



Milwaukee 53206

The Anatomy of Concentrated Disadvantage In an Inner City Neighborhood 2000-2017

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ABOUT THIS STUDY

The author of this study is Marc V. Levine, Professor Emeritus of History, Economic Development, and Urban Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, and founding director of the UWM Center for Economic Development (CED). Research assistance was provided by Catherine Madison and Lisa Heuler Williams of the CED staff, as well as graduate project assistant Shuayee Lee.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Milwaukee's zip code 53206 has come to epitomize the social and economic distress facing inner city neighborhoods in this hypersegregated metropolitan area. "Milwaukee 53206" is a neighborhood of concentrated poverty, pervasive joblessness, plunging incomes, and mass incarceration – a neighborhood of "cumulative disadvantages," each reinforcing the other, that limit economic opportunity and pose daunting challenges for policies of neighborhood revitalization. Although there is evidence that conditions have improved in 53206 since the end of the Great Recession, the gains have been small, the progress painfully slow, and the needs in the neighborhood as acute as ever.

This study presents a comprehensive analysis of what we call the "enduring ecosystem of disadvantage" in Milwaukee 53206, taking stock of current social and economic conditions as well as trends in the neighborhood over the past two decades and beyond. Among the key findings of the study:

Employment:

- For both male and female working-age adults (ages 20-64) living in 53206, the employment rate in 2017 hovered around 50 percent – well below the averages in the city of Milwaukee or the region's suburbs. This, however, marks an improvement since the end of the recession: between 2012 and 2017¹, the employment rate for males in 53206 jumped from 36.3 to 47.3 percent.
- Only 49.7 percent of prime working-age males (ages 25-54) in 53206 were employed in 2017, compared to 89.4 percent in the Milwaukee suburbs. An astonishing 34 percent of 53206 males in their prime working years were not even in the labor force.
- 53206 workers lack full-time, full-year employment: only 46 percent of employed prime-age adults held full-time jobs in 2017, compared to 75 percent in the Milwaukee suburbs, and 69 percent in the city of Milwaukee.
- As is the case across Milwaukee, educational attainment is closely correlated with employment status in 53206: 74 percent of college graduates living in 53206 were employed in 2017, compared to only 25 percent of high school dropouts. But "place matters" in how education influences employment. High school dropouts in 53206 are employed at roughly half the rate of their counterparts in the rest of the city and in the Milwaukee suburbs; the employment rate for high school *dropouts* in the Milwaukee suburbs is *the same* as for 53206 residents with *some college or an associate's degree*; and *high school graduates* in the suburbs are employed at the same rate as *college graduates* in 53206.

¹ All census data labeled "2012" or "2017" used in this report are drawn from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, American Community Survey (ACS), 2008-2012 or 2013-17 five-year pooled sample, the only ACS data available at the zip code level. The ACS pools five years of its annual surveys, to reduce the margin of error present in the one-year surveys.

Earnings:

- Joblessness is pervasive in 53206; but even for those residents who have secured employment, working poverty is omnipresent. Median annual earnings for 53206 workers in 2017 were \$18,541, less than half the median of workers living in the suburbs; among male workers in 53206, annual earnings were less than *one-third* the median of their suburban counterparts.
- Earnings among workers living in 53206 have declined sharply in 53206 since the turn of the century; adjusted for inflation, median earnings for the neighborhood's male workers plunged by over 33 percent.
- Over one-fifth of employed residents of 53206 report income below the poverty level, a level of working poverty that far exceeds the rate elsewhere in Milwaukee. Poverty in 53206 is not simply a function of unemployment or labor force non-participation; among a sizeable component of 53206's *employed* residents, low and declining wages have translated into poverty-level income. The political slogan "making work pay" rings hollow in 53206.
- There is an "educational premium" in 53206 as elsewhere: a college graduate living in the zip code earns two and a half times as much annually as a high school dropout, and 43 percent more than a high school graduate. (These gaps are even greater among male workers viewed separately). But...a *high school dropout* living in Waukesha County earns about the same as a *college graduate* living in 53206.

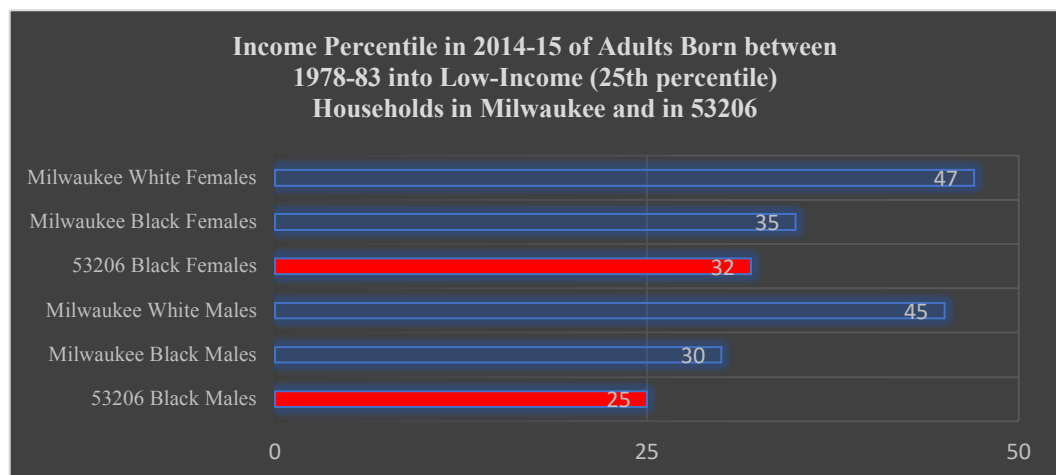
Poverty and Income:

- The poverty rate in 53206 in 2017 was 42.2 percent; this was *six times* greater than the poverty rate in the Milwaukee suburbs. Although the poverty rate in 53206 fell slightly between 2012-2017, it was still slightly higher than it was in 2000; by any reckoning, concentrated poverty remains a persistent, defining feature of the social and economic landscape in Milwaukee 53206.
- The children's poverty rate in 53206 in 2017 was 55.1 percent, an improvement from 66.8 percent in the aftermath of the recession, but still higher than it was in 2000, and much higher than the rest of the city or in the suburbs.
- Median household income in 53206 in 2017 was a little more than one-quarter of the median in Waukesha County, and less than 60 percent of the city of Milwaukee's median.
- Inflation-adjusted household income dropped by 25 percent in 53206 between 2000-2017; it has continued to drop (by 7 percent between 2012-17) even after the end of the recession.

- Poverty and educational attainment are, as expected, correlated in 53206: college graduates are less likely to live in poverty than high school graduates, who are less likely than dropouts to be poor. But when controlling for educational attainment, there are massive disparities in poverty rates between 53206 and elsewhere in Milwaukee. A college graduate residing in 53206 is twice as likely to live in poverty as a comparably educated resident elsewhere in Milwaukee, and *seven times more likely* to live in poverty than a college graduate living in Waukesha County. *Incredibly, there is no statistical difference between the poverty rate for college graduates in 53206 and high school dropouts in Waukesha County.*

Intergenerational Economic Mobility in 53206

- Using a unique data-base of IRS and Census data made available by the Harvard-based “Equality of Opportunity” project, we find that African American males who were born and raised in 53206 in low-income households have experienced, on average, virtually no upward intergenerational economic mobility over the past generation. (There was some very modest upward mobility for black females born in 53206 – but much less than for white females born elsewhere in Milwaukee).
- Black males born in 53206 into households in the 25th percentile of the national income distribution in the late 1970s and early 1980s remained in the 25th percentile in early adulthood (2014-15). By contrast, white males in metro Milwaukee, born into the same “25th percentile” households 30+ years ago rose to the 45th percentile of the national income distribution by young adulthood.
- Put in dollar terms: born into households with identical low incomes 30+ years earlier, the average annual household income of white males born into poor households in metro Milwaukee was more than double that of black males born into poor households in 53206 by the time both reached young adulthood (\$36,477 to \$15,551), a clear racial and neighborhood difference in the trajectory of mobility and opportunity in Greater Milwaukee.



Housing Inequality:

- Homeownership in 53206 lags well behind the rate in Milwaukee’s suburbs, and has declined steadily since 2000, from 38.6 to 33.6 percent.
- Over one-quarter of housing units in 53206 were vacant in 2017, more than double the city’s vacant housing rate and double the rate in 53206 at the turn of the century. (In the early 1970s, only 5 percent of housing units in 53206 were vacant). Vacant, boarded-up housing is a visceral, physical manifestation of the concentrated socio-economic disadvantages plaguing 53206.
- Low-income renters in 53206 are especially vulnerable to the burden of high housing costs: 61.7 percent of renter households in 53206 faced a “high rent burden” in 2017 as they paid over 35 percent of their income in rent.

Health Insurance:

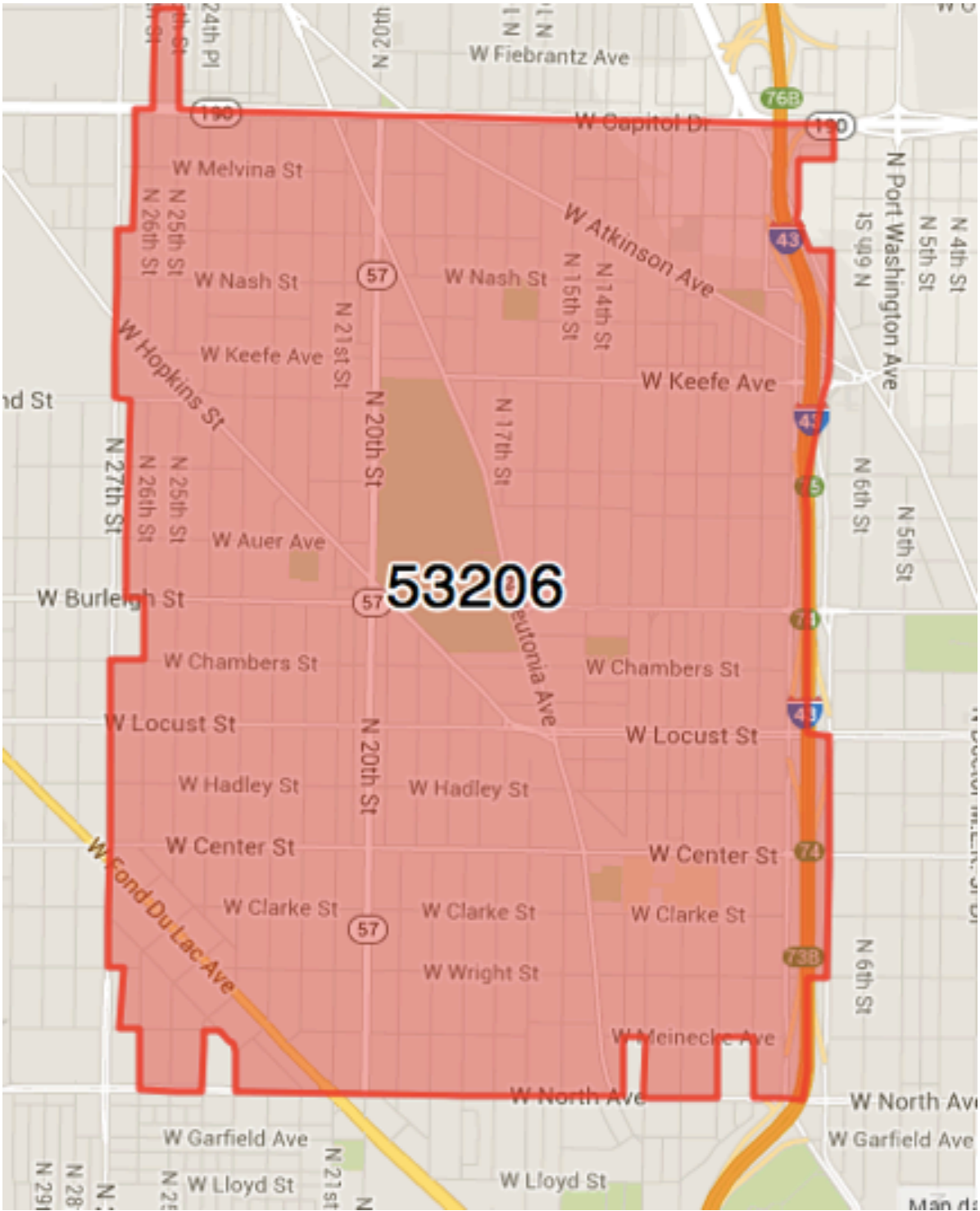
- Although a critical mass of adults in 53206 remain without health insurance, and the uninsured rate in 53206 is triple the rate in the Milwaukee suburbs, the Affordable Care Act has nonetheless reduced significantly the uninsured rate in Milwaukee 53206.
- Among all residents, ages 18-54, the percentage of uninsured dropped from 26.7 percent in 2008-12 to 20.2 percent; among adult males, the percentage without health insurance during that period fell from 41.2 to 28.3 percent.

Incarceration:

- Milwaukee 53206 has drawn considerable media attention in recent years as allegedly “the zip code that incarcerates the highest percentage of black men in America.” Although incarceration and ex-offender rates in 53206 are staggeringly high, there is no evidence that these rates are the highest in the nation. We analyzed this question from several angles. Data collected and made available by Brookings Institution researchers shows the percentage of persons in their late 20s and early 30s, by their childhood zip code, who were incarcerated in 2012. “Nashville 37208” headed the list of the most incarcerated zip codes with 14 percent of residents who were born there in the early 1980s and incarcerated in 2012; by this measure, “Milwaukee 53206” posted an incarceration rate under 7 percent which placed it nowhere near the list of the nation’s most “carceral” zip codes.
- Other data, made available in the Harvard-based “Opportunity Insights Atlas,” enabled us to measure the percentage of black males, born and raised in low-

income households in census tracts located in 53206, who ended up in prison in their late 20s and early 30s. The incarceration rate for these young men ranged from a low of 10 percent in one tract in 53206, to 34 percent in the tract with the highest incarceration rate. Clearly, for young black males growing up in low-income households in 53206, the risk of becoming ensnared in the criminal justice system in the era of mass incarceration has been very high. But, as bad as these percentages are, they are nowhere near the “most incarcerated in the United States.” There were, in 2010, over 250 census tracts in the U.S. that posted higher incarceration rates, by this measure, than the most incarcerated census tract in Milwaukee 53206. The sober reality is that 53206 is one among many U.S. neighborhoods devastated by mass incarceration, and by no means the worst case.

- Finally, using data from the Wisconsin Department of Corrections, we attempted to estimate the percentage of black males in Milwaukee 53206 who were incarcerated or under the active community supervision of the state DOC at three points-in-time since the turn of the century: 2001, 2007, 2013. Our estimate, after grappling with serious data problems and methodological challenges, is that 24.1 percent of black males in 53206 between the ages of 20-64 were in the carceral system in 2013 (down slightly from 28.5 percent in 2007, and about the same level as 2001). Among the most incarcerated age group, black males between the ages of 25 and 34, we estimate that 42.3 percent of this cohort in 53206 was either incarcerated or under active community supervision in 2013 (down from 47.2 percent in 2007, but up from 24.3 percent in 2001).
- Thus, even if characterizations of Milwaukee 53206 as the “most incarcerated” zip code in America are hyperbole, this should not obscure the reality that mass incarceration is an integral component in the “ecosystem” of concentrated disadvantage that continues to weigh on this beleaguered neighborhood.



Sprawling across the city's north side, Milwaukee's zip code 53206² has come to epitomize the social and economic distress facing inner city neighborhoods in this hypersegregated metropolitan area.³ Over the past decade, the enormous challenges facing residents of 53206 – concentrated poverty, pervasive joblessness, plummeting incomes, segregated schools, violence and mass incarceration-- have been painstakingly documented and movingly portrayed, in academic research⁴, newspaper and magazine articles⁵, and even a recent film.⁶ “Milwaukee 53206,” which is 95 percent African American, is a quintessential example of the “concentrated” and “cumulative” disadvantages that overwhelm impoverished, segregated, predominantly African American inner city neighborhoods: the manifold layers of structural and multi-generational racial inequality, each reinforcing the other, that limit economic opportunity for residents and pose daunting challenges for policies of neighborhood revitalization.⁷ As we noted in a 2014 study: “If any area of Milwaukee epitomizes the need for fresh, new departures in economic development policy, it is 53206.”⁸

This study, using the latest data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census along with heretofore untapped data sources, presents a comprehensive analysis of what we call the “enduring ecosystem of disadvantage” in Milwaukee 53206, taking stock of current social and economic

² The precise boundaries of 53206 are: I-43 on the east, 27th street on the west, North Avenue to the south, and Capitol Drive to the north. In Milwaukee neighborhood nomenclature, 53206 most closely corresponds to the Amani neighborhood.

³ On Milwaukee's continuing status as the metropolitan area with the highest level of black-white segregation in the United States, see William H. Frey, “Black-white segregation edges downward since 2000, census shows,” *The Avenue*, Brookings Institution, December 17, 2018. Accessed at: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/the-avenue/2018/12/17/black-white-segregation-edges-downward-since-2000-census-shows/>

⁴ Marc V. Levine, *Zipcode 53206: A Statistical Snapshot of Inner City Distress in Milwaukee: 2000-2012* (Milwaukee: UWM Digital Commons and UWM Center for Economic Development, 2014). Accessed at: https://dc.uwm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1006&context=ced_pubs

⁵ Among the many articles on 53206, see: Barbara Miner, “A Closer Look at Zip Code 53206,” *Milwaukee Magazine*, January 28, 2015 (accessed at: <https://www.milwaukeeemag.com/milwaukee-zip-code-53206/>); James Causey, “While many want to leave Wisconsin's most violent Zip code, these residents are staying to make it better,” *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, December 12, 2018 (accessed at: <https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/local/wisconsin/2018/12/12/moving-out-milwaukees-violent-53206-zip-code-isnt-always-answer/2227502002/>); and George Joseph, “How Wisconsin became the home of black incarceration,” *The Atlantic*, August 17, 2016 (accessed at: <https://www.citylab.com/equity/2016/08/how-wisconsin-became-the-home-of-black-incarceration/496130/>).

⁶ The film is the highly lauded, “Milwaukee 53206,” which focuses on the crisis of mass incarceration in the zip code. For an overview, see: <https://www.milwaukee53206.com/>.

⁷ On the consequences of cumulative disadvantage, see, among others: William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Robert Sampson, *The Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); and Patrick Sharkey, *Stuck in Place: Urban Neighborhoods and the End of Progress toward Racial Equality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

⁸ Levine, *Zipcode 53206*, p.2.

conditions as well as trends in the neighborhood over the past two decades and beyond.

Unsurprisingly, conditions remain grim in 53206. For example, in 2017:⁹

- the poverty rate in 53206 was *six times* greater than in the Milwaukee suburbs;¹⁰
- over half of the zip code's children lived in the poverty;
- fewer than half of prime working-age males (ages 25-54) in the neighborhood were employed;
- household incomes in 53206 hit new lows while residents continued to abandon the zip code in droves and the neighborhood experienced massive population loss;
- one-quarter of housing units in the zip code were vacant;
- black children born in 53206—especially black males—have experienced virtually no upward intergenerational economic mobility over the past 35 years;
- over 15 percent of black males in their late 20s and early 30s, born and raised in low-income households in census tracts across 53206, were incarcerated in jail or prison.¹¹

In short, no matter what variable we examine—employment, earnings, income, poverty, education, housing, or incarceration-- the data confirm the persistence of concentrated disadvantage in 53206.

Amidst this bleak landscape, however, are some positive signs in 53206. While economic distress remains unremittingly severe in the zip code, multi-decade decline appears to have bottomed-out during the Great Recession and, on several key indicators, conditions have improved perceptibly in recent years. For example, the children's poverty rate has fallen by 27 percent since 2012, although it remains higher than it was in 2000 and is, by any reckoning, appalling high.¹² The percentage of prime working-age males living in 53206 who are employed jumped by 30 percent between 2012-17, perhaps a sign that the region's tightening overall labor market has at least modestly improved job prospects even in the city's most troubled neighborhood. And thanks to the Affordable Care Act, the percentage of adult males in 53206 without health insurance declined from 41.2 percent to 28.3 percent between 2012 and 2017, with the ranks of the uninsured falling, albeit less dramatically, for women and children as well.

⁹ All census data labeled "2017" used in this report are drawn from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, American Community Survey (ACS), 2013-17 five-year pooled sample, the only ACS data available at the zip code level.

¹⁰ By standard definition, this includes Waukesha, Ozaukee, and Washington counties, as well as the Milwaukee county suburbs.

¹¹ This data, reported below, is from 2010.

¹² The 2012 data in this report are drawn from the American Community Survey, 2008-12 five-year pooled sample.

The post-recession economic recovery, to at least some extent, has taken 53206 along with it on some indicators, although the gains have been small, the progress painfully slow, and the needs in the neighborhood as acute as ever.

EMPLOYMENT AND EARNINGS

In his seminal book, *When Work Disappears*, published over 20 years ago, Harvard sociologist William Julius Wilson famously wrote:

For the first time in the twentieth century most adults in many inner-city ghetto neighborhoods are not working in a typical week. The disappearance of work has adversely affected not only individuals, families, and neighborhoods, but the social life of the city at large as well... Many of today's problems in the inner-city ghetto neighborhoods—crime, family dissolution, welfare, low levels of social organization and so on—are fundamentally a consequence of the disappearance of work.¹³

53206 is an archetype of this neighborhood employment crisis. In the years since Wilson's end of the twentieth century analysis, the employment rate for working age adults in 53206—especially men—has consistently averaged under 50 percent. The “disappearance of work” in 53206 is characterized by not only low employment rates, but by an abundance of low-wage, part-time jobs and high rates of “working poverty;” large numbers of men no longer in the labor force or looking for work; and high rates of employment disability.

Low Employment Rates. The charts below illustrate the key dimensions of the employment crisis of 53206. For both male and female working-age adults (ages of 20-64), the employment rate in 53206 in 2017 hovered around 50 percent, and was markedly lower than the rates in the city of Milwaukee or in the region's suburbs (Charts 1 and 2). Particularly striking was the low employment rate in 53206 for prime working-age males (ages 25-54) in 53206, a key group for economists in measuring the health of labor markets.¹⁴ Only 49.7 percent of prime-age males in 53206 were employed in 2017, compared to 77.4 percent in the city of Milwaukee, and 89.4 percent in the Milwaukee suburbs (Chart 3). An astonishing 34 percent of 53206 males in their

¹³ William Julius Wilson, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1996), p. xiii. The quotes are spliced together but in context.

¹⁴ The prime-age male employment rate is considered a key indicator because it is less likely than the total adult (ages 20-64) employment rate to be affected by “voluntary” labor market non-participation from such factors as school attendance, homemaking and homecare, or retirement.

prime working years were not even in the labor force, compared to just 7 percent in the Milwaukee suburbs (Chart 4).

As Charts 5-7 show, these employment trends bottomed out in 53206 during the Great Recession and its immediate aftermath, and have actually improved over the past five years. Just

Chart 1:



Chart 2:



Chart 3:

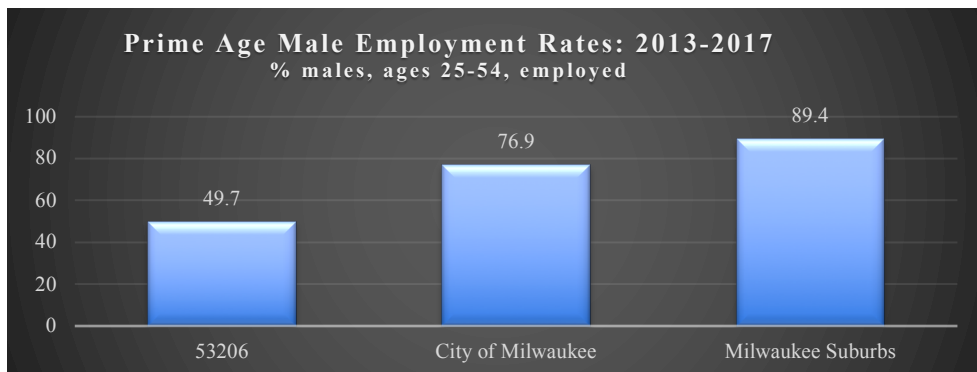


Chart 4:

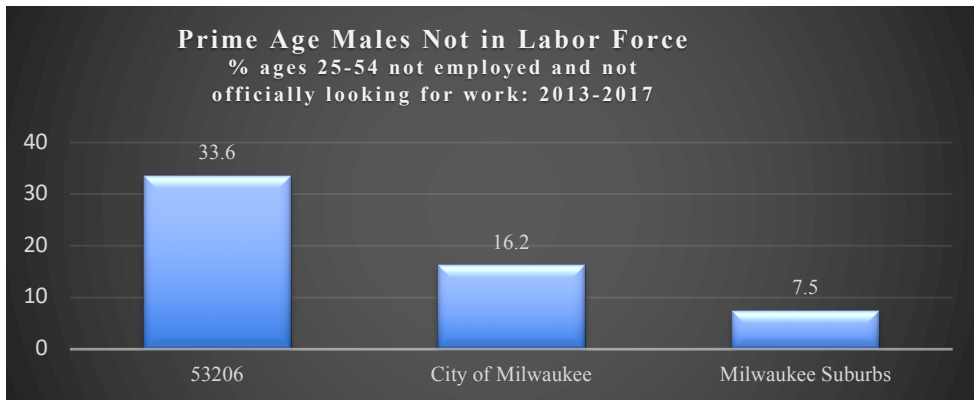


Chart 5:

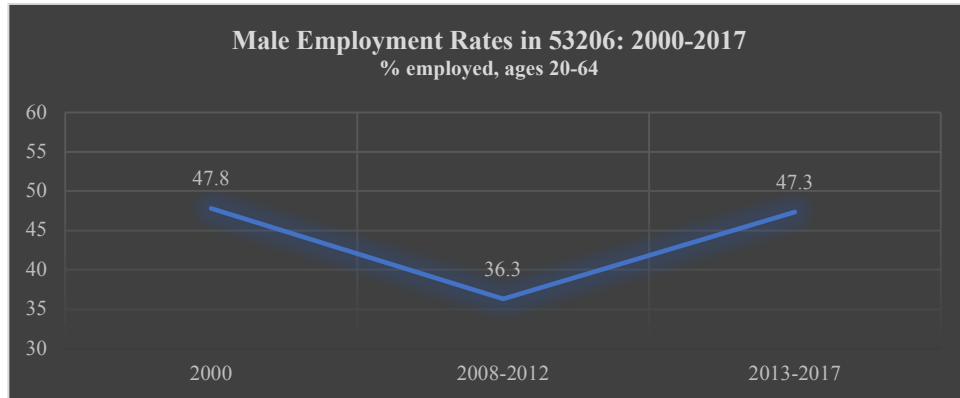


Chart 6:

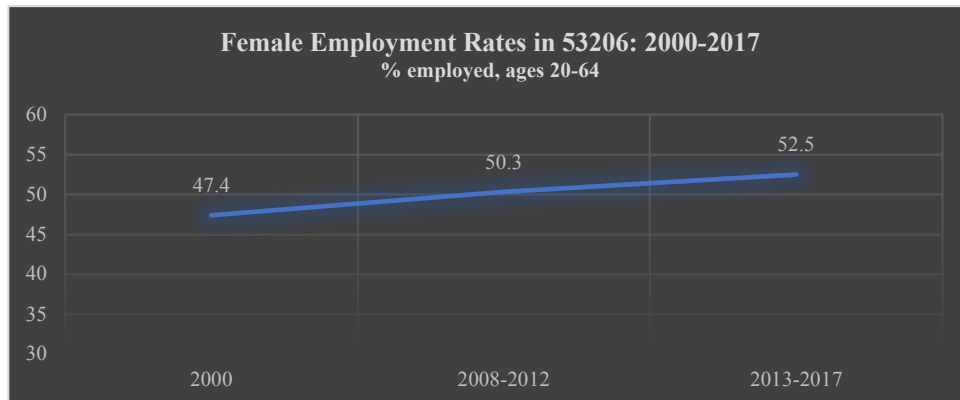
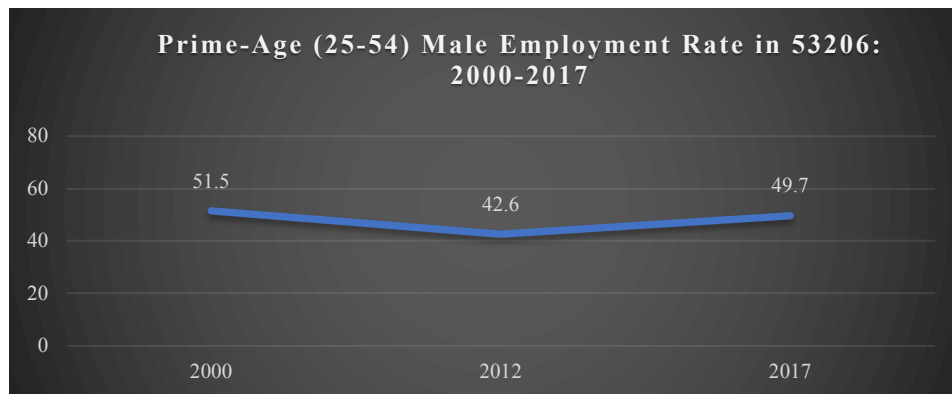


Chart 7:



36 percent of working-age males (ages 20-64) in 53206 were employed in the 2008-12 measurement period; by the 2013-17 period, that figure had jumped to 47 percent, a statistically significant increase. The employment rate for prime-age males in the zip code also improved over the past five years, by a more modest seven percentage points. While there is no gainsaying these improvements, as Charts 5 and 7 show, these gains have merely brought the employment rate in 53206 back to the “stealth depression” levels of 2000 – hardly a sign that the post-recession recovery is lifting the 53206 labor market out of its secular stagnation.

Beyond these dismal top-line numbers, other employment statistics reveal the daunting challenges of the 53206 labor market. Integrally connected to the high percentage of adults “not in the labor force” in 53206 are extraordinarily high rates of employment disability in the zip code. As Charts 8 and 9 show, using two different data sources, the percentage of working-age residents in 53206 receiving disability benefits far exceeds the levels elsewhere in metro Milwaukee. Chart 9 in particular graphically illustrates the extent to which disability is a factor in the large percentage of 53206 residents not in the labor force (as well as among the unemployed).

Finally, Charts 10 and 11 show how chronic, long-term non-employment plagues the working-age population in 53206, both for young adults (ages 20-24) and for prime-age adults (ages 25-54). Almost 36 percent of prime-age adults in 53206 surveyed in 2013-17 did not work at all during the preceding year, a rate of long-term non-employment almost quadruple the level in the Milwaukee suburbs. Almost 30 percent of the young adults in 53206 reported a year-long stretch of not working, which was almost triple the rate for 20-24 year-olds living in the

suburban counties of metro Milwaukee. Non-employment is not an episodic, cyclical event in 53206; as work has disappeared, it has become a chronic characteristic of community life.

Chart 8:

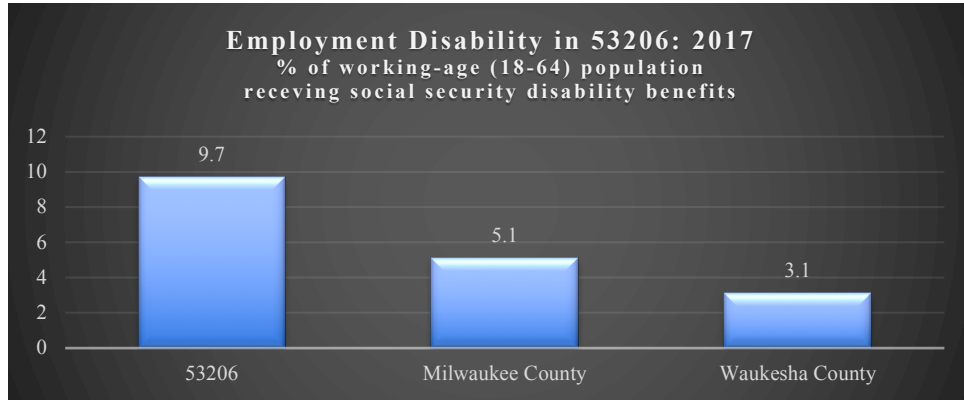


Chart 9:

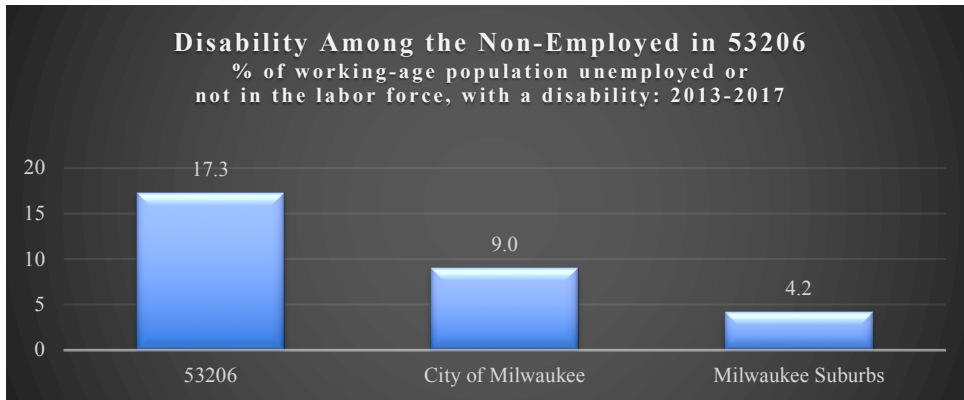


Chart 10:

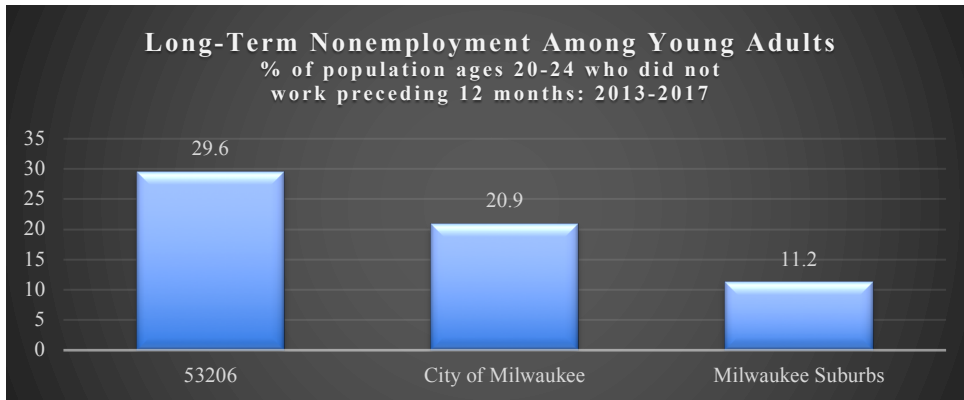
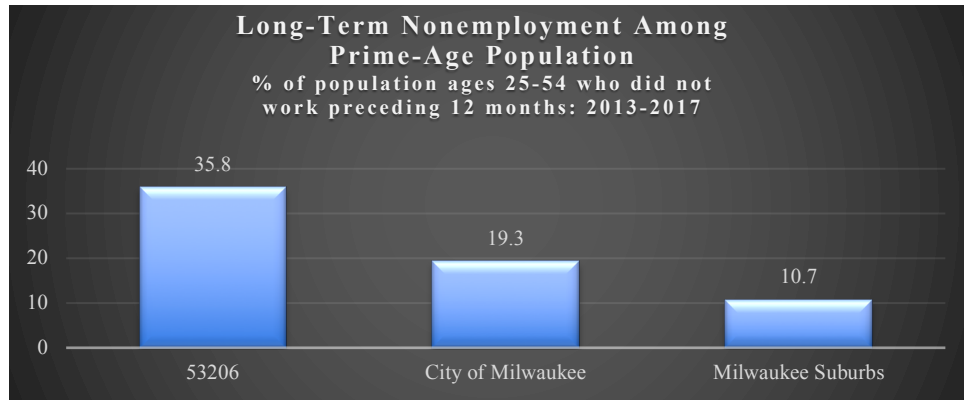


Chart 11:



Education and Employment. Numerous studies have documented the relationship between educational attainment and employment rates, and this connection exists in the 53206 labor market.¹⁵ As Table 1 shows, employment rates vary greatly by education level in 53206 and elsewhere. In 53206, a staggeringly low 24.7 percent of prime working-age¹⁶ high school dropouts were employed in 2013-17, less than half the employment rate of high school graduates (54.1 percent), and around one-third the rate (73.8 percent) of the small number of college graduates living in the zip code.¹⁷

These gaps are massive, and underscore that education clearly matters when it comes to employment rates in 53206. But education is not all-determinative: equally striking is the disparity, when we control for the educational background of workers, in employment rates *between* 53206, the city of Milwaukee, and the Milwaukee suburbs. For example, high school dropouts in 53206 are employed at roughly half the rate of high school dropouts in the city and the suburbs. High school graduates living in the suburbs are employed at roughly the same rate as *college graduates* in 53206; and the employment rate for high school *dropouts* in the suburbs is just a shade less than the rate for residents of 53206 with *some college or associate's degrees*.

¹⁵ See, for example: Claudia S. Goldin and Lawrence F. Katz, *The Race Between Education and Technology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); Dennis Vilorio, "Education Matters," BLS Data on display, March 2016. Access at: <https://www.bls.gov/careeroutlook/2016/data-on-display/education-matters.htm>; and OECD Data, "Employment by Education Level." Access at: <https://data.oecd.org/emp/employment-by-education-level.htm>.

¹⁶ Ages 25-64 in this particular data set (instead of the conventional 25-54 cohort).

¹⁷ See Chart 47 below on the percentage of college graduates among the population in 53206, the city of Milwaukee, and the Milwaukee suburbs.

Table 1:
Employment Rates of Population, Ages 25-64, by Educational Attainment
Both Sexes: 2013-2017

Educational Attainment	Zipcode 53206 % employed	City of Milwaukee % employed	Milwaukee Suburbs % employed
Less Than High School	24.7	47.9	56.6
H.S. Diploma/Equivalent	54.1	64.0	75.1
Some College/Associate Degree	60.3	73.5	80.6
Bachelor's Degree	73.8	86.9	86.5

In short, after controlling for the educational attainment of residents, it is clear that education is one among many factors affecting labor market outcomes for residents of 53206. These may include persistent racial discrimination in hiring¹⁸; the impact of mass incarceration in shaping the employment prospects of 53206 residents, especially black males; and the interplay between Milwaukee's entrenched segregation, limited regional transportation, and the geography of metro area job growth (all of the net employment growth in Milwaukee since 2000, especially entry-level jobs, has been in the region's suburbs) creating what urban analysts have called a "spatial mismatch."¹⁹ This mismatch has left Milwaukee 53206 residents, no matter their educational background, isolated from the growth centers of the regional economy and disadvantaged in the metropolitan area's labor market.

Lack of Full-Time, Year-Round Employment. Not only do employment rates in 53206 significantly lag the city and the suburbs, but 53206 residents are much less likely to secure full-time, family-supporting jobs. As Chart 12 shows, only 34.7 percent of the prime-age (25-54) population in 53206 held full-time, year-round jobs in 2013-17, significantly less than prime-age residents in the city of Milwaukee and the suburbs. This disparity is even wider when we look at working-age males between the ages of 16-64 (the only age cohort for which a breakdown by sex was available). As Chart 13 shows, only 24.7 percent of all working-age males in 53206 held

¹⁸ Lincoln Quillian, Devah Pager, Ole Hexel, and Arnfinn H. Midtbøen, "Meta-analysis of field experiments shows no change in racial discrimination in hiring over time," *PNAS*, 114:41 (October 10, 2017): 10870-10875. Access at: <https://www.pnas.org/content/pnas/114/41/10870.full.pdf>

¹⁹ On Milwaukee's spatial mismatch, see Marc V. Levine, *Perspectives on the Current State of the Milwaukee Economy* (Milwaukee: UWM Digital Commons and UWM Center for Economic Development, 2013), pp. 11-13. Access at: https://dc.uwm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1013&context=ced_pubs.

full-time, full-year jobs in 2013-17 – half the rate of full-time employment for the city of Milwaukee as a whole, and much less than the 65.5 percent rate in the suburbs. Charts 14-15 limit the analysis to simply those residents holding jobs (as opposed to all working age residents), but the result is the same: a devastating lack of full-time employment in 53206,

Chart 12:

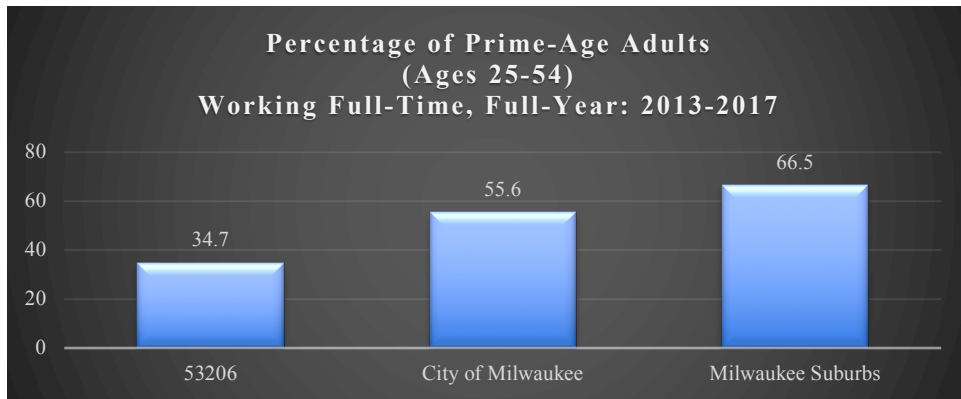
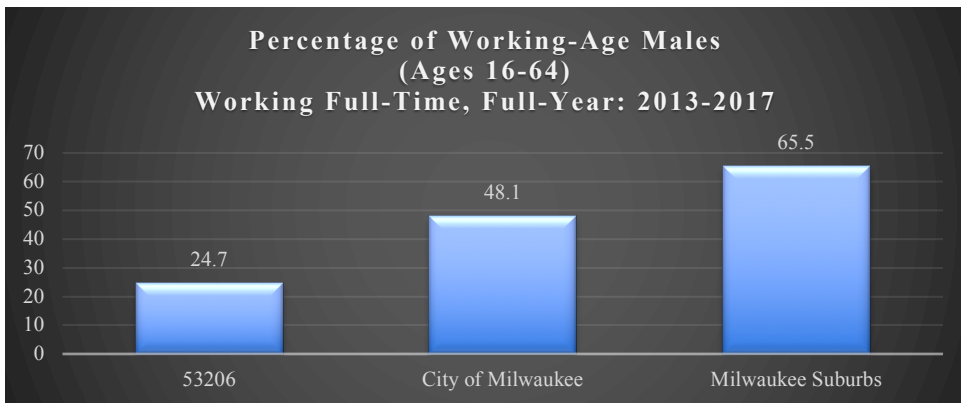


Chart 13:



especially compared to the rest of the metro area. Only 46 percent of prime-age job-holders living in 53206 held full-time, year-round jobs in 2013-17, compared to 74.4 percent of employed residents of the Milwaukee suburbs (Chart 14). As we shall see shortly, when examining worker earnings in 53206, this lack of full-time, family-supporting employment contributes mightily to concentrated poverty in the neighborhood.

Chart 14:

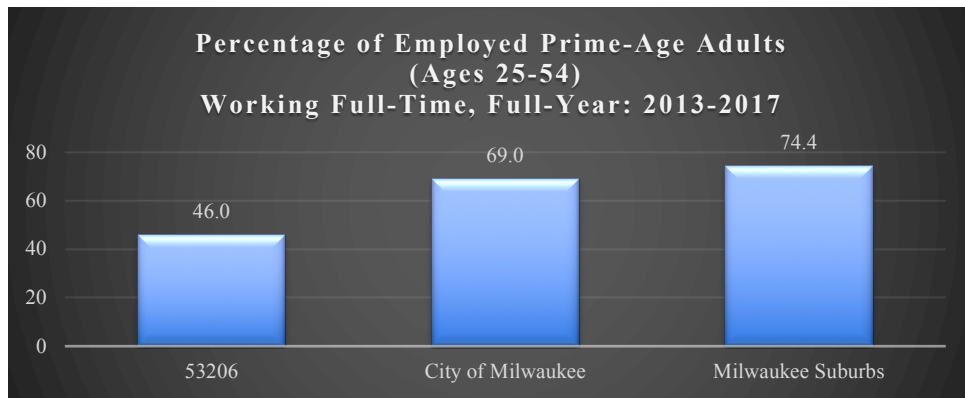
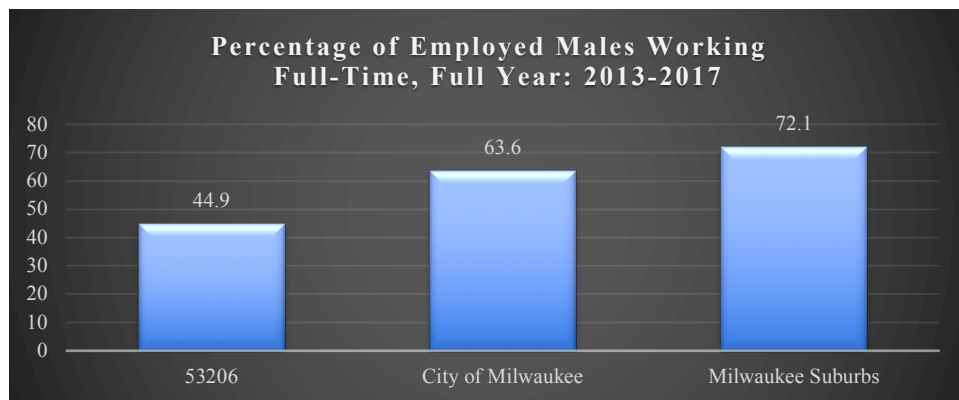


Chart 15:



Low Wages and Working Poverty in 53206. As we have seen, despite modest improvements in the past five years, the crisis of non-employment remains ongoing in 53206. But even for those residents of 53206 who are employed, fewer than half have been fortunate enough to secure full-time, year-round employment. Consequently, as Charts 16-18 reveal, worker earnings in 53206 are exceptionally low and nowhere near family-supporting. The median annual earnings for workers (16 and over) in 53206 was \$18,541 in 2013-17, less than half the median of workers living in the suburbs. For male workers (16 and over) living in 53206, the situation is even more sobering: median annual earnings of \$17,764, less than *one third* the median of suburban residents.²⁰ Even if we exclude teenage and young adult workers and just consider male workers

²⁰ By contrast, the median annual earnings for males in 53206 who worked full-time, full-year was \$27,248 in the 2013-17 census sample; for females it was \$29,228. But, as we've seen, well under half of 53206 workers held full-time jobs.

over the age of 25 (Chart 18), the findings remain the same: very low worker earnings in 53206 (\$20,438) and wide disparities between worker earnings in 53206, the city of Milwaukee, and the Milwaukee suburbs (where median earnings for males 25 and older were *three times* greater than in 53206).

Moreover, as Charts 19 and 20 and Table 2 show, the trend in real median worker earnings in 53206—that is, earnings adjusted for inflation—has been sharply down since 2000, and, for males, the decline has continued even during the recovery from the Great Recession. Since 2000, real median earnings for males in 53206 have declined by a staggering 33.1 percent; and for the “recovery” period of 2012-17 alone, real earnings declined by 11.3 percent (Table 2). The persistence of wage stagnation, even as labor markets have tightened in the rebound from the recession, has been a topic for robust debate and speculation among economists. But in 53206—a community whose labor market is the antithesis of “tight,” with fewer than half of working-age adults employed—it is wage *erosion* that continues to plague the neighborhood’s workers.

An unsurprising consequence of these trends, therefore, is a high level of “working poverty” in 53206: residents who are employed, yet report income that places them below the poverty line. As Chart 21 shows, over one-fifth of employed residents (ages 20-64) in 53206 report poverty-level income, a level of working poverty that far exceeds the rate elsewhere in metro Milwaukee. Chart 22 shows more precisely how employment status intersects with poverty in 53206, as well as in the city of Milwaukee and suburban Waukesha county. In the 2013-17 sample, 56.3 percent of the working age population (ages 16-64 in this data set) in 53206 who did not work during the preceding year reported income below the poverty level; 43.3 percent of workers who worked less than full-time, year-round (the majority of workers in 53206) reported poverty-level income; and even 9.7 of the small number of workers living in 53206 who worked full-time, year-round reported living in poverty. In short, poverty in 53206 is not simply a function of unemployment or labor force non-participation; among a sizeable component of 53206’s *employed* residents, low and declining wages have translated into poverty-level income. For workers in 53206, “making work pay” is, in large measure, an empty slogan.

Chart 16:

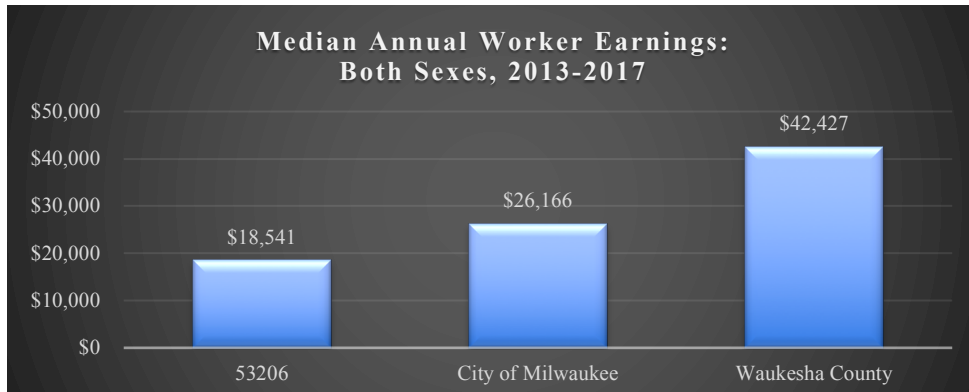


Chart 17:



Chart 18:

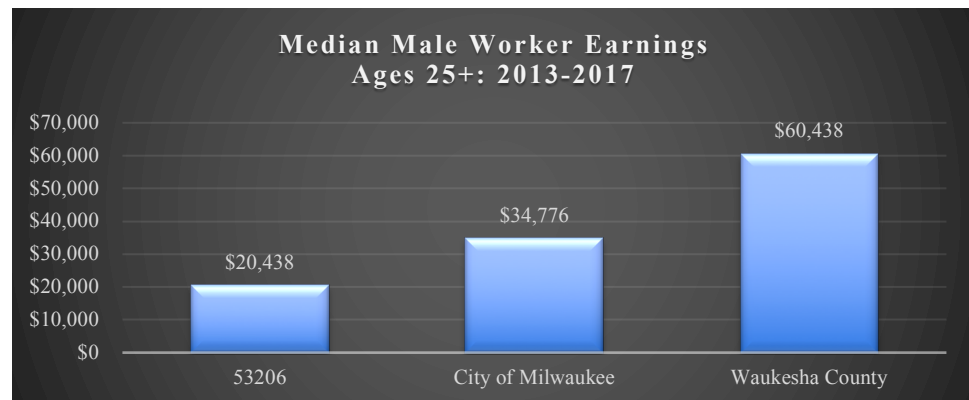


Chart 19:



Chart 20:



Table 2:

**Percentage Change in Real Median Earnings in 53206
Male Workers: 2000-2017**

Period	% change in earnings
2000-2012	-24.5%
2012-2017	-11.3%
2000-2017	-33.1%

Chart 21:

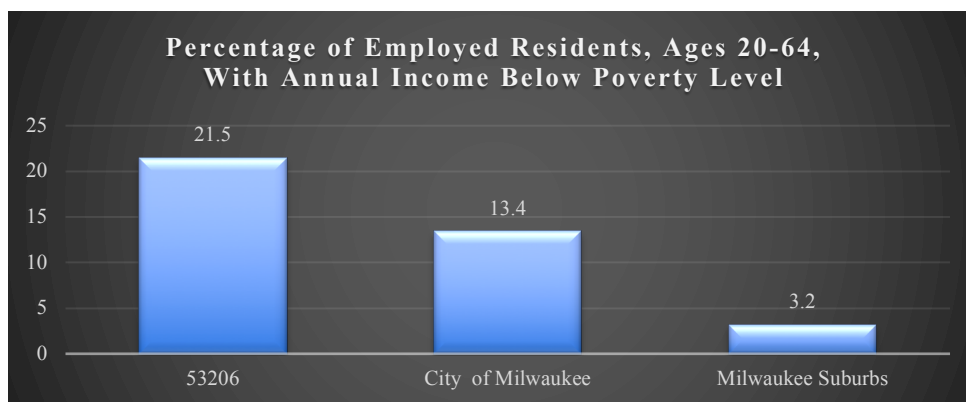
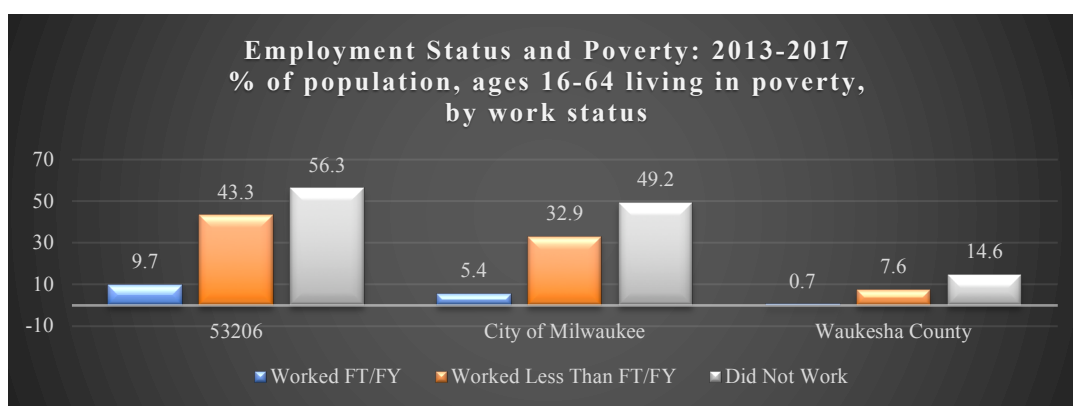


Chart 22:



Education and Earnings. In the same way that educational attainment and employment are closely correlated, education strongly affects how much a worker earns. The economics literature is vast on “earnings premiums” attached to educational attainment,²¹ and the Milwaukee labor market is no exception to this pattern. As Tables 3 and 4 illustrate, across metro Milwaukee, median worker earnings in 2013-17 varied sharply and linearly by education level: the greater the educational attainment, the higher the median worker earnings. This was the case in 53206 as elsewhere: a high school graduate living in 53206 earned 75 percent more annually than a high

²¹ Goldin and Katz, *The Race Between Education and Technology*; and Sandy Baum, *Higher Education Earnings Premium: Value, Variation, and Trends* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, 2014). Access at: <https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/22316/413033-Higher-Education-Earnings-Premium-Value-Variation-and-Trends.PDF>

school dropout, and a college graduate earned over 40 percent more annually than a high school graduate²².

Yet, as we saw earlier in analyzing educational attainment and employment rates, even when we control for educational background, astounding disparities remain between earnings in 53206 and elsewhere in Milwaukee. Median annual earnings for a male high school dropout in 53206 in 2013-17 (\$11,887) are around one-third the median earnings (\$34,311) of a Waukesha County high school dropout (Table 4). But even more strikingly: among all workers, *median annual earnings for high school dropouts in Waukesha County are virtually the same as for college graduates living in 53206*. (Table 3). For males, at every education level, workers living in Waukesha County earned at least twice as much, or more, than equivalently educated workers in 53206. Clearly, as we noted earlier, while educational attainment is an important variable accounting for labor market outcomes, it leaves much unexplained. The employment and earnings inequalities facing 53206 go far beyond simply educational disparities, and reflect the disadvantaged place of 53206 in the region’s labor markets, on matters such as race, segregation, the geography of job growth, and public policy.

Take, for example, the question of transportation policy. As Charts 23 and 24 show, to a much greater degree than workers throughout the city or the suburbs, that residents of 53206 are reliant on public transit to commute to jobs. And, because regional job growth is in places far removed

Table 3:
Median Worker Earnings by Educational Attainment: 2013-2017
Both Sexes, Ages 25+

Educational Attainment	Zipcode 53206	City of Milwaukee	Waukesha County
Less Than High School	\$12,026	\$21,159	\$30,114
H.S. Diploma/Equivalent	\$21,577	\$26,105	\$35,612
Some College/Associate Degree	\$21,950	\$29,686	\$41,750
Bachelor’s Degree	\$30,919	\$44,086	\$61,189

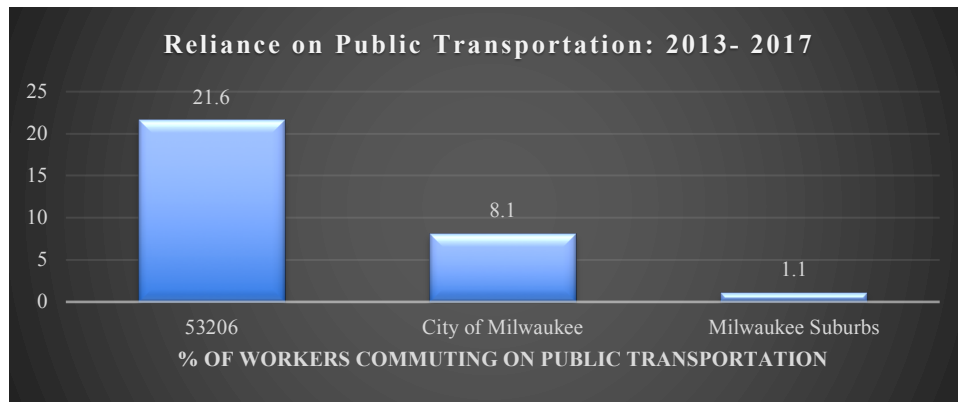
²² Curiously, in 53206 –unlike the rest of the city or in Waukesha County-- there was little earnings difference between a high school graduate and a worker with “some college or an associate’s degree” in 2013-17.

Table 4:
Median Worker Earnings by Educational Attainment: 2013- 2017
Males, Ages 25+

Educational Attainment	Zipcode 53206	City of Milwaukee	Waukesha County
Less Than High School	\$11,887	\$24,258	\$34,311
H.S. Diploma/Equivalent	\$21,151	\$30,206	\$44,518
Some College/Associate Degree	\$21,175	\$33,836	\$52,223
Bachelor’s Degree	\$36,667	\$49,464	\$78,886

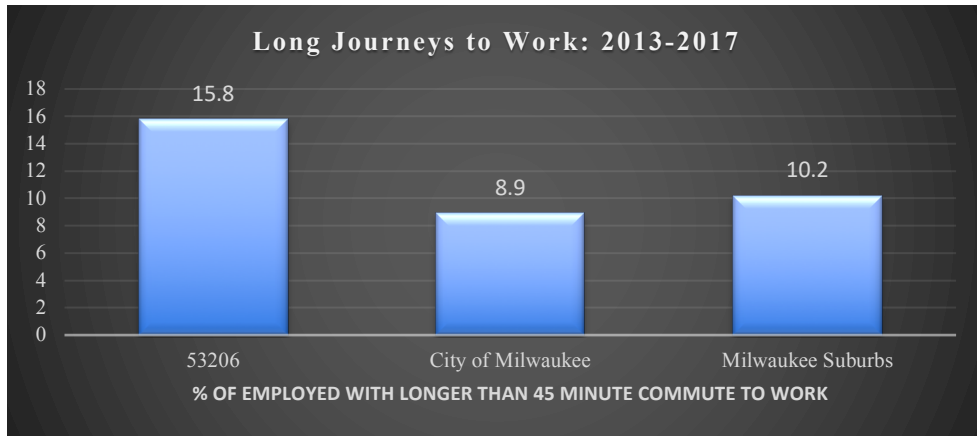
from their neighborhood, residents of 53206 also have much longer commutes than workers elsewhere in metro Milwaukee. Public transportation policy, therefore, is especially important for workers living in 53206, to effectively link neighborhood residents to centers of employment growth. Yet, as research by Joel Rast at the UW-Milwaukee Center for Economic Development has shown, cuts in public transportation in Greater Milwaukee have significantly eroded the ability of residents in inner city neighborhoods such as 53206 to access employment in suburban job locations and have aggravated the region’s spatial mismatch.²³ In short, as noted earlier, ameliorating the labor market of 53206 and tackling the issues of joblessness and working poverty will require new, muscular policies and strategies not only in education and training, but in a wide range of areas: transportation, fair employment practices, and ex-prisoner re-entry, to name just a few.

Chart 23:



²³ Joel Rast, *JobLines: An Analysis of Milwaukee County Transit Routes 6 and 61* (Milwaukee: UWM Center for Economic Development, 2018). Access at: <https://uwm.edu/ced/wp-content/uploads/sites/431/2018/10/joblines-10-10-18.pdf>; and Joel Rast, *Public Transit and Access to Jobs in the Milwaukee Metropolitan Area, 2001-2014* (Milwaukee: UWM Digital Commons and UWM Center for Economic Development, 2015). Access at: https://dc.uwm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1005&context=ced_pubs

Chart 24:



POVERTY AND INCOME

In the past twenty years, scholars such as Paul Jargowsky, William Julius Wilson, Robert Sampson, and Patrick Sharkey, among many others, have called attention to the crisis of “concentrated poverty” in inner city neighborhoods.²⁴ Defined by sociologists as neighborhoods in which 40 percent or more of the residents are poor, concentrated poverty neighborhoods have become a hallmark of urban distress and “America’s biggest problem,” in the words of one urban analyst.²⁵ As the authors of a Brookings Institution study put it: “Why does concentrated poverty matter? Being poor in a very poor neighborhood subjects residents to costs and limitations above and beyond the burdens of individual poverty.”²⁶ “In these poorest neighborhoods,” writes Jargowsky, “the opportunities for successful social and economic contacts are few. The problem is exacerbated as families and businesses with better prospects relocate out of impoverished inner-city neighborhoods, leaving many cities with abandoned and decaying cores.”²⁷ Extensive research has shown that “concentrated neighborhood poverty shapes everything from higher crime rates to limited social mobility for the people –and especially the children—who live in these neighborhoods.”²⁸

53206 is Milwaukee’s archetypical concentrated poverty neighborhood. As Chart 25 shows, 53206’s poverty rate in 2013-17 was 42.2 percent, much higher than the city-wide average and *six times* greater than the poverty rate in the suburbs. The poverty rate in 53206 reached a peak of 47.7 percent during the Great Recession and its immediate aftermath (Chart 26), but things seem to have improved, albeit minimally, since the trough of the downturn. Nevertheless, the poverty rate in 53206 in 2013-17 was still slightly higher than it was in 2000 (although the difference is not statistically significant).²⁹ By any reckoning, concentrated poverty remains a defining feature of the social and economic landscape of Milwaukee 53206.

²⁴ Sampson, *Great American City*; Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged*; Sharkey, *Stuck in Place*; Paul Jargowsky, *Poverty and Place: Ghettos, Barrios, and the American City* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1997); and Paul Jargowsky, *Stunning Progress, Hidden Problems: The Dramatic Decline of Concentrated Poverty in the 1990s* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2003); Paul Jargowsky, *The Architecture of Segregation: Civil Unrest, the Concentration of Poverty, and Public Policy* (New York: The Century Foundation, 2015). Access at: <https://tcf.org/content/report/architecture-of-segregation/?agreed=1>

²⁵ Richard Florida, “America’s Biggest Problem is Concentrated Poverty, Not Inequality.” *The Atlantic*, August 10, 2015. Access at: <https://www.citylab.com/equity/2015/08/americas-biggest-problem-is-concentrated-poverty-not-inequality/400892/>

²⁶ Elizabeth Kneebone, Carey Nadeau, and Alan Berube, *The Re-emergence of Concentrated Poverty: Metropolitan Trends in the 2000s* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2011).

²⁷ Jargowsky, *Poverty and Place*, p. 1.

²⁸ Florida, “America’s Biggest Problem.”

²⁹ The difference in the 2000 and 2013-17 poverty rates in 53206 is not statistically significant, owing to error margins in the census survey. For all intents and purposes, the rates should be considered equal.

Other data underscore the pervasiveness of poverty in 53206, as well as plummeting real household income in the zip code since 2000. Over 55 percent of children (persons under age 18) in 53206 live in poverty (Chart 27), and while that rate has come down substantially since the end of the recession, the children’s poverty rate in 53206 remains higher today than it was in 2000 (Chart 28), and it is still, by any measure, appallingly high.

Chart 25:

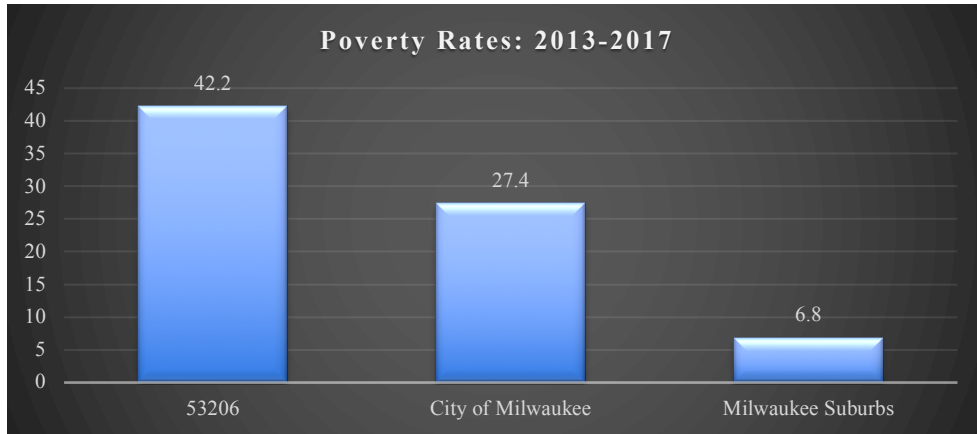


Chart 26:



Chart 27:

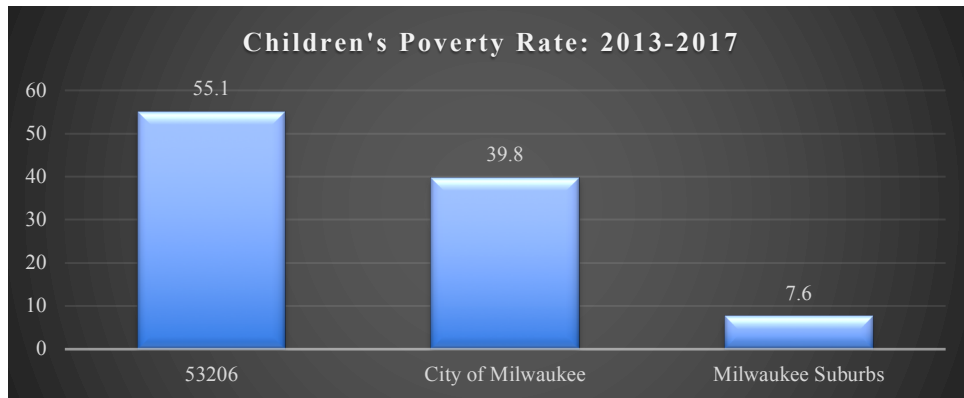
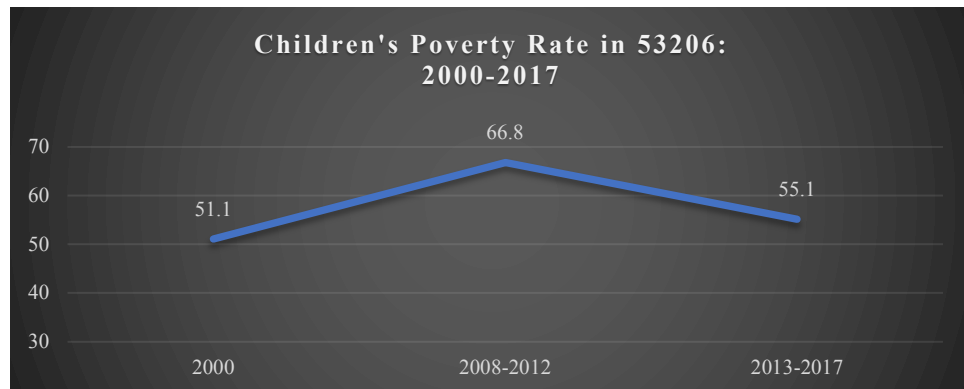


Chart 28:



As we would expect in a zip code of such concentrated poverty, median household income in 53206 significantly lags the rest of metro Milwaukee. Median household income in 53206 in 2013-17 was less than 60 percent the city of Milwaukee median, and less than 30 percent the median household income in suburban Waukesha County (Chart 29). Almost one-fifth of 53206 households reported annual income under \$10,000 a year, forming a critical mass of residents living in *extreme* poverty (defined as households or individuals with income below 50 percent of the poverty level). By contrast, only three percent of 53206 households reported annual income above \$100,000 in 2013-17, a tiny contingent of relative affluence amidst pervasive poverty and low incomes (Charts 30 and 31). The situation in Milwaukee's suburbs is precisely the opposite: only 3.8 percent of suburban households had annual income below \$10,000, while a whopping 33.5 percent reported income above \$100,000. This is a striking illustration of the stark economic segregation of metro Milwaukee, the geographic separation of rich and poor that

strongly overlaps racial segregation and leaves neighborhoods like 53206 socially and economically isolated and its residents severely disadvantaged.

Although poverty has declined slightly in 53206 since the end of the recession, median household income has been on a continuous downward trajectory since the turn of the century. Median household income in 53206, adjusted for inflation, dropped by 18.8 percent between 2000 and the Great Recession and its aftermath (2008-12), and then by another 7.0 percent during the post-2012 “recovery” (Table 5). As Chart 32 graphically illustrates, real annual income of the median household in 53206 was \$30,307 in 2000; by 2013-17, that figure had fallen to \$22,877 (all figures in 2017 inflation-adjusted dollars).

Chart 29:

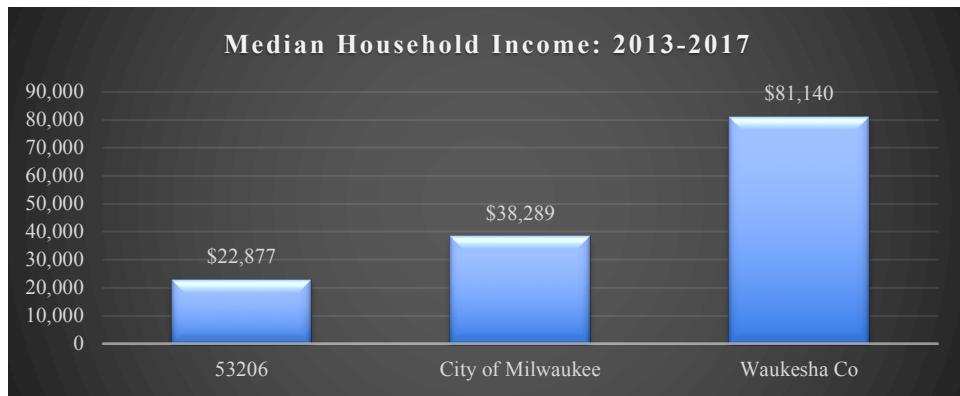


Chart 30:

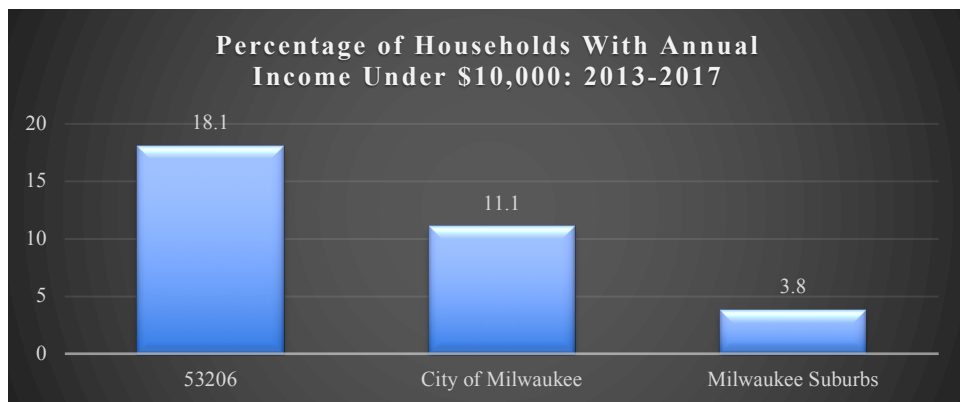


Chart 31:

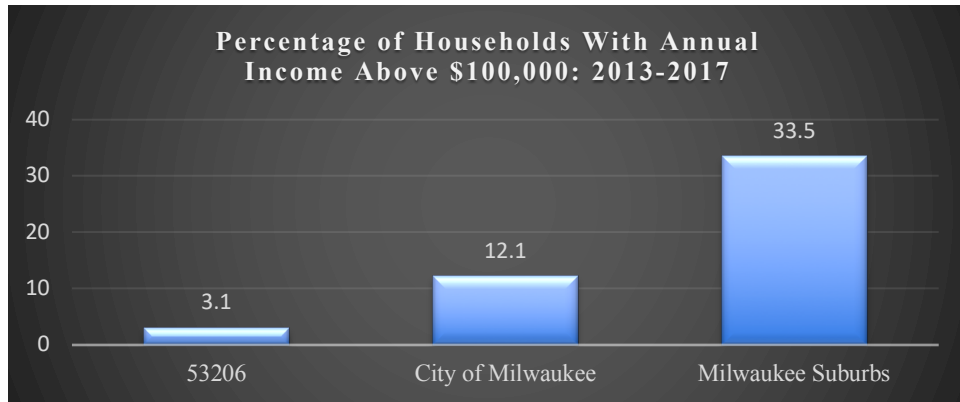
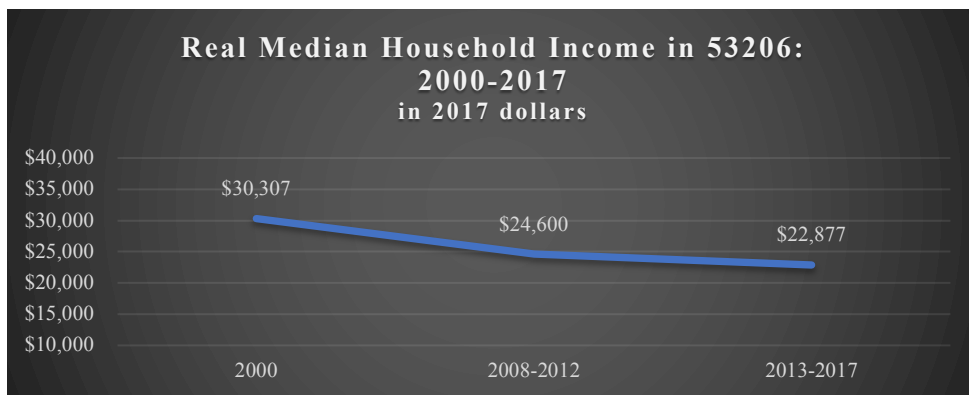


Table 5:

**Percentage Change in Real Household Income in 53206:
2000-2017**

Period	% change in household income
2000-2012	-18.8%
2012-2017	-7.0%
2000-2017	-24.5%

Chart 32:



Aggregate Neighborhood Income in 53206. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, leaders in government, philanthropy, and business in Milwaukee asserted confidently that, despite low incomes and high poverty rates, a “market-driven” revival was imminent in neighborhoods such

as 53206.³⁰ Following Michael Porter’s influential work on “competitive inner cities,” these leaders insisted that while *household* incomes might be low in places like 53206, the population density in such inner city neighborhoods produces surprisingly high *aggregate* incomes and *aggregate* purchasing power. As a result, according to this approach, the inner city has a latent “competitive advantage” in attracting businesses, particularly retail establishments drawn to dense consumer markets.³¹

The claims of Porter and local acolytes were debunked at the time, and, to put it mildly, history has not been kind to their assertion that once “urban myths” were discarded and “untapped purchasing power” was recognized, “market-driven” growth would revive neighborhoods like 53206 in Milwaukee.³² Indeed, Porter’s consulting group, “The Initiative for a Competitive Inner City” (ICIC), was brought to Milwaukee with much fanfare by foundations and business leaders in the early 2000s, to launch an “Initiative for Competitive Milwaukee;” after just a few years, however, the Milwaukee initiative collapsed.

The aggregate “purchasing power” approach was flawed conceptually – households don’t consume in the “aggregate,” which is why neighborhoods with large concentrations of poverty are not hotbeds of economic development. But the analysis was also flawed empirically. As Table 6 and Chart 33 show for 53206, declining real household income coupled with a demographic “hollowing out” of inner city neighborhoods (which has been underway since the 1970s) has meant that real aggregate income and purchasing power *have declined precipitously* in poor neighborhoods like 53206. Even if *aggregate* income and purchasing power were an unrecognized “asset” of inner city neighborhoods like 53206 –a dubious formulation to begin with-- that advantage has eroded substantially over the past decades. As Table 6 shows, real aggregate income in 53206 has declined by over 43 percent since 2000 alone. And the zip code’s

³⁰ See, for example, Joel Dresang, “Heart of city beats with opportunity,” *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, January 16, 2000.

³¹ The seminal work is Michael Porter, “The Competitive Advantage of the Inner City,” *Harvard Business Review* (May-June 1995): 55-71. In a crude Milwaukee version of this approach, local researchers assembled “purchasing power profiles” of inner city neighborhoods, purporting to show that such neighborhoods actually had higher purchasing power than affluent suburban communities, and that Milwaukee’s inner city, therefore, had “a strong base of retail purchasing.” For a 53206 “purchasing power profile” in this vein, see John Pawarasat, Lois Quinn, and Frank Stetzer, “Purchasing Power Profile: Milwaukee Zipcode 53206,” (Milwaukee: UWM Digital Commons, 2001). Access at: https://dc.uwm.edu/eti_pubs/199/

³² Among the many critiques of Porterism, see Merrill Goozner, “The Porter Prescription,” *The American Prospect*, (May-June 1998). Access at: <https://prospect.org/article/porter-prescription>; and, for a critique of Porterism in the Milwaukee context, see Marc V. Levine, *The Economic State of Milwaukee’s Inner City: 1970-2000* (Milwaukee: UWM Center for Economic Development and UWM Digital Commons, 2002). Access at: https://dc.uwm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1027&context=ced_pubs

population has declined by an estimated 60 percent since the 1970s.³³ Since 2000, the number of prime working age males living in 53206 has dropped by 28 percent. All these trends undercut the notion that 53206 has been on the verge of a “purchasing power/density-driven” economic revival.

Table 6:
Percentage Change in Real Aggregate Income in 53206:
2000-2017

Period	% change in aggregate zipcode income
2000-2012	-30.3%
2012-2017	-18.3%
2000-2017	-43.1%

Chart 33:

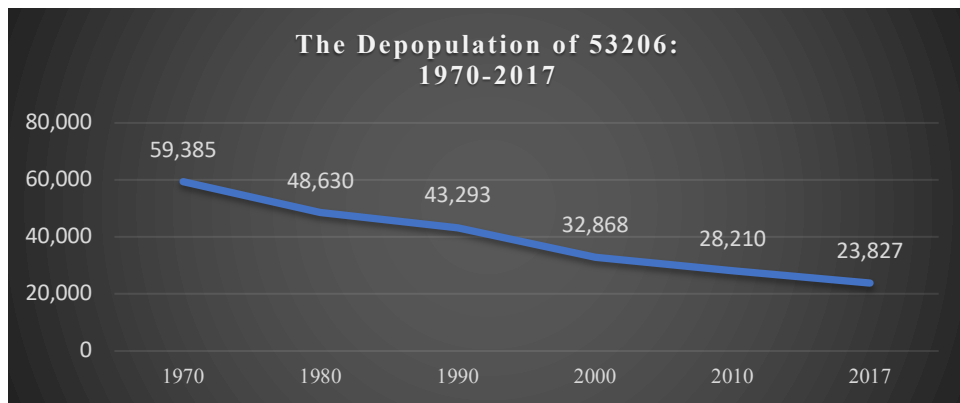
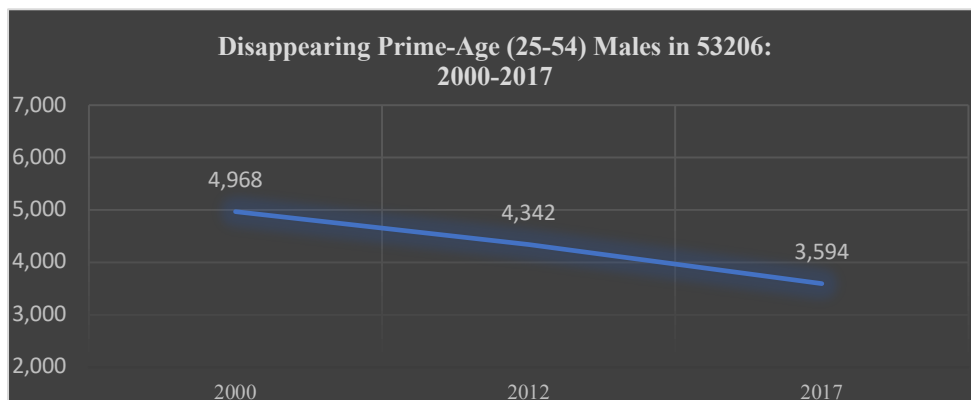


Chart 34:



³³ Thus, we estimate that real aggregate income in 53206 has declined by whopping 65.7 percent since 1970. See Marc V. Levine, “The Shame of Milwaukee: The Most Racial Segregated and Unequal Metro Area in America?” Presentation to the Fair Housing Council of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, April 24, 2015. Slide 32.

Education, Income, and Poverty in 53206. As we documented earlier this study, educational attainment is highly correlated with outcomes in employment and earnings, in 53206 and across the Milwaukee region. Unsurprisingly, this is also the case with education and poverty. As Table 7 shows, in all three geographic areas for which we collected data –the city of Milwaukee, suburban Waukesha county, and zip code 53206—there is a linear relationship between education and poverty: the higher the level of educational attainment, the lower the individual’s likelihood of living in poverty.³⁴ In 53206, an individual (over age 25) who did not receive a high school diploma was over three times likelier to live in poverty than someone with at least a bachelor’s degree; a high school graduate in 53206 was twice as likely as a college graduate to live in poverty.

Table 7:
Educational Attainment and Poverty in 53206 and Greater Milwaukee: 2013-17
% of persons over age 25 living in poverty, by level of educational attainment

Educational Attainment	Zipcode 53206	City of Milwaukee	Waukesha County
Less Than High School	48.8	36.8	13.8
H.S. Diploma/Equivalent	31.9	22.7	6.2
Some College/Associate Degree	30.7	18.9	5.2
Bachelor’s Degree	14.0	7.2	1.6

Once again, however, there is striking evidence that “place matters” in the relationship between education and poverty in metro Milwaukee. Even when controlling for educational attainment, there are massive disparities in poverty rates between 53206 and elsewhere in the region. A college graduate residing in 53206 was twice as likely to live in poverty as a comparably educated resident of the city of Milwaukee in 2013-17, and over *seven times more likely* to live in poverty than a college graduate living in Waukesha county. Similar disparities

³⁴ In 53206, as we saw earlier in examining the relationship between education and earnings, and unlike in the rest of the city or in Waukesha County, there was little difference in the poverty rate between a high school graduate and an individual with “some college or an associate’s degree” in 2013-17.

exist at all education levels between 53206 and the rest of the region: for example, a high school graduate in 53206 is *five times likelier* to be poor than a high school graduate in Waukesha county. *Incredibly, there is no statistical difference between the poverty rates of college graduates in 53206 and high school dropouts in Waukesha county.* Clearly, although there is no gainsaying the importance of education, the opportunity structure in various areas of Milwaukee is shaped by other factors as well. Put another way, “place matters.” For example, the geography of jobs in metro Milwaukee –in particular, greater availability of entry-level jobs in Waukesha county-- undoubtedly contributes to the very low poverty rates among high school graduates and even dropouts there when compared to similarly educated residents of the city or 53206.. Conversely, factors such as the persistence of racial discrimination in regional labor markets, or inequities in housing or credit markets –to name just a few likely culprits-- all deleteriously affect the income of 53206 residents, regardless of their level of education.

INTERGENERATIONAL ECONOMIC MOBILITY: “STUCK IN PLACE” IN 53206?³⁵

Another way in which “place matters” is in the degree to which neighborhood environments shape the ability of residents and their children to achieve upward mobility. To what extent does neighborhood affect the American credo of “equality of opportunity?” To what extent do the children of low-income households, growing up in different neighborhoods, move up (or down) the economic ladder? In his landmark study, *Stuck in Place*, sociologist Patrick Sharkey found that “the most common experience for black families since the 1970s, by a wide margin, has been to live in the poorest American neighborhoods over consecutive generations. Only 7 percent of white families have experienced similar poverty in their neighborhood environments for consecutive generations.”³⁶ In a series of landmark papers, using longitudinal “big data” from the IRS and the Census bureau, scholars at the Harvard-based “Equality of Opportunity Project” have demonstrated vast differences in mobility rates for the children of various household income percentiles: between counties, metropolitan areas (“commuting zones”), census tracts, and by racial and ethnic group.³⁷ The Harvard data “trace the roots of today’s affluence and poverty back to the neighborhoods where people grew up” and help the answer the question: “Which neighborhoods in America offer children the best opportunity to rise out of poverty?”³⁸

We have already seen, at each census measurement snapshot, the pervasiveness and persistence of poverty in 53206. The Harvard data enable us analyze over time how children, raised in low-income households in 53206 census tracts, have fared as they reach young adulthood. Have they risen to a higher income percentile, indicating upward mobility, or have they remained “stuck” at the same low-income level as their parents, evidence of intergenerational transmission of poverty? Table 8 and Charts 35 and 36 array these results. These charts track the 2014-15 household income percentile of children born between 1978-83, for 53206 and for metro Milwaukee as a whole. For children born into low-income households between 1978-83 –defined as households in the 25th percentile of the national income distribution—we can observe their average income percentile when they reach their early and mid-thirties in 2014-15. Table 8 shows the average young adult (ages 31-37) income percentile

³⁵ I have, of course, borrowed the expression “stuck in place,” from Patrick Sharkey’s path-breaking book on race and the intergenerational transmission of poverty and inequality.

³⁶ Sharkey, *Stuck in Place*.

³⁷ The “Equality of Opportunity” project papers and their data are conveniently and generously available on line at: <https://www.opportunityatlas.org/>

³⁸ Ibid.

for black children who were born in the late 1970s and early 1980s in low-income (25th percentile) households in census tracts located in zip code 53206. The table also includes the estimated annual household income in dollars at those percentiles.

**Table 8:
National Income Percentile in 2014-15 of Adults Born
Between 1978-83 into Low-Income (25th Percentile)
Households in Census Tracts Located in 53206**

Census Tract	Black Male Adult HH Income Percentile	Black Male Estimated Annual HH Income	Black Female Adult HH Income Percentile	Black Female Estimated Annual HH Income
1856	25	\$15,551	33	\$21,599
1855	25	\$15,551	33	\$21,599
1854	26	\$16,512	29	\$19,529
87	25	\$15,551	30	\$20,562
86	27	\$17,499	31	\$21,599
85	21	\$11,603	34	\$24,718
84	26	\$16,512	27	\$17,499
68	28	\$18,506	32	\$22,637
66	24	\$14,610	34	\$24,718
65	27	\$17,499	30	\$20,562
64	25	\$15,551	33	\$23,677
47	28	\$18,506	33	\$23,677
46	27	\$17,499	32	\$22,637
45	26	\$16,512	33	\$23,677

In each census tract, the average household income percentile for black males in their early to mid-30s in 2014-15 remained barely changed from the low-income percentile of the households in which they grew up in the late 1970s or early 1980s. For example, a black male child born into a “25th percentile” household in census tract 85 between 1978-83 had income as a young adult in 2014-15 that, on average, placed him in the 21st percentile (with an estimated annual income of just \$11,603 – extreme poverty). Clearly, for black males born and raised in 53206 in the late 1970s and early 1980s, there has been, on average, no upward mobility; as Chart 35 shows, the average percentile for these black male children born into “25th” percentile households in 53206 between 1978-83 was.....*the 25th percentile in 2014-15*. (This mobility trend is worse than for black males in metro Milwaukee as a whole who, as Chart 35 shows, rose modestly to the 30th percentile in early adulthood).

Black females, born and raised in 53206, experienced slightly more upward mobility than for black males – a gender distinction among African Americans that is consistent with what the “Equality of Opportunity” project researchers have found nationally. Black females born between 1978-83 into “25th percentile” households in 53206 rose, on average, to 32nd percentile households by their young adulthood in 2014-15.

But, as Charts 35 and 36 show, racial and geographic disparities in the ability to rise out of poverty in Milwaukee are quite pronounced. As we’ve seen, black males born in 53206 into the 25th percentile of the national income distribution in 1978-83 remained, on average, in the 25th percentile as young adults (ages 31-37) in 2014-15 – no intergenerational mobility. On the other hand, white males in metro Milwaukee as whole, born into the same 25th percentile in 1978-83 rose, on average, to the 45th income percentile as young adults, just slightly below the middle of the distribution – a sign of discernible, if not dramatic, upward mobility. Put into dollar terms (Chart 36), this means that white males (born in metro Milwaukee) and black males (born in 53206) starting out in households with identical low incomes (25th percentile) in 1978-1983 were separated by an estimated \$21,000 in annual income by the time they became young adults (2014-15): the estimated average white male’s household income at \$36,477, the black male’s at \$15,551. Tracked over 30+ years, *the household income of white males born into poor households in metro Milwaukee was now more than double that of black males born into poor households in 53206*, a clear racial and neighborhood difference in the trajectory of mobility and opportunity.

Although black females have experienced more intergenerational mobility than males in 53206 over the past 30+ years, these same gaps by race and place exist for females. Black females born into low-income households in 53206 in the late 1970s and 1980s experienced much less upward mobility by young adulthood than their white counterparts born in Greater Milwaukee, with an estimated annual income gap of \$16,000 in 2014-15. In short, not only is 53206 a neighborhood of concentrated and extreme poverty, but it is also a place where it is very difficult for residents to escape poverty. The Harvard researchers ask, “where is the land of opportunity?” in one of the earliest papers from their pathbreaking project.³⁹ The evidence on intergenerational mobility is clear: 53206 is a neighborhood of deep, intergenerational poverty,

³⁹ Raj Chetty, Nathaniel Hendren, Patrick Kline, and Emmanuel Saez, “Where is the Land of Opportunity? The Geography of Intergenerational Mobility in the United States,” NBER Working Paper No. 19843. June 2014. Access at: <https://www.nber.org/papers/w19843>

negligible intergenerational mobility for low income residents, and truncated economic opportunity.

Chart 35:

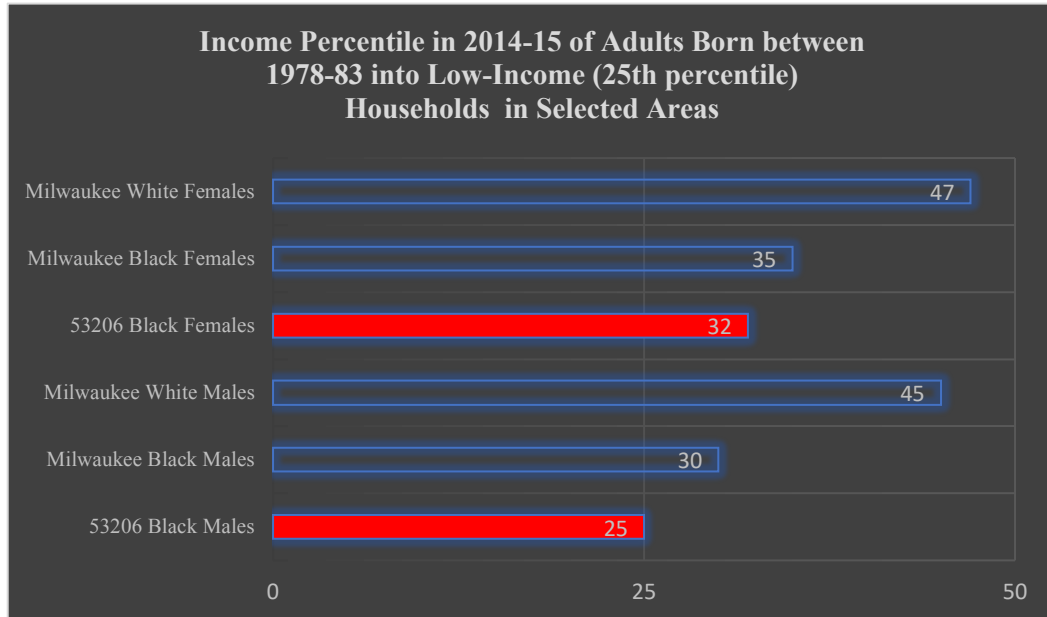
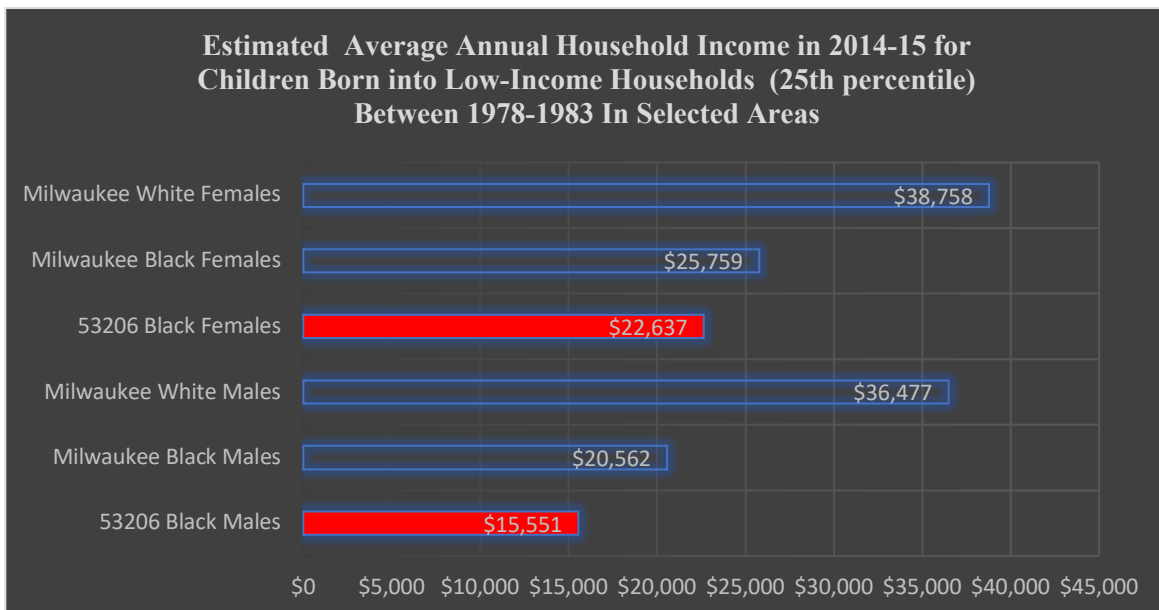


Chart 36:



HOUSING INEQUALITY

53206, as is the case in low-income inner city neighborhoods across the country, suffers from a myriad of housing challenges: low rates of homeownership, omnipresent vacant and boarded up housing units, and excessively high rent burdens for residents whose incomes, as we've documented, have been plummeting for decades.

Homeownership is the primary means by which moderate-income U.S. households accumulate wealth. It also often correlates with neighborhood stability and prosperity, as homeowners, with roots in the neighborhood, are stakeholders, committed to community improvements and quality.

As Charts 37 and 38 show, homeownership in 53206 lags well behind the rate in Milwaukee's suburbs, and the homeownership rate in 53206 has declined steadily since 2000 (a product of the subprime/foreclosure crisis after 2008 as well as the secular decline of real household income in the zip code). Just one-third of housing units in 53206 were owner-occupied in 2013-17, compared to over 70 percent in the four-county suburbs surrounding the city of Milwaukee. Between 2000-2017, the percentage of owner-occupied units in 53206 dropped from 38.6 percent to 33.6 percent.

CHART 37

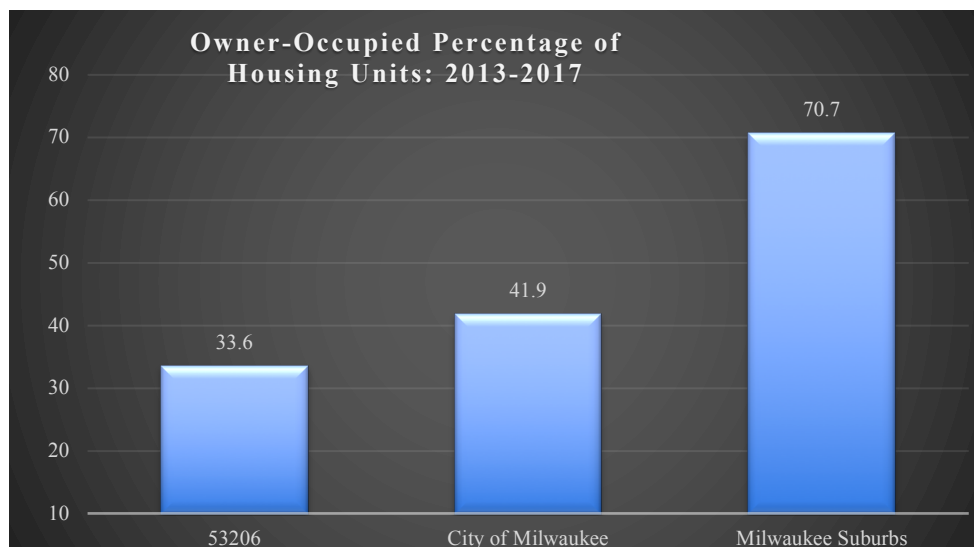
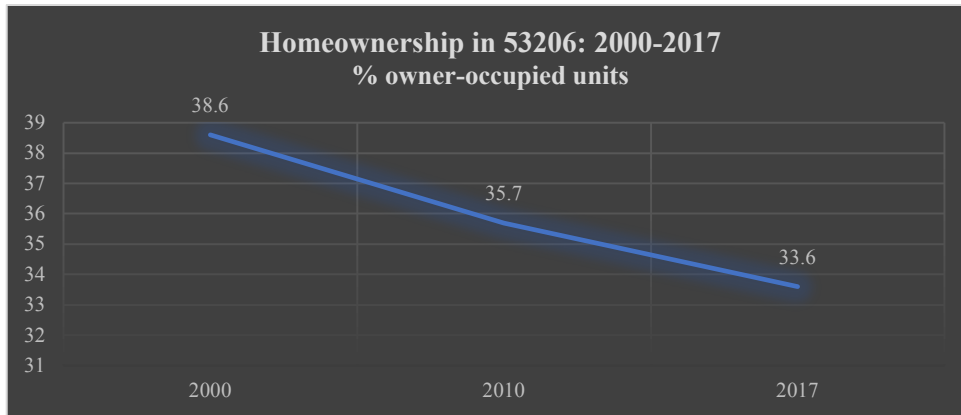


CHART 38:



The landscape of 53206 is also dotted with a large number of vacant housing units. Fully one-quarter of all housing units in the zip code were vacant in 2013-17, more than double the vacant housing rate in the city of Milwaukee, and more than five times the percentage in the suburbs (Chart 39). Moreover, the crisis of vacant housing in 53206 has significantly worsened since the turn of the century (Chart 40). Between 2000-2012, as 53206 was buffeted by the subprime loan/foreclosure crisis of the Great Recession, the vacant housing rate rose sharply (from 11.8 to 18.9 percent). Since 2012, as the secular trends of shrinking population and declining household incomes continued to erode the housing market in 53206, the vacancy rate rose by another seven percentage points (an almost 35 percent increase), reaching 25.5 percent of all units in the zip code. By any reckoning, this is a visible, physical manifestation of the socio-economic crisis that continues to grip 53206.

CHART 39:

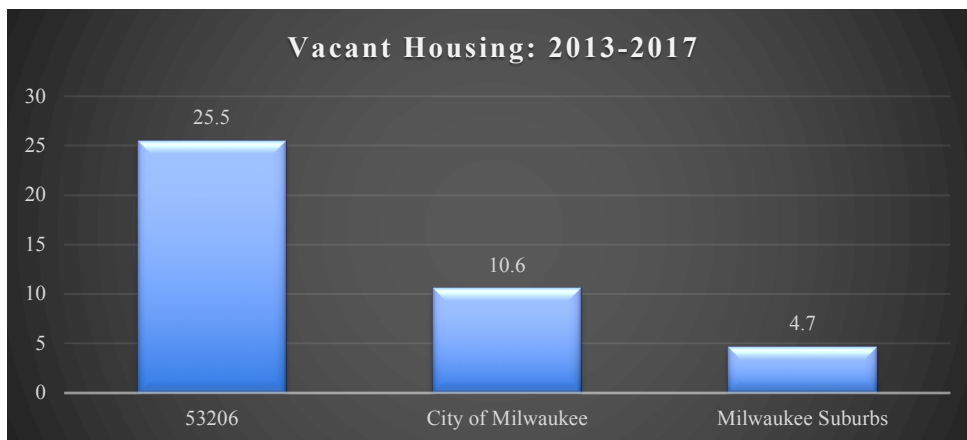
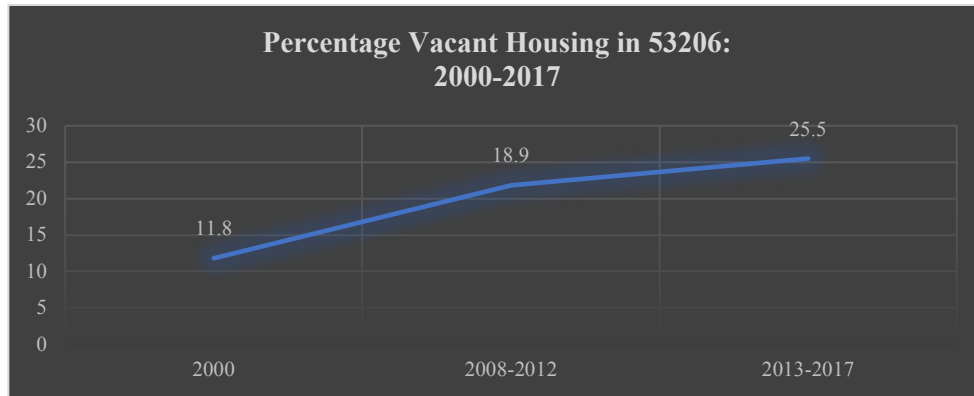
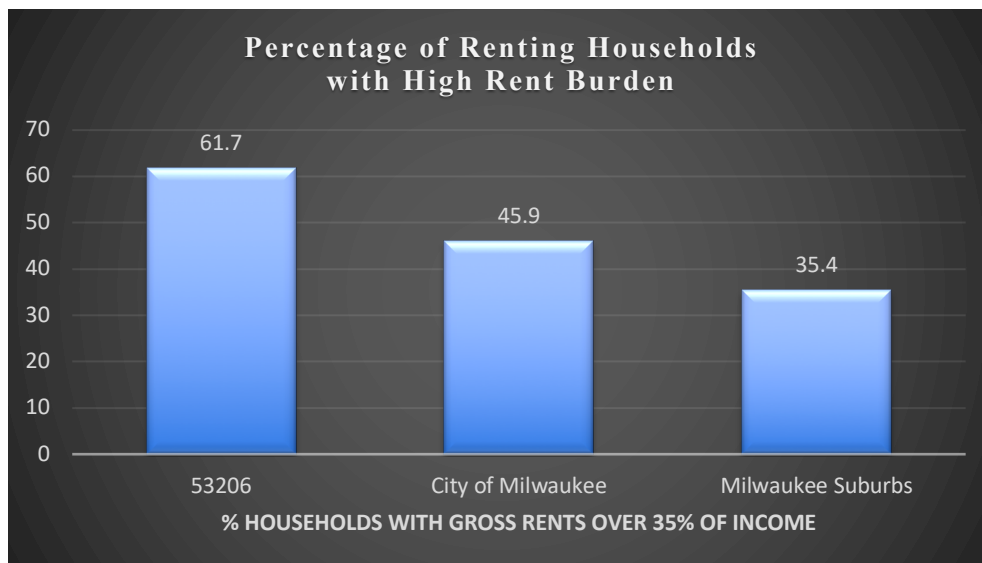


CHART 40:



53206 is a neighborhood with a high percentage of low-income renters; thus, its residents are particularly vulnerable to the burden of high rents. As Chart 41 shows, an extraordinary 61.7 percent of 53206’s renter households face a “high rent burden,” in which they pay over 35 percent of their income in rent. High rent burden, of course, often leads to missed payments and evictions, and is an integral element in the daily grind of poverty in 53206.⁴⁰

CHART 41:



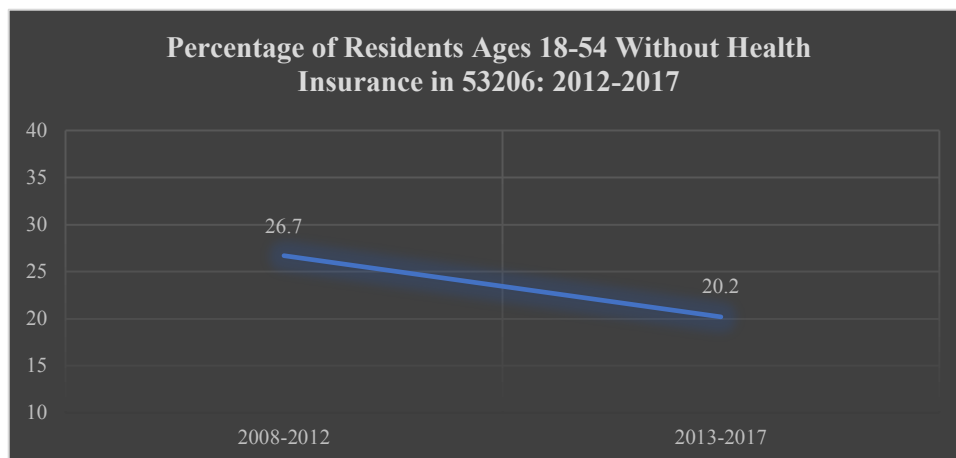
⁴⁰ A remarkable 46 percent of 53206 residents paid *over half* their income in gross rent in 2013-17.

HEALTH INSURANCE

Neighborhoods of concentrated poverty such as 53206 have been at the forefront of the health insurance crisis in America, with large percentages of residents among the uninsured. Before the full implementation of the Affordable Care Act in 2014, even though many poor residents of 53206 received some coverage through programs such as Medicaid and CHIP,⁴¹ almost 27 percent of the zip code’s adults (ages 18-54) and over 41 percent of the neighborhood’s adult males (18-54) were without health insurance (Charts 42 and 43). Thanks to Obamacare, however, the uninsured rate has plummeted in 53206 over the past five years: by 25 percent for all adults, and by over 31 percent for adult males.

Nevertheless, a critical mass of 53206 adults remain uninsured. In 2013-17, one-fifth of all adults, ages 18-54, lacked health insurance, triple the percentage of uninsured in the Milwaukee suburbs (Chart 44). Among adult males in 53206, 28.3 percent still had no health insurance in the 2013-17 ACS survey (Chart 45). These data indicate that, while the health insurance situation in 53206 has improved mightily since the implementation of Obamacare, a large number of neighborhood residents face the medical and financial precariousness of living without health insurance – another of the “cumulative disadvantages” faced by residents of this inner city neighborhood.

CHART 42:



⁴¹ Children’s Health Insurance Program

CHART 43:

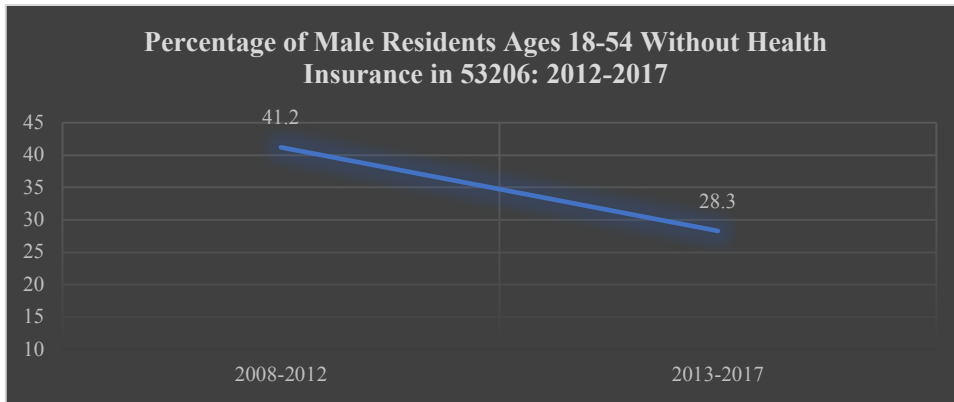


CHART 44:

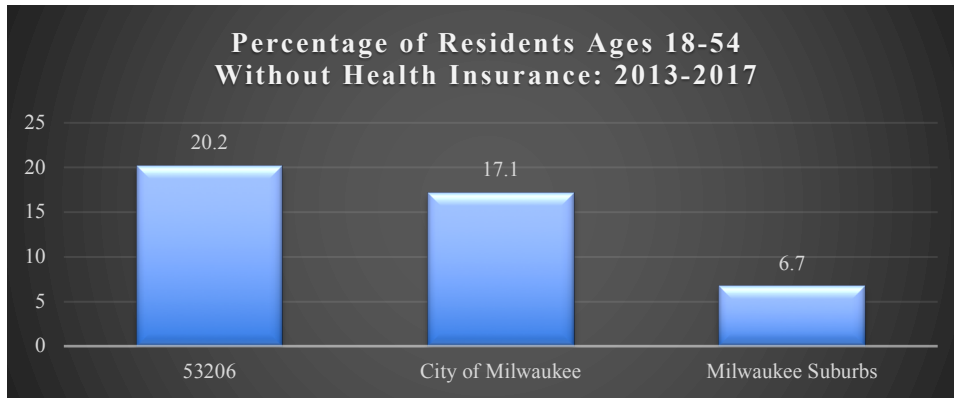
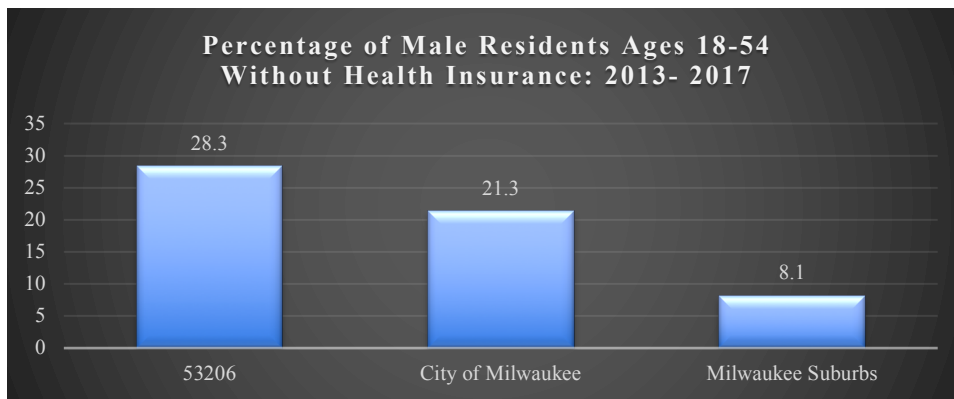


CHART 45:



EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

As we saw when analyzing employment, earnings, and income trends in 53206, educational attainment is a significant –albeit, not determinative—element in the well-being of neighborhood residents. And residents of 53206 lag significantly behind persons living in the city of Milwaukee as a whole and, especially, the Milwaukee suburbs, in their level of education. Almost three-quarters of 53206 residents over the age of 25 held at least a high school diploma in 2013-17, compared to a high school graduate rate of 83 percent in the city of Milwaukee and almost 95 percent in the Milwaukee suburbs. This regional educational attainment gap is even greater when we consider residents holding at least a college degree. Only 6.9 percent of 53206 residents are college graduates; this is just one-third the percentage in the city of Milwaukee and one-sixth of the college graduate rate in the Milwaukee suburbs. The educational credentials of 53206 residents have advanced since 2000: the high school graduate percentage has risen from 57 to 72 percent, and the college graduate rate has climbed slightly from 4 percent to almost 7 percent. But growth in both percentages has been stagnant since 2008-12, and, in any event, the educational achievement gap separating 53206 and the rest of Greater Milwaukee remains wide – a disparity that looms large in the “concentration of disadvantage” in 53206.

CHART 46:

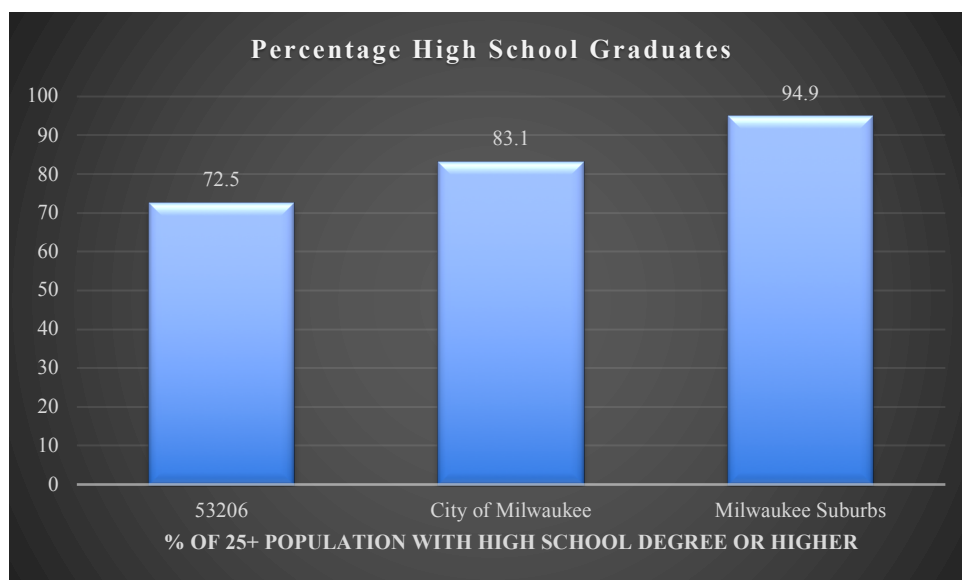
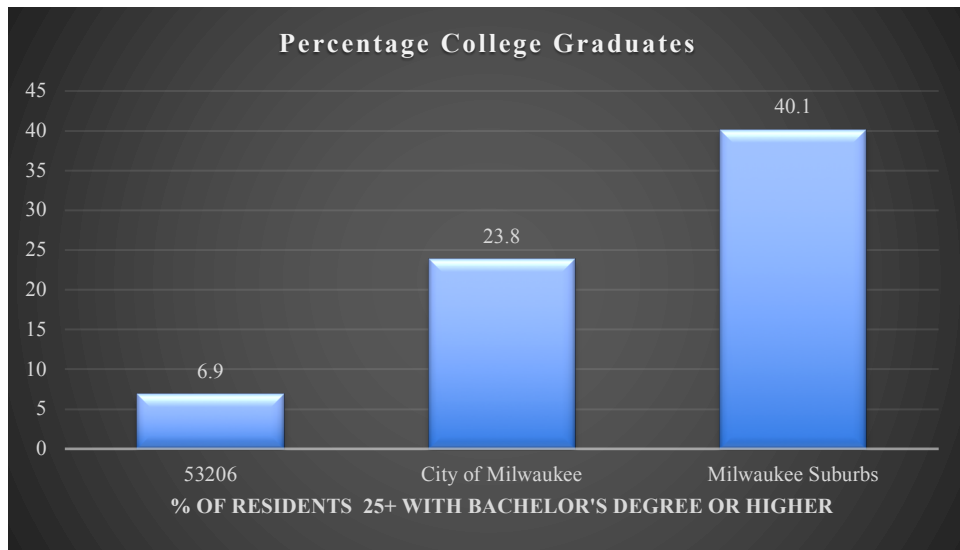


CHART 47:



MASS INCARCERATION

In recent years, a flood of academic research has detailed the staggering rise since the 1970s of the “carceral state” in America and the emergence of mass incarceration, especially of young black males, as a salient element in the hyperconcentration of disadvantages facing inner cities across the country.⁴² Wisconsin has been at the forefront of this surge in black male incarceration, with the percentage of black males held in correctional facilities rising from 3.4 percent in 1970 to 11.9 percent by 2013; the incarceration rate for black males in Wisconsin is twelve times the rate for white males⁴³ and this racial disparity ranks among the widest in the nation.⁴⁴

In the flurry of attention to the issue of mass incarceration, 53206 has assumed special importance, in large part thanks to the astounding claim in the documentary “Milwaukee 53206” calling it “the zip code that incarcerates the highest percentage of black men in America.”⁴⁵ This assertion has flown across the internet⁴⁶ and is routinely repeated in local journalistic accounts.⁴⁷ One reporter boldly asserted that “researchers...[have] failed to locate any zip code in the nation with a matching per-capita share of residents who are or were incarcerated.”⁴⁸

These sensationalistic statements are false. While incarceration and ex-offender rates in 53206 are shockingly high (as we will document), there is no evidence that these rates are higher than “any zip code in the nation,” and there are no studies reaching that conclusion. In fact, as we will

⁴² Among the many important works, see the following: Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: The New Press, 2010), the seminal best-seller that brought the issue of mass incarceration to wide public consciousness; Bruce Western, *Punishment and Inequality in America* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2007); John Pfaff, *Locked In: The True Cause of Mass Incarceration and How to Achieve Real Reform* (New York: Basic Books, 2017); James Forman, Jr, *Locking Up Our Own: Crime and Punishment in Black America* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 2017); and Marie Gottschalk, *Caught: The Prison State and the Lockdown of American Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

⁴³ Marc V. Levine, “The Shame of Milwaukee,” Slide 29.

⁴⁴ The Sentencing Project, “State by State Data on Incarceration.” Access at: <https://www.sentencingproject.org/the-facts/#rankings?dataset-option=BWR>

⁴⁵ See “Milwaukee 53206.” Access at: <https://www.milwaukee53206.com/>.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Alex Leichenger, “How One Milwaukee Zip Code Explains America’s Mass Incarceration Problem,” *Think Progress*. March 20, 2014. Access at: <https://thinkprogress.org/how-one-milwaukee-zip-code-explains-americas-mass-incarceration-problem-66a6535d1c4/>; and George Joseph, “How Wisconsin became the home of black incarceration,” *The Atlantic*, August 17, 2016 (accessed at: <https://www.citylab.com/equity/2016/08/how-wisconsin-became-the-home-of-black-incarceration/496130/>).

⁴⁷ Causey, “While many want to leave Wisconsin’s most violent Zip code, these residents are staying to make it better.”

⁴⁸ John Schmid, “The Unlikeliest Neighborhood.” *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, March 29, 2017. Access at: <https://projects.jsonline.com/news/2017/3/29/the-unlikeliest-neighborhood.html>. We assume here that the author means the *share*, or the *percentage* of residents who are or were incarcerated; *per capita share of residents* is a meaningless expression.

see shortly, there are many zip codes across the United States with higher incarceration levels than 53206 – a sobering commentary on the pervasiveness of mass incarceration in the nation.

Measuring incarceration rates at the neighborhood level, especially if we wish to make comparisons across the country, is not a simple or straightforward task. There is no publicly available central data base identifying prisoners across the country by their neighborhood zip code; and “there are no publicly available data on the exact size or composition of former prisoners and people with felony convictions” across the country, let alone data indicating in which specific neighborhoods these ex-offenders live.⁴⁹ Issues such as recidivism (which could lead to multiple counts of the same ex-offender), geographic mobility (what percentage of ex-offenders still live in the zip code to which they were released), or mortality (what percentage of ex-offenders released in a given zip code have died) pose significant methodological challenges to researchers seeking to quantify incarceration and ex-incarceration at the neighborhood level and to make reliable comparisons among neighborhoods across the country.⁵⁰

National comparisons aside, simply counting persons in Wisconsin zip codes at a given point-in-time who are or have been incarcerated in state prisons, is also methodologically vexing. The files from the Wisconsin Department of Corrections (DOC) WICS⁵¹ data base are messy: they contain no reliable zip code addresses for current inmates; in all years, many zip codes are missing for persons under supervision of the DOC (ex-offenders paroled or on probation), an issue especially problematic as we go back in time, to the early 2000s, when almost half the zip codes are missing from the data; and there are no counts at all of ex-offenders in zip codes who are no longer under the supervision of the DOC. Thus, to estimate the percentage of 53206 residents who, at a given point-in-time, are incarcerated or under the supervision of the Wisconsin DOC involves a set of assumptions and “work-arounds” (delineated in the appendix to this study) and the reality is that the percentage calculated is a plausible estimate rather than a hard figure. And, of course, this final figure will also not include an indeterminate number of ex-

⁴⁹ See Cherrie Bucknor and Alan Barber, *The Price We Pay: Economic Costs of Barrier to Employment for Former Prisoners and People Convicted of Felonies*. (Washington, D.C.: Center for Economic and Policy Research, 2016), p. 4. Access at: <http://cepr.net/images/stories/reports/employment-prisoners-felonies-2016-06.pdf>. For an excellent discussion of the issues surrounding how to estimate incarcerated and ex-offender populations, see Bucknor and Barber, as well as Adam Looney and Nicholas Turner, *Work and Opportunity Before and After Incarceration* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2018). Access at: <http://cepr.net/images/stories/reports/employment-prisoners-felonies-2016-06.pdf>

⁵⁰ See Sarah K.S. Shannon, Christopher Uggen, Jason Schnittker, Melissa Thomson, Sara Wakefield, and Michael Massoglia, “The Growth, Scope, and Spatial Distribution of People With Felony Records in the United States,” *Demography* (2017). Vol 54: 1800-1804.

⁵¹ Wisconsin Integrated Corrections System data base.

offenders “off paper,” because there is no official, public inventory of such persons, at the state-level and certainly by zip code.⁵² Nor, of course, does the “carceral estimate” include neighborhood residents who are or have been incarcerated in federal prison (with no state felony convictions and incarceration record).

However, notwithstanding these methodological obstacles, we can provide some credible estimates on the extent of incarceration in 53206 as well as evidence on whether 53206 is, indeed, the most incarcerated neighborhood in America. We examine these issues from several angles. Using new and unique data sets of de-identified, confidential data from the IRS and the Census bureau, made available by the Harvard Equality of Opportunity project as well as the Looney-Turner study of the Brookings Institution, we can compare incarceration rates by the zip codes and/or census tracts in which persons across the country were born and grew up. Separately, with “point-in-time” data from various years provided by the Wisconsin DOC –the WICS files—and with some assumptions and work arounds, we can provide estimates on the important and controversial question of the percentage of black males in 53206 who are either incarcerated or former state prisoners under the supervision of the Wisconsin corrections system in various years since 2001.

⁵² Some research, conducted by academic staff at UW-Milwaukee’s Employment and Training Institute (ETI), purports to provide a precise count of the incarcerated and ex-offender population in 53206, Milwaukee County, and other local jurisdictions below the state level, notwithstanding the limitations of the Wisconsin DOC data. However, the ETI figures are highly problematic methodologically – even assuming that the authors somehow accessed a more complete and accurate data file than the currently available DOC numbers (they never identify their data source nor have they shared the data with scholars), and assuming that they properly accounted for issues such as recidivists, and did not double or triple count released ex-offenders. It is unclear, for example, how they arrived at their calculation of the total number of black male ex-offenders living in 53206. It appears that they simply counted all of the black male inmates who had been “formerly incarcerated” and released to 53206 over a certain period (1990-2011), assumed the ex-offenders were all still alive and residing in 53206 in 2012, added the number of current inmates who lived in 53206 before their incarceration to that total, and then divided that figure by the overall 53206 black male population in 2012 to arrive at a figure allegedly showing the percentage of the black males “presently or previously incarcerated in adult state correctional institutions” in 2012. But such an approach assuredly overcounts the number of ex-offenders living in the zip code. There is no indication that the authors verified how many of the ex-offenders were actually alive in 2012; given mortality rates as well as the normal turnover of residents moving in and out of 53206 (around half of 53206 residents change homes every five years, according to the census bureau), only a fraction of those ex-felons released to 53206 between 1990-2011 were likely still living there in 2012 –yet apparently *all* 1990-2011 prisoners are counted in the ETI tabulation of the 53206 “incarceration rate” in 2012. As we have noted, there are incorrect zip codes and missing data throughout DOC data sets we have obtained, but the ETI authors give no explanation of how they accounted for these data shortcomings and lacunae. In short, it appears that ETI arrived at a misleading and inflated incarceration rate for 53206 and other “sub-state” jurisdictions in Wisconsin (such as Milwaukee County) by mistakenly using a multi-year numerator of prisoners and dividing it by a single year denominator of the population. Thus, the well-traveled, and quite eye-catching map in the ETI report (p. 25), supposedly showing the *precise* residences in 2012 of ex-offenders in 53206, with the inflammatory conclusion that “nearly every residential block in the neighborhood had multiple numbers of ex-offenders with prison records,” is misleading (and inaccurate), as is their conclusion that over 62 percent of young black males in 53206 were “currently or previously incarcerated in state prisons.” See John Pawasarat and Lois M. Quinn, “Wisconsin’s Mass Incarceration of African American Males: Workforce Challenges for 2013,” UW-Milwaukee Employment and Training Institute, 2013, pp. 12ff, especially 23-25. Access at: <https://www4.uwm.edu/eti/2013/BlackImprisonment.pdf>

First, let's start with the oft-repeated claim that "Milwaukee 53206" is the most incarcerated zip code in America. Chart 48, drawn from the Looney-Turner study at Brookings, shows, by the zip code in which individuals were born and raised, the percentage of persons (both sexes) born between 1980-1986 who were incarcerated in 2012. Put another way, the chart shows the incarcerated percentage of 26-32 year olds (by all accounts the most incarcerated of age cohorts) in 2012, by their childhood zip code. In what zip codes did the highest percentage of persons, born and raised there in the early 1980s, ultimately end up in prison in 2012? The Brookings study examined every zip code in the country and, drawing from their data, Chart 48 below lists the 16 zip codes with the highest incarceration rates. "Nashville 37208" heads the list, with over 14 percent of residents who were born there in the early 1980s incarcerated in 2012.

Note that "Milwaukee 53206" does not appear on the "most incarcerated list." According to the Brookings data, 6.75 percent of persons, born and raised in 53206 in the early 1980s, were in prison in 2012 – an incarceration rate less than half of "Nashville 37208." (See Chart 49). Indeed, by this measure – "incarceration rate by childhood zip code"-- 53206 is not only *not* among the nation's most incarcerated zip codes, it is Milwaukee's second "most incarcerated" zip code.⁵³

⁵³ The Brookings study's data does not break down persons by race or gender. (We'll present data on race from other sources below). But, as the authors point out, since males make up over 90 percent of prison population, a "back of the envelope" way of calculating the percentage of males who were born in the zip code in the early 1980s and incarcerated in 2012 would be to estimate that the rate for males is roughly twice as high as the "all persons" figure. See Looney and Turner, "Work and Opportunity Before and After Incarceration," p. 15. Thus, in the case of "Nashville 37208," the estimated male incarceration rate would be 28 percent in 2012. For Milwaukee "53206," the estimated male incarceration rate in 2012 would be 13.5 percent, a rate more or less congruent with other data we will present shortly.

CHART 48:

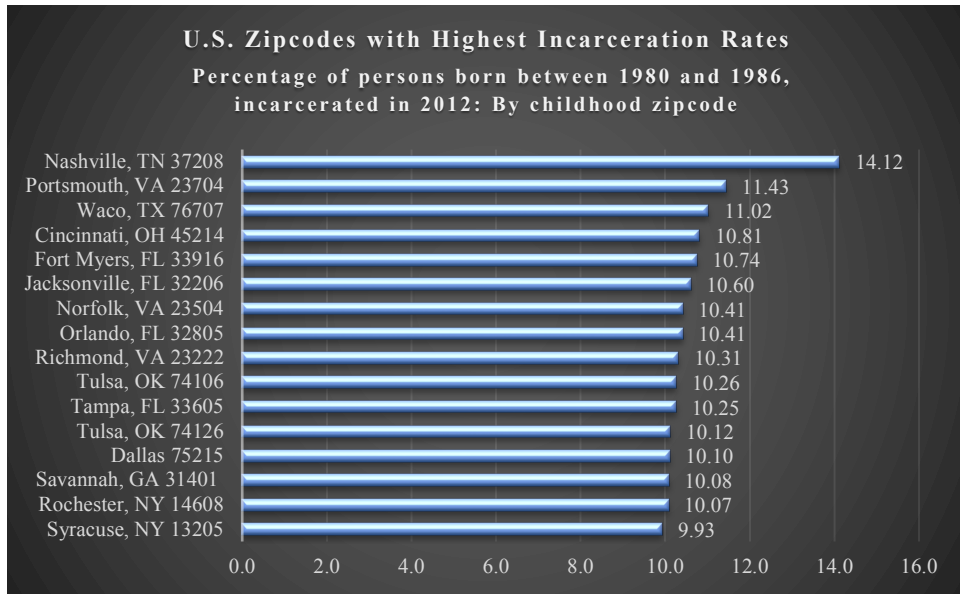
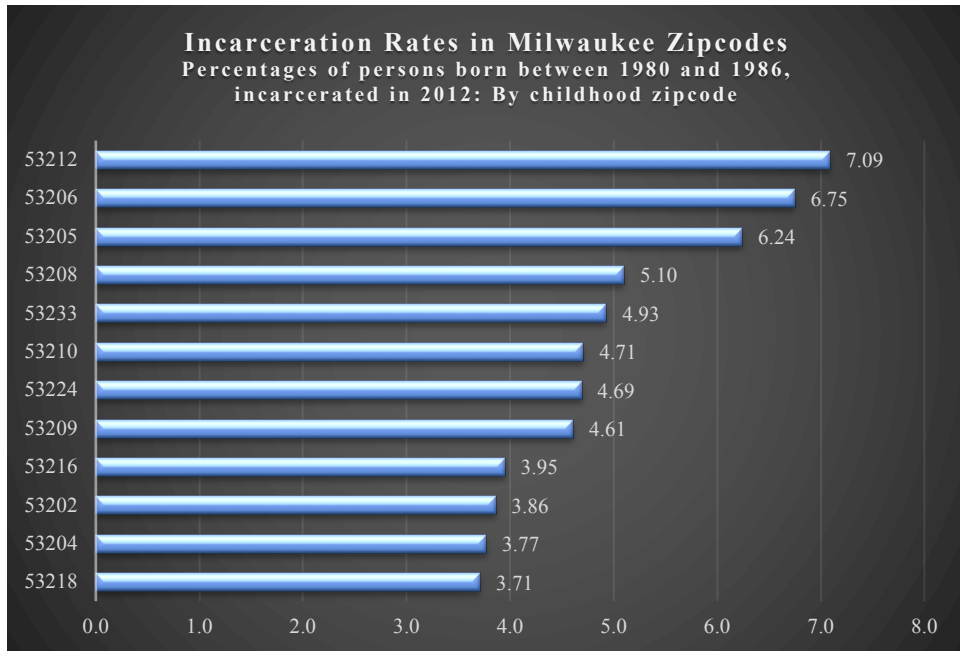


CHART 49:

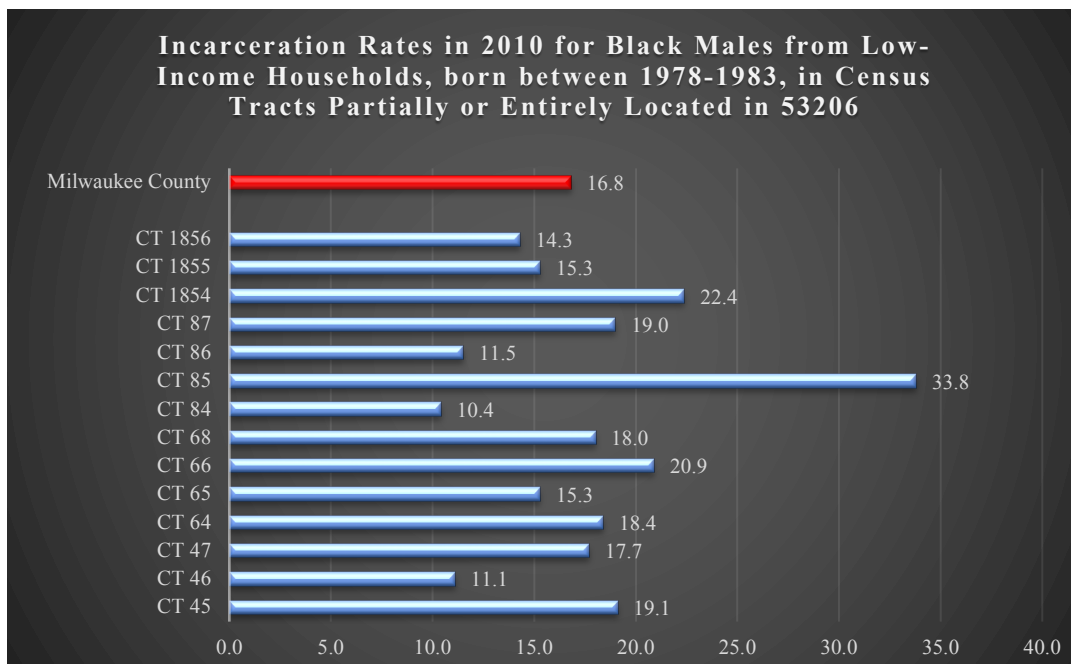


From a slightly different and much more detailed angle, data from the Harvard “Equality of Opportunity Project” enable us to examine incarceration rates by race, gender, census tract of

childhood, and the income of the household into which individuals were born. These data permit us, for example, to answer the questions: What percentage of black males, born and raised in low-income households⁵⁴ in the census tracts located in zip code 53206, ended up in prison in their late 20s and early 30s? And is the incarceration rate in these 53206 census tracts the highest in the United States?

Chart 50 shows the incarceration rates in 2010 for black males who were born into low-income (25th percentile) households between 1978-83 in census tracts located partially or entirely in “Milwaukee 53206.” These men would have been between 27 and 32 years of age in 2010, more or less the “prime years” for imprisonment in this era of mass incarceration according to all research. As the chart shows, in each of the census tracts, a large percentage black boys growing up in low-income households in the late 1970s and early 1980s in 53206 were incarcerated as adults in 2010, ranging from 10.4 percent in tract 46 (located in the far north section of 53206) to a staggering 33.8 percent in tract 85 (located at the southern end of the zip code). Clearly, for young black males growing up in low-income households in 53206, the risk of becoming ensnared in the criminal justice system in the era of mass incarceration has been very high.

CHART 50



⁵⁴ Low-income households are defined, once again, as households with income that places them in the 25th percentile of the national household income distribution.

But as high as these 53206 incarceration levels were in 2010, they were nowhere near the “most incarcerated in the United States.” The census tract in 53206 with the worst incarceration rate was tract 85, at 33.8 percent; but, according to the Harvard data base, there were over 250 census tracts in the United States in which an *even higher percentage* of black males born into low-income households between 1978-83 were incarcerated in 2010, in cities ranging from Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Orlando, Los Angeles, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Richmond, Chicago, and Dallas, to name just a few. The average census tract in 53206 posted an incarceration rate, for black males born into poor households between 1978-83, of 17.7 percent in 2010; the Harvard data base shows that over 3,500 of the nation’s 21,000 census tracts posted higher incarceration rates than 17.7 percent during this period for black males. The incarceration rates in 53206 are abysmal, but they are not unique or unprecedented: the scourge of mass incarceration for low-income black males has enveloped neighborhoods in inner cities across the country. The stark reality is that 53206 is one among many U.S. neighborhoods devastated by mass incarceration, and, at least by this measure, by no means the worst case.

Finally, using the “WICS” data provided by the Wisconsin Department of Corrections, we gauge the full extent of “carceral 53206,” by estimating the percentage of black males in the zip code who were incarcerated or under the active supervision of the state DOC at three points-in-time since the turn of the century: 2001, 2007, and 2013. Although this type of data is unfortunately not available for zip codes across the country, thus ruling out comparing 53206 to other U.S. zip codes, the DOC data permit us yearly snapshots of the overall “carceral” character of 53206 and a view of trends in since the early 2000s. As we noted earlier, given data limitations, this is a daunting, complicated methodological task, requiring assumptions and work arounds, which we spell out in appendix. Following the approach of leading incarceration researchers Shannon et al. in their national study of the geographic distribution of ex-felons, we’ve sought “to overcome these challenges using the best available data and reasonable assumptions by social scientific standards.”⁵⁵ But it is important to again underscore that the figures we present are not “census-like” enumerations of the 53206 carceral population; rather, they are plausible estimates calculated from less-than-perfect data sources.

Charts 51 and 52 and Tables 9 and 10 array estimates of the percentage of black males from 53206 who were either incarcerated in Wisconsin state prisons or under the supervision of the

⁵⁵ Shannon et al., “Growth, Scope, and Spatial Distribution of People With Felonies:” 1800.

state Department of Corrections (on probation or parole) at the beginning of the year in 2001, 2007, and 2013. Chart 51 shows estimates for black males between the ages of 20-64; chart 52 shows estimates for the most highly incarcerated age cohort, young black men between the ages of 25-34. We estimate that a relatively steady one-quarter of black males ages 20-64 in “Milwaukee 53206” were in the state carceral system between 2001-2013 (Chart 51). There appears to have been a surge, however, after 2001 in the percentage of black males ages 25-34 “in the system,” with the estimated proportion almost doubling between 2001-2007, from 24.3 to 47.2 percent. Between 2007-2013, we estimate that this figure shrank slightly to 42.3 percent. Tables 9 and 10 show the estimated actual numbers behind these percentages.

CHART 51:

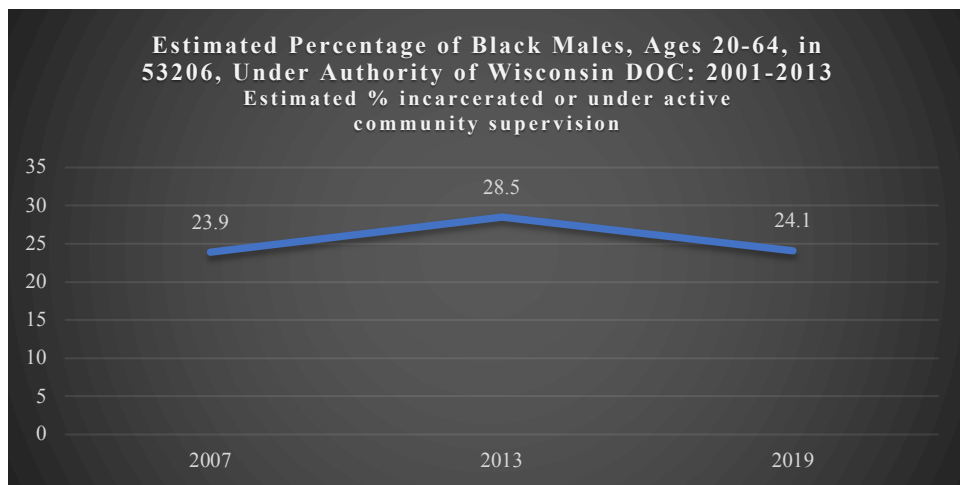


CHART 52:

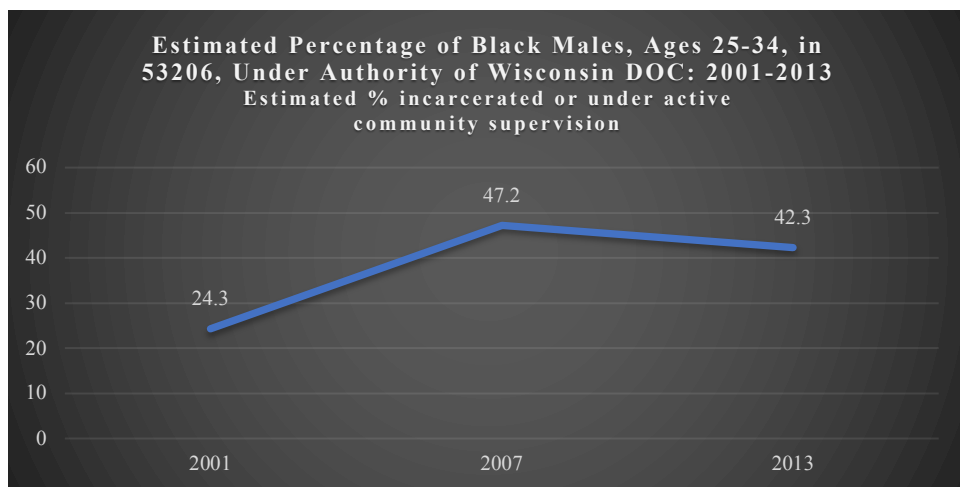


TABLE 9:
Estimated Number of Black Males in 53206, Ages 20-64,
Under Authority of Wisconsin DOC: 2001-2013
Estimated number incarcerated in state prisons
or under active community supervision

Year	Incarcerated	Under Supervision	Total Incarcerated + Supervision	Total. Males 20-64 + Incarcerated	% Carceral*
2001	766	938	1,704	7,116	23.9%
2007	796	1,215	2,011	7,055	28.5%
2013	548	895	1,443	6,012	24.1%

*Calculated by: (Total Incarcerated + Under Supervision) / (Total Males 20-64 Living in 53206 + Incarcerated from 53206)

TABLE 10:
Estimated Number of Black Males in 53206, Ages 25-34,
Under Authority of Wisconsin DOC: 2001-2013
Estimated number incarcerated in state prisons
or under active community supervision

Year	Incarcerated	Under Supervision	Total Incarcerated + Supervision	Total. Males 20-64 + Incarcerated	% Carceral*
2001	319	140	459	1891	24.3%
2007	322	422	744	1576	47.2%
2013	306	332	638	1510	42.3%

*Calculated by: (Total Incarcerated + Under Supervision) / (Total Males 25-34 Living in 53206 + Incarcerated from 53206)

Two caveats should be kept in mind when interpreting these estimates of the “carceral population” among black males in 53206. First, these estimates do not include the “off paper” ex-incarcerated males, those no longer under the supervision of the DOC, nor do these figures include black males from 53206 incarcerated in federal prisons. As we have noted, there are no publicly available data on these ex-felons, and therefore no way to estimate reliably how many live in 53206. But certainly there are some men who fall into those categories, and that would increase the estimate of the “carceral population” of 53206 by an unspecified amount.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ These data gaps may not be as serious as they appear in creating an undercount in our estimates of the “carceral population.” The surge in black male incarceration in 53206, especially for the 25-34 year old age cohort, occurred in the mid-2000s; thus,

Second, as emphasized throughout this discussion, the data on which these estimates are based have numerous gaps and potential inaccuracies. Our estimates rely on a set of assumptions that enable us, for example, to work around the problem of missing zip code identification for a large number of ex-prisoners as well as the rather imposing problem of having no zip code addresses for the incarcerated population.⁵⁷ Thus, it is certainly possible that what appear to be trends in Charts 51 and 52 may be, to an unknown extent, merely artifacts of yearly variations in the quality or completeness of the data or in the accuracy of our assumptions in a given year, rather than a genuine trend. The estimates should be viewed as plausible and suggestive, but not definitive (although as we point out in the appendix, data from other studies as well as the full set of state-level data in Wisconsin suggests our estimates are credible).

Finally, what do the data tell us about the kinds of offenses for which black males in 53206 have been imprisoned in this era of mass incarceration? Michelle Alexander's best-selling book, *The New Jim Crow*, brought public attention over a decade ago not only to the rise of mass incarceration in America, but also to the role of racial disparities in the prosecution of the "War on Drugs" in filling prisons with young African American males; and after Alexander's influential analysis, the linkage between the "War on Drugs" and mass incarceration became a staple of popular treatments of carceral America. Recent scholarly work, however, by Marie Gottschalk⁵⁸ and James Forman, Jr.,⁵⁹ among others, has added considerable nuance to the topic, pointing out that non-violent drug offenders constitute a distinct minority of prison populations across the country, and that the rise of mass incarceration also had unmistakable roots in the surge of violence in U.S. cities from the 1960s through the 1990s (as well as the concomitant implementation of rigid and often harsh sentencing practices).

What do the data on the carceral population of 53206 tell us about these issues? Although, as noted earlier, we do not have reliable information on the *incarcerated* males of 53206, data from the DOC indicates that a violent felony was the most serious offense for 70.5 percent of all black males between the ages of 20-64 incarcerated in Wisconsin state prisons in 2013 (see Chart 53). Drug-related crimes were the most serious offense for 12.5 percent of black male prisoners.

given the relative recency of that period of incarceration, simple arithmetic suggests that the lion's share of released prisoners living in 53206 would still be under some form of DOC supervision and thus counted in the WICS data base.

⁵⁷ See appendix for details.

⁵⁸ Gottschalk, *Caught*.

⁵⁹ James Forman, Jr., "Racial Critiques of Mass Incarceration: Beyond the New Jim Crow," NYU Law Review, April 2012; Yale Law School, Public Law Working Paper 243: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1966018

There is no reason to believe that these percentages differ between “Milwaukee 53206” and the state of Wisconsin as a whole.

We do have data on the most serious offense for *ex-prisoners*, living in 53206 and under the active supervision of the Wisconsin DOC. As Chart 54 shows, violent felonies were the most serious offenses for 37.4 percent of black males, ages 20-64, under the supervision of the DOC and living in 53206; drug-offenses were the most serious crime for 29.2 percent of these ex-offenders. These figures are not surprising; we would expect the “under community supervision” population to contain a lower percentages of persons with violent offenses on their record than the “incarcerated” population (under the logic that those convicted of violent offenses are serving longer sentences and also less likely to be eligible for probation or parole). In any event, even among the ex-prisoner population in 53206, a plurality had violent crimes as their most serious offense. In short, as is the case nationally, it is misleading to attribute the wave of incarceration in 53206 exclusively or even predominantly to the “War on Drugs;” and as criminal justice policy moves toward strategies to reduce mass incarceration, more than simply rethinking drug-related imprisonment will have to be on the agenda.

CHART 53

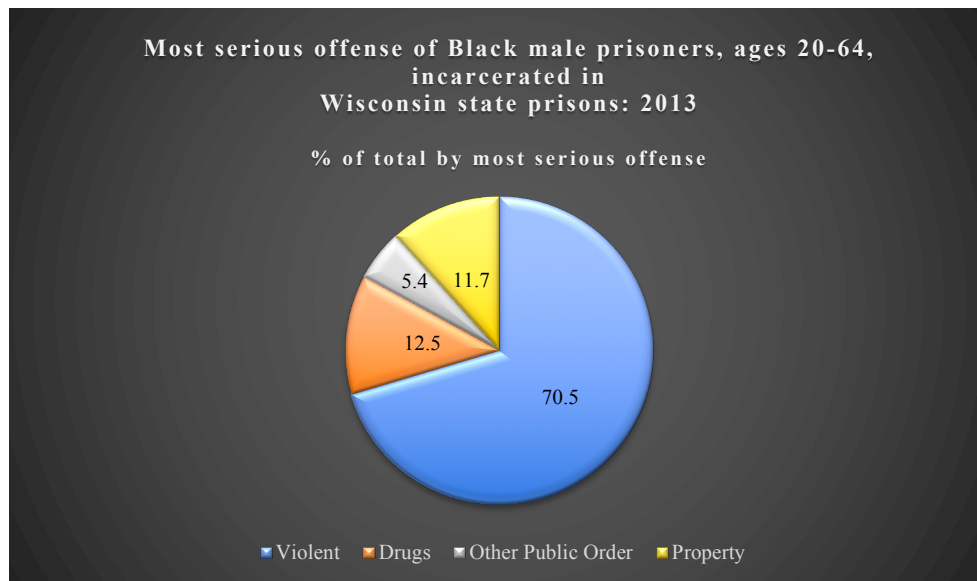
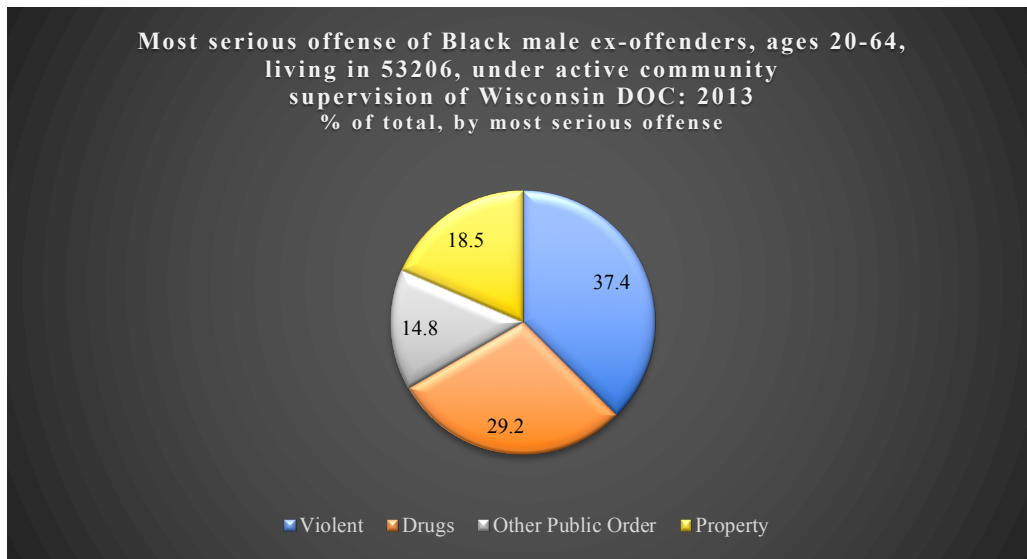


CHART 54:



Mass incarceration is an integral component of the concentrated disadvantage of inner city neighborhoods in U.S. cities. For young black men in these neighborhoods, especially those with limited education, “serving time in prison has become a normal life event,” as Bruce Western and Becky Pettit memorably put it.⁶⁰ They continue: “Social and economic disadvantage, crystallizing in penal confinement, is sustained over the life course and transmitted from one generation to the next. This is a profound institutionalized inequality that has renewed race and class disadvantage.”⁶¹ The effects of mass incarceration ripple through poor, segregated neighborhoods like 53206, increasing poverty,⁶² undermining families and disrupting the lives of children,⁶³ and limiting the employment prospects of black males who have been part of the wave of mass incarceration.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Bruce Western and Becky Pettit, “Incarceration and Social Inequality,” *Daedalus* (Summer 2010): 8. Access at: https://www.amacad.org/sites/default/files/daedalus/downloads/10_summer_western.pdf

⁶¹ Ibid. See also Pettit and Western, “Mass Imprisonment and the Life Course: Race and Class Inequality in U.S. Incarceration,” *American Sociological Review*, 69:2 (April 2004): 151-169. Access at: http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~waltonj/404_rr/mass%20imprisonment.pdf

⁶² Sampson, *Great American City*, chapter 5. Sampson discusses the connections between concentrated poverty and what he calls “concentrated incarceration.”

⁶³ Christopher Wildeman, “Parental Imprisonment, the Prison Boom, and the Concentration of Childhood Disadvantage,” *Demography*, 46:2 (May 2009): 265-280. Access at: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2831279/>

⁶⁴ Devah Pager, *Marked: Race, Crime, and Finding Work in the Era of Mass Incarceration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); and Looney and Turner, *Work and Opportunity Before and After Incarceration*.

Mass incarceration is now woven into the community fabric of 53206, a “normal life event” that has become one of the “cumulative disadvantages” of the neighborhood. As we have shown, young black men born into low-income households in 53206 in the early 1980s had a roughly one in five chance of being incarcerated 30 years later. By 2013, roughly two in five black men between the ages of 25-34 in 53206 were either incarcerated in state prisons or released and under the active supervision of the state Department of Corrections. Although it is inaccurate to label 53206 the “most incarcerated zip code in America,” that hyperbole does not diminish the gravity of how mass incarceration has “crystallized” social and economic disadvantage in this beleaguered Milwaukee neighborhood.

CONCLUSION

Milwaukee 53206 remains a neighborhood of entrenched, pervasive, cumulative, and interconnected disadvantages. No matter what social or economic indicator we explore – employment, earnings, poverty, household income, housing, demographic growth, or incarceration—the statistics for 53206 are almost incomprehensibly grim. Fewer than half of prime working age men in 53206 are employed (and fewer than half of the *employed* men hold full-time, full-year jobs); adjusted for inflation, median male worker earnings have declined 33 percent since 2000, and the income of the median household in 53206 has dropped by almost 25 percent; over 42 percent of neighborhood residents live below the poverty line (including 55 percent of all children); almost 30 percent of residents have abandoned the zip code since 2000 (and an estimated 61 percent have left since 1970); one-quarter of all housing units in 53206 are vacant; almost half of households in the zip code spend more than half of their income just on rent; and an estimated 42 percent of black males from 53206 between the ages of 25 and 34 are in state prison or are ex-inmates now under the “active community supervision” of the Wisconsin Department of Corrections.

Milwaukee 53206 is a neighborhood of low employment rates, low wages, shrinking income, high poverty, poor housing, and mass incarceration. And these are just a few of the more stunning indicators of 53206 distress, all of them interconnected and all of them reinforcing one another into something of a durable ecosystem of neighborhood disadvantage.⁶⁵ Despite some modest improvements in 53206 on indicators such as employment and poverty since the end of the Great Recession, and despite the hard work of numerous groups and community leaders in the zip code, this “ecosystem of disadvantage” --built on segregation, racial inequality, and historical patterns of discrimination, disinvestment, and official neglect-- remains largely intact. What’s more, evidence presented in this study suggests that the disadvantages concentrated in 53206 affect not only the daily lives of residents but also opportunities for upward mobility in the future. Black males who were born over 30 years ago into low-income households in 53206, remained poor as they reached young adulthood, unlike their white counterparts who were born elsewhere in metro Milwaukee and, on average, rose from their low-income origins to approach

⁶⁵ The concepts of “interlocking structures” and the “enduring neighborhood effect” are comprehensively discussed in Robert Sampson’s *The Great American City*, a brilliant anatomy of inner city disadvantage in Chicago.

the middle of the income distribution. Starting at identical household income levels when they were children, by 2015 the average annual income of a young adult black male born in 53206 was only 42 percent that of his white counterpart born elsewhere in Milwaukee (\$15, 551 to \$36, 477). For the young boys of 53206, intergenerational economic mobility has been not just elusive, but virtually non-existent.⁶⁶

Even the impact of factors associated with economic opportunity – such as work and education—are refracted through and ultimately vitiated by the enduring structure of neighborhood disadvantage concentrated in 53206. For example, even among those working-age residents of 53206 holding jobs, over one-fifth report income below the official poverty line, a level of working poverty that far exceeds the rate elsewhere in metro Milwaukee. More startling still, nearly 10 percent of the 53206 residents holding *full-time, year-round* jobs report poverty-level incomes. Although it is a truism that jobs are a *sine qua non* for any kind of improvement in neighborhood life, “making work pay” –let alone, generating family-supporting jobs accessible to neighborhood residents-- remains elusive in 53206. In this fashion, the challenge of stagnant wages and shrinking numbers of “middle-class” jobs in the larger economy⁶⁷ takes an especially acute form in the ecosystem of disadvantage that marks “Milwaukee 53206.”

Similarly, the generally salutary impact of education on economic advancement is also refracted through the enduring, concentrated “neighborhood effects” in 53206. On the one hand, the relationship between educational attainment and better outcomes in employment, earnings, and poverty rates holds in 53206 as elsewhere: as we would expect, 53206 residents with college degrees have higher employment rates and earnings, and lower poverty rates than high school graduates; in turn, 53206 high school graduates do better than 53206 high school dropouts. No surprises in this confirmation that “education matters.”

But, on the other hand, when we control for education, we see the stark “spatial disadvantages” of 53206. On average, high school *dropouts* in the Milwaukee suburbs have virtually the same employment rate as residents of 53206 with *some college or an associate’s degree*. Among the employed, the median earnings of a high school dropout in Waukesha

⁶⁶ And, as we document in this study, the rate of intergenerational mobility for black females born into low-income households in 53206 has been only marginally better than for black males, and significantly lower than for white females born elsewhere in Milwaukee into low-income households.

⁶⁷ In the vast literature on the polarization of jobs and wage stagnation, see David Autor, “The Polarization of Job Opportunities in the U.S. Labor Market: Implications for Employment and Earnings.” Center for American Progress, April 2010. Access at: <https://economics.mit.edu/files/5554>

County are the same as for a 53206 college graduate. And the poverty rate for a Waukesha County high school dropout is less than half the rate of a 53206 resident with some college or an associate's degree. Education matters – but its impact on economic opportunity in 53206 is powerfully mediated by what sociologist Patrick Sharkey calls “the spatial organization of America's stratification system [that] affects the life chances, and the economic trajectories, of different segments of the population in ways that maintain, and reinforce, inequality.”⁶⁸

In the last analysis, the plight of 53206 is inextricably connected to the persistence in Milwaukee of what urbanist Paul Jargowsky calls “the architecture of segregation.”⁶⁹ Incremental progress certainly has occurred in the neighborhood over the past decade, thanks to energetic community initiatives such as Amani United, as well as the trickling-down into 53206 of the broader, post-recession economic recovery occurring in the city and region. Residents have higher levels of educational attainment than they did in 2000, let alone a generation ago. But, overall, the economic and social gains have been small, the deep inequalities and neighborhood isolation linger, and until the architecture of segregation and the legacy of racial injustice in the region are seriously and comprehensively addressed, “Milwaukee 53206” will remain a neighborhood of concentrated disadvantage and truncated economic opportunity.

⁶⁸ Patrick Sharkey, “Neighborhoods, Cities, and Economic Mobility,” *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, Number 2 (May 2016): 159.

⁶⁹ Jargowsky, *The Architecture of Segregation*, (2015).

APPENDIX: Methodology for Estimating the Carceral Population of Milwaukee 53206

As we noted in the body of this study, gauging the number of residents at the neighborhood level who are incarcerated or formerly incarcerated is challenging. Available data sources are plagued by missing, incomplete, or inaccurate data, and for certain carceral categories –such as ex-prisoners “off paper” and no longer under the active supervision of the criminal justice system—there are no public data available at all.

To generate estimates of the carceral population of “Milwaukee 53206,” we obtained two data files from the Wisconsin Department of Corrections (DOC): 1) Annual “Point in Time” enumerations of incarcerated population in state prisons; and 2) Annual “Point in Time” enumerations of the state population under active supervision by the DOC. All these data are available in the “Wisconsin Integrated Corrections System” data base, or WICS.⁷⁰

Although the WICS data are the best source for analyzing carceral levels in Wisconsin, they are far from perfect. The WICS data provide complete “point in time” enumerations of inmates in state prisons and ex-prisoners under active supervision by the DOC *for the entire state*, by race, ethnicity, gender, and age. Those counts appear accurate and complete. But, in each year between 2001-2013, between 15-47 percent of the zip codes are missing for the “under supervision” population. And because of inaccuracies in the data, the DOC does not include zip codes at all in the current inmate file.

Here’s the somewhat complicated process of how we attempted to work around these gaps in the data to arrive at estimates of the carceral population in various age cohorts among African American males from Milwaukee 53206. First, we tabulated the total number of black males, by age cohorts, among the “incarcerated” and “under supervision” population, from the “point in time” files for 2001, 2007, and 2013 for the state of Wisconsin as a whole. Second, we tabulated the number of black males, by age cohorts, among the “under supervision” population in 53206 (recognizing, because of missing zip codes in the state tabulation, that this was an incomplete count).

To deal with the “undercount” in the 53206 “under supervision” tabulation, we then calculated the ratio of 53206 black males under supervision to the Wisconsin total of black males under supervision. We next took this ratio and applied it to the population missing zip codes, on the assumption that the distribution of the “unknown” zip codes was the same as the ones for which we had zip code identification. Finally, we allocated this additional number to the tabulation of the under supervision population of black males, by age cohorts, in 53206. Although this assumption contains obvious error margin possibilities –most notably, that the ratio of 53206-to-the-entire-state differs in the missing zip codes from the known zip codes-- we believe that assuming some portion of the missing zip code population are 53206 residents is plausible and credible, and brings us closer to a reliable count of the “under supervision” population in 53206.

⁷⁰ On line lists of inmates in state prisons and ex-prisoners under active community supervision are available through the “General Public- Offender Search” web site maintained by the State of Wisconsin. But this site also has a large amount of missing data, and the aggregate number of inmates and ex-offenders listed on the site does not match what we know of number for state as a whole as well as for individual zip codes; the counts are much too low. Thus, the data on this site are not adequate for serious analysis of the carceral population in Wisconsin, not at the state level and especially not in smaller units (counties, cities, or zip codes).

To estimate the percentage of “incarcerated” from 53206, we made another assumption: that the 53206 “share” of the Wisconsin black male incarcerated population was the same as the 53206 percentage of the Wisconsin “under supervision” population (among black males). We then applied that percentage to the full count of Wisconsin’s “point-in-time” inmate population to arrive at an estimate at the number of inmates in 53206. Thus, to give a concrete example: our estimate for 2001 was that 7.9% of all black males in Wisconsin under the community supervision of the DOC between the ages of 20-64 lived in 53206. To estimate the number of black male state prison inmates from 53206 in 2001, we took that percentage (7.9%) and applied it to the state total of black male inmates (9,725) to estimate that there were 766 black males ages 20-64 incarcerated in Wisconsin state prisons in 2001 (see Table 9 of this study).

Once again, assumptions such as these introduce important error margins to our calculations – and readers are cautioned to keep those in mind. But in lieu of accurate, enumeration-style counts of prisoners or ex-inmates at the zip code level, these “work arounds” enable us to come up with plausible and credible estimates of the carceral population in 53206. The plausibility of our methodology can be gauged by comparing state-level calculations of the percentage of black males who were prisoners or under DOC community supervision to our estimates of the 53206 black male carceral population. There are *no* assumptions or work arounds in the state calculations; at the state level, the WICS data are census-like enumerations. Yet, as the table below shows, the percentages of black males in both the 20-64 and 25-34 age cohorts at the state-level and for 53206 are relatively comparable, increasing our confidence in the accuracy of our 53206 estimates. The biggest discrepancy appears to be in the 25-34 year old age group, where in 2007 and to a lesser extent 2013, the 53206 percentages are much higher than for the state of Wisconsin as a whole. But given the concentrated disadvantage for young black men in 53206 as well as high crime rates in the zip code, the higher carceral rates for this age cohort in Milwaukee 53206 seem entirely reasonable.⁷¹

**Percentage of Black Males Incarcerated in State Prisons
or Under Active Community Supervision of DOC:**

State-Wide Wisconsin and “Milwaukee 53206”

Year	Age Cohort	Wisconsin	53206
2001	20-64	28.7	23.9
	25-34	22.9	24.3
2007	20-64	24.7	28.5
	25-34	34.2	47.2
2013	20-64	22.6	24.0
	25-34	36.4	42.3

⁷¹ These estimates are generally consistent with findings in national studies, further bolstering their credibility. Pettit and Western, “Mass Imprisonment and the Life Course,” estimated in 2000 that around 32% of “non-college” black males were or had been incarcerated (22% of all black males); Shannon et al., “Growth, Scope, and Spatial Distribution of People With Felonies,” estimated in 2017 that about 33% of black males were incarcerated or ex-prisoners.

SOURCES FOR CHARTS AND TABLES

Chart 1: U.S. Bureau of the Census, American Community Survey, 2013-17 5-Year Estimates (Hereafter referred to as “ACS”). Table S2301: Employment Status.

Chart 2: Same as Chart 1.

Chart 3: ACS, 2013-17. Table B23001: Sex By Age By Employment Status for the Population 16 Years and Over.

Chart 4: Same as Chart 3.

Chart 5: ACS, 2013-17 and 2008-12, Table S2301. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Decennial Census. Table QT-P24: Employment Stats by Sex: 2000. Census 2000 Summary File (SF3) Sample Data.

Chart 6: Same as Chart 5.

Chart 7: ACS, 2008-12, and 2013-17. Table B23001; Census 2000 SF3, Table QT-P24.

Chart 8: Social Security Administration, Research Statistics, and Policy Analysis. OASDI Beneficiaries by State and Zip Code, 2017.

Chart 9: ACS, 2013-17. Table C18120: Employment Status By Disability Status.

Chart 10: Same as Chart 9.

Chart 11: ACS, 2013-17. Table B23027: Full-Time, Year-Round Work Status in the Past 12 Months By Age for the Population 16 Years And Over.

Table 1: ACS, 2013-17. Table S2301: Employment Status.

Chart 12: Same as Chart 11.

Chart 13: Same as Chart 11.

Chart 14: Same as Chart 11.

Chart 15: ACS, 2013-17. Table S2303: Work Status in the Past 12 Months.

Chart 16: ACS, 2013-17. Table S2001: Earnings in the Past 12 Months (in 2017 inflation-adjusted dollars).

Chart 17: Same as Chart 16.

Chart 18: Same as Chart 16.

Chart 19: ACS, 2008-12 and 2013-17. Table S2001: Earnings in the Past 12 Months (in 2017 inflation-adjusted dollars); Census 2000 SF3 Data. Table P085: Median Earnings in 1999 (Dollars) by Sex for the Population 16 Years and Over with Earnings.

Chart 20: Same as Chart 19.

Table 2: Same as Chart 19.

Chart 21: ACS, 2013-17. Table B23024: Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months by Disability Status by Employment Status for the Population 20 to 64 Years.

Chart 22: ACS, 2013-17. Table S1703: Selected Characteristics of People at Specified Levels of Poverty in the Past 12 Months.

Table 3: ACS, 2013-17. Table S2001: Earnings in the Past 12 Months (in 2017 inflation-adjusted dollars).

Table 4: Same as Table 3.

Chart 23: ACS, 2013-17. Table S0802: Means of Transportation to Work by Selected Characteristics.

Chart 24: Same as Chart 23.

Chart 25: ACS, 2013-17. Table S1703: Selected Characteristics of People at Specified Levels of Poverty in the Past 12 Months.

Chart 26: ACS, 2008-12 and 2013-17. Table S1703: Selected Characteristics of People at Specified Levels of Poverty in the Past 12 Months. Census 2000 SF3. Table P087: Poverty Status in 1999 By Age.

Chart 27: ACS, 2013-17. Table S1703: Selected Characteristics of People at Specified Levels of Poverty in the Past 12 Months.

Chart 28: ACS, 2008-12 and 2013-17. Table S1703: Selected Characteristics of People at Specified Levels of Poverty in the Past 12 Months. Census 2000 SF3. Table P087: Poverty Status in 1999 By Age.

Chart 29: ACS, 2013-17. Table B19013: Median Household Income in the Past 12 Months (in 2017 inflation-adjusted dollars).

Chart 30: ACS, 2013-17. Table S1901: Income in the Past 12 Months (in 2017 inflation-adjusted dollars).

Chart 31: Same as Chart 30

Table 5: ACS, 2008-12 and 2013-17. Table B19013: Median Household Income in the Past 12 Months; Census 2000 SF3. Table HCT012: Median Household Income in 1999 (Dollars).

Chart 32: Same as Table 5.

Table 6: ACS, 2008-12 and 2013-2017. Table B1925: Aggregate Household Income in the Past 12 Months; Census 2000 SF3. Table HCT013: Aggregate Household Income in 1999 (Dollars).

Chart 33: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population and Housing, 1970, 1980, and 1990; Census 2000 SF1. Table P001: Total Population; and ACS, 2008-12 and 2013-17. Table B01003: Total Population.

Chart 34: ACS 2008-2012 and 2013-17. Table S0101: Age and Sex; Census 2000 SF1. Table P012: Sex by Age.

Table 7: ACS, 2013-2017. Table S1703: Selected Characteristics of People at Specified Levels of Poverty in the Past 12 Months.

Table 8: Harvard University, Opportunity Insights Atlas. Data available at: <https://www.opportunityatlas.org/>

Chart 35: Same as Table 8

Chart 36: Same as Table 8

Chart 37: ACS, 2013-2017. Table B25003. Tenure: Occupied Housing Units.

Chart 38: ACS, 2013-2017. Table B25003. Tenure: Occupied Housing Units; Census 2000 SF1 and 2010 Census Summary File 1. Table DP-1. Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2000 and 2010.

Chart 39: ACS, 2013-2017. Table B25002: Occupancy Status.

Chart 40: ACS, 2008-2012 and 2013-2017. Table B25002: Occupancy Status; Census 2000 SF1. Table DP-1. Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2000.

Chart 41: ACS, 2013-2017. Table B25070: Gross Rent as a Percentage of Household Income in the Past 12 Months.

Chart 42: ACS, 2008-2012 and 2013-2017. Table B27001: Health Insurance Coverage Status By Sex By Age.

Chart 43: Same as Chart 42

Chart 44: ACS, 2013-2017. Table B27001: Health Insurance Coverage Status By Sex By Age.

Chart 45: Same as Chart 44.

Chart 46: ACS, 2013-2017. Table S1501: Educational Attainment.

Chart 47: Same as Chart 46.

Chart 48: Data-base made available by Adam Looney and Nicholas Turner (Brookings Institution) as part of report, *Work and Opportunity Before and After Incarceration*. Data available at: <https://www.brookings.edu/research/work-and-opportunity-before-and-after-incarceration/>

Chart 49: Same as Chart 48.

Chart 50: Harvard University, Opportunity Insights Atlas. Data available at: <https://www.opportunityatlas.org/>

Chart 51: State of Wisconsin, Department of Corrections (DOC), Wisconsin Integrated Corrections System Files. Point-in-time files of inmates and ex-prisoners under the active community supervision of the DOC: 2001, 2007, 2013.

Chart 52: Same as Chart 51

Table 9: Same as Chart 51

Table 10: Same as Chart 51

Chart 53: Same as Chart 51

Chart 54: Same as Chart 51