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CENTER FOR GOVERNMENTAL STUDIES Northern Illinois University

- *Illinois has a more complex system of local government than other states and the number of its local governments is increasing.*
- *It is the rural areas, not the big urban areas, that have the highest ratio of governments to population.*
- *The small, rural counties have the highest ratio of governments to population.*
- *The poor, rural counties have the most trouble. They are losing population and thus are increasingly less able to finance public services.*
- *Rural areas will have the most difficulty supporting a level of public employment sufficient to provide desired services.*

issue: *Local Government Structure and Public Employment: A Fresh Look at Illinois' Predicament*

by Norman Walzer and Tatchalerm Sudhipongpracha

Editor's Note: *This is the second Policy Profiles examining the plight of those Illinois' rural counties that are facing long term population declines. In this Profile, the authors examine links between Illinois' system of local government, which leads the nation in the total number of such governments, and the effects of government size on the number of persons employed in them. A third Profiles in this series will examine aggregate revenues and spending of all governments in each Illinois county to determine the effects of decentralization upon revenue and spending patterns.*

Observers of American government have debated the kind of government system that works best ever since Thomas Jefferson's famous proclamation that "That government governs best which governs least." Some contemporary writers have echoed that sentiment, arguing that small governments closest to the people are able to reconcile more accurately citizen desires for public services with citizen willingness to pay for such services.¹ The argument maintains that large, centralized governments can lose touch with their citizens, and that large government bureaucracies can insulate elected officials from the voters.

The other side of the argument is that small governments are unable to afford personnel with specialized expertise and management ability to administer local government programs effectively and efficiently.² Allegedly, these governments do not have the capacity to apply for or participate in grants from higher levels of government and thereby miss opportunities to access funding for improvements to services.

Is there an optimal number of local governments?

Important political debates, such as consolidation and decentralization of administrative jurisdictions, have evolved around the appropriate number of government units a state should have. Indiana, for example is currently exploring a modernization initiative that could substantially reduce its number of governments.³

Discussions of consolidation and reorganization have also taken place in Illinois, the state with the largest number of governments. Proponents of more centralization claim that an overlapping and decentralized governmental structure can cause residents (taxpayers) to lose track of who is responsible for services. Taxpayers may find difficulty communicating their preferences to numerous local public officials who serve in their small, isolated governmental units.⁴ The idea of overlapping governments is also sometimes resisted by businesses who, perhaps perceiving such a system as wasteful and inefficient, may be less willing to invest where such systems are in place, thus leading to higher unemployment or less economic development in those areas.

Is there a mechanism that leads to an efficient governmental structure?

One student of American local government argued that, under restrictive assumptions about income sources, taxpayers compare governmental units in terms of taxes and services and then choose to live in a governmental jurisdiction that most closely meets their preferences. Competition among governmental units, then, forces local public officials to allocate public dollars efficiently in delivering services with an appropriate governmental structure.⁵

But what are the answers to these questions?

This Policy Profile seeks to answer these questions with a discussion separated into three main parts. The first section compares the structure of government in Illinois in 2007 with other states. The second section describes the trends and distribution of governmental units in Illinois, by type and function, in 1997 and 2007. Third is an examination of local public employment patterns, by counties, in Illinois since 1997.

tableone Governments by State, 2007

State	No. of Govts	Residents per Govt. Unit	Rank	Pct Change in No. of Govts 1997-2007
New England				
Connecticut	649	5,396	34	10.6%
Massachusetts	861	7,491	40	2.3%
New Hampshire	545	2,415	19	-2.6%
Rhode Island	134	7,896	41	11.9%
Vermont	733	847	7	0.0%
Middle Atlantic				
New Jersey	1,383	6,281	36	-2.1%
New York	3,403	5,671	35	-0.5%
Pennsylvania	4,871	2,552	21	-3.3%
East North Central				
Illinois	6,994	1,838	14	1.3%
Indiana	3,231	1,964	16	4.5%
Ohio	3,702	3,098	25	1.8%
Michigan	2,893	3,482	27	3.1%
Wisconsin	3,120	1,796	13	2.3%
West North Central				
Iowa	1,954	1,529	10	-1.1%
Kansas	3,931	706	4	1.1%
Minnesota	3,526	1,474	9	1.2%
Missouri	3,723	1,579	12	8.1%
Nebraska	2,659	668	3	-5.0%
North Dakota	2,699	237	1	-1.3%
South Dakota	1,983	401	2	5.9%
South Atlantic				
Delaware	338	2,559	22	-0.3%
Florida	1,623	11,245	47	26.6%
Georgia	1,439	6,633	38	-0.6%
Maryland	256	21,945	49	-3.5%
North Carolina	963	9,409	44	0.3%
South Carolina	698	6,315	37	-0.4%
Virginia	733	10,521	46	28.9%
West Virginia	663	2,733	23	-3.5%
East South Central				
Alabama	1,185	3,905	30	1.2%
Kentucky	1,346	3,151	26	-6.9%
Mississippi	1,000	2,919	24	0.0%
Tennessee	928	6,635	39	-0.2%
West South Central				
Arkansas	645	4,395	31	-146.2%
Louisiana	526	8,162	42	10.1%
Oklahoma	1,880	1,924	15	4.4%
Texas	4,835	4,944	33	1.1%
Mountain				
Arizona	645	9,828	45	1.1%
Colorado	2,416	2,012	17	20.2%
Idaho	1,240	1,209	8	6.6%
Montana	1,273	753	6	11.5%
Nevada	198	12,955	48	-6.1%
New Mexico	863	2,283	18	0.6%

(continued on page 3)

table one Governments by State, 2007 (continued from page 2)

State	No. of Govts	Residents per Govt. Unit	Rank	Pct Change in No. of Govts 1997-2007
Utah	599	4,416	32	-1.0%
Wyoming	726	720	5	0.6%
Pacific				
Alaska	177	3,859	29	1.1%
California	4,344	8,415	43	-1.5%
Hawaii	19	67,526	50	0.0%
Oregon	1,546	2,424	20	6.9%
Washington	1,845	3,506	28	3.1%

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1997, 2002, and 2007 Census of Governments. Government Organizations. Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

First, how does Illinois compare among states?

A simple comparison of states shows that Illinois, with 6,994 local governments in 2007, had the most governments (see **Table 1**) of any state. Pennsylvania was 2nd highest with 4,871 followed by Texas with 4,835, then California with 4,344. These states are relatively large, industrialized, and provide somewhat comparable services but with different delivery arrangements.

The number of local governments in Illinois increased from 6,801 to 6,994 (2.8%) between 1997 and 2007 according to the Census of Governments. Counties and municipalities showed virtually no substantial changes in number, even though several municipal governments were created. School districts decreased by 32 during the ten-year period, mainly reflecting enrollment declines and inadequate finances. Discussions are currently underway about reducing the number even further.

While Illinois leads among states in absolute numbers of governments, adjusting for population size drops its ranking considerably, to 14th in terms of numbers of residents per governmental unit. In fact, the U.S. Census of Government indicates that counties in Illinois have an average of 1,838 residents per county compared with an average of 3,370 for the U.S. as a whole.

Thus, comparing numbers of governments in Illinois with other states requires an adjustment for population size. Typically, for this purpose, numbers of governments are expressed as a ratio of governments per 10,000 residents (herein called governmental density). Even this density measure, however, has difficulties. Less densely populated areas usually have higher government density. The fact that a high proportion of the Illinois population resides in a densely populated area (Chicago MSA) raises the average number of residents per governmental unit in Illinois when compared with other states. If the Chicago MSA is not included in the tabulations, the governmental density in Illinois is even higher. Thus, comparing areas with similar characteristics (e.g. metro or non-metro) works best.

How does Illinois compare in terms of governments per 10,000 residents?

North Dakota (237), South Dakota (401), and Nebraska (668) have the fewest residents per governmental unit. These states are heavily rural with relatively low population densities, but still they must provide at least a basic level of services in all areas. Higher governmental density, then, does not necessarily mean greater complexity. It may reflect fewer residents to serve.

Structure of governments is partly determined by settlement patterns so comparing states in the same region is useful. Among Midwestern states, the 1,838 residents served by each government in Illinois is below Kentucky (3,151) and Indiana (1,964), but higher than Wisconsin (1,796), Missouri (1,579), Iowa (1,529), and Minnesota (1,474). By this measure alone, Illinois is more fragmented than Indiana and Kentucky but less so than other adjacent states.

State comparisons (**Table 1**) also show that governmental structure has changed. For example, 18 states reported decreases in numbers of governments since 1997. Arkansas reported a 146.2% decline due to a large-scale consolidation of public school districts with fewer than 350 students enacted by the Arkansas General Assembly in 2004 in response to a Court order.

At the other extreme, some states reported substantial increases including Virginia (28.9%), Florida (26.6%), and Colorado (20.2%). Among Midwestern states, Missouri (8.1%), Indiana (4.5%), Wisconsin (2.3%), and Illinois (1.3%) all

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reported increases. This growth may reflect suburbanization or changing demands for services that require alternative governmental arrangements, especially in unincorporated areas.

Illinois thus has a more complex system of governments than other states and the number of governments has increased in the past ten years.

Second, what is the governmental structure in Illinois?

Governmental units in Illinois are conveniently divided into general purpose governments and special or single-purpose districts. The former includes counties, municipalities (cities, villages, and towns), and townships, while the latter includes districts which usually provide one main service (such as public education), although in some instances they may provide several. Many, but not all, of the districts have property taxing powers.⁶

Relatively few changes occurred in the number of general purpose governments except that 11 municipalities were incorporated since 1997 and one township government was eliminated. See **Table 2** for details.

A main difference between Illinois and most other states is that Illinois has 1,432 township governments. Nationwide, only 20 states have town or township governments. Townships (towns) are found in the New England states but they are relatively common in Midwestern states such as Indiana, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan and Minnesota.

tabletwo Number of Local Governments in Illinois

Governmental Type	1997	2002	2007	Percent Change '97-'07
Counties	102	102	102	0.0%
Municipalities	1,288	1,291	1,299	0.9%
Townships	1,433	1,431	1,432	-0.1%
School Districts	944	934	912	-3.4%
Special Districts	3,034	3,145	3,249	7.1%
Airports	31	31	32	3.2%
Cemeteries	61	73	70	14.8%
Correctional Institutions	-	-	2	-
Education	1	1	1	0.0%
Fire Protection	827	823	841	1.7%
Health	26	26	29	11.5%
Hospitals	23	21	19	-17.4%
Industrial Development and Mortgage Credit	1	1	-	-
Streets, Roads, and Toll Highways	26	27	26	0.0%
Housing and community development	113	112	113	0.0%
Drainage and Flood Control	830	872	908	9.4%
Libraries	329	358	345	4.9%
Parks and Recreation	360	366	389	8.1%
Police	-	-	1	-
Welfare Institutions	2	-	-	-
Sewerage	126	119	116	-7.9%
Solid Waste Management	9	7	10	11.1%
Reclamation, Irrigation, and Other Natural Resources	-	2	5	-
Parking Facilities and Water Transport	-	7	11	-
Soil and Water Conservation	105	105	113	7.6%
Other Single Function	-	36	27	-
Water Utility	95	96	101	6.3%
Electric Power, Gas Supply, and Public Transit	19	20	26	36.8%
Water Supply and Natural Resources	2	2	-	-
Water Supply and Sewerage	15	18	19	26.7%
Other Multi-Function Districts	25	22	45	80.0%
Total	6,801	6,903	6,994	2.8%

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census: 1997, 2002, and 2007 Census of Governments Government Organizations.; Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of the Census

What do Illinois' township governments do?

Townships in Illinois typically provide road services in unincorporated areas, property tax assessment, and a pauper assistance program. However, many townships in metropolitan areas also provide services for senior citizens, youth, and other groups, depending on location.⁷ Township governments in Illinois, especially in rural

areas, rely heavily on volunteers to provide services which reduce personnel costs and provide opportunities for residents to become active in local government.

Within Illinois, 85 counties have township governments. In the remaining 17 counties, called "commission counties," the county and a road district provide services using alternative delivery arrangements.⁸ The

commission counties are mainly in southern Illinois and reflect settlement patterns from the South where large governments were more common.

What is happening to Illinois school districts?

School districts cover the state and have responsibility for providing public education overall. During the past decade, the number of school districts decreased by 32, reflecting consolidations mainly in rural areas experiencing declines in school age population (**Table 2**). This decline continues a long trend in school district consolidations extending back several decades. Expected declines in school-age population in the future will likely cause this trend to continue.

What are the other kinds of special district governments?

Special districts other than school districts constitute the largest number of governments (3,068) in Illinois. Collectively, they provide a diverse set of programs and services across Illinois. Their numbers increased from 3,068 in 1997 to 3,249 in 2007 (5.9%). They made up almost half (46.5%) of the total number of Illinois local governments.

Special district governments have several unique characteristics. Not all of them rely on property taxes; some depend on user charges and other revenue sources. Many were created to meet a specific type of local need. For instance, a large concentration of drainage and flood control districts developed in the Kankakee, Sangamon, and Embarras River Valleys to control storm water run-off and flooding. Counties in these areas—Champaign, Iroquois, Christian, and Douglas—have the highest density of this kind of special district. The Chicago region has a very high concentration of park, library, forest

preserve, water, and sanitary special districts perhaps reflecting economies of scale in providing these services to several other jurisdictions.

Special districts are created for several reasons. First, when non-home rule general purpose governments reach tax rate or debt limits and are unable to provide desired services, they may create an additional government unit with another set of tax rate and debt limits. Second, development around a city can create a group of residents who want to add services that do not currently exist. These services can sometimes be obtained by annexing the area to a city or with an intergovernmental agreement. Alternatively, a special district can be created encompassing both unincorporated and incorporated areas. These districts can create difficulties for residents in identifying which government has responsibility for services.

The largest increases in numbers of districts between 1997 and 2007 were in public facilities and water transport (37.5%), electric power, gas supply, and public transit (36.8%); sewerage and water supply (26.7%); cemeteries (14.8%); and drainage and flood control (9.4%). Decreases occurred in several special district categories, especially hospital districts (17.4%) and sewerage (7.9%). While the relative change in some cases has been substantial, the increases in absolute numbers have been small.

Which parts of Illinois have the most governments?

Several factors can affect the density of government (governments per 10,000 residents) in a specific region, including the amount and quality of governmental services desired by residents. Even small governments must provide basic

services which make the number of governments per population in most rural areas higher than in more populous areas. Similarly, population changes can affect governmental density when number of residents served declines more rapidly than number of governments. This is a special issue in small Illinois counties experiencing long-term population declines.

When both governmental structure and density in 1997 and 2007 are compared, several important points emerge. First, in 2007, counties exhibited wide variations in governmental density from highs of 52.5 (Iroquois County) and 49.8 (Gallatin County) to lows of 1.9 (DuPage County) and 2.2 (Kane County). The importance of population size is clear in these comparisons with DuPage and Kane able to spread the services provided over larger populations.

The two counties with the highest governmental density—Iroquois and Gallatin—have many fewer residents than DuPage and Kane. Yet, in 2007, Iroquois, with only 30,018 residents, had 26 townships and 103 special districts, while DuPage County, with 922,948 residents had only 9 townships and 91 special districts. Of interest, however, is that among the 103 special districts in Iroquois, 21 were fire protection districts and 67 were drainage districts.

Moreover, counties reporting the highest governmental density have small populations and, except for Mason and Henderson, are located in southern Illinois with a lower population density than in other parts of the state. Essentially this means that governmental units are providing services in some cases to a small and shrinking population.

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As the county-by-county comparisons set forth in **Figure 1** (on the next page) show, the governmental density is decreasing in the areas of the state most able to support adequate levels of public services while the governmental density is increasing in those areas of the state that are losing population and are thus less able to finance public services.

For example, Gallatin County, among the highest in governmental density, reported a further density increase of 12.1 percent during the previous decade even though the absolute number of governmental units did not change. During the same period, Douglas County, a mostly rural county located on the southern border of Champaign County, reported 36.9 governments per 10,000 residents in 1997 and added governments (15) resulting in a 21.7% increase in governmental density ten years later.

At the other extreme, DuPage County, which had only 2.0 governmental units per 10,000 residents in 1997, kept the same number of governments but population increases lowered the governmental density 7.5 % in the next decade. Likewise with Kane County, which added 6 units of government but even more population growth, reduced its governmental density 21.9%.

Especially interesting are the 17 commission counties which have one less layer of government (townships). When counties with and without townships are compared in number of governments per 10,000 residents, on average the 17 commission counties have only a marginally lower density of governments (18.6/10,000) than the non-commission counties (20.9/10,000).

The obvious difficulty facing counties with long-term population losses is that fewer taxpayers are available to pay even for essential services. The outcome is higher per capita taxes, especially property taxes. At the same time, reducing the number of governments to increase efficiencies or provide services through an alternative arrangement such as contracting can be politically difficult, partly because decentralization provides opportunities for more residents to participate in government, but also because such alternative arrangements can mean the loss of local jobs which, in turn, leads to still more population decline.

Third, how many employees do these governments have?

Examining the number of governmental units or, conversely, the number of residents served, offers insights into governmental structure, but it does not adjust for the level of services or the cost to residents. This section extends the analysis by including local government employees in the analysis. Because the highest proportion of governmental expenditures is for personnel, the number of public employees (full-time equivalents) per 10,000 residents is used herein as an indicator of public service levels and costs.

As shown in **Figure 2** (on page 8), a comparison of public employees per 10,000 residents between 1997 and 2007 shows that almost all counties in Southern Illinois increased public employment to population ratios during that time. (Pope and Jefferson counties had small decreases of 2.6% and 0.2%, respectively.) Population declines in these counties partly explain the results. However, some of these counties (e.g., Alexander, Gallatin, Hardin, Massac,

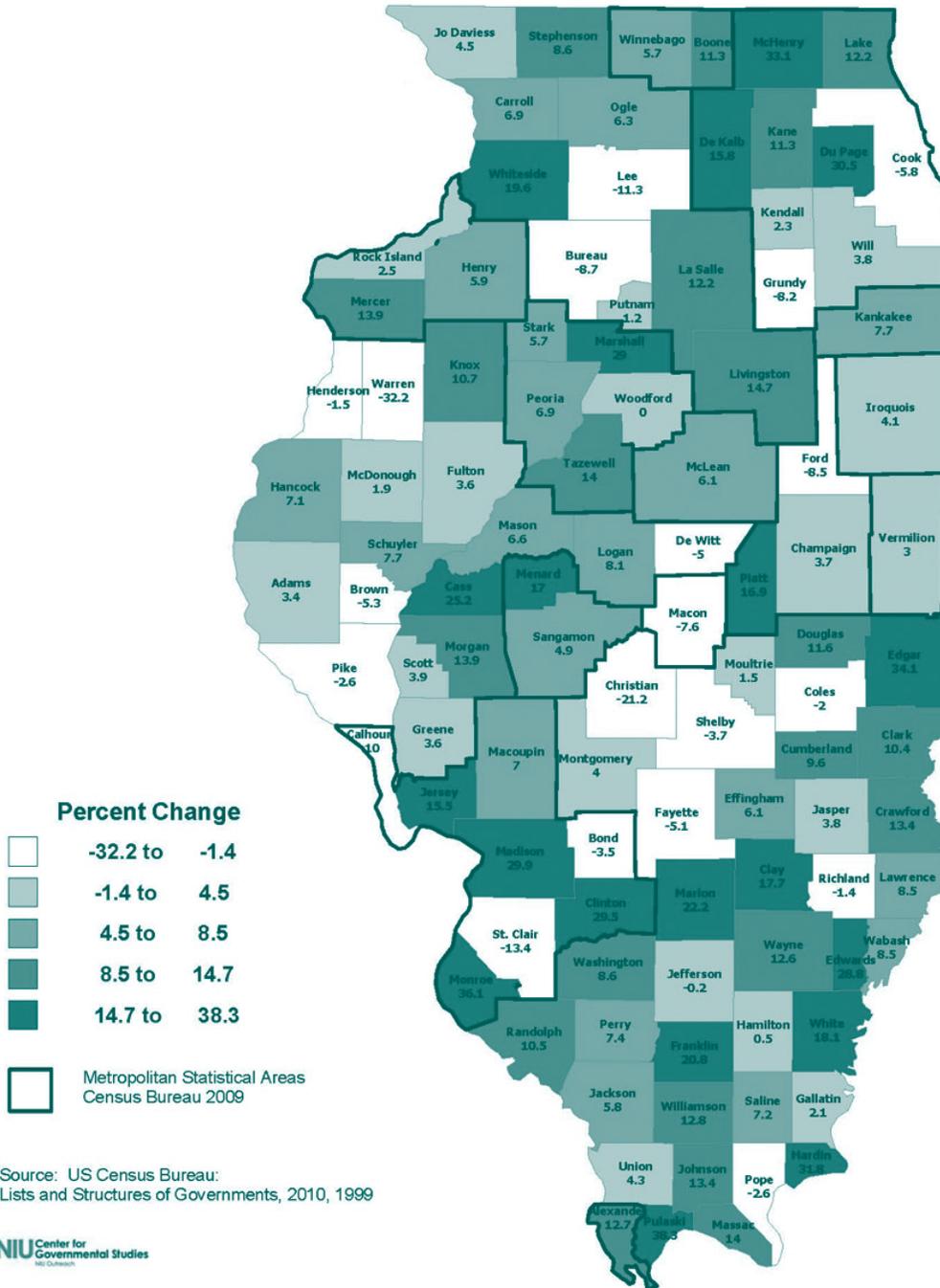
Pope, and Pulaski) also had substantial decreases in number of governments per 10,000 residents.

Other counties with a more than 30% increase in number of employees per 10,000 between 1997 and 2007 include DuPage, Edgar, and McHenry. As with the southern Illinois counties, Edgar reported a substantial population loss in the ten years studied. Hence, the increase in ratio of employees to population could reflect this loss. On the other hand, DuPage (30.5%) and McHenry counties (33.1%) had substantial population growth. When considering number of public employees by function in 2007, both DuPage and McHenry had large concentrations of employees in elementary and secondary education, parks and recreation, police protection, and fire protection.

The above results are is not surprising. The largest number of local public employees provide educational services (both public education and community colleges). Statewide, in 2007, there were 300,873 employees in education (see **Table 3** on page 9). The next largest category is police protection (44,760) and health/hospitals (20,722). These numbers can be deceptive, however, when people are paid from state or federal grants rather than from local revenues. Detailed information is not readily available on sources of funding for all counties.

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figure two Percent Change in Local Government Personnel per 10,000 Persons 1997-2007



How did employment in individual job categories change?

Comparing the number of employees in 1997 and 2007 reported in **Table 3** yields several interesting findings. First, there was a substantial decrease (43.9%) in number of housing and community development employees. This may mean that employees were classified differently in 2007, or, more likely, that some were paid by external grants no longer available.

Second, the largest percentage increase in local public employment was in education with a 19.6% growth in the period under study. Since staffing needs are determined to a large extent by number of students in the schools or by mandated programs, the increases more likely occurred in metro counties than in rural areas where an aging and declining population leads to fewer school students.

Third, a substantial increase (18.0%) is reported in park and recreation employees. However, the absolute number of employees (17,626) is relatively small which renders a large percentage change less meaningful. Nevertheless, this category added 2,684 employees in the past decade.

Police and fire protection also reported substantial increases in employment (13.8% and 11.3%, respectively). This translates to an additional 5,425 police personnel (including sheriffs) and 1,716 additional FTE employees in fire protection across the state.

Growth is also reported in an “other category.” This category reflects a broad range of categories that cannot be conveniently classified elsewhere. If, as is likely, the 23,786 employees in Sanitation and Utilities in 1997 are included in the “Other” category in 2007, then the 2007 figure would report a decrease in 2007’s

tablethree Number of Illinois Local Public Employees by Function

Function	1997	2007	Percent Change '97-'07
Full-time equivalent Education*	459,893	507,606	10.37%
Public welfare	251,680	300,873	19.55%
Health and hospitals	6,334	6,628	4.64%
Streets, roads, and toll highways	22,108	20,722	-6.27%
Police protection	11,259	11,947	6.11%
Fire protection	39,335	44,760	13.79%
Parks and recreation	15,156	16,872	11.32%
Housing and community development	14,942	17,626	17.96%
Sewerage	6,402	3,591	-43.91%
Sanitation other than sewerage	6,191	6,219	0.45%
Judicial and legal administration	4,768	-	**
Financial and other administration	13,019	13,835	6.27%
Utilities	16,853	17,552	4.15%
Other	23,786	-	**
	28,011	46,993	**

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census. 1997 and 2002 Compendium of Public Employment. Census of Government, Vol. 3. Washington D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Census. U.S. Bureau of Census. 2007 Public Employment Data. Census of Government. Washington D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Census.

Notes: * Education includes elementary and secondary education, higher education, and libraries. ** Due to the mismatch between the 2007 government function categories and the 1997 and 2002 categories, the percentage changes in these function categories have been intentionally omitted.

category of “Other” employment during the decade.

What does this employment data mean?

Number of FTE local public employees per 10,000 residents is of special interest in this Profile because it provides insights into the commitment of resources to providing services. Illinois counties differ widely in terms of public employees per 10,000 residents in ways that might not have been expected. For instance, Richland County (pop. 15,546) has a total of 626 local public employees per 10,000 residents and Mason County (pop. 15,151) has 597. In some instances, services provided regionally by an agency in one county may overstate the number of employees. However, both

counties are relatively small and are in relatively sparsely populated areas with concentrations of specialized services.

At the other extreme, Shelby County (pop. 21,759) had 247 local public employees per 10,000 residents and Bond County (pop. 18,103) had 262. Mason County is the only one of the four with increases in number of local public employees per 10,000 residents. In the case of Bond, a 3.5% decrease is reported and in the case of Shelby the decrease was 13.4%. However, some of these public employees may be paid by federal grants or pass-through grants. Changes in the amount of grant money available can cause employment levels to fluctuate.

These comparisons lead to several findings. First, employment densities do not directly relate to county population size. The four counties described at both ends of the employment density spectrum are relatively small rural counties, but there is no readily available way to correct or adjust for quality or comprehensiveness of services provided. Therefore, it is difficult to talk about efficiency in the provision of services. However, additional research is currently underway on collective spending patterns by governmental structure as well as types of revenues collected.

Second, the commission counties, with one less layer of governments (townships), do not appear to have substantially higher or lower local public employment when adjusted for population. Services are provided in commission counties through one of several governmental arrangements and employee concentrations are not substantially different. Likewise, **Table 3** shows that commission counties reported a wide percentage of changes in public employment patterns during the previous decade. A more sophisticated analysis of these changes by county characteristics is currently underway.

What has been learned from this research?

Illinois has long been criticized for having too many local governments. Its 6,994 units of local government are almost half again as many as the second ranked state, Pennsylvania, with 4,871 local governments. On the one hand, this disparity may not be as serious as it might seem. When ranked in terms of the number of local governments per capita, Illinois' ranking falls to 14th. On the other hand, after declining for most of the last half of the 20th century, Illinois' number of local governments is again on the increase.

At a minimum, these figures show that Illinois has a more complex system of local government than most other states and that this complexity may be increasing.

These figures also show that the governmental density is more severe in Illinois' sparsely populated rural counties. Continued population losses will mean that fewer residents and businesses must support the public service delivery system. The challenge, therefore, will be to find ways for governments to collaborate in providing services which may be an opportunity for county governments to assist. Regional delivery of services to residents in several counties may also be of interest in the future.

As **Figure 1** shows, it is the rural areas, not the big urban areas, that have the highest governmental density. Also of concern (**Figure 2**) is that the population in rural areas is shrinking more rapidly than the number of public employees who must be supported. This will cause increasing difficulties in supporting public payrolls in rural counties.

Local elected officials in these areas must grapple with determining the most appropriate arrangements for delivering public services. Essential services must be provided even in areas with small populations. The question now is finding innovative ways to deliver these services while the number of residents and the size of the tax base continue to decline.

Consolidation of governments may be part of the answer, but there are other alternatives to consolidation. Intergovernmental agreements, contracting for services, and similar arrangements must be considered and evaluated. Successful models in other states might be tried in Illinois. A single

solution will not work everywhere, but being able to finance high quality public services is key to the long-term prosperity of Illinois residents.

Endnotes

¹ See, for example, Buchanan, James, and Gordon Tullock. *The Calculus of Consent: Logical Foundation of Constitutional Democracy*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1962.

² Chicoine, David, Steven Deller, and Norman Walzer. "The Size Efficiency of Rural Governments: The Case of Low-Volume Rural Roads." *Publius* 19, no. 1 (1989): 127-138.

³ www.insideindianabusiness.com/newsitem.asp?ID=33150

⁴ Chicoine, Deller, and Walzer 1989, op. cit.

⁵ Tiebout, Charles. "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures." *The Journal of Political Economy* 64, no. 5 (October 1956): 416-424.

⁶ In 2002 and 2007, the Census of Governments did not report information on whether the governmental units have, or use, property taxing power. However, the Illinois Department of Revenue reports that there were 6,074 (87.99%) taxing districts in Illinois in 2002. In 2007, 5,985 (85.57%) governmental units in Illinois had property taxing authority

⁷ Johnson, Robin, and Norman Walzer. *Local Government Innovation: Issues and Trends in Privatization and Managed Competition*. Westport, CT: Quorum Books, 2000.

⁸ Currently 17 counties have a commission form of government: Alexander, Calhoun, Edwards, Hardin, Johnson, Massac, Menard, Monroe, Morgan, Perry, Pope, Pulaski, Randolph, Scott, Union, Wabash and Williamson

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