequently as real estate owned (REO) by the mortgagee. We do not track post-foreclosure statuses like REO because we're unsure to what extent LPS tracks them.
32. Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences, Brown University US2010 Project, Interpreting a Data Set, available at <http://www.s4.brown.edu/us2010/Data/Explanation.htm>.
33. Population Studies Center, University of Michigan, Racial Residential Segregation Measurement Project, available at <http://enceladus.isr.umich.edu/race/calculate.html>.

United States

Illinois

Joliet

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	% change, 1970-2010	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	% change, 1970-2010	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	% change, 1970-2010	
Total Population	80,378	77,956	76,856	106,221	147,453	83.4%	11,133,976	11,426,518	11,450,602	12,419,255	12,630,652	15.6%	203,219,216	226,545,805	248,709,873	281,421,906	308,745,358	51.9%	
Age																			
% < 19	37.38%	32.68%	30.72%	32.48%	33.80%	-9.58%	37.72%	32.19%	28.86%	29.03%	27.25%	-27.5%	37.99%	31.98%	28.68%	28.60%	26.97%	-29.02%	
% 20 - 24	8.00%	10.19%	8.06%	7.07%	6.20%	-27.54%	7.47%	9.39%	7.52%	6.85%	6.85%	-8.34%	7.93%	9.41%	7.65%	6.74%	6.99%	-11.78%	
% 25 - 44	20.77%	25.48%	30.54%	33.12%	31.60%	45.16%	23.86%	27.55%	32.3%	30.56%	27.29%	14.39%	23.61%	27.68%	32.47%	30.22%	26.60%	12.67%	
% 45 - 64	21.63%	18.57%	16.20%	15.30%	20.10%	-7.09%	21.09%	19.82%	18.73%	21.48%	26.06%	23.6%	20.58%	19.64%	18.64%	22.01%	26.39%	28.25%	
% > 65	11.21%	13.09%	14.49%	11.02%	8.40%	-25.08%	9.86%	11.04%	12.57%	12.08%	12.54%	27.14%	9.89%	11.28%	12.56%	12.43%	13.04%	31.85%	
Race																			
% White	87.72%	73.92%	69.25%	69.32%	67.50%	-23.05%	86.38%	81.1%	78.32%	73.48%	71.55%	-17.9%	87.42%	83.44%	80.29%	75.14%	72.41%	-17.8%	
% Black	11.83%	20.02%	21.60%	18.16%	16.00%	35.27%	12.83%	14.65%	14.82%	15.1%	14.55%	13.40%	11.6%	11.69%	12.06%	12.32%	12.6%	13.00%	
% Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	-	-	12.68%	18.41%	27.80%	-	-	-	7.91%	12.32%	15.80%	-	-	-	8.99%	12.55%	16.35%	-	
Education																			
% Less than HS	50.34%	37.39%	28.94%	27.27%	18.84%	-62.57%	47.39%	33.50%	23.80%	18.57%	14.29%	-69.85%	47.66%	35.53%	24.76%	19.60%	15.42%	-67.64%	
% HS Grad	30.86%	36.26%	30.85%	30.28%	32.24%	4.47%	31.94%	35.09%	29.99%	27.74%	28.09%	-12.04%	31.08%	34.59%	29.99%	28.63%	29.3%	-5.71%	
% Some College & College Grad	18.80%	26.35%	40.27%	48.53%	48.92%	160.25%	20.67%	31.4%	46.2%	53.69%	57.62%	178.77%	21.26%	31.88%	45.25%	57.7%	55.27%	159.95%	
Industry, Employment, & Income																			
% Manufacturing	33.25%	28.06%	20.42%	16.4%	13.55%	-59.24%	30.43%	25.8%	19.47%	15.96%	13.23%	-56.53%	26.10%	22.44%	17.69%	14.10%	11.24%	-56.92%	
Civilian Work Force	32,684	34,738	35,528	50,182	71,946	120.13%	4,591,654	5,458,295	5,803,007	6,208,597	6,624,616	44.28%	80,051,046	104,449,817	123,473,450	137,668,798	152,273,029	90.22%	
% Civilian Unemployed	3.3%	9.30%	7.8%	6.3%	8.87%	136.78%	3.14%	7.15%	6.6%	6.05%	7.96%	112.9%	4.37%	6.52%	6.3%	5.7%	7.20%	64.89%	
Real Median Family Income	\$59,045	\$63,59	\$63,154	\$73,108	\$67,373	14.10%	\$57,160	\$63,665	\$65,645	\$72,883	\$68,777	19.38%	\$49,581	\$55,747	\$59,804	\$65,487	\$63,392	27.86%	
% Families Below Poverty Line	5.84%	9.06%	9.64%	7.74%	9.80%	67.67%	7.65%	8.40%	8.98%	7.87%	9.10%	18.90%	10.67%	9.58%	9.97%	9.27%	9.90%	-7.26%	
Mean Commute Time	-	-	-	28.90	30.60	-	-	-	-	28.00	28.10	-	-	-	-	25.50	25.20	-	
Household Composition																			
% Married (individuals 15 years and over)	59.87%	51.66%	48.87%	54.28%	49.17%	-17.88%	60.92%	55.87%	53.33%	53.63%	49.54%	-18.68%	61.48%	57.30%	54.79%	54.37%	50.2%	-18.19%	
Average HH size	-	-	2.81	3.01	3.01	-	-	-	2.63	2.59	2.59	-	-	-	-	2.59	2.58	-	
Average Family Size	-	-	3.33	3.39	3.56	-	-	-	3.23	3.23	3.20	-	-	-	-	3.14	3.14	-	
Housing																			
Total Units	26,521	29,816	29,043	38,182	51,285	93.38%	3,703,367	4,376,672	4,506,275	4,885,615	5,296,715	43.02%	68,619,030	88,417,263	102,265,678	115,904,641	131,704,730	91.77%	
% Owner Occupied	61.05%	60.60%	63.11%	70.37%	73.80%	20.88%	59.42%	62.66%	64.23%	67.27%	67.47%	13.54%	62.86%	64.43%	64.20%	66.9%	65.10%	3.57%	
Real Median Value of Owner Occupied Home	\$88,524	\$15,151	\$104,308	\$151,807	\$188,156	112.5%	\$99,798	\$155,789	\$190,829	\$155,608	\$203,708	104.12%	\$85,186	\$119,162	\$127,918	\$151,427	\$188,461	121.25%	
% homes w- 0 Vehicle	16.05%	15.64%	12.89%	8.48%	7.46%	-55.54%	20.22%	17.75%	14.00%	11.84%	10.36%	-48.75%	17.47%	14.75%	11.53%	10.30%	8.80%	-49.62%	
% homes w- 1 Vehicle	51.98%	47.13%	38.13%	34.71%	30.38%	-41.16%	50.94%	46.52%	35.18%	33.98%	34.60%	-32.08%	47.1%	46.57%	33.76%	34.25%	33.7%	-30.36%	
% homes w- 2+ Vehicles	31.97%	37.23%	48.97%	56.81%	61.96%	95.80%	28.83%	36.35%	50.87%	52.78%	55.04%	90.87%	34.83%	38.68%	54.71%	55.46%	57.99%	66.50%	



Cover art by

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