

# WHO LEAVES COOK COUNTY?

KEY TRENDS AMONG COOK COUNTY MOVERS  
WITH A FOCUS ON AFRICAN AMERICANS

Metropolitan  Planning Council

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report describes an analysis of all persons who moved into or out of Cook County, Illinois during 2014-2018, with an emphasis on the characteristics of African Americans who moved. Using Census Bureau data on current Illinois residents, but also on ex-Illinoisans who are living in other states, the report is a first of its kind analysis of Black movers into and out of the area.

The study period covers the years 2014-2018. Selected findings of the report include:

## Scale of Movement and Top Destinations

- **Many Illinois Residents Move Each Year**
  - Large numbers of people move annually: about 13% of all Illinois residents change their primary residence in a given year.
- **Cook County Residents No More Likely to Leave Illinois than Other Illinois Residents**
  - Among Illinois counties, Cook County was home to a proportionate share of all Illinois residents who left the state. Cook is home to 45 percent of Illinois residents, and Cook residents are 43 percent of Illinoisans who left the state.
- **The Role of Race in Movement**
  - Of Cook County residents, twice as many Whites as Blacks move in a year, be it within Cook County or to another area. Some 208,000 Cook County Whites moved compared to 110,000 Blacks.
  - Asian Americans in Cook County are most likely to move. Some 16 percent of Asian Americans have moved in the previous year, compared to 13 percent of Blacks and 12 percent of Whites.
- **Who Moves and Where?**
  - Of current Cook County residents who have moved, Blacks are most likely to move within Cook as opposed to leaving the county: 87% of Black movers stayed in Cook compared to 83 percent of Latino movers and 70 percent of White movers.
- **When Cook County Residents Leave, Where Do They Go?**
  - When Cook County Blacks move away from the county, they are more likely than other groups to move to a nearby state, and less likely to go to farther-away parts of the United States.
    - When Cook County Blacks move away from the county, 22 percent go to a state bordering Illinois, compared to 12 percent of Whites and 11 percent of Latinos.
- **When Cook County Residents Leave, What States Do They Prefer?**
  - The top three destinations for Cook County Blacks who leave are Indiana, Texas and Wisconsin. For Whites, the top three states are California, Florida and Indiana. Top states for Latino leavers are Texas, Florida and Indiana.

## **Of African Americans, Who have been Most Likely to Leave?**

Statistical methods were employed to understand which members of the African American population have been most likely to leave Cook County:

- **African Americans who moved from Cook County to other Illinois counties or to other states were more likely to be:**
  - Men, younger (aged 25-34), childless and of lower income
- **A Black person who moved to another state was likely to have one or more of these characteristics:**
  - More likely out of the labor force
  - More likely college-educated
  - More likely to work in construction or information
  - Less likely to work in manufacturing, transportation or warehousing
  - More likely in lower-skilled occupations of production or service, and particularly in production
- **Blacks moving from Cook County to other parts of Illinois were:**
  - More likely to work in wholesaling and less likely to work in retail or public administration
- **The variety of factors shows that there is no single type of Black person who left Cook County in recent years. The most common types of leavers, accounting for about half of all leavers, were:**
  - Younger to middle aged, well-educated, employed management professionals, often working in the educational and health care professions.
  - Younger, moderate income, employed, sales and service workers, particularly in retail. Many don't have children.
  - Male production, transportation and warehousing workers, some of whom have children.
  - Younger and middle aged, many with only high school education or less, who largely worked in restaurants, hotels, or entertainment.
  - Younger women, many with high school education or less, many with children, a few in information jobs, some not in the labor force.
  - Younger, poor persons who have worked in retail and/or sales.
  - Mixed age, low educated, not poor, who have worked in service occupations.
- **Blacks have been leaving Cook County, but also have been moving to Cook County.**
  - Numbers of newly arriving Black residents do not appear to fully replace Black leavers in many ways.
  - A smaller percentage of Blacks, about 5% annually, move into Cook County from other states than do Whites and Asians, about 13% annually.
- **“Replacement” by Skill and Income**
  - About as many Blacks with higher education, higher income and professional jobs move into Cook County as move out of it.
  - However, among Blacks of lower socioeconomic standing, Cook County has been experiencing a net out-migration to other states:

- Cook County experiences a net interstate outflow among lower educated Blacks, but the number of Black arrivers with college educations equals the number of Black leavers who have college educations.
- Cook County replaces most of its middle and higher income Black leavers to other states, but replaces only about half of its poorer leavers with arrivers from other states.
- Cook County mostly replaces its losses of Black workers who are managers, scientists or who provide business services, but replaces only about half of its workers in other occupations.

## INTRODUCTION

There is widespread concern about the decades-long loss of African American population in Cook County, Illinois and the City of Chicago.<sup>1</sup> Since 1980, Chicago's Black population has declined by nearly 400,000. More recently, Cook County's total population rose by 23,000 from 2010 to 2014-2018, but its Black population declined by 56,000. Similarly, Chicago's total population increased by 22,000 persons during that period, but the number of Blacks fell by about 64,000.

Researchers and commentators have attributed Black population decline to high unemployment and lack of jobs,<sup>2</sup> and to violence and lack of personal safety.<sup>3</sup> The economic status of Black residents in the region lags that of White, Asian and Latino residents on many indicators.<sup>4</sup> Other observers situate Black movement within a larger phenomenon of Black people leaving northern states in the U.S. for southern states.<sup>5</sup> Loss of Black population in Chicago has particular resonance because the city was once a beacon for Black families seeking safety and opportunity during the decades of the Great Migration.<sup>6</sup>

It is easy to speculate about why Black people might choose to move out of many of Chicago's segregated, low-income areas, which for decades have been starved of investment. Less clear is why Black families might choose to move further away, either another part of Illinois or to another state. This report seeks to dig deeper on migration patterns of Cook County's Black residents to better understand, beyond what has been shown to date, which groups are more likely to move.

Data presented in this report shows that Black residents in Cook County have been no more likely to move than White, Latino or Asian-American residents over the past five years. Yet Black population trends have drawn particular attention in part due to the significant depopulation of

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<sup>1</sup> Bosman, Julie, and Todd Heisler. "Black Families Came to Chicago by the Thousands. Why Are They Leaving?" *The New York Times*, 16 Feb. 2020, [www.nytimes.com/2020/02/16/us/black-families-leaving-chicago.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/16/us/black-families-leaving-chicago.html). Mendell, David. "The Real Problem with Chicago's Shrinking Population." *Chicago Magazine* June 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Glanton, D. (2019, Apr 08). If Chicago is a black political mecca, why are African-Americans leaving? *Chicago Tribune* Retrieved from <http://proxy.cc.uic.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxy.cc.uic.edu/docview/2204516625?accountid=14552>

<sup>3</sup> Eltagouri, Marwa. "Census finds blacks leaving Cook County." *Chicago Tribune* 22 June 2017.

<sup>4</sup> Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning. "Labor Force Recovery Has Varied by Race, Ethnicity, with Starkest Differences for Blacks. Retrieved from [https://www.cmap.illinois.gov/updates/all/-/asset\\_publisher/UIMfSLnFfMB6/content/labor-force-recovery-has-varied-by-race-ethnicity-with-starkest-differences-for-blacks](https://www.cmap.illinois.gov/updates/all/-/asset_publisher/UIMfSLnFfMB6/content/labor-force-recovery-has-varied-by-race-ethnicity-with-starkest-differences-for-blacks)

<sup>5</sup> Toppo, Greg, and Paul Overberg. "After Nearly 100 Years, Great Migration Begins Reversal." *USA Today*, Gannett Satellite Information Network, 18 Mar. 2015, [www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2015/02/02/census-great-migration-reversal/21818127/](http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2015/02/02/census-great-migration-reversal/21818127/).

<sup>6</sup> Wilkerson, Isabel. *The Warmth of Other Suns. The Epic Story of America's Great Migration*. Vintage Books 2010.

some neighborhoods on the South and West sides of Chicago, and the net African American population loss in Chicago.

In today's world, members of all racial/ethnic groups move frequently. As described later in this report, 13 percent of all Illinoisans moved in the past year. One thing that should be of concern to regional policymakers is how movement of members of particular groups may affect the health of individual neighborhoods, the community at large, or of a particular racial/ethnic group. The pattern of moves within a group could be problematic if, for instance, the net effects are to reduce a community's income and education diversity, leave the community disproportionately young or old, decrease its wealth, reduce its local buying power, reduce the number of highly-skilled members, or reduce its representation in certain industries so as to exacerbate existing patterns of racial segregation. Of additional concern would be if members of one or another groups move because of lack of opportunity, or because of racism and discrimination, whether direct or systemic.

Recent media coverage has tended to focus on the out-migration of African Americans, and to some degree the population in general, from Chicago. But it is important to note that people are also moving in as well as leaving. To assess the overall impact of migration on the African American community, we must consider the characteristics of both people who are leaving and those who are coming.

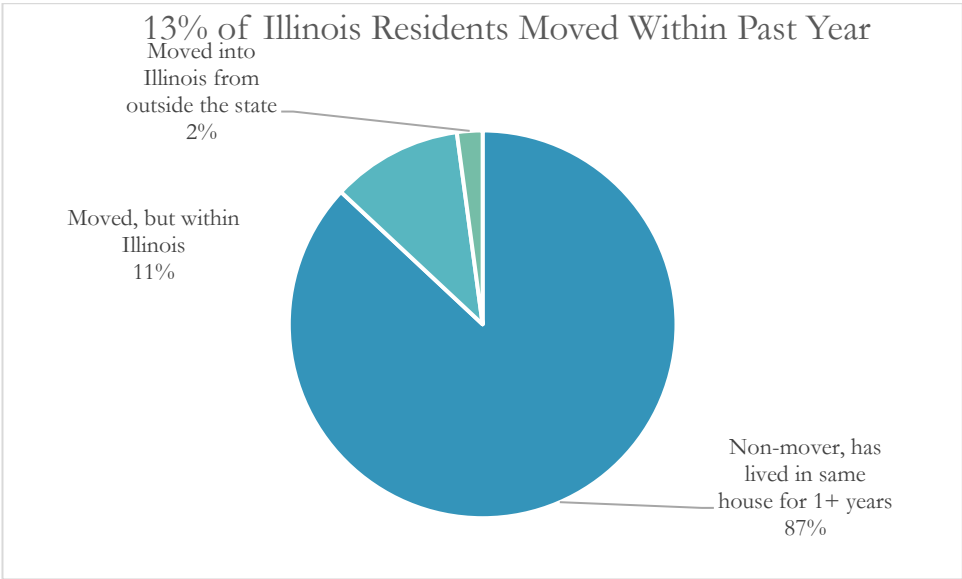
This report addresses the question of what movement into and out of Cook County, Illinois looks like, with an emphasis on patterns of Black migration. To what extent are Black residents and other major racial/ethnic groups moving and to where? What distinguishes movers from non-movers? Has movement into the County offset movement out of the area? These and other questions are answered here by using data on migration from the American Community Survey of the 2014-2018 period.

There is great interest in change involving the City of Chicago, but the American Community Survey data as released by the U.S. Census Bureau limits analysis to Cook County. The ACS provides data on growth and decline in Chicago, but it does not permit analysis of persons living outside of Chicago who formerly lived in the city e.g., a former Chicago resident currently residing in Atlanta, Georgia. The ACS does, however, report information on former Cook County residents who now live elsewhere such as Georgia. We believe that the factors inducing migration into and out of Cook County are similar to those operating specifically in Chicago. Chicago also accounts for a large majority of the Cook County African American population and data for African Americans across Cook County increasingly represents characteristics of Chicago's Black population.

# The role of Cook County among Illinois movers

## One in eight Illinoisans moves in a year; Cook County Plays a large role

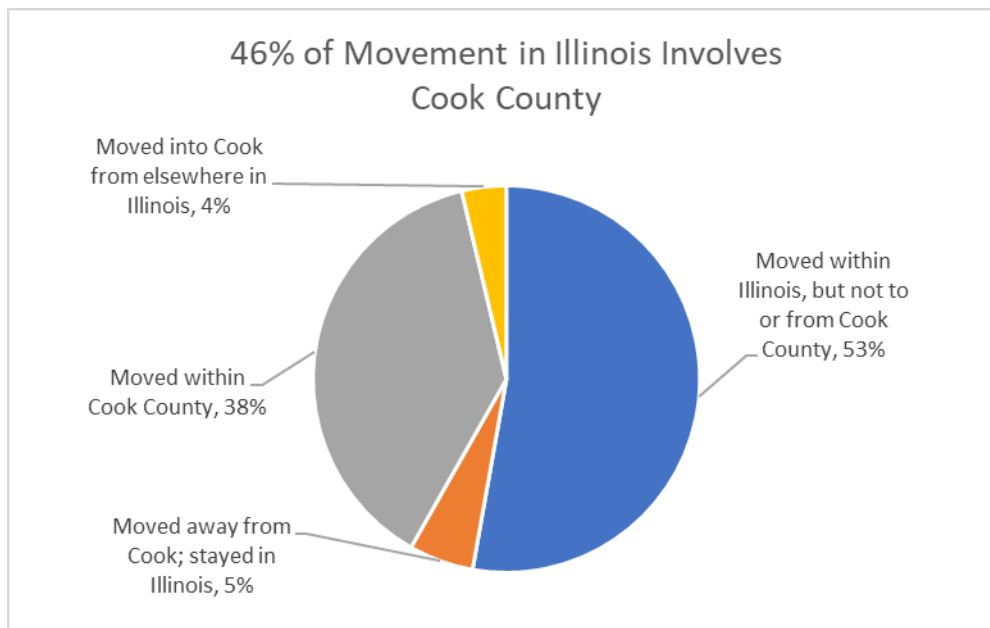
Given the concerns about African Americans leaving Chicago and Cook County, it is important to acknowledge that many persons of all races move each year. The magnitude is impressive: within the past year about 1.7 million Illinoisans or 13 percent of the state’s population changed their residence.<sup>7</sup> Most of the movers, eleven percent, changed locations within Illinois, while two percent moved into the state from outside Illinois.



Illinois residents may move across the street, to a nearby city, or across the state, but their decisions to relocate disproportionately involve Cook County, which has 41 percent of the total statewide population, but is involved with 46 percent of all movement in the state. The outsized role of Cook County makes it especially important to understand the nature of movement into and out of Cook.

<sup>7</sup> “Movement,” as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau and throughout this report, means changing one’s residence for a different residence. There are 12.8 million current residents in the state and 13 percent of residents surveyed in the period 2014-2018 reported moving within the past year.





## COOK COUNTY HAS AN OUTSIZED SHARE OF MOVERS INTO AND OUT OF ILLINOIS

Cook County looms somewhat large not only among persons who move within the borders of Illinois, but also among those who cross the state line to come to live in Illinois from elsewhere and among those who leave the state entirely. While 41 percent of Illinois residents live in Cook, 45 percent of persons who come to Illinois from elsewhere choose to live in Cook County.<sup>8</sup> This fact contradicts the popular narrative of flight from Cook County, since movers to Illinois so often choose to live in Cook.

Movement to and from Cook County and Illinois can be broken down into movement that involves nearby states, states farther away, and movement from outside the country. “Nearby” movement involves the states that border Illinois (Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Missouri and Wisconsin). Movement to other states involves anywhere from Florida to Alaska. Movement from outside the country includes Puerto Rico, U.S. territories and foreign nations.

The distinctions between movement that is nearby, that is farther flung but still within the U.S., and that involves crossing the U.S. border have multiple implications that make them worth examining. Movement to a nearby state, for example, could often involve persons who maintain

<sup>8</sup> When college students are included in the calculation, a higher, 45 percent of all movers into Illinois go to Cook County.

ties to Illinois. They may have left for a cheaper housing market, lower tax rates or other reasons, but could easily commute to work in Chicago or Moline or Rockford. The opposite is also true; the employers visible off of Interstate 90 just north of the Illinois-Wisconsin border likely employ many Illinois residents. These nearby movers may be people who could be encouraged to return to Illinois or to not leave in the first place. In contrast, movers to other states such as Georgia or Colorado have largely broken commuting, employment, consumer and other ties with Illinois. Movers who come from Puerto Rico or abroad produce a gain for Illinois, and the nation, in terms of population replacement, tax contributions and economic development, and so understanding the scale and scope of their movement is important.

### Movers to Illinois and Cook County

Movers to Illinois have distinct locational preferences based on where they come from. Those coming from nearby states, 34 percent, prefer to go to counties other than Cook. If they had moved to Illinois counties in proportion to the state’s population, 45 percent of them would have gone to Cook. Persons moving to Illinois from the rest of the U.S. choose Cook County, 44 percent, almost in proportion to Cook’s share of the state. Cook County, however, gets a large share of movers from outside the U.S.: 56 percent of movers from Puerto Rico or abroad go to Cook.<sup>9</sup>

**45% of Movers into Illinois from out of State Go to Cook County**

	Illinois	Cook	Cook County Share
Moved from out of state	176,326	79,288	45%
Moved in from contiguous state	35,653	12,009	34%
Moved in from non-contiguous state	98,473	43,558	44%
Moved in from Puerto Rico or abroad	42,200	23,721	56%

### Movers away from Illinois and Cook County

Cook County has a proportionate share of former Illinois residents who left Illinois and are now living in another state. Some 43 percent of persons who left Illinois within the past year had been living in Cook County, roughly matching Cook County’s 45 percent of the state’s population.

<sup>9</sup> The great majority of persons coming from abroad are immigrants, but this group does include some U.S. citizens who move back from having lived in another country. Puerto Ricans, of course, are U.S. citizens by birth and are not immigrants.

Most persons who left Illinois for a contiguous state such as Indiana or Wisconsin left from a county other than Cook: only 36 percent of such movers were from Cook. Former Cook residents were 46 percent of persons who left Illinois for farther-away, non-contiguous states.

Cook is underrepresented among Illinoisians leaving for nearby states and slightly overrepresented among Illinoisans leaving for farther away states. These facts contradict the idea that Cook County residents uniquely are fleeing for nearby Indiana or Wisconsin: some are doing that, but such flight appears more commonly to originate in other Illinois counties.

**Among Persons Who Left Illinois for Another State, 43% Were Former Cook County Residents**

	Illinois	Cook	Cook County Share
Moved away to another state	206,295	88,700	43%
Moved to a contiguous state	53,385	19,006	36%
Moved to a non-contiguous state	152,910	69,694	46%

The disproportionate amount of moving that involves Cook County may reflect the county’s diverse economy, its economic growth, and its diversity compared to other parts of the state. Some jobs associated with a major economic center like Chicago may have no counterparts in other counties in Illinois, so that a job move or transfer by a worker may necessitate leaving the state. Cook County also has the state’s largest neighborhoods of Black, Latino and Asian American residents, making it potentially attractive to people interested in interacting in a particular language, partaking of a particular culture, or living among persons who look like them.

## Race and Cook County Movers

The highest number of movers are White residents; the highest rates of moving are among Asian Americans

The major racial/ethnic groups in Cook County have different patterns of movement. The two tables below present the numbers of current Cook County residents, by race/ethnicity, who moved in recent years. Moves may have been within Cook County or into Cook County from elsewhere.

The largest number of movers were White residents, at 208,000 persons per year in recent years. Black residents were the next largest group of movers, though far below the number of Whites, at 109,000 movers. About 93,000 Latinos moved per year. Some of these movers moved within Cook County or moved to Cook County from elsewhere in Illinois. Others moved in from out of state. Most movers were “Illinois movers” moving within the state’s borders, but 17 percent were movers in from outside of Illinois. For Black people, about 10 percent of all movers came from out of state (10,920 of 109,905 movers), while for Whites the share of movers who were coming into Cook from out of state was nearly twice as high at 19 percent (41,454 of 208,187).

Asian Americans are the Cook County residents most likely to have moved in recent years. Some 16 percent of Asian Americans have moved, followed by 13 percent of Black residents and 12 percent of Latinos and White residents. A relatively large share of Asian Americans moved into Cook County from outside the state: about five percent.

The number and percent of Black people who moved in the past year again contradicts any idea that Black movement is singular. Depending on the metric used -- numerically or as a percentage of their population -- Black residents in Cook County are less likely to be movers than White residents or Asian Americans.

**How Many Current Cook Residents Moved in the Past Year, by Race?**

	Total	Black NL	Asian NL	Latino	White NL	Other NL
Total Population	3,680,385	843,736	255,109	808,174	1,723,094	50,272
Non-mover, has lived in same house for 1+ years	3,219,450	733,831	214,492	714,945	1,514,907	41,275
Mover	460,935	109,905	40,617	93,229	208,187	8,997
Moved, but within Cook or from elsewhere in Illinois	381,647	98,985	26,857	82,352	166,733	6,720
Moved into Cook from outside the state	79,288	10,920	13,760	10,877	41,454	2,277

Universe: Persons 18+ years, not current college student

**How Many Current Cook Residents Moved in the Past Year, by Race?**

	Total	Black NL	Asian NL	Latino	White NL	Other NL
Total Population	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Non-mover, has lived in same house for 1+ years	87%	87%	84%	88%	88%	82%
Mover	13%	13%	16%	12%	12%	18%
Moved, but within Cook or from elsewhere in Illinois	10%	12%	11%	10%	10%	13%
Moved into Cook from outside the state	2%	1%	5%	1%	2%	5%

Universe: Persons 18+ years, not current college student

## How does movement within Cook County Compare to movement from outside the county?

Between 2013 and 2018, about 461,000 Cook County residents moved in the previous year, which is to say about 1 in 10 residents moved annually. Three quarters, 75 percent of these movers moved within the county. Among persons who moved, Black people were the most likely to move within the county, at 87 percent of Black movers moving within Cook County. About 83 percent of Latinos who moved did so within the county.

Among persons who moved, Asian Americans were the most likely to have moved into Cook County from elsewhere, at 42 percent, compared to 30 percent of White movers and less than 15 percent of both Black and Latino movers in the county.

Of Cook County residents who moved between 2013 and 2018, White residents were the most likely to have come to Cook County from elsewhere in Illinois, at 10 percent of all White movers. White movers in Cook County were also the most likely to have come to Cook from a non-contiguous state, at 13 percent. In other words, White movers in Cook County were the group most likely to have come from outside Cook.

Asian Americans were by far the group of movers most likely to have moved in from abroad, at 19 percent. Despite the strong, recent trend of Latino immigration to Cook County, only five percent of Latino movers were arrivals from abroad.

These findings show that most current Black residents who have moved recently moved within, not into, Cook County. This suggests Cook County may be a less desirable destination for Black people in other states or countries than it may be for other groups, or that economic or sociological conditions within Cook County, such as neighborhood disinvestment, have led more Black residents to move within it than have led members of other racial/ethnic groups to move within it.

**How Did Current Cook County Illinois Residents Move in the Past Year?**

	Total	Black NL	Asian NL	Latino	White NL	Other NL
Mover, has moved within the past year	460,935	109,905	40,617	93,229	208,187	8,997
Moved within Cook County	347,671	95,090	23,663	77,349	145,387	6,182
Moved into Cook County from elsewhere	113,264	14,815	16,954	15,880	62,800	2,815
Moved into Cook from elsewhere in Illinois	33,976	3,895	3,194	5,003	21,346	538
Moved into Cook County, Illinois from a contiguous state	12,009	2,738	837	1,242	6,724	468
Moved into Cook County, Illinois from a non-contiguous state	43,558	5,876	5,069	5,127	26,432	1,054
Moved into Cook County, Illinois from Puerto Rico or abroad	23,721	2,306	7,854	4,508	8,298	755

**How Did Current Cook County Illinois Residents Move in the Past Year?**

	Total	Black NL	Asian NL	Latino	White NL	Other NL
Mover, has moved within the past year	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Moved within Cook County	75%	87%	58%	83%	70%	69%
Moved into Cook County from elsewhere	25%	13%	42%	17%	30%	31%
Moved into Cook from elsewhere in Illinois	7%	4%	8%	5%	10%	6%
Moved into Cook County, Illinois from a contiguous state	3%	2%	2%	1%	3%	5%
Moved into Cook County, Illinois from a non-contiguous state	9%	5%	12%	5%	13%	12%
Moved into Cook County, Illinois from Puerto Rico or abroad	5%	2%	19%	5%	4%	8%

# When Cook County movers leave, where do they go?

From 2014 through 2018, 138,000 persons left Cook County to live somewhere else. About 36 percent of them went to another part of Illinois to live – likely most often to a neighboring county. Among racial/ethnic groups, Latino, Black and White residents were about equally likely to have gone elsewhere in Illinois. Some 39 percent of Latinos left Cook for elsewhere in Illinois, 38 percent of Black and 36 percent of White residents.

White residents, who are the largest racial population in Cook County, were numerically the largest group of movers that left Cook County, at 73,738 per year. Some 47,209, or 64 percent of White movers, left Illinois entirely. A smaller number of Black residents moved, 27,848, and of these movers some 17,154, or 62 percent, moved outside of Illinois. In other words, Black people were less likely than White people to leave for other states.

African Americans, however, were by far the most likely to have gone to a contiguous state, at 22 percent. Only about 12 percent of White and 11 percent of Latino residents who left Cook County went to a nearby state. While a “return to the south” narrative may apply to some Black movers, many merely crossed the state line, most often from Illinois to Indiana.

About 50 percent of everyone who departed from Cook County went to a non-contiguous state. Asian Americans were distinct, however, with some 67 percent moving to a non-contiguous state.

**Where Did Former Cook County Residents Move to?**

	Total	Black NL	Asian NL	Latino	White NL	Other NL
Leaver: left Cook County in the past year	138,167	27,848	12,550	20,699	73,738	3,332
Left for elsewhere in Illinois	49,467	10,694	3,329	8,168	26,529	747
Left for a contiguous state	19,006	6,243	786	2,327	9,002	648
Left for a non-contiguous state	69,694	10,911	8,435	10,204	38,207	1,937

**Where Did Former Cook County Residents Move to?**

	Total	Black NL	Asian NL	Latino	White NL	Other NL
Leaver: left Cook County in the past year	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Left for elsewhere in Illinois	36%	38%	27%	39%	36%	22%
Left for a contiguous state	14%	22%	6%	11%	12%	19%
Left for a non-contiguous state	50%	39%	67%	49%	52%	58%

## When Cook County residents leave Illinois, which states and counties do they go to?

When Cook County residents have left the county in recent years and moved outside of Illinois, their most likely destination has been California, followed by Indiana and Texas. Indiana is one of the top three destinations for Black, Latino and White residents leaving Cook County. The almost 3,600 Black residents who moved to Indiana annually is nearly twice the 1,800 who moved to Texas.

When Black, Asian American, Latino and White people leave Cook County they generally go to the same states, with some interesting exceptions. The three largest states -- California, Texas and New York -- are among the leading destinations for each group, except that New York is not a leading destination for Blacks and Florida is not a leading destination for Asian Americans. There is no obvious conclusion to draw from this except that perhaps Florida's relatively small Asian American population makes it less likely that Asian Americans would move there to live near family and co-ethnics. New York, of course, has a large Black population.

Perhaps of greater interest are states that are leading destinations for only one group. Iowa and Mississippi are leading destinations only for African Americans. A set of East Coast states are leading destinations only for Asian Americans: Massachusetts, New Jersey, North Carolina and Virginia. Colorado is a leading destination only for Whites. None of the leading Latino destinations are unique to them.

Top Destination States of Persons Leaving Cook County for Other States: 2014-2018					
Total		Black NL		Asian NL	
California	10,816	Indiana	3,546	California	2,516
Indiana	9,200	Texas	1,806	Texas	1,085
Texas	7,679	Wisconsin	1,410	New York	625
Florida	6,637	Georgia	1,333	Michigan	615
Wisconsin	5,264	California	1,014	New Jersey	384
Michigan	4,264	Florida	886	North Carolina	343
New York	3,905	Minnesota	774	Indiana	333
Minnesota	3,226	Ohio	661	Massachusetts	305
Georgia	2,994	Iowa	531	Ohio	251
Ohio	2,427	Mississippi	481	Virginia	223

Top Destination States of Persons Leaving Cook County for Other States: 2014-2018 (cont.)					
Latino		White NL		Other NL	
Texas	2,514	California	5,783	California	468
Florida	1,454	Florida	3,992	Indiana	295
Indiana	1,155	Indiana	3,871	Minnesota	179
California	1,035	Michigan	3,178	Hawaii	165
Wisconsin	796	Wisconsin	2,813	New York	143
New York	511	New York	2,468	Virginia	126
Georgia	507	Texas	2,222	Michigan	125
Minnesota	506	Colorado	2,125	Kentucky	115
Arizona	455	Minnesota	1,632	Kansas	94
North Caroli	301	Arizona	1,501	Missouri	89

The American Community Survey microdata used for this analysis allows some insight into the county destinations of persons leaving Cook County. Not all counties are identified in the ACS. “Unidentified” in the table below refers to the sum of counties that are not identified by name in the data. For example, only the county of Larimer is identified for Colorado; “unidentified Colorado” refers to nearly the entire state.

The leading destination counties for persons leaving Cook were Lake County, Indiana and Los Angeles, California.<sup>10</sup>

For Black residents leaving Cook County, Lake County Indiana is the leading destination, followed by unidentified Georgia and Los Angeles. Lake County, Indiana is also among the top three county destinations for Latinos and Whites leaving Cook County.

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<sup>10</sup> Not all counties are identified in the American Community Survey. “Unidentified” refers to the sum of counties that are not identified by name in the data. For example, only the county of Larimer is identified for Colorado; “unidentified Colorado” refers to nearly the entire state.



Top Destination Counties of Persons Leaving Cook County for Other States: 2014-2018

Total		Black NL		Asian NL		Latino		White NL	
Lake, IN	5,053	Lake, IN	2,316	Los Angeles, CA	713	Lake, IN	840	Unidentified CO	2,089
Los Angeles, CA	3,108	Unidentified GA	596	New York, NY	396	Harris, TX	830	Lake, IN	1,760
Unidentified CO	2,343	Los Angeles, CA	504	Santa Clara, CA	382	Orange, FL	439	Los Angeles, CA	1,487
Harris, TX	2,138	Marion, IN	487	Orange, CA	326	Fort Bend, TX	291	Hennepin, MN	1,316
Hennepin, MN	2,083	Unidentified IA	471	Unidentified MA	305	New York, NY	256	Maricopa, AZ	1,213
New York, NY	1,841	Unidentified MS	460	Wayne, MI	263	Hennepin, MN	256	New York, NY	1,062
Maricopa, AZ	1,707	Harris, TX	455	Harris, TX	240	Hidalgo, TX	247	San Diego, CA	938
Unidentified GA	1,645	Milwaukee, WI	387	San Francisco, CA	233	Maricopa, AZ	244	King, WA	861
San Diego, CA	1,513	Clark, NV	381	King, WA	216	Dane, WI	239	Dane, WI	860
Dane, WI	1,401	Cobb, GA	346	Unidentified VA	206	Unidentified GA	238	San Francisco, CA	820

## Black residents and movement to and from Cook County

### Who are the black movers?

Having discussed movement in Illinois and the role of Cook County, our discussion now addresses African American movers into and out of Cook County. To do this we employ the statistical techniques of multivariate and factor analysis and provide descriptive tabulations of population characteristics. We also examine how the in-migration as well as the out-migration of Black residents could be changing Black communities.

### Multivariate analysis findings

Multivariate analysis of American Community Survey data helps us understand which demographic and socioeconomic characteristics are most associated with African Americans who move within, into, or out of Cook County. The technique used here calculates the statistical influence of characteristics such as age, income, education, and employment on the outcome of moving or not moving, net of all measures used in the analysis.

The findings of multivariate analysis are expressed as measures of likelihood. For example, for the characteristic “male,” a value of 1 or higher suggests a greater likelihood of moving than a

value of less than 1. The table below highlights predictors with a likelihood of 1 to 1.99 in yellow. More significant predictors, representing likelihood of 2.0 or greater, are highlighted in red.<sup>11</sup>

As with all analysis in this report, we considered African American adults who were not current college students and who either reside in Cook County or who moved from Cook County within the past year. We distinguish Black movers who moved from Cook County to elsewhere in Illinois from those who moved to another state. Findings of the multivariate analysis are as follows:

## Demographics, income, education, and employment of Black leavers versus stayers

- Black residents who leave Cook County for other parts of Illinois or for other states are likely to be males and have a high likelihood of being in the early stages of their working years, i.e., 25-34 years of age.
- Black residents who leave have relatively low income, i.e., compared to non-movers they are more likely to have income below the poverty level.
- Black residents who leave are more likely than non-leavers to be out of the labor force, i.e., to not be looking for employment.
- These findings on the demographics of Black leavers add up to a portrait of a group likely to be younger males with low earnings. That does not mean that other demographic groups do not leave the state or that most of the leavers fall into these categories. It means that these categories of persons are more likely to leave than to stay.

## Occupations of Black leavers vs. stayers

- Of Black leavers who are employed,<sup>12</sup> those who left for other parts of Illinois or who left the state are much more likely than non-movers to work in one of all major occupational categories. They work in both higher and lower skilled jobs, including both “white collar” management jobs and “blue collar” production jobs in factories. Black movers to other states were far more likely than stayers to be in lower-skilled occupations of production or service, and particularly in production.
- These findings tell us that Black movers out of Illinois include both highly skilled and less-skilled workers. Movers to another state were much more likely to be out of the labor force but were also much more likely to be college-educated. These findings describe a

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<sup>11</sup> The American Community Survey reports information on respondents at the time they fill out their survey. For movers, it is not known where they acquired some of their characteristics. For example, it is unknown to what extent a person’s employment, income, occupation or industry reflects their experience in the place where they moved from or in the place where they moved to. A former Cook County resident might have left recently and earned most of their reported income in Cook County, or they might have left Cook County nearly a year ago and earned their income in their new place of residence.

<sup>12</sup> When reporting occupation, the American Community Survey includes a small number of persons who are not currently employed but were in the last five years.

population that is drawn from across the community, even while there are some patterns such as tending to be male and of younger working age.

## Industries of Black leavers versus stayers

- The industries in which Black movers are employed show that Blacks who left Cook County for other parts of Illinois are more likely than stayers or out-of-state movers to be in the wholesale trade industry (jobs involving transferring goods, materials, and supplies).
- Black people who left Illinois entirely are much more likely than stayers or movers within Illinois to be working in the construction field or in information (i.e., “high-tech”).
  - Black residents moving from Cook to other parts of Illinois were more likely to be in wholesaling, but less likely to be in retail or public administration. Black residents moving to other states were more likely to work in construction or information, and less likely to work in manufacturing, transportation or warehousing.
  - These findings may tell us as much about the job market that Black people moved to as they do about the characteristics of Black people who leave. Black leavers being less likely to work in retail than Black stayers may be a reflection of the types of industries in which Blacks work in Cook County.

### Characteristics of African Americans Likely to Move from Cook County

	Movers to elsewhere in Illinois		Movers to Another State	
	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)
<b>Demographics, Income, education and employment</b>	Male	Yes 1.203	Yes 1.279	
	Some College	Yes 1.140	Yes .714	
	High School or Less	Yes 1.256	Yes .667	
	Age 25-34	Yes 1.767	Yes 2.033	
	Age 65+	Yes .517	Yes .384	
	Poverty	Yes 1.300	Yes 1.657	
	100%-300% of Poverty	Yes .772	No 1.027	
	Over 500% of Poverty	Yes .486	No 1.057	
	Employed	No 1.014	No .799	
	Not In Labor Force	No 1.110	Yes 1.451	
	Have Children	Yes .749	Yes .824	
	Live Alone	No .831	No .968	
	Citizen	No .847	Yes .416	

<b>Occupation</b>	Management	No	1.114	Yes	2.524
	Sales	No	1.047	Yes	2.443
	Service	No	1.037	Yes	2.994
	Production	No	1.185	Yes	4.534
<b>Industry</b>	Construction	No	.898	Yes	2.373
	Manufacturing	No	.873	Yes	.494
	Wholesale	Yes	1.516	No	.605
	Transportation, Warehouse, Utility	Yes	.830	Yes	.521
	Information	No	.830	Yes	2.030
	FIRE	No	.887	No	.862
	Prof and Scientific	No	1.054	No	.827
	Education & Health	No	.957	No	.839
	Arts, Entertainment, Hospitality	No	.969	No	1.162
	Public Admin	Yes	.725	No	.754
	Retail	Yes	.800	No	.927
Constant		.146		.022	
Note: Statistical significance < .05; Nagelkerke R Square .061					

The above regression analysis informs us that there are specific population characteristics that correspond to staying or leaving across the entire Census sample. But, in this case, these characteristics as a group do not describe a single, homogenous, population. This can make the findings appear discordant, e.g., “Black leavers work in both higher and lower skilled jobs.” The reason the specific correlations are discordant is that, in fact, the Regression is describing a multitude of sub-populations, many of whom are different from one another and whose data doesn't correlate strongly in a linear way. Thus, over the next paragraphs we discuss findings of factor analysis, a technique that tells us something about what each of those sub-populations likely looks like.

## Factor analysis findings

While the multivariate analysis tells us about the probabilities of moving attached to particular population characteristics among Black movers from Cook County, it masks that those probabilities are composed, in this case, of many different types of people moving probably for either different reasons or reasons not informed by Census variables. For instance, the Census

data cannot tell us whether someone moved to unite with a family member, take care of a loved one, because they preferred a different climate, or because they simply preferred one neighborhood to another.

The statistical technique of “factor analysis” enables us to identify characteristics that tend to correlate with one another within the census data cases, thereby creating rough profiles of the persons represented in the data set. The data and a fuller explanation of the technique are in the report’s Methodology section. Applying this analysis to African American movers from Cook County reveals the following as the most common types of persons who have been moving. These seven types account for about 50% of all movers.

- Younger to middle aged, well-educated employed management professionals, often working in the educational and health care professions.
- Younger, moderate income, employed, sales and service workers, particularly in retail. Many don’t have children.
- Male production, transportation, and warehousing workers, some of whom have children.
- Younger and middle aged, many with only high school education or less, who largely worked in restaurants, hotels, or entertainment.
- Younger women, many with high school education or less, many with children, a few in information jobs, some not in the labor force.
- Younger, poor persons who have worked in retail and/or sales.
- Mixed age, low educated, not poor, who have worked in service occupations.

While the analysis is strong enough to identify these types of movers, most of the findings are not extremely strong, indicating that there is not a clearly defined group of movers, and that persons who move embody a wide variety of characteristics not easily type-cast. People who leave Cook County appear to leave for many different reasons.

These likely include for a better job; for some for almost any job; for some for better quality of life; to be closer to family members; or for any of many other reasons.

## How are the African American movers to and from Cook County different from stayers?

The following section describes African American stayers and movers using simple tabulations of their characteristics. Five different types of stayers and movers are identified:

1. Persons who remained in Cook County, although they may have moved within it.
2. Persons who left Cook County to another Illinois, or nearby Indiana, county.
3. Persons who left Cook County for another state.
4. Persons who came to Cook County from elsewhere in Illinois or nearby Indiana.
5. Persons who came to Cook County from another state.

The descriptive tables add additional information beyond what is analyzed in the multi-variate analysis: Black movers tend to not have children with them. Black people who come to Illinois from another state generally have better-paying, white collar jobs in management, suggesting that Cook County exerts some pull for those with advanced education; these same Black movers from other states have high education levels with 43 percent having a college degree.

Black movers from out of state and those who leave the state are much more likely to be unemployed than Black stayers, suggesting that a search for employment may be an important factor in their decisions to move. This is supported by Black residents leaving the county entirely or coming to Cook County from another state having relatively high poverty rates. Of Black people who leave Cook for another state, 55 percent have income below 200 percent of the poverty line.

In identifying that some Blacks who move to Cook County are highly educated and in possession of better jobs, the tables below suggest the nature of opportunity for Black people in Cook County. The county may provide a variety of opportunities for economic success, but Blacks with higher education may be best positioned to do well.

## Demography

- Sixty-three percent of Black residents who leave Cook for elsewhere in Illinois or for Lake County, Indiana are males. All other mover types were roughly equally male and female. None of the groups of stayers or movers are likely to have children, but the groups that stand out are the movers to elsewhere in Illinois or to Lake County, Indiana, who are less likely to have children than other groups, only 23 percent.
- On average, Black stayers are older and Black movers are younger. About 38 percent of Black stayers are 55 years or older, compared to less than 20 percent of all other groups.

## Demographic Characteristics of African Americans by Residence

	Stayed in or Moved within Cook	Moved from Cook to other Illinois County or Lake County, IN	Moved from Cook to another State	Moved to Cook from Illinois	Moved to Cook from Another State
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Male	45%	63%	47%	52%	52%
Female	55%	37%	53%	48%	48%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
18-24 Years	11%	23%	20%	16%	16%
25-34 Years	17%	<i>30%*</i>	<i>30%*</i>	<i>33%*</i>	<i>33%*</i>
35-44 Years	16%	21%	20%	22%	17%
45-54 Years	19%	13%	14%	12%	17%
55-64 Years	<i>18%*</i>	10%	9%	9%	12%
65+ Years	<i>20%*</i>	4%	7%	8%	5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No Children	65%	77%	68%	73%	75%
Have Children	35%	23%	32%	27%	25%
Estimated Annual N	828,921	13,010	14,838	3,895	8,614

\*Indicates statistically significant difference between actual and expected percentage

## Occupation

- The occupational profile of Black stayers is similar to people who move. An exception is that a relatively high 37 percent of movers in from other states are in management occupations.

## Occupations of African Americans by Residence

	Stayed in or Moved within Cook	Moved from Cook to other Illinois County or Lake County, IN	Moved from Cook to another State	Moved to Cook from Illinois	Moved to Cook from Another State
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	1%
Mgmt, Business, Science & Arts	28%	25%	23%	29%	37%*
Service	23%	24%	24%	19%	20%
Sales & Office	28%	23%	28%	25%	28%
Nat Resources, Const., Maint.	4%	4%	8%	2%	5%
Production, Transp., Materl Moving	17%	24%	18%	25%	10%
Estimated Annual N	512,289	8,917	11,867	2,978	6,443

\*Indicates statistically significant difference between actual and expected percentage

## Industry

- The industrial profile of Black Cook stayers mostly resembles the industrial profiles of leavers and movers in. The one major exception is that stayers were much more likely to work in healthcare or education.

Black Cook stayers and leavers worked in most industries in about equal proportions. The exceptions were health, education, and public administration, wherein workers were more likely to remain within Cook, and hospitality and retail, wherein they were somewhat more likely to leave. Historically, education and government have provided stable, middle class employment for many African Americans, particularly in Chicago, while retail and hospitality are among the lower paying, higher-turnover industries.

### Industry of African Americans by Residence



	Stayed in or Moved within Cook	Moved from Cook to other Illinois County or Lake County, IN	Moved from Cook to another State	Moved to Cook from Illinois	Moved to Cook from Another State
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Construction	3%	4%	2%	1%	4%
Manufacturing	7%	9%	6%	10%	3%
Wholesale	2%	2%	1%	3%	0%
Retail	11%	13%	14%	12%	13%
Trans, Warehouse, Utilities	12%	10%	10%	12%	12%
Information	2%	1%	3%	1%	2%
FIRE	7%	7%	6%	8%	11%
Prof, Scientific	11%	9%	11%	17%	13%
Education, Health	28%	25%	19%	21%	26%
Arts, Entertain, Hospitality	9%	12%	13%	8%	10%
Other Services	5%	5%	7%	4%	3%
Public Administration	6%	3%	3%	3%	4%

N

## Employment status

- Findings show important differences between three groups, those who stayed, those who left for elsewhere but nearby, and those who left for more distant locations.
- Black people who remained within Cook County were much more likely to be in the labor force than were Black people who moved to another residence within Illinois.
- Black residents who moved to another state were much more likely to be in the workforce than were Blacks who stayed in Cook County.

The highest rates of unemployment were among Black interstate movers. The unemployment rate of those who left Cook County for another state was 17% and for those who moved in from another state it was 19%.

### Employment of African American by Residence

	Stayed in or Moved within Cook	Moved from Cook to other Illinois County or Lake County, IN	Moved from Cook to another State	Moved to Cook from Illinois	Moved to Cook from Another State
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Employed	49%	40%	53%	52%	54%
Unemployed	11%	6%	17%	16%	19%
Not in labor force	40%	54%*	30%	32%	28%
Estimated Annual N	533,422	9,078	12,265	3,065	6,541

\*Indicates statistically significant difference between actual and expected percentage

### Income levels

- Black movers of all kinds are poorer as a group than Black stayers. About 24% of Black people who stayed or moved in Cook County had income below the poverty line. The poverty level was 32% to 34% among interstate movers and those who came to Cook from elsewhere in Illinois.

### Black Ratio of Income to Poverty Level by Residence

	Stayed in or Moved within Cook	Moved from Cook to other Illinois County or Lake County, IN	Moved from Cook to another State	Moved to Cook from Illinois	Moved to Cook from Another State
Poverty	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
1-99 pct.	24%	28%	34%*	32%	32%
100-199 pct.	22%	21%	21%	12%	14%

200-299 pct.	17%	10%	13%	19%	15%
300-399 pct.	12%	11%	5%	12%	9%
400-499 pct.	9%	9%	6%	11%	9%
500 pct. or higher	18%	20%	20%	14%	20%
Estimated Annual N	811,591	7,748	13,764	3,561	8,190

\*Indicates statistically significant difference between actual and expected percentage

## Education

- Education levels are notably different among Black stayers and movers as groups. Movers to other states were the most highly educated. Some 26 percent of Black people moving to other states had college education, compared to 20 percent of Black stayers. Black people moving into Illinois are a highly educated group with a college completion rate of 43 percent.

### Education of African American by Residence

	Stayed in or Moved within Cook	Moved from Cook to other Illinois County or Lake County, IN	Moved from Cook to another State	Moved to Cook from Illinois	Moved to Cook from Another State
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No HS degree	14%	25%	11%	16%	10%
HS only	30%	25%	31%	22%	27%
Some college, no degree	28%	26%	22%	29%	16%
Associates degree, no BA	8%	7%	11%	7%	5%
BA or higher	20%	16%	26%	27%	43%
Estimated Annual N	740,676	10,043	11,805	3,284	7,231

## Do Black arrivers replace leavers for Cook County?

Public commentary on the movement of Cook County's Black population has largely focused on reasons that may be causing Black residents to leave the area. This discussion is important to understanding changes taking place in the community. However, as we discussed above, the nature and well-being of any community is a product not only of out-migration, but also of who is choosing to come and why. Any community is always the balance of its stayers, leavers, and arrivers, and of those born and those who pass away.

Black population of Cook County has decreased in size, but migration of Black residents into and out of Cook County could be changing the community in other ways. In the 2014-2018 period, 27,848 Black people left Cook County while 14,815 moved in.<sup>13</sup> Might this migration be leading to increase or decrease in Black representation in certain industries or occupations? Is migration changing the age or gender profile of the community? Could migration be making the community as a whole richer or poorer or increasing or decreasing its capacity?

The following tables analyze the extent to which Cook County's Black community could be changing as a result of the "migration balance" between African Americans leaving Cook County and African Americans coming to Cook County. "Migration balance" here refers to the net change in Black population characteristics as a result of the loss of leavers and the addition of arrivers.<sup>14</sup>

We look at migration in two ways. One set of data columns presents data on all migration into and out of Cook County, therefore including migration within Illinois as well as to and from other states. A second set of columns considers only migration to and from other states. As we have discussed earlier, this is an important distinction because migration to or from another state for working-age persons typically involves a job change or job search by at least one member of a household.

This analysis is necessarily speculative because we cannot know whether a person's occupation, industry, employment, or income was the same when they completed their Census form in their current residence as it was when they left their former residence. So, we cannot know for sure whether a leaver's data represents their condition before they left Cook County or after they

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<sup>13</sup> As with the rest of this report, our analysis considers African American adults who are not currently enrolled in college.

<sup>14</sup> We recognize that this report focuses on the entire county of Cook. The "migration balance" may happen at the county level to some extent, while not taking place in local areas such as a specific Chicago community area. For example, professional Blacks moving to Cook County seldom move to Englewood, East Garfield Park or North Lawndale.

arrived at a new place. Many movers may have left because they could get a job, a better job, or a raise, in a new location. Some may have gotten it; some not.

In this study, a person's age changes little between the time they lived in Cook County and another place, because the survey question on whether a person has moved covers only the prior year. The education of movers rarely changes much over the course of a year. However, a person's occupation could change, particularly if they are not highly or specially-trained, and a person's industry could change. For example, a factory worker in Cook County may have left the state but found work in retail. Finally, many people move specifically because they are looking for employment or higher compensation, so they could be more likely to have a higher wage or employment in the new location than in the old if they were successful in their job search.

The tables below report two types of population mover balances:

1. The balance of leavers and arrivers from and to Cook County for all destinations and sources, including other areas of Illinois, other states, and abroad.
2. The balance only between persons leaving Cook County for another state or arriving from another state. For this analysis, we consider a move to Lake County Indiana to be a within-state move because, adjacent to Cook County, it is within the Chicago metropolitan labor-shed.

## Cook County appears to be mostly replacing its higher skilled, higher educated leavers, but is less of a destination for the less skilled and less educated

Chicago is among the nation's, and to some degree the world's, leaders in business management opportunity, scientific research and the arts. All of these areas are expected to continue to thrive and therefore attract and recruit employees nation-wide. In these fields, arrivers are largely replacing leavers. For example, 80 percent of all Black leavers in management jobs are replaced by new arrivals, and 89 percent of Black leavers in management jobs who go to other states are replaced.

But for other occupational groups, arrivers do not appear to be replacing Cook County leavers, replacing about half of leavers. For example, only about 45 percent of service workers who leave Cook County are replaced. This is true of all leavers/arrivers and those whose movement involves another state.

**“Migration Balance” of Cook County Black Population by Occupational Category of Workers**

	All Leavers	All Arrivers	Percent of Leavers Replaced	Inter State Leavers	Inter State Arrivers	Percent of Leavers Replaced
Management, Bus., Science & Arts	4,925	3,940	80%	2,679	2,380	89%
Service	4,990	2,238	45%	2,826	1,283	45%
Sales & Office	5,323	2,741	51%	3,311	1,788	54%
Nat. Resources, Construct. & Maint.	1,298	410	32%	920	341	37%
Production, Transp. & Material Moving	4,248	1,544	36%	2,131	651	31%

Industries vary widely as to whether arrivers are likely replacing leavers. The most replacement appears to be among interstate movers in construction and finance, insurance and real estate, and education and health care. In all other industries, arrivers represent only about half of the number of persons leaving. The information field, in particular, while not a large field for African Americans, and manufacturing, are each suffering large net losses.

**“Migration Balance” of Cook County Blacks by Industrial Category of Workers**

	All Leavers	All Arrivers	Percent of Leavers Replaced	Inter State Leavers	Inter State Arrivers	Percent of Leavers Replaced
Construction	614	285	46%	280	241	86%
Manufacturing	1,588	568	36%	742	213	29%
Wholesale	341	151	44%	176	14	8%
Retail	2,864	1,335	47%	1,676	869	52%
Trans, Warehouse, Utilities	2,164	1,304	60%	1,229	792	64%
Information	436	116	27%	306	98	32%
FIRE	1,369	975	71%	774	700	90%
Prof, Scientific	2,205	1,576	71%	1,387	871	63%
Education, Health	4,544	2,697	59%	2,267	1,665	73%
Arts, Entertain, Hospitality	2,668	1,217	46%	1,600	651	41%

Other Services	1,220	413	34%	793	169	21%
Public Administration	664	400	60%	386	242	63%

Underscoring that Cook County is seen as providing economic opportunity for those with professional skills, African American leavers with college degrees are being replaced about equally. However, for all other educational levels, and especially for those with some college or an Associates degree, arrivers are replacing half or less of leavers.

**“Migration Balance” of Cook County Blacks by Education Level**

	All Leavers	All Arrivers	Percent of Leavers Replaced	Inter State Leavers	Inter State Arrivers	Percent of Leavers Replaced
No HS degree	3,814	1,630	43%	1,303	692	53%
HS only	6,098	3,045	50%	3,603	1,949	54%
Some college, no degree	5,197	2,488	48%	2,541	1,173	46%
Associates degree, no BA	2,045	664	32%	1,313	341	26%
BA or higher	4,694	4,392	94%	3,045	3,076	101%

With respect to labor force participation, employment, and unemployment, arrivers appear to replace leavers in about equal proportion, which is to say around 60%. An important caveat is the uncertainty regarding whether a mover in either direction has obtained a better-paying or a lower-paying job.

**“Migration Balance” of Cook County Blacks by Employment Status**

	All Leavers	All Arrivers	Percent of Leavers Replaced	Inter State Leavers	Inter State Arrivers	Percent of Leavers Replaced
Employed	13,128	7,750	59%	7,880	4,610	59%
Unemployed	3,228	2,462	76%	2,479	1,596	64%
Not in labor force	11,492	4,603	40%	4,479	2,408	54%

Low income Black residents as a group do not appear to consider Cook County a place of opportunity: Only 56% of poor leavers to other states were replaced by arrivers from other states, and only 40% of African American leavers earning up to twice the poverty line were replaced from other states.

The data suggests that the perception of opportunity is somewhat better for middle income persons. “Middle class” leavers, those earning between 300% and 500% of the poverty line, are most likely to be replaced by arrivers, with a total replacement rate of about 80%, and about 90% replacement among interstate movers.

**“Migration Balance” of Cook County Blacks by Ratio of Income to Poverty**

	All Leavers	All Arrivers	Percent of Leavers Replaced	Inter State Leavers	Inter State Arrivers	Percent of Leavers Replaced
1-99 pct.	6,850	4,727	69%	4,658	2,592	56%
100-199 pct.	4,585	2,218	48%	2,941	1,179	40%
200-299 pct.	2,587	2,062	80%	1,780	1,218	68%
300-399 pct.	1,566	1,263	81%	747	758	101%
400-499 pct.	1,598	1,240	78%	870	772	89%
500 pct. or higher	4,326	2,547	59%	2,768	1,671	60%



Although no age group is fully replacing itself, either for all movers or inter-state movers, the strongest replacement is among interstate movers aged 45 to 65, of whom over 70% of leavers are replaced by arrivers. Chicago is clearly not viewed as a retirement destination by older African Americans in other states.

**“Migration Balance” of Cook County Blacks by Gender and Age**

	All Leavers	All Arrivers	Percent of Leavers Replaced	Inter State Leavers	Inter State Arrivers	Percent of Leavers Replaced
Male	15,163	7,625	50%	7,002	4,516	64%
Female	12,685	7,190	57%	7,836	4,098	52%
18-24 Years	6,000	2,596	43%	3,033	1,383	46%
25-34 Years	8,370	4,537	54%	4,459	2,824	63%
35-44 Years	5,601	2,768	49%	2,892	1,478	51%
45-54 Years	3,799	2,321	61%	2,092	1,501	72%
55-64 Years	2,591	1,640	63%	1,331	1,013	76%
65+ Years	1,487	953	64%	1,031	415	40%

### Who are movers to other states by age group?

Age can be a defining factor in a person’s decision to move or not. Young people may feel less tied to a particular place because they go away to college and decide they prefer another part of the state or country, because a personal relationship may draw them elsewhere, because they are less likely to have care-taking responsibilities or have children in a school, or because they are less settled in a career that may keep them in one place. Older people may be movers because they prefer to retire somewhere warmer and less expensive, or join family members. They may be stayers because of long-standing ties to a community, because their healthcare or personal care needs may make a move difficult or undesirable, because they lack the resources to move, or for any number of other reasons.

The following tables provide detail on selected variables by age group. *None of the findings here are statistically significant as the sample size for these groups is too small to be reliable, so these observations must be taken only as suggestive.*

African Americans, like the overall population of the nation, have become increasingly well-educated with each succeeding generation. However, the 34.3% of persons 55 to 64 years old, and 26.4% of persons over 65 who moved to other states are much higher percentages of well-educated persons than would be found across the larger African American population for those ages. In other words, a large portion of older Blacks who leave have higher education and, perhaps, more resources with which to relocate.

**Cook County Blacks Who Move to other States, by Age and Education**

Age	No HS	HS degree	Some college, no degree	Associates degree, no BA	BA or higher
25-34 Years	14.8%	28.0%	21.8%	11.1%	24.3%
35-44 Years	5.5%	40.6%	13.8%	15.2%	25.0%
45-54 Years	8.7%	25.6%	29.6%	11.7%	24.4%
55-64 Years	10.6%	31.0%	19.5%	4.6%	34.3%
65+ Years	15.8%	22.6%	27.9%	7.3%	26.4%

Note: Findings not statistically significant.

Older movers to other states were much less likely to be poor than were movers to other states who were younger. However, they were probably less likely to be in the higher income categories either.

**Cook County Blacks Who Move to other States, by Age and Ratio of Income to Poverty**

Age	1-99 pct.	100-199 pct.	200-299 pct.	300-399 pct.	400-499 pct.	500 pct. or higher
18-24 Years	41.5%	15.7%	7.3%	N/A	9.7%	25.8%
25-34 Years	36.5%	26.4%	12.6%	5.1%	7.4%	12.0%
35-44 Years	35.9%	16.8%	14.9%	5.5%	5.2%	21.7%
45-54 Years	38.8%	12.4%	18.0%	2.6%	1.8%	26.5%
55-64 Years	19.8%	30.7%	11.5%	8.2%	7.9%	21.9%

65+ Years                      6.0%                      34.1%                      14.9%                      22.6%                      3.5%                      18.8%

Note: Findings not statistically significant.

Over half of the youngest movers to other states were in sales or service occupations. Older movers to other states were distinct in how few reported management, business, science or the arts as their occupation, likely reflecting challenges that generation had faced in acquiring those higher-skilled, professional positions.

**Cook County Blacks Who Move to other States, by Age and Occupation**

Age	Management, Business, Science, and Arts Occupations	Service Occupations	Sales and Office Occupations	Natural Resources, Construction, and Maintenance Occupations	Production, Transportation and Material Moving Occupations
18-24 Years	11.6%	23.5%	34.7%	15.9%	14.2%
25-34 Years	18.7%	27.2%	32.0%	5.3%	16.8%
35-44 Years	32.7%	22.5%	23.6%	0.8%	20.4%
45-54 Years	31.8%	15.6%	21.8%	9.6%	21.2%
55-64 Years	29.2%	32.0%	14.7%	N/A	24.1%
65+ Years	5.0%	22.4%	31.5%	33.2%	7.8%

Note: Findings not statistically significant.

**Conclusion**

The findings of this analysis offer major adjustments to our understanding of Black population change in Chicago and Cook County. For Cook County (though not for Chicago specifically), Black migration is not the sole or even primary cause of population stagnation. (The county’s population changed by negative 0.4 percent between 2010 and 2018.) Twice as many Whites as Blacks left Cook County in the period 2014-2018, and a greater percentage of Asian Americans moved than Blacks. Cook County’s out-migration experience is pan-racial.

As described in the introduction, various arguments have been put forth about why Blacks leave the area, including poor job opportunities, personal safety, and a nationwide trend of Blacks returning to southern states. All of these reveal some of the full story, but the data analyzed here

support some of these contentions and contradict others. Among the supportive findings are the indications that lack of economic opportunity does play a role in pushing some Blacks away from the area. Greater numbers of lower-income Black residents leave Cook County than are replaced. If there were sufficient economic opportunities, there might be out migration but it would be offset by Blacks coming to fill jobs. That younger Black males have a higher propensity to leave is another sign of lack of opportunity. Young males have been the classic, first-wave migrant in many tales of migration including international immigration and the mid-twentieth century Great Migration of Blacks to northern states.<sup>15</sup>

But simple tropes of Black people leaving Cook County due to insufficient opportunity are also contradicted in the data examined here. While Black residents of all educational levels are leaving Cook County in greater numbers than they are being replaced, the “migration balance” shows that a high percentage of out-migrants are replaced by new arrivals in the case of persons with better jobs and higher education. Cook County and Chicago still exert pull for persons seeking opportunity, but the beacon seems to have narrowed its beam and begun to shine more selectively on those who have more advanced education.

Still another way in which this report adds nuance to the story of Black migration has to do with the story of Cook County versus Chicago. Unfortunately, the Census Bureau data preclude detailed examination of Black residents who specifically leave Chicago (allowing only analysis of Black residents leaving Cook County overall). Between 2010 and 2019, the average annual decline in Black population was 2,800 in Cook County, while in Chicago it was about 7,500. Some Black people are leaving Chicago, but they often move elsewhere in Illinois, including from Chicago to suburban Cook County, or to just across the border to northwest Indiana. Such movement does not necessarily describe a county that is inhospitable, though it may suggest a more distressing story about many neighborhoods in Chicago.

Whether Black out-migration is predominantly from Chicago or from the larger Cook County, it is cause for concern both for individuals who may have felt too little opportunity and for the larger society that benefits from their contributions as workers, neighbors, family and taxpayers. Because the data does not suggest any single reason that Black persons might be leaving, reversing the trend would seem to depend on implementation of many policies, all of which have been discussed for decades: Making sure housing is affordable for people with different levels of wealth and income, providing economic opportunities for job seekers with various skill levels, implementing higher minimum wages outside Chicago, continuing to improve schools, eliminating racial discrimination, and improving public safety. No one likes paying taxes, but the

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<sup>15</sup> Isabel Wilkerson, in relating the life stories of three Blacks who moved north in the Great Migration, profiled three persons: two males and Ida Mae Brandon Gladney, whose husband impelled their decision to leave Chickasaw County, Mississippi.

pattern and characteristics of leavers to other states suggests that among Blacks, tax rates probably do not determine decisions to move to other states.

## Methodology

### Source of data

The source of information in this report on persons who move is the American Community Survey (ACS), a monthly survey of the U.S. population that is administered by the U.S. Census Bureau. Public use microdata records were used from the ACS conducted throughout the 2014-2018 period. The survey questions of importance relate to whether the respondent has migrated or moved in the past twelve months, and whether that person moved within their county, across county lines within a state or to a new state. The migration questions allow for analysis of movers within, to and from Cook County, Illinois, but they do not permit analysis of movement specifically involving the city of Chicago. Along with information on a respondent’s movement, data are provided by the survey on the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of each respondent.

### The effect of college students on movement

Students enrolled in colleges and universities are a substantial portion of the population that moves. The table below shows both Illinois residents and persons who lived in Illinois within the past year but who have moved away from the state. College students are about 20 percent of all persons moving into and away from Illinois. Because of the large impact of college students on the movement data, we exclude college students and also younger persons from this report. College students from Illinois may be away in another state merely for their years of study. Those who have come to Illinois and are college students may leave after their stay here (and this includes students from other countries who are present on temporary visas to study in the U.S.).

**College Students Are a Substantial Portion of Movers**

	All Persons	Not College		Pct. College
		Students	College Students	
Total	13,182,877	12,206,640	976,237	7%
Non-mover, has lived in same house for 1+ years	11,178,420	10,499,041	679,379	6%
Moved within Illinois	1,402,116	1,221,269	180,847	13%
Moved to Illinois	273,990	222,119	51,871	19%
Moved away from Illinois	328,351	264,211	64,140	20%

## Statistical significance

With the exception of the section on Age, most figures in the tables are significant at about plus or minus 5% of the figure displayed. Figures in the Age tables have very high confidence intervals and can be considered only suggestive.

Factor analysis is a statistical technique that identifies patterns of commonality among the individual case records of a set of variables. Based on the combinations of variable values within cases, it identifies a set of “factors” – represented by the numbers in the column headings 1 through 7. In each column, a coefficient is computed for each variable indicating its correlation with all of the others. Meaningful for our purposes are the larger coefficients, whether positive or negative, which indicate strong association, and therefore the defining characteristics of that particular “factor”. For instance, cases, or in this instance “persons”, who best identify as factor “1” are not in poverty (-.482), are in a high income level (.704), are in the occupation of management (.614), are not less than high school educated (-.564), and are college graduates (.646).

Component with 5% of Total Variance or More	Factor Analysis: African American Leavers from Cook County						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Male	-.115	-.156	.329	.138	-.350	-.223	.199
Some College	.098	.226	-.022	-.349	.175	-.438	-.058
18 to 24	-.114	.090	.060	-.131	-.685	.201	-.471
Over 65	-.055	-.374	-.184	-.322	.054	-.364	.232
In Poverty	-.482	-.054	-.169	.104	.147	.402	-.342
100% to 300% of Pov	-.022	.513	.081	-.128	.050	-.496	.280
500% + of Poverty	.704	-.489	.080	-.014	-.155	.137	.220
Occup Mgmt	.614	-.104	-.174	.287	.136	-.067	-.265
Occup Sales	.133	.355	.063	-.591	.065	.469	.175
Occup Service	-.191	.229	-.409	.358	-.413	-.098	.316
Occup Prod	-.209	-.100	.758	.198	.146	-.115	-.087
Have Children	.131	.403	.032	.125	.226	-.030	-.062
Citizen	-.043	-.138	.140	-.062	-.145	-.001	.256

HS or Less	-.564	-.154	.098	.295	.259	.141	.417
College Grad	.646	-.148	-.145	.156	.162	.114	.028
25 to 35	.008	.219	.006	.303	.473	.228	.293
Live Alone	.130	-.161	-.068	-.296	.074	-.185	.180
Indust Constr	-.098	.005	.171	.137	.052	.014	.016
Indust Manufac	.008	-.155	.367	.039	-.064	-.045	-.059
Indust Wholesale	-.043	.062	.139	.009	.114	.090	.206
Indust Retail	.001	.316	.119	-.493	-.094	.365	.217
Indust Transp or Warh	-.033	.017	.559	.070	-.011	-.198	-.205
Indust Information	-.014	-.171	.050	.111	.337	.284	-.062
Indust FIRE	.218	.117	-.028	-.175	.177	.053	-.023
Indust Prof/Scientific	.051	-.126	.116	.102	-.065	.047	.136
Indust Educ/Health	.351	.179	-.374	.162	.174	-.283	-.254
Indust Entertain/Hosp	-.195	.196	-.301	.372	-.378	.098	.304
Employed	.570	.507	.260	.201	-.122	.033	.050
Not in Labor Force	-.550	-.548	-.268	-.238	.135	-.120	-.058

## About the authors

### Jim Lewis

Jim Lewis was Vice President for Research at the Chicago Urban League for nine years, is a former director of the Institute for Metropolitan Affairs at Roosevelt University, and has produced numerous publications pertaining to and in collaboration with Chicago's African American community. While at the Urban League, he worked closely with Chicago's Black community and leadership on design of Black-majority Congressional and Cook County Board districts, and Chicago wards. He holds a Ph.D. in American History from Northwestern University.

### Rob Paral

Rob Paral is a demographic and public policy consultant with specialties in immigrant, Latino and Asian populations; community needs for health and human service programs; and Midwestern demographic change.

As Principal of Rob Paral and Associates, Rob has assisted more than 100 different human service, advocacy and philanthropic organizations in understanding the communities they are trying to serve. He works with large-scale data and geographic information systems to develop insight into community assets and needs.

Rob Paral is, a nonresident fellow in the Global Cities program of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs and a lecturer in the Latin American and Latino Studies Program of the University of Illinois at Chicago. He was the Senior Research Associate of the Washington, DC office of the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials, and was Research Director of the Latino Institute of Chicago. He has been a fellow or adjunct of the Institute for Latino Studies at Notre Dame University, DePaul University Sociology Department, and the American Immigration Council in Washington, DC. More information may be found at <https://robparal.com/>

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