

CREATING AFFORDABLE HOUSING & ENDING HOMELESSNESS

Federal Advocacy & Organizing Priorities for 2025

January 13, 2025



A stronger Illinois begins at home

Agenda

- **Welcome, Intros, Overview of Current Landscape**
- **Partner Presentations**
 - **Anna Arzuaga**, Senior Housing Policy Analyst, Latino Policy Forum
 - **Katie Eighan**, Continuum of Care Planning Director, Alliance to End Homelessness in Suburban Cook County
 - **Billy Cerullo**, Housing Advocacy Organizer, National Low Income Housing Coalition
- **Illinois Congressional Delegation**
 - Key Committee Assignments
 - Existing Relationships
- **Q&A**
- **Key Strategies & Next Steps**

Key Upcoming Dates

JANUARY 20

Inauguration of President-elect Donald Trump

**CONVENEVED
JANUARY 3**

Congressional Party Representation (119th Congress)

- Senate: Republicans (52); Democrats (45); Independent (2); Vacant (1)
- House: Republicans (219); Democrats (215); Vacant (1)

Illinois Delegation

- Senate: Democrats (2)
- House: Republicans (3); Democrats (14)

HUD Secretary Nominee: Scott Turner

On November 22, President-elect Trump announced his nomination of former NFL player Scott Turner for Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

Most recently, Turner has been chair of the Center for Education Opportunity at the America First Policy Institute and served during the first Trump Administration as executive director of the White House Opportunity and Revitalization Council.



Selected Key Issues of Concern

Partial list, subject to change frequent updating!

- **Federal Budget Short/Long-Term Concerns**
 - FY25 Federal Budget and Future Federal Budgets
 - Reconciliation (see dedicated slide)
 - Potential current fiscal year and/or future budget cuts to housing, food, healthcare and other programs serving basic human needs to pay for making “Trump tax cuts” permanent
- **Other Immediate Concerns**
 - First day Executive Orders
 - Deportations
 - Executive actions by HUD leadership
- **Medium/Long-Term Concerns**
 - Public Charge & Mixed Status Households rulemaking
 - Continued increase in criminalization of homelessness/move away from Housing First
 - Erosion of Fair Housing & AFFH enforcement with increase in NIMBY
 - Unclear environment for continued bi-partisan support for LIHTC expansion and improvements
 - Legislated caps on overall federal spending
 - Impact on rental housing preservation and production, as well as efforts to end homelessness, including by state and local governments
 - Impact of various policy changes on affordability of homeownership (e.g., decrease in supply of new homes and higher interest rates)
 - Impact on Community Reinvestment Act



Immediate and Long-Term Challenges for Immigrants Under the Trump Administration

Anna Arzuaga, PhD
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Mass Deportations

2023 Estimate: There are about 11.7 million undocumented immigrants in the US

Sources: [American Immigration Council, October 2024](#); [Center for Migration Studies 2024](#)

- The Trump administration has promised “mass deportations” of immigrants, most likely by expansion of the **Expedited Removal Program** - where an immigration officer can quickly deport undocumented individuals without due process.
- It would cost **\$88 billion** to deport a million people a year, according to an estimate, for a total cost of **\$967.9 billion** over the course of more than a decade.
- This would require the United States to build and maintain **24 times more ICE detention** capacity than currently exists. The government would also be required to establish and maintain over **1,000 new immigration courtrooms** to process people at such a rate.
- Trump is prepared to **declare a national emergency** to authorize the use of Pentagon funds to pay for the operation.
 - Continuation of border wall construction along the southern border.



Trump's Invisible Wall

PUBLIC CHARGE:
Visas and green card processing *outside* the U.S.

(DOS - Foreign Affairs Manual (FAM))

PUBLIC CHARGE:
Visa extensions & Status changes

(DHS Rule)

PUBLIC CHARGE: Green card processing *inside* the U.S.

(DHS Rule)

SPONSOR DEEMING & LIABILITY:
Potential application to more programs

(White House memo)

PUBLIC CHARGE:
Grounds for deportation

(Anticipated DOJ NPRM)

PUBLIC CHARGE:
Low-income immigrants lose access to green cards & cut off from citizenship / voting rights.

CITIZENSHIP QUESTION IN CENSUS 2020: Chills civic participation and will limit funding for basic needs programs that depend on accurate count

(SCOTUS decision)

PUBLIC HOUSING ACCESS: Closes door to mixed status families

(HUD Proposed Rule)



FEE WAIVER:
Removing receipt of means-tested benefits from eligibility list

(DHS Rule)

FEE WAIVER:
Low-income immigrants lose access to citizenship/ voting rights.

(DHS Rule)

Limiting Immigrant Access to Public Benefits: Public Charge

What is Public Charge?

- **Public Charge** is part of immigration law under which an immigrant applying for a visa or legal permanent residency (otherwise known as a green card) can be denied if they are deemed likely to become a “public charge,” or primarily dependent on the government, in the future.
 - Historically, a public charge referred to individuals primarily dependent on cash assistance or long-term institutional care.
 - The Trump administration’s public charge rule in 2018 **expanded this definition** to include immigrants likely to receive non-cash benefits, such as Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), Medicaid, or housing assistance, even if received only modestly at any point in their lifetime. **The Biden Administration reversed the changes and largely reverted to the earlier definition of public charge.**

Restricting Immigrant Access to Public Housing: Mixed-Status Families Rule

Mixed-Status Families Rule

- In 2019, HUD proposed barring mixed-status families from receiving most forms of rental assistance (i.e. HCV, public housing, Section 8, etc.) if at least one household member is ineligible due to their immigration status - forcing families to split, forego assistance, or face eviction.
 - According to a 2017 HUD data analysis by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, among the 9 million citizens receiving HUD rental assistance, those most at risk were communities of color, women, children, people with disabilities, and seniors.
 - The Biden Administration withdrew the Mixed-Status Family Rule.

Read more: [Mixed-Status Families Rule \(NHLP\)](#); [Demographic Data Highlight Potential Harm of New Trump Proposal to Restrict Housing Assistance \(CBPP\)](#)

Immigrant Protections & Legislation in Illinois

- **Illinois TRUST Act 2017**: Restricts law enforcement agencies from detaining or arresting individuals based only on their immigration status, and from complying with non-judicial immigration warrants and detainers.
 - Federal courts have consistently held that immigration detainers are not mandatory.
 - Local police can still act upon a valid enforceable federal warrant, and can still communicate with ICE.
- **Keep IL Families Together Act 2019**: Modifies the TRUST Act. Prohibits state and local law enforcement from entering into 287(g) agreements with ICE, which allow ICE to deputize local police as federal immigration agents.
- **IL Way Forward Act 2021**: Modifies the TRUST Act. Restricts local law enforcement's collaboration with federal immigration authorities re. detention and information sharing. Effectively closed all immigrant detention centers.
- **Defenders for All 2021**: Amends the Counties Code to allow for public defenders to act as attorneys for non-citizens in immigration court in counties with over 3,000,000 people.
- **Illinois Tenant Protection Act (ITPA) 2019**: Prohibits a landlord from disclosing or threatening to disclose, or attempting eviction, based on a tenant's immigration status.

Overview of Federal Funding to Prevent and End Homelessness

Katie Eighan, Continuum of Care Planning Director
Alliance to End Homelessness in Suburban Cook County

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FEDERAL FUNDING TO PREVENT AND END HOMELESSNESS

Homeless Assistance Grants (HAG)

- Largest source of federal funding for homelessness response system
- Supports two different programs administered by a nationwide network of state and local governments, and nonprofit homeless service providers

Continuum of Care (CoC) Program

Nationwide Funding: \$3.1 billion

Illinois Funding: \$158 million

Funded Programs:

- *Permanent Supportive Housing*
 - Rental assistance and supportive services for chronically homeless households (no time limit)
- *Rapid Re-Housing*
 - Rental assistance and supportive services for homeless households (maximum of 2 years)
- *Transitional Housing*
 - Agency-operated buildings and/or apartment units and supportive services for homeless households (maximum of 2 years)
- *Homeless Response System Infrastructure*
 - CoC Planning, Homeless Management Information System (HMIS), and Coordinated Entry

Emergency Solutions Grant (ESG) Program

Nationwide Funding: \$290 million

Illinois Funding: \$14 million

Funded Programs:

- *Street Outreach*
 - Direct services for individuals staying in unsheltered locations (outside, encampments, cars, etc.)
- *Emergency Shelter*
 - Emergency shelter operations and supportive services
- *Homeless Prevention*
 - One-time rental assistance for households at risk of homelessness
- *Rapid Re-Housing*
 - Rental assistance and supportive services for homeless households (maximum of 2 years)

FEDERAL FUNDING TO PREVENT AND END HOMELESSNESS

Tenant Based Rental Assistance/Voucher Programs

Largest source of federal funding providing rental assistance to help individuals with low incomes afford housing in the private market. Voucher programs pay landlords the difference between what a household can afford to pay for rent (30 percent of its income) and the rent itself.

- **Nationwide Funding:** \$32 billion
- Due to inadequate funding for HCVs and other public housing programs, only one in four eligible households receives federal rental assistance

Housing Choice Vouchers (Section 8)

of IL households: 99,043

- Eligibility based on income
- Some Public Housing Authorities set aside HCVs specifically for people experiencing homelessness

Mainstream Vouchers

of IL households: 1,395

- Head of household age 62 or younger and member of household has disability

Veteran Affairs Supportive Housing (VASH) Vouchers

of IL households: 2,333

- Veterans experiencing housing instability

Non-Elderly Disabled (NED) Vouchers

of IL households: 1,032

- Head of household age 62 or younger and member of household has disability
- Transitioning from nursing home/healthcare institutions to community

Family Unification Program (FUP) Vouchers

of IL households: 1,866

- Young adults transitioning out of foster care who are at risk of homelessness
- Families for whom lack of adequate housing is primary reason for child welfare involvement

FEDERAL FUNDING TO PREVENT AND END HOMELESSNESS

Project-Based Rental Assistance

- Multifamily housing for more than 1.3 million low-income and very low-income families.
- Attached to particular units (and does not travel with individual tenants); can result in long-term affordability of units, if preserved.

HOME Investment Partnerships

- Largest source of federal funding to create affordable housing for low-income households
- Building, buying, and/or rehabilitating affordable housing for rent or homeownership or providing direct rental assistance to low-income people

Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) - Public Services

- Federal funding that supports community development activities, including updating public facilities, housing rehab, and a wide range of public services for low-income individuals and people experiencing homelessness

SNAP, Medicaid, and other Safety Net Programs

- Social safety net programs providing people facing economic hardship with support to meet basic needs
- Food (SNAP and WIC), health care (Medicaid and CHIP), child care (CCDF) and financial assistance (EITC, SSI, and TANF)
- Approximately 30% of the U.S. population participate in at least one safety net program



**AN UNWAVERING
PATH FORWARD TO
HOUSING JUSTICE**
NATIONAL LOW INCOME HOUSING COALITION

Introduction to NLIHC

Billy Cerullo (he/him)

**National Low Income Housing Coalition
(NLIHC)**

NLIHC mission



The National Low Income Housing Coalition is dedicated to achieving racially and socially equitable public policy that ensures **people with the lowest incomes** have quality homes that are accessible and affordable in communities of their choice.

What is Budget Reconciliation?



**AN UNWAVERING
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Budget reconciliation is a special legislative process that allows Congress to advance a bill (relatively) quickly. **Reconciliation bills are not subject to the filibuster rule in the Senate**, so they can pass the Senate with a simple majority (51 votes) instead of the 3/5 majority (60 votes) usually required.

Reconciliation also limits floor debate on a bill to 20-hours. **Reconciliation bills can only be used to change federal spending, revenues, or the federal debt limit.**

This includes “mandatory” spending – Medicare, Medicaid, military retirement, and SNAP. *However, changes to SSI cannot be done through reconciliation.*

Historically, reconciliation has not been used to provide funding to or rescind funding from “discretionary” programs, like HCVs, HAGs, HOME, CDBG, or other HUD programs, but there’s nothing in statute prohibiting Congress from providing or rescinding funding for discretionary programs.

Stay in touch!



**AN UNWAVERING
PATH FORWARD TO
HOUSING JUSTICE**
NATIONAL LOW INCOME HOUSING COALITION

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NLIHC and Our Federal Budget Priorities

The current Continuing Resolution (CR) extends federal spending and averts a government shutdown through **March 14**.

Congress should provide the highest possible funding for affordable housing and homelessness assistance programs in FY25, including for these top priorities:

- Full funding to renew all existing contracts for the Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program, and funding to expand assistance to 20,000 more households.
 - \$6.2 billion for public housing operations and \$5.1 billion for public housing capital needs.
 - \$4.7 billion for HUD's Homeless Assistance Grants program.
 - \$100 million for the Eviction Protection Grant Program.

Access more info, including the budget chart: <https://nlihc.org/federal-budget-and-spending>

HUD Programs (set asides italicized) (In millions)	FY24 Final	FY25 President	FY25 House	FY25 Senate	FY25 Final
Tenant Based Rental Assistance	32,386	32,756	32,271	35,260	
<i>Contract Renewals</i>	<i>28,491</i>	<i>29,251</i>	<i>28,500</i>	<i>32,035</i>	
<i>Tenant Protection Vouchers</i>	<i>337</i>	<i>300</i>	<i>300</i>	<i>300</i>	
<i>Administrative Fees</i>	<i>2,771</i>	<i>2,964</i>	<i>2,771</i>	<i>2,860</i>	
<i>Section 811 Mainstream Vouchers</i>	<i>743</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>701</i>	<i>0</i>	
<i>Veterans Affairs Supportive Hsg Vouchers</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>15</i>	
<i>Tribal Veterans Affairs Supportive Housing Vouchers</i>	<i>7.5</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>7.5</i>	
<i>Family Unification</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>30</i>	
<i>Housing Mobility Services</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	
<i>Incremental Vouchers</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>241</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	
Public Housing					
<i>Capital Fund</i>	<i>3,410</i>	<i>3,312</i>	<i>3,092</i>	<i>3,200</i>	
<i>Emergency/Disaster Grants</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>30</i>	
<i>Residential Health Hazards Grants</i>				<i>65</i>	
<i>Operating Fund*</i>	<i>5,501</i>	<i>5,228</i>	<i>5,121</i>	<i>5,473</i>	
<i>Moving to Work</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	
<i>Choice Neighborhoods Initiative</i>	<i>75</i>	<i>140</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>100</i>	
Self-Sufficiency Programs					
<i>Family Self-Sufficiency</i>	<i>141</i>	<i>125</i>	<i>125</i>	<i>145.5</i>	
<i>Jobs Plus Pilot</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	
NAHASDA					
<i>Native American Housing Block Grant</i>	<i>1,111</i>	<i>820</i>	<i>1,222</i>	<i>1,217</i>	
<i>Competitive Grants</i>	<i>150</i>	<i>150</i>	<i>150</i>	<i>150</i>	
Native Haw. Hsg Block Grants	22	22	0	22	
Hsg. Opp. for Persons with AIDS	505	505	505	524	
Community Development Fund	6,720	2,930	5,506	4,617	
<i>Formula Grants</i>	<i>3,390</i>	<i>2,900</i>	<i>3,300</i>	<i>3,300</i>	
<i>Economic Development Initiative (earmarks)</i>	<i>3,290</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>2,176</i>	<i>1,187</i>	
<i>Yes In My Backyard</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>100</i>	
HOME Investment Partnerships	1,250	1,250	500	1,425	
PRICE Competitive Grants	10	0	10	10	
Self-Help Homeownership Opportunity	12	9	9	13	
Homeless Assistance Grants	4,051	4,060	4,060	4,319	
Project-Based Rental Assistance	16,010	16,686	16,595	16,654	
Hsg. for the Elderly (202)	913	931	931	1,046	
Hsg. for Persons w/Disabilities (811)	208	257	257	257	
Housing Counseling Assistance	57.5	57.5	57.5	57.5	
Policy Development & Research	119^a	145.5	119	129.5^a	
Fair Hsg. & Equal Opportunity	86	86	85	86.4	

HUD Programs (set asides italicized) (In millions)	FY24 Final	FY25 President	FY25 House	FY25 Senate	FY25 Final
Healthy Homes & Lead Hazard	345	350	335	345	
USICH	4	4	4	4.3	

* The spending proposal includes funding provided through HUD's Operating formula, plus funding allocated for a need-based grant

^a Funding includes \$20 million for the Eviction Protection Grant Program

HUD & Project 2025

Selected First Day & First Year Priorities

HUD political leadership should immediately assign all delegated powers to politically appointed positions and change any current career leadership positions into political and non-career appointment positions.

The Secretary should initiate a HUD task force consisting of politically appointed personnel to identify and reverse all actions taken by the Biden Administration to advance progressive ideology.

Immediately end the Biden Administration's Property Appraisal and Valuation Equity (PAVE) policies and reverse any Biden Administration actions that threaten to undermine the integrity of real estate appraisals.

Repeal climate change initiatives and spending in the department's budget request.

Repeal the Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing (AFFH) regulation proposed under the Biden Administration and any other uses of special-purpose credit authorities to further equity.

Recommence proposed regulation put forward under the Trump Administration that would prohibit noncitizens, including all mixed-status families, from living in all federally assisted housing.

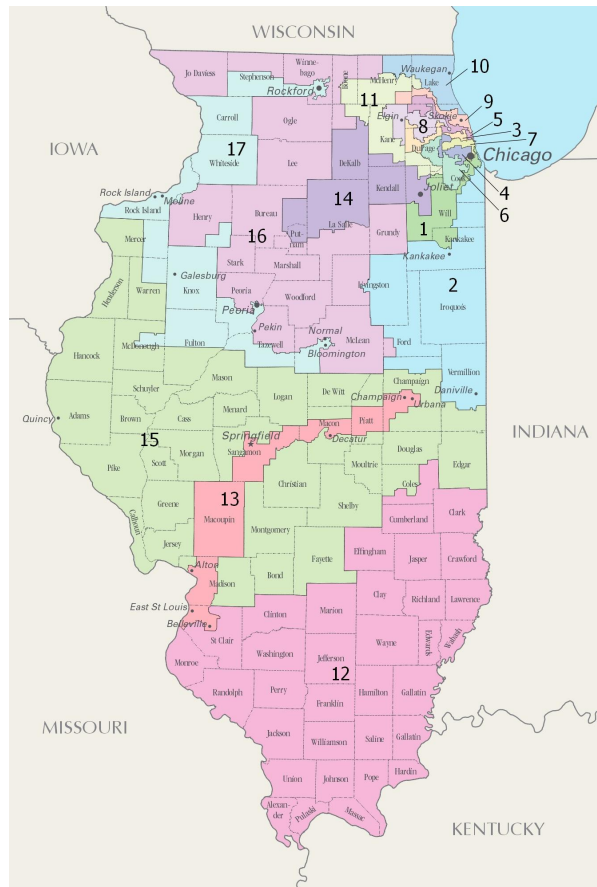
Increase the mortgage insurance premium (MIP) for all products above 20-year terms based on the assertion that wealth-building homeownership opportunities can best be accomplished through shorter-duration mortgages.

Our Senators

Dick Durbin (D) and Tammy Duckworth (D)

Our House Members

- 1st: Jonathan Jackson (D), Chicago
- 2nd: Robin Kelly (D), Matteson
- 3rd: Delia Ramirez (D), Chicago
- 4th: Jesus “Chuy” Garcia (D), Chicago
- 5th: Mike Quigley (D), Chicago
- 6th: Sean Casten (D), Downers Grove
- 7th: Danny Davis (D), Chicago
- 8th: Raja Krishnamoorthi (D), Schaumburg
- 9th: Janice Schakowsky (D), Evanston
- 10th: Brad Schneider (D), Highland Park
- 11th: Bill Foster (D), Naperville
- 12th: Mike Bost (R), Murphysboro
- 13th: Nikki Budzinski (D), Springfield
- 14th: Lauren Underwood (D), Naperville
- 15th: Mary Miller (R), Oakland
- 16th: Darin LaHood (R), Peoria
- 17th: Eric Sorensen (D), Moline



Source: [Wikipedia](#)

Key Committee Assignments in Illinois Delegation*

- Senate
 - **Dick Durbin** (Minority Whip, Judiciary/Ranking Member and Appropriations/THUD Subcommittee)
- House Appropriations
 - **Rep. Mike Quigley** (Ranking Member on THUD Subcommittee)
 - **Rep. Lauren Underwood**
- House Financial Services
 - **Rep. Sean Casten** (D)
 - **Rep. Bill Foster** (D)
- House Homeland Security
 - **Rep. Delia Ramirez** (D)
- House Ways and Means
 - **Rep. Darin LaHood** (R)
 - **Rep. Danny Davis** (D)
 - **Rep. Brad Schneider** (D)

** Based on 118th Congress. Subject to change for 119th Congress.*

Q&A: Sample Questions Based on Registrant Submissions

- What will the impact be on people looking for affordable rental housing and/or rental subsidies?
- Based on past experience, what existing federal programs are most at risk of significant spending cuts?
- How will homeownership opportunities be impacted?
- What about people with specific types of needs based on their situation? For example people with disabilities, refugees, people experiencing homelessness and others?

Selected Advocacy & Organizing Strategies

- **Support & collaborate**
 - NLIHC and other national partners (e.g., NAEH and NHRC)
 - Illinois-based advocates in housing/homelessness and across sectors
 - Community-based organizations and grassroots leaders (e.g., CoC Lived Experience Councils and NLIHC's Collective).
- **Prioritize public education**
 - Influence public opinion by securing media placements with our messages
- **Focus on key decision makers**
 - Make sure Republican members of Illinois House delegation and Democrats on key committees understand their decisions' impact on constituents with housing needs
- **Increase action alerts**
 - Keep interested people informed and activated
- **Refine messaging**
 - Frame our issues to reach people, change hearts, and change minds

Sample Messaging

Homes are a basic human need. Housing is a human right.

- **Housing is a basic human need that we must provide for everyone.** Housing is fundamental to the stability, security, and success of individuals and families. Without housing, life has to focus almost entirely on securing a home.
- **Housing for all means all.** Housing is a human right. From this perspective, housing should not be viewed primarily as something to be bought and sold, but something that society and government guarantees to everyone.
- **We need to ensure that everyone has a safe, affordable place to live, no matter what they look like or where they come from.**
- **The private market, including non-profit housing providers, can't meet the housing needs of households with the lowest incomes** without development, operating and tenant-based subsidies.
- **There are many people with specific types of housing challenges**, such as the need for accessible housing, and people who often face discrimination when searching for housing.
- **All of this is why we need much more robust federal government funding and policies**, including supporting state and local level efforts, that create affordable housing and address other housing problems in our society.

Find more messaging tools on the Selected Resources slide.

NLIHC's Policy Forum & Capitol Hill Day



NLIHC's annual housing policy forum is an opportunity to engage with and learn from thought leaders, policy experts, researchers, tenant advocates, affordable housing practitioners, and members of Congress about how to end the housing and homelessness crisis impacting low-income renters in America. NLIHC members get early access and a discount on registration! More info at nlihc.org.

Stop the Increasing Criminalization of Homelessness in Illinois

- **This soon to be introduced state legislation, sponsored by Rep. Kevin Olickal (D-Skokie), is a response to the June 2024 US Supreme Court decision in the case of *Johnson v. Grants Pass*, which determined that people experiencing homelessness can be arrested and fined for sleeping outside even when there are no safe alternatives.**
- **This legislation is focused on preventing the further criminalization of homelessness, without restricting pre-existing municipal powers.** Before and since the US Supreme Court decision, local governments in Illinois have had the power to make people move when they so desire using a variety of local ordinances (e.g., for trespassing) and this legislation does not change that.
- **The practical impact of the Supreme Court decision has only to encouraged a rapidly increasing number of local governments to enact fines and other criminal penalties** that make it harder for people to secure housing and undermine HOME Illinois, the state plan to prevent and end homelessness.
- **Join the Chicago Coalition to end Homelessness, Housing Action Illinois** and a growing list of other groups and individuals in this effort. **Details will be soon be sent to attendees and registrants for this webinar.**

Selected Resources

- NLIHC Memo to Members: Sign up to receive weekly newsletter:
<https://nlihc.org/explore-issues/publications-research/memo-to-members>
- Center on Budget and Policy Priorities' "The Federal Scoop": <https://federalscoop.org/>
- 2025 Tax Cut Fight Toolkit:
<https://sites.google.com/americansfortaxfairness.org/taxfight2025toolkit>
- Know Your Rights if Stopped by ICE in Illinois:
<https://www.aclu-il.org/en/know-your-rights/know-your-rights-if-stopped-ice>
- Welcome to Illinois Coalition: <https://welcometoil.org>
- Protecting Immigrant Families-Illinois (PIF-IL): <https://protectingimmigrantfamiliesillinois.org>
- Housing Narrative Lab—Changing the story, so everyone has a place to call home:
<https://housingnarrativelab.org>
- National Housing Conference—Housing opportunities and risks:
<https://nhc.org/housing-opportunities-and-risks-in-a-new-trump-administration/>
- Housing Action Illinois: <https://housingactionil.org>

THANK YOU

Questions or comments?

Please follow up with:

Bob Palmer, bob@housingactionil.org

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Find out how to get more involved at <https://housingactionil.org>



A stronger Illinois begins at home