ON FURTHER EXAMINATION...

A closer look at some commonly cited (but perhaps not thoroughly vetted) tax “truisms.”

Taxes are complicated. Understanding and accurately conveying the nuances and consequences of various issues is difficult. From time to time it is worth looking behind conventional wisdom, to make sure oversimplification (or perhaps wishful thinking) has not led to misunderstandings or misstatements, and does not in turn lead to bad policy decisions.

This issue of Tax Facts is dedicated to doing just that—evaluating six tax-related ideas that have, to some degree, taken hold in popular opinion. Our regular Tax Facts contributors, Maurice Scholten—TFI’s legislative director, and Natalie Davila and Mike Klemens, from KDM Consulting—have examined several of the truisms that surround Illinois taxation. Each of these ideas is based on some data or intuitive notion that superficially makes sense. In each, however, a further examination of the underlying data and full picture reveals there is more to the story. Their findings merit consideration. And they remind us all that taxes are complicated.

The Taxpayers’ Federation of Illinois is committed to promoting sound tax policy based on good information. We hope this article, in an era when people latch onto data that supports their position and ignore the rest, encourages readers to ask questions about data and conventional wisdom.

By Carol Portman
Taxing Services

Surveys show that Illinois taxes fewer services than other states, but on further examination, the data being relied upon to identify and quantify the taxation of services is incomplete.

Taxing services is frequently cited as a way to raise additional revenue in Illinois, accompanied by the claim that Illinois taxes considerably fewer services than other states. Data available for such an analysis is imperfect, making it difficult to make reasonable revenue estimates without a tremendous amount of work. One often cited source that concludes Illinois taxes considerably fewer services than the average state is survey data collected and compiled by the Federation of Tax Administrators (FTA). The FTA first conducted a survey asking states about services they tax in 2004. This survey was updated in 2007 and again in 2017. In the most recent survey, it claimed that Illinois taxes 29 services, while the 50-state average is 61. Illinois is significantly below the average number of services taxed in both the personal and business services categories (the FTA survey’s other service categories are utilities, leases, computer and on-line services, amusement, professional services, fabrication and repair services). The complete survey and other information can be found at https://www.taxadmin.org/sales-taxation-of-services.

These survey results are frequently relied on when discussing taxing services in Illinois. While it is reasonable to conclude that Illinois taxes a below average number of services, some caution in interpreting and applying the survey results is warranted.

First, not everyone would agree that all categories included in the FTA survey are services. For example – the survey includes leasing but it is unlikely that the average person would consider leasing a service in the context of expanding the sales tax base to include services.

Second, the FTA asks states to identify currently taxable services by their corresponding North American Industry Classification System (“NAICS”) codes. While this makes sense from a survey administrative perspective, it has some practical problems when developing revenue estimates. In economic census data a firm self-identifies itself by its major product/service. However, the firm may provide many other goods and services. For example, in developing a revenue estimate for landscaping services using a NAICS approach we would look to revenue generated from those firms that fall within the landscaping NAICS code. However, a firm may sell mulch and topsoil while providing landscaping services in summer and snow removal services in winter. Because landscaping is a greater part of its business revenue, all of the firm’s revenue is categorized in the economic census data as landscaping. Therefore any estimate of the revenue potential from taxing services is incomplete.

1 North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) is standard used by Federal statistical agencies in classifying business establishments for the purpose of collecting, analyzing, and publishing statistical data related to the U.S. business economy.
landscaping services based on the landscaping NAICS code will be too simplistic – more sophisticated analysis needs to be done, not only to remove the mulch and topsoil sales from the landscaping service category but also to remove revenue generated from other service activities provided by the firm (and to add landscaping service revenues reported in other categories by other firms). As noted in a footnote to the FTA survey results: “just because a business category is identified as taxable does not mean that every good or service related to that business is being taxed. Likewise, a single taxed good or service might be reflected under several business categories.” While very labor intensive, the best practice methodology to use when estimating revenue associated with taxing services has been developed by California’s Board of Equalization. These estimates are based on analyzing very granular product line data made available through the Economic Census conducted by the federal government every 5 years.²

Third, when we look at the difference in the FTA survey results for Illinois between 2007 and 2017 we find there are twelve more services identified as taxable in the 2017 with no law change. Looking at the raw data for 2017 we find that the FTA is counting some of Chicago’s local taxes, which was not the case in 2007. This highlights two points: comparing Illinois to other states based solely on this survey is risky, since local tax situations vary dramatically and can skew survey results; and any revenue estimates need to take into consideration taxes already collected at the local level (and any potential local revenue impact of state pre-emption).

In spite of its limitations, the FTA survey illustrates that Illinois taxes fewer services than the average state. The survey could be a useful tool in developing a preliminary list of services that Illinois may wish to consider taxing if we wish to be less of an outlier.

However, it is difficult to get precise information from a survey about what services other states tax. Any serious consideration of expanding the taxation of services in Illinois will require a careful analysis of other states’ tax laws, if the goal is to tax services that other states tax. Similarly, predicting the fiscal impact (increased revenues) from taxing additional services needs to be more granular than merely using NAICS level data.

By Natalie Davila

² Detailed information outlining this estimation process can be found at https://www.boe.ca.gov/legdiv/pdf/ServicesRevEstimate.pdf
Taxing Retirement Income

Conventional wisdom says that retirees will flee if Illinois subjects retirement income to tax, but on further examination, taxation of retirement income does not clearly align with senior citizen residency.

Illinois is one of three states that exempts all retirement income from income tax, Mississippi and Pennsylvania being the other two.¹ Most states with a broad income tax exempt social security to some extent but tax other forms of retirement income, as does the federal government. Whenever there is a suggestion that Illinois should tax at least some retirement income, opponents argue that taxing retirement income would cause an exodus of retirees from Illinois, presumably to states with a more favorable tax climate for retirees.² This is understandable since whenever an activity or good is taxed, there generally is less of it. Additionally, opponents claim that exempting retirement income encourages newly retired citizens to relocate to Illinois.³ If these claims were true, logically we would expect Illinois and other states that don’t tax retirement income to have a larger percentage of their population in the sixty-five years of age or older age bracket than states that do tax retirement income, everything else being equal.

**Figure 1** shows that of the 50 states, Illinois has the 11th lowest percentage of its population that is sixty-five and above. In Illinois, 13.9 percent of the population is sixty-five years or older and the national average is 14.5 percent. Mississippi’s senior population makes up 14.3 percent of their total population, slightly below the national average. Pennsylvania is above the national average at 16.7 percent. Therefore, in two of the three states that exempt all retirement income from their income tax, senior citizens make up a lower percentage of their population than the national average.

In addition to moving to states that exempt retirement income from income taxes, tax-motivated retirees could move to states that do not have an income tax, or have only a narrow income tax on dividends and interest income. But Figure 1 shows that states without an income tax generally have a lower population of seniors than other states, with Florida being a significant exception. One potential explanation is that a state without an income tax is more attractive to working adults than retirees since people generally earn more income when they are working than when they are retired, and would therefore enjoy a larger benefit. And often, working age adults have children, further lowering the percentage of seniors in the state.

However, **Figure 1** clearly shows that exempting retirement income from tax does not

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¹ Forty-one states have a broad income tax. Two states only tax interest and dividend income and seven states have no income tax.
² A 2015 phone survey commissioned by AARP found that 59.6% of Illinois residents 50 and over said they would consider moving to another state where there are tax friendly laws for retirees if lawmakers did tax retirement income.
³ HR 890, 99th General Assembly. SR 1325, 99th General Assembly.
FIGURE 1. Percentage of Population 65 Years or Older in 2016

- No Income Tax
- Only Taxes Dividends and Interest
- Exempts All Retirement Income
- National Average

FL, ME, WV, VT, MT, PA, DE, HI, OR, AZ, NH, IA, RI, SC, AR, OH, CT, MI, MO, AL, NM, WI, SD, MA, TN, KY, NJ, NY, NC, USA, OK, NE, KS, MN, MS, IN, ID, ND, NV, WA, IL, WY, VA, MD, LA, CA, CO, GA, TX, UT, AK
automatically translate into a higher number of senior citizens. Other important location-determining factors that people consider include weather, overall cost of living including real estate prices, and proximity to family. Therefore, it is hard to believe with any certainty that there would be a mass exodus of seniors from Illinois if Illinois were to tax retirement income to some extent, as thirty-eight states currently do, especially since Illinois already has fewer senior citizens than the national average. And of course, if Illinois did tax retirement income to some extent, Illinois could lower its individual income tax rate to make the change revenue neutral, and thereby lower the tax burden on the majority of Illinois residents.

By Maurice Scholten

Economic Growth

It has been suggested that if Illinois’ economy grew at the average of U.S. gross domestic product (GDP), Illinois tax revenues would increase at the same rate, but on further examination, neither GDP nor Illinois gross state product (GSP) growth predict revenue growth in any reliable way.

According to one estimate, significant additional state revenues could be attained if Illinois improved its economic growth to just the national average….an additional $5.4 billion in state revenue over 5 years if the economy were to grow at the national average.¹

In examining this type of statement we first look at the relationship among Illinois’ “big three” revenue sources (the taxes that generate the bulk of our own-source revenue: individual income, corporate income and sales taxes), Illinois gross state product (GSP), and gross domestic product (GDP).² Why do we do this? Well, it is important to see if GSP is a good predictor of revenue growth in the first instance before considering what would have occurred if Illinois GSP had grown at the same rate as national GDP (the standard measure of national economic growth).

Figure 2 on page 7 compares growth in GDP and GSP over the period 1997-2016 (Illinois 2017 GSP is not yet available). This graph illustrates that GDP and GSP have tended to move together over this period, but the relationship has become weaker since around 2008, suggesting that the Illinois economy has not made a full recovery since the great recession.

However, it is not appropriate to use either GDP or GSP to try to predict “big three” revenue for the following reason: Illinois’ tax revenues are not


²Gross State Product is a measurement of a value of goods and services produced by businesses located in Illinois. Gross Domestic Product is the value of goods and services produced in the United States.
closely aligned with movement in GSP, as illustrated in Figure 3 on page 8. As we note above GDP and GSP are measures of overall economic activity, but Illinois does not tax all economic activity. For example, economic activity related to services is included in GSP, but Illinois does not tax services. To the extent that the service economy has grown in Illinois, tax collections have not followed suit. There are other similar situations where items included in GSP are not taxed.

R-squared is a statistical measure that in this context represents the percentage of revenue growth that can be explained by changes in GSP. R-squared values range from 0 to 1 and are commonly stated as percentages from 0 to 100%. An R-squared of 100% would mean all movements in “big three” revenue are completely explained by movements in GSP. During the period 1998-2010 the actual R-squared value for this relationship is 44.6 percent, indicating that change in GSP is not much of a predictor in changes in “big three” revenue.\(^3\)

Without a doubt, economic indicators like GSP and GDP and their components are important measures of how robust various aspects of the economy are.
economy are. Higher GSP growth is obviously a good thing, and our overall economic growth would have been higher if we had grown at the national average. However trying to turn either of these variables into predictors of revenue growth is wrong because they explain less than half the growth in “big three” revenues and should not be used to support any calculation of Illinois’ lost tax revenues attributable our less-than-stellar economic performance. This fact is acknowledged in the Governor’s Operating Budget where revenue forecasts for the “big three” are developed using forecasts for wages and salaries, dividends and interest, corporate profits and retail sales and not GDP or GSP.

*By Natalie Davila*
Homestead Exemptions

Conventional wisdom says that homestead exemptions reduce property taxes, but on closer examination, they simply shift property tax burden from owner-occupied properties onto properties that do not have a homestead exemption.

Homestead exemptions that provide owners a reduction on the taxable value of their principal residences are a common feature of property tax systems across the country; they are prevalent, and growing, in Illinois. See Homestead Exemptions: Confusing, Complicated and Costly, Tax Facts, Summer 2014.) However, they do not reduce property taxes, they just shift them around.

For 2017 – taxes that will be paid this year – the General Homestead Exemption available to all homeowners will be $10,000 in Cook County and $6,000 in all other counties. For senior homeowners an additional $8,000 exemption is available in Cook, and $5,000 in the rest of the state. All told, homestead exemptions represent about 12 percent of Illinois’ residential tax base. There are positive aspects to the homestead exemptions. They tend to make the property tax system more progressive, because their fixed values mean lower valued properties receive a relatively larger benefit (a greater percentage of their value is exempted). They are also popular with homeowners, who see the benefit of the reduction on their tax bills. However, they do not reduce property taxes – they just shift them onto non-exempt properties, including the taxable portion of a property holding a homestead exemption.

That’s because of how the property tax system works:

Step 1 – Assessment. The values of properties are determined.
Step 2 – Apply Exemptions. Exemptions are applied to reduce assessed value to taxable value.
Step 3 – Budget and levy. Local taxing districts decide how much they need to operate.
Step 4 – Extension. The tax rate necessary is determined, within limitations, by dividing Step 3 by Step 2.
Step 5 – Billing. Property owners are billed for the value in Step 2 times the rate in Step 4.

To the extent that value is reduced by homestead exemptions in Step 2, when tax rates are determined in step 4, the rates will be higher.

Table 1 on page 10 presents an oversimplified example of an imaginary taxing district comprised of two identical houses. One is owner-occupied and eligible for a homestead exemption; the other is a rental and is not. The table presents scenarios with and without a homestead exemption. The $16,000 tax levy is unchanged; reducing taxes on the owner-occupied property produces an equal increase in taxes on the rental property. (As an aside, the savings from the exemption are not equal to the $10,000 exemption multiplied by the 8.421 percent tax rate; the real savings are less. That’s because the
higher tax rate applies to the $90,000 taxable portion of the homestead property.)

The same principles apply in real taxing districts, where the interactions are infinitely more complex. For example, the value of a homestead exemption to the homeowner is greater in a taxing district with other properties onto which the tax burden can be shifted, be they commercial, industrial or residential rental properties, than in a community with primarily homestead-eligible properties, where little burden-shifting can occur.

In Examining the Effects of Increased Homestead Exemptions, Tax Facts, April 2017, Maurice Scholten evaluated legislation that would have significantly increased a package of homestead exemptions and calculated the home value at which the resulting higher tax rates would have offset the saving from the higher exemptions. In 28 (mostly rural) counties, homes with property values of more than $100,000 would have paid more in property taxes.

**Conclusion**

Homestead exemptions do not reduce property tax burden. Instead they shift the burden onto properties that do not receive the exemption—commercial, industrial or residential rental properties. And in some cases, even for properties that receive a homestead exemption, the higher tax rate will more than offset the savings from the homestead exemption.

*By Mike Klemens*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1. Homestead Exemptions and Tax Shifts</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Without Homestead Exemption</td>
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<td>Taxing District Levy</td>
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<td>Taxing District EAV</td>
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<td>Tax Rate</td>
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<td>Rental</td>
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<td>Parcel EAV</td>
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<td>Homestead Exemption</td>
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<td>Tax Bill</td>
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<td>Real Shift - Savings/Cost</td>
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<tr>
<td>with Homestead Exemption</td>
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<td>less</td>
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TIFS and Schools

TIF districts are often accused of reducing the property tax revenues collected by public schools, but on further examination, this is frequently not the case.

As with most economic development tools, tax increment financing districts (“TIF districts”) have their fair share of critics, especially in Chicago. One common complaint is that TIF districts siphon money away from schools. This statement usually goes unchallenged, in part, because property taxes in Illinois are so complicated. Also, it makes sense. The taxes generated in a TIF are bifurcated: a portion goes to the taxing districts as usual, while another portion goes to the municipality for the TIF, so from a superficial level it certainly appears that the schools are getting less tax revenue. In order to evaluate this claim, one must first understand how TIFs work and how property taxes are calculated.

Property Taxes
When a taxing district decides to collect a property tax, they pass an ordinance setting the amount of taxes that they want to collect for each fund. The county clerk then divides the amount requested by the taxable value of property within the taxing district to arrive at a tax rate. The clerk then determines whether the taxing district has the legal authority to impose a tax at the calculated rate. Most funds have a statutory maximum tax rate, but some do not. If the taxing district doesn’t have the legal authority to levy at the calculated rate, the clerk lowers the rate to the maximum rate allowed. Once the rate is determined, all of the rates for a taxing district are aggregated, and then the treasurer sends out the property tax bills.

PTELL
The first wrinkle in the process is the Property Tax Extension Limitation Law, commonly referred to as PTELL. PTELL generally limits the increase in a taxing district’s levy to CPI, plus additional increases for new property. Under PTELL, the county clerk may reduce a taxing district’s levy (the amount requested) prior to calculating the rate. PTELL is a limit on the amount of total property tax revenues a taxing district can request, as opposed to the statutory limits on the rate a taxing district can levy, discussed above. PTELL applies to Cook and the collar counties, and a total of 39 of the 102 counties in Illinois.

TIFs
A municipality is able to designate an area as a TIF district if the area is deemed blighted. Once an area has been designated as a TIF district, the county clerk calculates the initial equalized assessed value (EAV) of the area. Each year thereafter, property tax rates for the area are calculated by the county clerk, the tax rate is applied to the initial EAV of property within the TIF, and those property taxes are distributed to the taxing districts as normal. The tax rate is also applied to the increment, which is the current EAV subtracted by the initial EAV. In other words, the tax rate is applied to the increased value
within the TIF district. That money goes to the municipality to spend within the TIF district.

Summary
In 2016, Chicago Public Schools levied the majority of the money it collected through property taxes using the education levy. The amount they requested was over the limit allowed by PTELL, so the county clerk reduced it to the maximum amount allowed. This was done before TIFs even entered into the conversation. Next, the clerk calculated the tax rate by dividing the levy amount by the total non-increment EAV (total EAV in non-TIF areas plus the initial EAV in TIF districts) in the taxing district. The clerk determined that the rate for the education levy did not exceed any statutory caps (the maximum rate for the education levy for CPS is 4% and for 2016 it was 3.115%). This rate was then applied to all the property in Chicago and CPS received the money they requested (after the PTELL limitation). The City of Chicago also received its money to spend on TIF districts, but CPS did not receive less money because there were TIFs. CPS collected the maximum amount of revenue permitted under PTELL.

The TIF districts in Chicago caused the calculated tax rate to be higher than it otherwise would. Removing the increment EAV from the tax rate calculation, results in the same numerator, but a smaller denominator. By having a smaller denominator, the calculated tax rate is higher. So TIFs would have impacted the amount of revenue collected by CPS if the calculated rate for the education levy was higher than the legal limit of 4%. If the clerk calculated a rate of 4.1%, he would lower it to 4%. If this were the case, then CPS would be missing out on revenue from properties within the TIF districts. Essentially, under this scenario, the creation of the TIFs would have shrunken the tax base, forcing the clerk to calculate higher tax rates for the various taxing districts. Once the tax base is shrunk enough to produce a tax rate that is higher than the legal limit, the taxing district is negatively affected. But until that happens, the taxing district is immune.

Another potential way that TIFs in Chicago could negatively affect CPS would be how much new property is generated within TIF districts. As mentioned above, PTELL limits taxing districts to only increase their levies by CPI, however, there are adjustments for new property. If within a school district, there is a new subdivision with 400 new homes, the school district will have increased costs associated with educating the children that move into those homes and PTELL allows for an additional increase for this reason. If new property is created within a TIF district, the value of that property is considered increment and taxes for that property go to the TIF district and the taxing district does not receive the PTELL adjustment. However, if that same property would have been created absent the TIF district, the taxing districts would have received a slightly higher limit on their levy. This then begs the question, would the development within a TIF district happen absent the TIF district.

Property taxes are confusing. There are a lot of moving parts. When different aspects of property

1 The total tax rate for CPS in 2016 was 3.726%. This is includes funds subject to PTELL and funds exempted from PTELL.
taxes intersect, such as PTELL and TIF districts, the results aren’t always intuitive. In Chicago, TIF districts do not automatically reduce the property taxes that CPS receives. This may not always be the case though. There are many things that must be considered, such as is the district subject to PTELL, is the district adversely affected by statutory rate limits, and is there significant new property in the TIF districts.

By Maurice Scholten

High Property Taxes

Conventional wisdom says that Illinois property taxes are high, but on further examination property taxes are not uniformly high across Illinois.

There are frequent claims that Illinois homeowners pay among the highest property taxes in the country. Property taxes are unpopular, and Illinois has long relied more heavily on the property tax to fund schools than have other states. And while on average property taxes in Illinois are high, they are far from uniform across the state.

Using the most recent census data, in its annual Facts & Figures 2018: How Does Your State Compare, the Tax Foundation puts Illinois state and local property tax collections per capita at $2,087, ninth highest among the 50 states and significantly above the U.S. average of $1,518 per capita. Per capita property tax collections are higher on the coasts and in New England. Illinois gets a bit of a break on the per capita ranking, because unlike many states it does not tax personal property.

In the same publication, the Tax Foundation puts the effective tax rate for a homeowner in Illinois (property taxes as a percent of home value) at 2.03 percent, second highest in the country, again using census data. Only New Jersey is higher.

Census data is the basis for a myriad of studies pointing to Illinois’ high tax burden.

Illinois’ high property tax ranking is not surprising; Illinois raises relatively more revenue from property taxes than do other states. Census data says that property taxes comprise 36.4 percent of total state and local taxes in Illinois, compared to a national average of 31.1 percent. Illinois’ percentage is 12th highest, and even surpasses states like Alaska, Montana, New Hampshire, Texas, and Wyoming that lack either an income or sales tax.

However, these are all averages, and while state law governs property taxation, within that framework property taxes are imposed and spent by more than 6,000 school districts and other local governments in Illinois. That means there is a lot of variation, perhaps enough to make it worthwhile to look beneath the surface.

To attempt to make sense of property taxes within Illinois, the Taxpayers’ Federation periodically computes the effective tax rate (property taxes as a percent of home value) for a
$250,000 home in cities and villages in all parts of Illinois. See Effective Property Tax Rates in 89 Illinois Communities, *Tax Facts*, March 2018. That study has typically found the lowest effective tax rates in Chicago, the north Cook suburbs, and the collar counties and the highest in distressed cities like East St. Louis, Cairo, and Park Forest.

In TFI’s most recent study, in recognition of the differences in housing prices across Illinois, we also computed the effective tax rate for a median valued home in a dozen communities. That calculation closed the gap considerably between the highest and lowest effective tax rates, particularly in communities with lower median home values, where the fixed value homestead exemption had a greater effect. Still, property taxes on a median valued home varied from $1,063 in Lawrenceville to $10,812 in Libertyville.

Illinois Department of Revenue data further illustrates the variations in property taxation across Illinois. Using taxable residential property value, the number of residential parcels, and aggregate tax rates – it computes an average per parcel residential tax bill for cities and villages over 10,000 in population and county seats. Average residential tax bills range from $799 in Lawrenceville to $16,396 in Glenview. **Table 2** illustrates the average residential property taxes for selected municipalities from Table 10 of the DOR’s *Illinois Property Tax Statistics 2016*.

Another study backs up the finding supporting high property tax bills in the Chicago suburbs. The Lincoln Institute of Land Policy and Minnesota Center for Fiscal Excellence publish an annual study of property taxes across the country, *50-State Property Tax Comparison Study*. The study looks at 53 cities: the largest city in each state, Washington, D.C., Buffalo, NY, and Aurora, IL (the second largest cities in those states because Chicago and New York City have different tax systems than the rest of the state). They also look at a rural city in each state - Galena in the case of Illinois.

Among the 53 large cities, the 50-State Study found the effective rate on a $150,000 homestead was 3rd highest in Aurora and 21st highest in Chicago; among the 50 rural cities Galena was 7th highest. Chicago’s commercial property taxes were 3rd highest and its taxes on apartment properties ranked 40th. One striking comparison is that while Aurora has the third highest effective tax rate in the nationwide 53-city sample, within Illinois it falls more to the middle of the range.

**Conclusion**

Property taxes in Illinois are high compared with most other states but are nowhere near uniform across the state. Looking simply at the Department of Revenue’s averages, residential property values and property taxes paid are high in the north suburbs and collar counties, lower in downstate cities, and lowest in rural areas. Chicago has relatively high values, but its average residential tax bill is reduced somewhat by classification’s shift onto commercial property.

The geographical differences within Illinois will make reducing Illinois’ reliance on property taxation difficult to achieve.

*By Mike Klemens*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City/Village</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Average Value</th>
<th>Average Tax</th>
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Source: Property Tax Statistics 2016, Table 10, Illinois Department of Revenue

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**Illinois Tax Facts**

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Save the Date!

Taxpayers’ Federation of Illinois

77th ANNUAL MEETING

Friday, June 22, 2018
10:00 a.m.

Maggiano’s Little Italy
111 W. Grand Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

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