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THE SMALLER METROPOLITAN AREAS OF ILLINOIS REVISITED

Diane L. Gottheil and Susan Welch

In a 1962 issue of *Illinois Government*, James Coke compared conditions in the smaller downstate metropolitan areas of Illinois with those of the far larger Chicago area. An analysis of several indicators for selected downstate counties and cities revealed that the smaller metropolitan areas were themselves the site of social and economic problems equal in proportion, if not absolute size, to those facing Chicago. At that time, and even more so today, the plight of the large urban areas was a subject of national debate. According to Coke, however, discussion of the problems of the smaller metropolitan areas hardly was heard beyond the confines of the areas themselves.

Coke suggested several possible reasons for the lack of public discussion of the problems of these smaller areas. First, problems of housing or employment in larger cities, even if proportionally no larger than in smaller cities, created more people who were discontented, which in turn led to larger numbers of people and groups becoming involved in articulating their problems. He also speculated that the social and economic problems of the larger cities were more concentrated, creating highly visible slums in parts of the city. Larger cities also support many more voluntary organizations, which in turn may become involved in enunciating community problems. Moreover, the greater number of professionals in large metropolitan areas provides a larger and more specialized leadership pool for these groups. In sum, Coke attributed the greater attention to the problems of the larger metropolitan areas to their visibility and to public involvement in these problems, but the problems themselves were not of a relatively greater magnitude.

After providing an overview of population changes in Illinois metropolitan areas during the 1960s, this paper reevaluates and updates the findings of Coke from a number of perspectives. First, using both city and county census data, we compare the downstate and Chicago metropolitan areas in 1960 and 1970. Insofar as possible we have relied on the same indicators as Coke. Second, we have broadened the scope of the analysis by using additional, "quality of life" indicators to compare the two areas. We specify the criteria on which a downstate-Chicago comparison could be based, and then compare the areas according to these criteria. Adding quality of life indicators to the economic measures used by Coke yields conclusions somewhat different from his 1962 results. Third, from our updated and broadened findings we reevaluate Coke's argument concerning public attention to the problems of medium-sized cities.

Population Trends in the 1960s

The Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) defined by the Bureau of the Census include every county containing a city with more than 50,000 population, plus adjacent counties that are economically tied to the central city. The eight Illinois SMSAs in 1960 increased by one in the 1970 census, with the addition of Bloomington-Normal. The nine SMSAs include seventeen of the 102 counties in Illinois. The counties included in the SMSAs, their population, and population growth during the decade are reported in Table 1. The huge difference in population between the Chicago and downstate SMSAs is readily apparent. The Chicago area has thirteen times the population of the next largest SMSA, and seventy times the population of the smallest Illinois SMSA.

Population growth during the decade of the 1960s occurred in all SMSAs, but the range in amount of growth was fairly wide. Three downstate metropolitan areas had the highest rates of growth, Champaign-Urbana, Bloomington-Normal, and Rockford.

Unlike SMSAs some Illinois cities lost population during the decade. The city of Chicago, which contains half the population of the Chicago SMSA, lost 5.2 percent of its population during the decade of the 1960s, while many Chicago suburbs had rates of growth exceeding 100 percent. Growth of cities within the downstate SMSAs was less spectacular than in the Chicago suburbs. Eighteen of the twenty-four cities in the downstate areas exceeded the statewide average growth of 10.2 percent during the decade. Of the five cities with less than 5 percent population increase, four were in the economically depressed Illinois portion of the St. Louis SMSA (East St. Louis, Centerville, Granite City, and Alton), and the fifth was Rock Island. Cities not part of an SMSA had a much slower rate of growth.

In sum, the downstate metropolitan areas as well as the suburban Chicago metropolitan area experienced great population growth during the 1960s. Population loss in Illinois was found in the city of Chicago, some of the areas around St. Louis, and in the smaller towns of the state.

Economic Comparisons of Chicago and Downstate SMSAs, 1960 and 1970

Comparisons between the Chicago and downstate SMSAs were initially based on both the city and the county as the unit of analysis to determine if the unit examined affected the results in any way. Because no substantial differences were found, both county and city data are reported (see Tables 2 and 3) but the discussion focuses mainly on county data.

We have divided the SMSA counties into four groups, separating Cook County from the suburban Chicago SMSA

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Table 1
STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS IN ILLINOIS

| SMSA | Counties included | Population 1960 | Population 1970 | Population change 1960-70 |
|--------------------------|---|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Bloomington-Normal | McLean | 83,877 | 104,389 | 24.5% |
| Champaign-Urbana | Champaign | 132,436 | 163,281 | 23.3 |
| Chicago | Cook, DuPage, Kane, Lake, McHenry, Will | 6,220,913 | 6,977,611 | 12.2 |
| Quad Cities ^a | Rock Island | 150,991 ^b | 166,734 ^b | 10.4 |
| Decatur | Macon | 118,257 | 125,010 | 5.7 |
| Peoria | Peoria, Tazewell | 288,833 | 341,979 | 9.1 |
| Rockford | Boone, ^c Winnebago | 230,091 | 272,063 | 18.2 |
| St. Louis | Madison, St. Clair | 487,198 ^d | 536,133 ^d | 10.0 |
| Springfield | Sangamon | 146,539 | 161,335 | 10.1 |

^aTerm includes Rock Island, Moline, and East Moline in Illinois and Davenport, Iowa

^bPopulation for Illinois segment of SMSA only. Total population for SMSA in 1970 was 362,638.

^cBoone County not part of Rockford SMSA until 1970. Population figure for Winnebago County alone in 1960 was 209,765. Percent change in population for Rockford SMSA calculated using the total Boone and Winnebago population base in 1960.

^dPopulation for Illinois portion of St. Louis SMSA only. Total population for SMSA in 1970 was 2,363,017.

counties, and the two suburban St. Louis metropolitan counties from the other downstate counties. This breakdown will provide additional information about areas that are fundamentally different, without obscuring our original downstate-Chicago focus. Initially, we expected that the suburban Chicago counties would be more affluent than Cook County, and the suburban St. Louis counties would be less well off than the rest of the downstate metro areas; our analysis largely confirmed these assumptions.

In 1960, Coke found that selected downstate metropolitan areas had substantially lower median family incomes and per capita incomes than the Chicago metropolitan region. Using all counties comprising the SMSAs we find that downstate-Chicago differences are substantial in both 1960 and 1970. In fact, with both of these income criteria the *maximum* income for a downstate

SMSA county is less than the average Chicago SMSA county income. In the decade of the 1960s, family and per capita income increased by a slightly larger percentage figure for the downstate areas, but in absolute dollars the residents of the downstate SMSAs were worse off in 1970 than in 1960 relative to residents of the Chicago region.

Housing quality was measured by Coke as the percent of houses in sound, deteriorating, and dilapidated condition in Chicago and six downstate cities. The 1970 census did not rate dwelling units according to these criteria but did indicate whether or not each housing unit has plumbing facilities. Using this measure, we find downstate housing inferior to Chicago housing in 1960 but not much different in 1970.

Coke also compared the downstate and Chicago areas with respect to income and housing conditions for black residents. We found that the black population of the downstate SMSAs has grown considerably since 1960; for example, in the Rockford area from 8,800 to almost 16,000; in Peoria from 10,300 to 15,000; in Springfield from 6,000 to 8,000; and in Champaign County from less than 7,000 to more than 10,500. These absolute numbers seem quite small when compared to the black population of 1,226,673 in the entire Chicago SMSA, 1,180,968 of whom live in Cook County. In total, 86 percent of the Illinois black population resides in the Chicago SMSA, 5.5 percent in the St. Louis SMSA, and an additional 5 percent in the other downstate SMSAs. These proportions are essentially unchanged from 1960. Only several thousand Illinois blacks live outside the various SMSAs, with most of this number residing in Kankakee (11,000) or Vermilion (5,900) counties.

Using Peoria as a case study, Coke found that, like their counterparts in the Chicago metropolitan area, black

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Table 2
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHICAGO AND DOWNSTATE SMSAs
BASED ON COUNTY AGGREGATES

| | 1960 | | | | 1970 | | | |
|--|----------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| | Cook | Other Chicago SMSA ^b | St. Louis (Ill.) SMSA | Other downstate SMSAs ^c | Cook | Other Chicago SMSA ^b | St. Louis (Ill.) SMSA | Other downstate SMSAs ^c |
| <i>Median family income^a</i> | \$ 7,341 | \$ 7,408 | \$ 6,430 | \$ 6,450 | \$ 11,640 | \$ 12,630 | \$ 9,900 | \$ 10,560 |
| Minimum county | — | 6,760 | — | 6,080 | — | 11,790 | — | 10,150 |
| Maximum county | — | Will 8,300 DuPage | — | Champaign 6,890 Winnebago | — | Will 14,460 DuPage | — | Champaign 11,000 Winnebago |
| <i>Per capita income^a</i> | \$ 2,460 | \$ 2,315 | \$ 1,860 | \$ 2,020 | \$ 3,770 | \$ 3,800 | \$ 2,970 | \$ 3,340 |
| Minimum county | — | 1,990 | — | 1,920 | — | 3,390 | — | 3,190 |
| Maximum county | — | Will 2,650 DuPage | — | Champaign 2,110 Winnebago | — | Will 4,260 DuPage | — | McLean 3,420 Sangamon, Winnebago |
| <i>Houses with plumbing</i> | 82.7% | 86.2% | 74.5% | 78.5% | 97.0% | 96.4% | 94.5% | 96.5% |
| Minimum county | — | 78.0 | — | 76.3 | — | 94.0 | — | 95.0 |
| Maximum county | — | Will 96.1 DuPage | — | Macon 81.0 Winnebago | — | McHenry 98.0 Lake | — | Macon 97.0 5 counties |
| <i>Black/white median income</i> | — ^d | — | — | — | 64 | 76 | 58 | 65 |
| Minimum county | — | — | — | — | — | 68 | — | 56 |
| Maximum county | — | — | — | — | — | Lake 84 DuPage | — | McLean 68 Winnebago |
| <i>Retail sales per capita^a</i> | \$ 1,600 | \$ 1,520 | \$ 1,210 | \$ 1,490 | \$ 1,830 | \$ 1,620 | \$ 1,340 | \$ 1,740 |
| Minimum county | — | 1,320 | — | 1,110 | — | 1,370 | — | 1,320 |
| Maximum county | — | Will 1,630 Kane | — | Tazewell 1,670 Peoria | — | Will 1,890 Kane | — | Tazewell 2,170 Peoria |

^aIncome figures for 1960 and 1970 are based on data for the previous year. Retail sales figures for 1960 are based on 1963 data and for 1970 on 1967 data.

^bFigures are averages for the five Chicago SMSA counties outside Cook County.

^cFigures for 1960 are averages for the seven downstate SMSA counties excluding the two St. Louis SMSA counties in Illinois. In 1970, nine counties were used in the computation.

^dNo data available for 1960.

Sources: 1960 housing data are from Governmental Units Analysis Deck, Data Library Service, University of Wisconsin. All other data are from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book*, 1962, 1967, and 1972. Many of the data in this and other tables were made available by ISEIRD, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

residents tended to have lower incomes than whites, and blacks were disadvantaged in terms of other economic indices as well. Living conditions for blacks in the Peoria area were no better than in the Chicago area, where these conditions had received considerably more attention. Using as our measure of black equality the ratio of family income of blacks to whites in each SMSA county, we found that by 1970 in the downstate areas blacks fare worse in relation to whites than do blacks compared to whites in Chicago. For example, in Cook County black family income is only .64 that of whites; this is the lowest ratio of any of the six Chicago SMSA counties. But in four of the nine downstate SMSA counties (Champaign, McLean, Madison, and St. Clair), black/white income ratios are worse than or equal to this. No downstate county has a black/white income ratio as high as the mean six-county Chicago SMSA level. Thus, in terms of one basic criterion — income — blacks fare worse in the downstate areas than in the Chicago metro area. When these ratios are coupled with the fact that downstate incomes tend to be lower than Chicago metropolitan area incomes, the plight of the downstate black is further highlighted.

Community size may be one explanation for the worse situation of black residents in downstate areas. Except for the East St. Louis area, the black communities of the downstate metropolitan areas are relatively small; they number, at most, 15,000 population. This means that no impetus has been provided for the development of a large, black middle class which can specialize in providing services only to the black population itself, the number of doctors, lawyers, and other independent professionals needed to service communities of this size is not large. The middle class is based on white-collar workers employed in the white community, on independent businessmen whose market extends either into the white community or beyond the immediate metropolitan area, or on highly skilled blue-collar workers able to earn a large salary. It is in the large metropolitan areas with their many corporate employers and higher union membership that the opportunities for large-scale, white-collar employment and highly paid blue-collar jobs for blacks are most likely.

This line of reasoning is supported by the fact that the best black/white income ratios in the downstate metro

Table 3
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHICAGO AND DOWNSTATE SMSAs
BASED ON CITY AGGREGATES

| | 1960 | | 1970 | |
|--|---|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | Chicago SMSA | Downstate SMSAs | Chicago SMSA | Downstate SMSAs |
| <i>Median family income^a</i> | \$ 8,700 | \$ 6,310 ^b | \$ 14,030 | \$ 10,150 |
| Minimum city | 6,740 | 4,840 | 8,900 | 6,650 |
| Maximum city | Chicago 13,010 Highland Park | E. St. Louis 6,870 Rockford | N. Chicago 21,760 Wilmette | E. St. Louis 12,000 Peoria |
| <i>Per capita income^a</i> | \$ 2,803 | \$ 2,098 | \$ 4,290 | \$ 3,240 |
| Minimum city | 2,126 | 1,493 | 2,430 | 1,960 |
| Maximum city | Chicago Heights 5,131 Highland Park | E. St. Louis 2,365 Moline | N. Chicago 7,430 Highland Park | E. St. Louis 3,550 Bloomington |
| <i>Houses with plumbing</i> | 91.2% | 78.5% | 98.7% | 96.3% |
| Minimum city | 78.3 | 57.7 | 95.0 | 92.0 |
| Maximum city | Chicago Heights 99.9 Park Forest | E. St. Louis 86.2 Pekin | Joliet 100.0 9 cities | E. St. Louis 99.0 Rantoul |
| <i>Black/white income</i> | — ^c | — ^c | .78 ^d | .70 ^d |
| Minimum city | — | — | .50 | .48 |
| Maximum city | — | — | Highland Park 1.14 N. Chicago | Champaign .88 Rantoul |
| <i>Retail sales per capita^a</i> | \$ 1,984 | \$ 1,821 | \$ 2,170 | \$ 2,130 |
| Minimum city | 664 | 1,082 | 260 | 530 |
| Maximum city | Calumet City 3,330 Oak Lawn | Urbana 2,459 Moline | N. Chicago 4,070 Niles | Normal 3,090 Bloomington |

^aIncome figures for 1960 and 1970 are based on data for the previous year. Retail sales figures for 1960 are based on 1963 data and for 1970 on 1967 data.

^bFigures are averages for the 22 cities over 25,000 population in the Chicago SMSA in 1960. In 1970, there were 36 cities over 25,000. Figures are averages for the 13 cities over 25,000 population in the downstate SMSAs in 1960. In 1970, there were 16 cities over 25,000.

^cNo data available for 1960.

^dCities with less than 400 black population not included.

Sources: 1960 housing data are from Governmental Units Analysis Deck, Data Library Services, University of Wisconsin. All other data are from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book*, 1962, 1967, and 1972.

areas are found in Macon (Decatur), Rock Island, Peoria, and Winnebago (Rockford) counties, where there is a substantial amount of industrial employment, rather than in McLean (Bloomington-Normal) and Champaign (Champaign-Urbana) counties, where education and agriculture are the largest employers. However, closer inspection of the county data reduces the difference between blacks and whites in downstate areas by including the generally lower income of the mainly white, rural population. Using cities as the unit of analysis, the differences in black/white income ratios between the more industrial downstate metropolitan areas and those where agriculture or education is the primary industry disappear. With the exception of Rantoul (the location of Chanute Air Force Base), the ratio of black to white income in all downstate cities is lower than the average for Chicago area cities.

Because we could not find data for all cities comparable to Coke's vacancy rate in downtown office buildings, we used retail sales per capita as a rough index of economic vitality of the county. We expected retail sales roughly to parallel income in the area, and where sales are relatively lower it may indicate that an area has let its downtown deteriorate without providing adequate substitute retail outlets for area residents. Some advantage was found in

the Chicago SMSA in 1960 but there was little difference between Chicago and downstate SMSAs in 1970. The downstate metro areas had very slightly more retail sales per capita than did the Chicago area, although Peoria County exceeded every Chicago metro county by a substantial amount in 1970 and a small amount in 1960. The large retail volume of the downstate areas reflects sales both to urban residents and to large numbers of rural residents surrounding the metropolitan areas.

In sum, data for 1970 show that economic problems, especially for black residents, appear greater in the downstate areas, whereas there is little difference between the Chicago SMSA and other metropolitan areas of Illinois in either adequacy of housing or retail activity. We now proceed to a more extensive analysis of the quality of life in Illinois metropolitan areas.

Toward Some Measures of the Quality of Life

We have examined five indicators akin to those used by Coke in 1962, but these indicators seem to have little central focus. What we would really like to know is how the quality of life in downstate metropolitan areas compares with the quality of life in the Chicago area. To measure this, we must look at more than just income,

Table 4
SOME QUALITY OF LIFE INDICATORS FOR ILLINOIS SMSAs,
BASED ON COUNTY AGGREGATES

| Quality of Life Indicators | Chicago SMSA | | Downstate SMSAs | |
|--|--------------|-------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| | Cook County | Suburban counties | St. Louis (Ill.) counties | Other counties |
| <i>Income and Employment</i> | | | | |
| Families below \$3,000 (1969) | 7.0% | 4.0% | 9.0% | 6.6% |
| Unemployed (1970) | 4.0% | 2.8% | 6.0% | 3.8% |
| <i>Education</i> | | | | |
| Median school years completed (1970) | 12.1 | 12.3 | 11.3 | 12.2 |
| Less than 5 school years completed (1970) | 5.1% | 2.6% | 4.8% | 2.6% |
| <i>Housing</i> | | | | |
| Crowded units (1970) | 18.7% | 7.6% | 11.0% | 6.6% |
| <i>Health</i> | | | | |
| Infant deaths/1,000 live births (1969) | 22.4 | 19.9 | 25.0 | 18.9 |
| Physicians/100,000 pop. (1971) | 178.1 | 133.7 | 76.5 | 117.9 |
| <i>Social Disorganization</i> | | | | |
| Robberies/100,000 pop. (1970) | 479.4 | 62.5 | 135.7 | 97.0 |
| Admissions to mental health facilities/100,000 pop. (1971) | 252.6 | 154.8 | 230.3 | 269.1 |
| <i>Social Participation</i> | | | | |
| Voting age pop. registered (1970) | 71.5% | 69.2% | 73.4% | 69.2% |
| Voters in voting age pop. (1970) | 51.8% | 46.5% | 44.2% | 45.6% |

Sources: Illinois, Office of Planning and Analysis, *Statistical Report*, 1972; U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book*, 1972, and *General Population Characteristics*, 1970.

housing, and retail sales. When we use the phrase "quality of life," we are suggesting that indicators other than economic conditions need to be considered in assessing the social well-being of a community. Life in the large metropolitan areas may not be eased by higher incomes if levels of health care, environmental quality, or safety in the streets are inferior to what is found in other areas. Indices of crime, mental illness, education, and so forth may show the downstate areas to be more stable, secure communities.

Recent studies have pointed to a number of indicators that may be used to measure aspects of the quality of life. There is general agreement that the following areas contain important information on social well-being: income and employment, education, housing, health, social disorganization, and social participation. These areas are listed in Table 4, along with the indicators we have used to measure them. The indicators were chosen after review of the literature on social indicators and examination of studies of the quality of life in various localities in the United States.

INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT

Although we have noted that other aspects of social well-being are significant, the importance of money for ful-

filling needs and providing access to goods and services should not be underestimated. The percentage of families below \$3,000 annual income and the percentage of unemployed broaden our earlier income measures. These two variables point specifically to the extent to which there is a particularly deprived segment in the larger population.

EDUCATION

As a criterion of social well-being, education suggests mobility, improved earning capacity, increased career opportunities, and a greater range of alternatives generally. Median school years completed provides a measure of exposure to the educational process. The percentage of adult population with less than five years education measures the size of the group that may be particularly disadvantaged because of little exposure to education.

HOUSING

Percentage of units with more than 1.01 persons per room is an indicator of crowded housing conditions. Together with our previous measure of units which lack plumbing, these housing indicators describe an important aspect of the environment. Were data on variables related to

air and water quality available, and perhaps some measure of neighborhood conditions, we might have called this area of social concern "environmental quality."

HEALTH

Infant mortality rate is widely accepted as an indicator of level of health. The relative number of physicians in a community is a somewhat problematic indicator because we cannot say with certainty that having more physicians insures better health.¹ Nevertheless, we have included it here as a measure of potential access to medical care through availability of physicians.

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

Robbery rates and rates of admissions to mental health facilities are rather vivid indicators of the degree of personal and community stability and security. Due to inaccuracies in reporting, however, robbery rates tend to underestimate the actual occurrence of the event. Proximity of a mental health facility to a particular community may inflate the rate of admissions in such areas and decrease the rate in communities where access is less convenient.

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

We have limited the indicators of social participation to two measuring participation in politics — registration and voting. Variables related to participation in voluntary organizations, family life, or church activities might give a more complete measure of social participation, were such data available.

These indicators enable us to compare the quality of life in the Illinois counties we are examining. As in our initial county analysis, we have separated out the figures for Cook County and for the two Illinois counties that are part of the St. Louis SMSA. Because we have limited the indicators to those for which data are readily available, the analysis provides a base line for other studies assessing past or future trends. It can also be used to examine the impact of public policies designed to affect one or more of these areas.

The Quality of Life in Illinois Metropolitan Areas

The two indicators of income and employment show that, with the exception of the St. Louis area counties, downstate is somewhat better off than Cook County. The suburban counties in the Chicago area are better off than either Cook County or downstate and considerably better off than the St. Louis area counties. The portion of the St. Louis SMSA population either in the poverty bracket or unemployed is more than double that of the suburban Chicago counties.

Differences among residents of the four areas in median school years completed are rather small. The only clear difference was in the lower figure for the St. Louis counties compared to the three other parts of the state. The percentage of adult population with less than five years of school is somewhat higher in Cook County than in the St. Louis area counties; both areas compare unfavorably to the Chicago suburban counties and the downstate

metropolitan counties. The downstate areas are fairly close on this criterion, with Champaign County having the highest median education, 12.6 years, and six counties having the lowest, 12.1 years.

Chicago suburban counties and downstate metropolitan counties are similar in percentage of crowded housing units, with housing conditions in both areas better than in the St. Louis suburban counties. Housing conditions in Cook County, however, are considerably worse than in the other areas. Again, little variation was found among downstate counties with McLean having the lowest percent of crowded units (5.1) and Tazewell the highest (7.7).

Infant mortality rates are highest in the St. Louis area counties, with Cook County somewhat lower. The suburban Chicago area counties and downstate fare considerably better, and their rates are similar. Cook County leads in number of physicians in the population — no doubt because of the number of medical schools and centers in the Chicago area — followed by the suburban Chicago and downstate counties. The proportion in the East St. Louis area is less than half that in Cook County. The variations in physicians per 100,000 population are quite large among downstate SMSAs, ranging from 70.8 in Boone County to 167.6 in Champaign County.

Residents of Cook County are subject to a much greater robbery rate than that found in the surrounding counties of the Chicago SMSA. The robbery rate is almost eight times greater in Cook County than in the suburban Chicago counties. On this indicator of social disorganization, we found conditions to be considerably better downstate than in Cook County, but still not as good as in the suburban counties of the Chicago SMSA, where the robbery rate is lowest of the Illinois areas we examined. The range in downstate areas was great, Boone, for example, had a robbery rate of 7.9, while the rate in Peoria County was 233.8. Nevertheless, this range is not as great as that between Cook and its suburban counties.

On rates of admissions to mental health facilities, once again the suburban Chicago counties do better than the other areas perhaps because in higher income areas residents tend to use private facilities. The St. Louis area counties are next, followed by Cook County. The downstate counties rank poorest on this indicator, and among them Peoria and Rock Island have rates of mental health admissions that are considerably higher than the other counties. Among the Chicago suburban counties Kane has the highest rate. Each of these three counties has a rather large mental health facility located in it, whereas no such facility is found in the other downstate or Chicago suburban counties, suggesting that this indicator may indeed be influenced by the convenience of a mental health facility to residents of the county. Nevertheless, in six of the nine downstate counties — four of which have no mental health facility — admission rates are higher than any of the Chicago suburban counties with the exception of Kane.

On both indicators of social participation — registration and voting — the differences among our four areas are slight. In all areas the great disparity lies in the proportion of registered voters who actually vote. The East St. Louis counties have the lowest voter turnout, Cook County the highest, with the suburban Cook counties and other downstate counties in between. We have used figures for a nonpresidential election year; hence, a portion of the nonvoters may have been drawn to register by involvement in national issues, but did not maintain this

¹ This may also be true for the education measures, in that more years of schooling may not produce better-educated people

involvement by voting in an off-year election.

The difference among the downstate areas themselves is again large. In both registrants and voting, Champaign County ranks low (49.7 percent and 34.1 percent, respectively) while 85 percent of Tazewell County eligibles are registered and about 60 percent of Sangamon County eligibles vote. The large student population of Champaign County undoubtedly depresses its political participation rates.

If we look again at the figures reported in Table 4, what can be said about the quality of life in each of the four parts of Illinois we have examined? The suburban Chicago SMSA counties appear to fare the best on this set of indicators. They appear weakest in social participation, but the differences are slight. On levels of income, employment, and education, they are the highest, and they do best on the two measures of social disorganization. In housing and health, they still compare favorably, topped only by one other part of the state in each of these areas.

The performance of the downstate SMSA counties, excluding the St. Louis SMSA counties, is the next highest. The infant mortality rate and percentage of crowded housing units are lowest in the downstate counties, and on education they are almost identical to the Chicago suburban counties. The robbery rate is lower only in the suburban Chicago counties, and although the number of physicians in proportion to the population is low, the figure is not very different from that of the suburban Chicago area. Only the admission rate to mental health facilities suggests that it is difficult to make a general statement about the quality of life in downstate metropolitan areas. We may be able to say that personal safety is greater in the smaller metropolitan areas given the lower robbery rate, but we cannot conclude that personal security on the psychological level is enhanced.

Cook County, which includes a major central city, and the two suburban St. Louis counties, which are part of an SMSA with a major central city, fare less well in almost all the areas of social concern than do the other two parts of Illinois. Conditions in Cook County are generally worse than in its suburban counties and the downstate counties, and considerably worse in number of robberies. It excels only in the number of physicians in proportion to the population. On the other measure of health it does not differ greatly from other parts of the state. The two St. Louis counties fall at the lowest performance level on several measures of the quality of life, and close to the bottom on others.

All of our indices, taken together, give a contradictory picture of the quality of life in the Chicago and downstate areas. These measures have identified areas of social well-being in which the smaller metropolitan areas of Illinois fare better than the Chicago area, and emphasize the contrast between Cook County and the surrounding suburbs of the Chicago SMSA. Incomes may be higher in the Chicago area, but for residents of Cook County slightly larger pockets of poverty and greater unemployment levels accompany the higher incomes. Moreover, most of the indicators separate the suburban counties of the Chicago SMSA and the downstate metropolitan areas on the one hand, and Cook County and the St. Louis SMSA Illinois counties on the other. Social well-being in metropolitan areas of Illinois appears to be lagging in Cook County and the two downstate counties of the St. Louis area. In these two parts of the state, the black proportion

of the population is greater than in any of the other metropolitan areas. The deprivation that usually accompanies high percentages of black residents accounts for the greater similarities between Cook County and the suburban St. Louis area counties in Illinois.

Response to Problems

Coke asserted that the problems of downstate SMSAs went relatively unnoticed in comparison with big city problems even though the problems were as great. He attributed this in large part to lack of indigenous activity in the smaller cities directed toward publicizing and rectifying city problems. This explanation was presumably based on his feeling that the press and government give much more attention to the huge metro areas than to Peoria, Springfield, or other small communities. It seemed to us that this statement might be invalid on at least two counts: first, the problems of the downstate areas may *not* be as great, and, second, the level of attention paid to them may be equal. Our analysis has already shown that in many respects the downstate areas are better off than the central city area of the Chicago SMSA and the suburban St. Louis counties. To determine the extent to which attention is paid to those problems, we examined two indicators of concern about problems in metropolitan areas and compared the larger and smaller SMSAs on these indices. First, we examined riot incidence in Illinois during the 1960s as a measure of articulation of problems or activity within cities designed to call attention to the problems of the cities. Secondly, as a measure of remedial activity or attention to urban problems from outside the city, we evaluated the flow of intergovernmental revenue into the cities in 1970.

A riot is not typical of all protest activity, let alone all activity directed toward calling attention to and improving the quality of life in the city. Yet in the 1960s riots were the type of protest that received the most attention and analysis by the press, and by "concerned" citizens and governmental officials. If Coke's thesis is correct, that smaller cities lack indigenous protest, riots should have been confined to Chicago and the St. Louis area. In fact, these disorders occurred throughout Illinois.

Because these disorders are race-related, we might expect Cook County, with 83 percent of the black population of Illinois, to have a proportionate number of disorders. What we found, however, was that Cook County experienced only 61 percent of the total number of riots, while downstate and St. Louis, with slightly over 10 percent of the black population, experienced 22 percent of the riots. In terms of human and property destruction, the magnitude of the major Chicago riot (the one following the death of Martin Luther King) was far greater than any downstate riot. Nevertheless, these crude tallies do not support the notion that deprived residents of the downstate areas did not attempt to bring public attention to their problems.

Riots are a measure of concern expressed within the community itself. Intergovernmental revenue received by counties and cities is an expression of attention by other governmental levels to metropolitan problems. If the state and national governments are being inattentive to the problems of middle-sized communities, one indication will be a small inflow of intergovernmental revenue. Per capita intergovernmental revenue data for major cities within Illinois SMSAs are shown below.²

² Figures are drawn from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book*, 1973

Chicago SMSA cities in Cook County

| | |
|----------------|---------|
| Chicago | \$43.90 |
| Evanston | 16.20 |
| Skokie | 23.60 |

Chicago SMSA cities outside Cook County

| | |
|---------------------|---------|
| Elmhurst | \$12.90 |
| Lombard | 5.70 |
| Aurora | 13.20 |
| Elgin | 10.70 |
| North Chicago | 14.40 |
| Waukegan | 14.00 |
| Joliet | 9.20 |

St. Louis (Ill.) SMSA cities

| | |
|----------------------|---------|
| Granite City | \$26.40 |
| Alton | 33.90 |
| East St. Louis | 28.50 |

Other downstate SMSA cities

| | |
|-------------------|---------|
| Champaign | \$28.60 |
| Urbana | 14.10 |
| Bloomington | 16.80 |
| Normal | n.d. |
| Decatur | 12.70 |
| Peoria | 15.00 |
| Rock Island | 18.60 |
| Moline | 16.00 |
| Springfield | 36.24 |
| Pekin | 14.10 |
| Rockford | 7.20 |

Per capita intergovernmental inflow to the counties is highest in Cook County, next highest in St. Clair and Madison counties, with the downstate counties receiving the least. At the city level, Chicago receives by far the largest per capita amount of intergovernmental revenue (\$43.90). Cities in the East St. Louis area receive between \$26 and \$34 per capita, and only two other downstate cities, Champaign and Springfield, receive more than \$20 per capita from the state and federal governments. Downstate cities outside the St. Louis area fare slightly better than the suburban Chicago cities, but most downstate cities receive surprisingly little per capita intergovernmental revenue.

To what can we attribute this seeming lack of support or remedial attention to the downstate areas? Coke's explanation that big city problems seem greater must be given some credence here, along with our finding that, on the whole, the quality of life in the medium-sized communities is in fact better than in Chicago. Other explanations for less federal and state attention to the downstate areas may also be valid. For example, awareness of federal and state programs for which they are eligible may be lower in the

smaller cities, and perhaps there is less expertise in applying for federal money. The greater political influence of the Chicago city administration ably supplements its larger staff of experts in seeking and obtaining intergovernmental funding. The downstate areas have been dominated by a traditionally conservative public opinion which militated against participation in federal programs. Peoria, for example, undertook its downtown renewal program without federal funds. Then again, the criteria on which Cook County fared poorly may be most relevant to tapping intergovernmental funds. In sum, many factors may work together to produce the intergovernmental funds picture presented above. Deliberate inattention by higher levels of government may be one, but other factors probably are more relevant, including the fact that on many indicators the downstate areas are in fact better off than Cook County.

The establishment of multicounty and single-county regional planning agencies is another indication of recognition of problems and attempts to take action. Planning has come to involve important quality of life areas as well as physical development of the community. Although planning agencies have been given impetus from the state government, in downstate counties most of these agencies were created as a response to federal grant requirements, a further measure of attention from other governmental levels rather than from groups indigenous to the community.

Conclusions and Implications

Our findings did not totally support Coke's contention that the smaller, downstate SMSAs share the level of urban problems of Chicago. What we found was a great deal of contrast between the large metropolitan centers, on the one hand, and the less urban and suburban areas, on the other. Cook County and the suburban Chicago SMSA counties are as different as Cook County and Champaign County, in terms of many quality of life indicators. Similarly, the Illinois portion of the St. Louis SMSA no more resembles the other downstate SMSAs than it does the suburban Chicago counties. Further, differences among the other downstate SMSAs are sometimes equal in magnitude to the differences between downstate and Cook County. For example, the range among downstate areas in infant mortality was 17.3 in McLean County to 21.9 in Macon, a range far exceeding the mean difference between downstate and the suburbs, or even downstate and Cook County. These differences do not contradict our finding that generally, with respect to the quality of life of their residents, the downstate areas rank slightly behind the suburban Chicago counties, followed by Cook County and the suburban St. Louis counties.



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