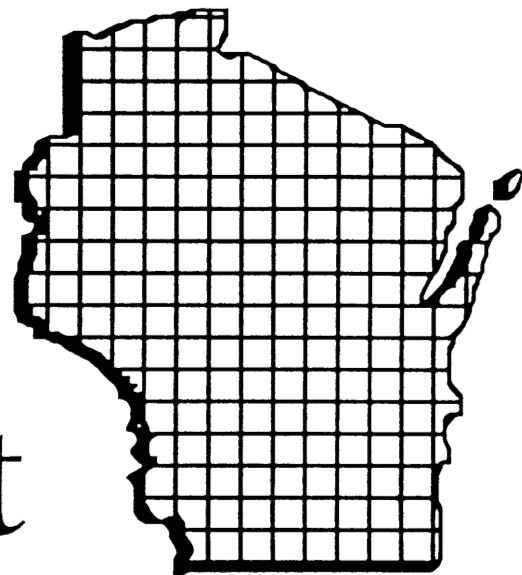


Wisconsin

Policy
Research
Institute

Report



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**BLACK PUBLIC
OPINION IN
MILWAUKEE**

REPORT FROM THE PRESIDENT:


Over the last seven years, we have conducted 13 public-opinion surveys in Wisconsin. Our samples are drawn from the total population of the state and consist of 1,000 randomly selected residents. Because blacks are a small percentage of Wisconsin's population, we have not had large black samples in our statewide polls.

We have been interested in doing a large sample of the black population to increase their participation, voice, and impact on policy issues in our state. We were delighted when the opportunity arose to interview 1,000 black residents in the City of Milwaukee. To ensure that the sample would be scientifically correct, we used a team of academics familiar with conducting public-opinion surveys of urban populations. The survey instrument was based on questions used in previous public-opinion surveys and included some questions used in a previous survey by the Milwaukee Public Schools. We were interested not only in black public opinion, but also how the data tracked over a period of time.

One response that may surprise people is how optimistic black residents of Milwaukee are about their personal economic situation over the next year. These answers are very similar to data we have collected over the last seven years. In every survey we have ever conducted, blacks were more optimistic than whites about their economic situation. We now have data to explain why.

We have also developed topics and questions in important areas such as crime, education, and housing. We hope that these results will lead to additional research on a population that has for too long been ignored in public-opinion surveys.

Finally, we would like to acknowledge the support of the Wisconsin Housing and Economic Development Authority, which gave us funding specifically for this project.


James H. Miller

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BLACK PUBLIC OPINION IN MILWAUKEE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The following report is based on a new survey of a random sample of 1,000 adult, black/African-American residents of the City of Milwaukee undertaken in early January 1995. The survey sought opinions on a variety of public issues facing the city and its residents. The survey is believed to be unique in terms of the size of its sample and the content of its questions. The report reveals a number of findings which should aid the discussion of priorities and options. Among the most salient are the following:

- Despite being ambivalent about the economic prospects for the City of Milwaukee during 1995, respondents by a 10-to-1 ratio are optimistic rather than pessimistic about their own family's economic circumstances during 1995. They commonly cite such factors as a new or better job, raises, increased personal effort, and hope as being responsible for their view.
- In terms of the most-pressing issue that government should be involved in at this time, respondents are split. But the two issues most needing attention at this time are job creation and reducing crime, each cited by about one-third of the respondents.
- Job creation is an issue because 17% of all respondents in the labor force and 28% of respondents in the labor force between the ages of 18 and 24 were unemployed at the time of the survey; an additional 17% were working part-time.

Crime

- Crime is an issue because one-third of the respondents or their immediate families had been a victim of crime in the last year, and 68% of respondents think that crime in the city is increasing despite official statistics to the contrary.
- Almost all respondents (91%) have altered their lifestyles in at least one way, if not two ways, in reaction to the perception or reality of increased crime.
- Assessment of the quality of policing in their individual neighborhoods is mixed: a little less than half rate it as good or excellent, while a little more than half rate it as fair or poor.
- Respondents are basically in favor of being tougher on criminals by taking such steps as eliminating parole and instituting life sentences after three convictions. The one exception is a lack of clear support for the death penalty.

Education

- Respondents overwhelmingly (95%) endorse the idea that parents should have the right to choose which local schools their children attend.
- Support for this concept may be driven by the fact that 70% of the respondents express the view that private and parochial schools provide a better education than schools in the Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS) system or that 47% of respondents thought that MPS schools had gotten worse during the last five years. These results are comparable to

those generated in an MPS survey in 1990, in which 72% expressed the view that private and parochial schools provide a better education.

- When offered a hypothetical voucher to be used to pay for any school, 60% of respondents said they would use such a voucher to send their children to private or parochial schools. This is an increase of five percentage points over the results of a similar question asked by MPS in 1990. Also increasing since 1990, though, would be the use of their present MPS school.
- Some 71% of respondents favor expansion of the current choice program in Milwaukee to include parochial schools, even though only 19% said they would use such a voucher for parochial schools.

Welfare Reform

- While few respondents see this area as the highest priority — only eight percent — as many as 93% of respondents endorse individual reforms.
- The reform most-universally backed (93%) is that of requiring welfare recipients to take some action in return for receipt of welfare: the concept of welfare as an entitlement should end.
- Respondents are also very supportive of two other reforms, the ideas of: 1) providing public-service jobs for welfare recipients who are able to work but who cannot find jobs with private employers (89%); and, 2) taking money out of the paychecks and tax returns of fathers who refuse to make child-support payments (84%).
- Less support, but still a two-thirds majority endorses, “Learnfare” and the two-tier system of payments for recent migrants to the state.
- Respondents are divided on removing all children from homes with parents who cannot handle parenting responsibilities and putting these children in orphanages, children’s villages, and residential schools: 48% favor this, while 45% do not.
- Clearly not endorsed is the proposal to deny benefits to women under 18 years of age who have children out of wedlock.

Racism and Discrimination

- Just over one-third (36%) of the respondents claim to have suffered significant discrimination during the last five years.
- Far and away the most-common areas for discrimination have been employment and housing.

Housing

- Most blacks in Milwaukee are renters, living in modest housing, in need of some repairs. Most (76%) claim that they live where they do by choice, even though 65% of the renters

seeking to own would buy outside their current neighborhood if they had the opportunity. Some 95% of all respondents could name at least one appealing characteristic of their current location.

- The most-compelling story in housing is that “the American Dream” is alive and well in Milwaukee: 87% of respondents currently own or want to own their own home.

* * *

Black residents of Milwaukee share a great many common views, and they share most of these same views with non-black residents. There are certainly some compelling views, such as the level of support for school choice, the support for the concept of welfare as no longer being an entitlement, or the interest in home ownership — each of which is attractive to at least 87% of the respondents. But there are also many other topics on which a clear majority prevails, just as it does in the larger community.

I. INTRODUCTION

Almost one-third of the City of Milwaukee's population is black or African American. This population is a growing segment of the city and an increasingly important contributor to the health of the city. Yet the views of this population are seldom sought. Few surveys are targeted exclusively at this population, and even fewer focus on basic public issues facing the city and its citizens. This survey was undertaken to partially correct that oversight and to attempt to learn from a large, representative sample of black citizens what they currently think about their lives and a number of issues that potentially affect them.

This report summarizes the results of a telephone survey of 1,000 randomly selected adult, black residents of the City of Milwaukee, conducted on behalf of the Wisconsin Policy Research Institute, Inc. The survey was conducted from Tuesday, January 3, through Monday, January 9, 1995. Questionnaires were administered by Diversified Research, Inc., personnel, working out of the company's central data-collection facility in Irvington, New York.

Respondent selection was accomplished through random digit telephone dialing in 45 different telephone exchanges followed by interviewer screening of contacted respondents to determine racial background and to verify city of residence. Only adult respondents who indicated that they were black and/or African American, and who currently reside within the City of Milwaukee, were interviewed as part of this study.

The purpose of the survey was to ascertain black Milwaukee residents' attitudes and opinions on various public policy issues, primarily within the four topical areas of Crime Prevention and Control, Education, Housing, and Welfare Reform. In addition, there were several general questions on economic expectations, one question on issue priorities, and a series of socio-demographic and other background questions for analytical purposes.

The questions asked in the survey were derived from several different sources. A number of the questions related to crime and economic outlook have appeared numerous times on the semi-annual statewide surveys conducted by the Wisconsin Policy Research Institute. Many of the questions on education were borrowed from a survey conducted by MPS in the City of Milwaukee in 1990. Several of the housing questions were similar to those asked in an inner city mail survey conducted by the Wisconsin Housing and Economic Development Authority (WHEDA). The rest were either commonly asked questions, such as those on demographics and housing characteristics, or questions created specifically for this survey to cover pertinent topics, such as those on welfare reform or attitudes toward integration. The use of similar questions allows us to examine changes in views over time or to focus on differences in responses among different populations.

Survey estimates based on a simple random sample size of 1,000 are accurate to within plus or minus three percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level. This means that in 95 out of 100 cases, the results of a survey such as this would be expected to yield results that would fall within a range of plus or minus three percentage points of the results one would obtain from interviewing the entire adult, black population of the City of Milwaukee.

II. WHO ARE BLACKS IN MILWAUKEE?

The question "Who are blacks in Milwaukee?" needs to be answered for two reasons. First, in order to have confidence in the results of the survey, the reader should be assured that the sample is indeed representative of the black population in the city. Second, the reader will have a better

understanding of the responses once it is clear what the characteristics of this population are. A discussion of the sample and the revealed characteristics of the respondents follows.

The Sample

Drawing a sample of the black/African-American population in the City of Milwaukee is a very difficult assignment. The challenge is to find a representative sample among the black population spread over the 96 square-mile city. Trying to find what appears to be a representative sample is one challenge; the second is attempting to determine what is really "representative." To determine if a sample is representative, one must know what the "universe" or the entire population looks like. In this case, the only picture we have is U.S. Census data that are five to six years out of date. We would expect modest change in most characteristics in the intervening years. But in a few characteristics, such as incomes or home values, change may have been more dramatic.

The basic way to determine whether a sample is representative is to compare the sample to the data on the universe. The closer the two are to one another, the higher the probability that the sample accurately reflects the composition of the population from which it is drawn. We compare the two at right — with the caveat that the Census data are somewhat out of date, but in ways which cannot be precisely determined. As can be seen, the sample is on target (or very close) on most of the basic characteristics, especially age, gender, and marital status. The age distribution and marital status of those interviewed almost exactly match those found in the city in 1990. The same can be said for the percentage of adult males. (Finding an appropriate percentage of male respondents, especially among this population, is difficult and a tribute to the survey-research firm, which persevered to find them.) Even the mean household income is very close to the inflation-adjusted estimate based on the 1989 Census figure. What may vary slightly from expected distributions relate to the distribution of income and employment status.

There is a possibility that the sample may have slightly over-sampled a slightly higher-income population that is employed and that more commonly owns a home or pays a higher rent. If the Consumer Price

	Sample	'90 Census	
Age Distribution			
18-24	24%	23%	
25-34	26	29	
35-44	21	19	
45-54	12	12	
55-64	8	9	
65 and up	9	8	
Median (total population)	NA	23.3 yrs.	
Gender			
Males 18 and over	41%	43%	
Marital Status			
Married	27%	24%	
Never Married	51	50	
Income			
Mean	\$25,520	\$21,419*	
* Inflation adjusted, this equals \$26,324.			
Distribution			
<\$15,001	32%	38%	49%
\$15,001-\$25,000	22	26	19
\$25,001-\$35,000	14	16	12
\$35,001-\$50,000	9	11	11
\$50,001 and Up	8	9	9
Refused	15	NA	NA
Owner Occupancy	37%	30%	
Mean Contract Rent	\$393	\$305**	
** Inflation adjusted, this equals \$375.			
Employed	59%	53%	

Index (CPI) increases in the cost of living apply to this population, however, a 19% increase in mean income over six years (1989 versus 1994) is below the southeastern-Wisconsin rate of inflation (23%). That would make the average income figure approximately correct. With Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) payments having been steady for this period, it may be that black/African-American incomes did not rise as quickly as the CPI, in which case the sample might more correctly reflect average income.

The tabular distributions of income, however, suggests that despite the seeming appropriateness of the average, the mix of incomes does not match as well. If we create the distribution of respondents among those who reported their income, ignoring those who did not respond to the income question, the distribution looks closer to that of 1989 — with 38% having incomes below \$15,000, 26% between \$15,001 and \$25,000, 16% with incomes between \$25,001 and \$35,000, and the same percentage as in 1989 in the next two categories. The seeming under-reporting of the lowest-income category is a bit troublesome, but it is likely that the 15% non-response rate to the income question may be disproportionately attributable to some of the low-income respondents not wanting to discuss their status. The phone-survey method also has a tendency to miss some of the lowest-income households, because they do not have telephones. This is a fact of telephone-survey research that cannot be overcome. Despite the differences in the distribution of incomes, the presence of the estimated appropriate average income gives some assurance that the sample is close to being representative in terms of income as well.

In terms of housing, the owner-occupancy rate appears a bit high. We have had a concerted push in recent years to improve the mortgage-approval rates of minority applicants. It is possible that this initiative has been somewhat successful, raising black/African-American ownership rates to more than 35%. That would be a dramatic change, perhaps too dramatic for the limited number of years. We would, however, expect that the rate has indeed risen. The higher rent levels also suggest the possibility of a higher-income sample, but the 29% rise in rents barely outpaces inflation over six years, suggesting that the overstatement may be small, if it exists at all. Since most of the characteristics suggest that the sample is indeed representative, we will proceed under that assumption.

Other Black Characteristics

The black population in Milwaukee is a younger population — in fact, considerably younger, on average — than the white population, but also younger than the black population found in most other major cities in the U.S. In fact, according to a 1990 Census study, Milwaukee is said to have the youngest black population (measured by median age) of any city in the nation that has a black population larger than 50,000 persons. This fact contributes substantially to the finding that the majority of children in MPS are black at the same time the majority of the city's elderly are white.

State of Birth	
Wisconsin	36%
Mississippi	18
Illinois	9
Arkansas	9
Tennessee	5
Indiana	3
Missouri	3
Louisiana	3
Other states	12
Other country	2

The black population in the city is not, on average, well-educated. Only 12% of the black population graduated from college or has gone on to graduate school, and one-quarter of adult blacks have not graduated from high school. A contributing reason for the lower levels of education is the fact that a clear majority (62%) of respondents were born out of state. As can be seen in the chart at left, some 18% were born in Mississippi, nine percent were born in Illinois and Arkansas, five percent were born in Tennessee, and three percent were born in each of the three states of Indiana, Missouri, and Louisiana. It is likely that a

sizable portion of these adults born out of state were educated out of state as well and did not have the opportunity to finish high school. We did find that those born in Wisconsin were considerably more likely to have completed some college education than those born elsewhere and also that those born in Wisconsin were somewhat more likely to have completed either college or high school. As one might expect, the majority of those between the ages of 18 and 35 were born in Wisconsin and had access to its education systems.

In comparison with the total city population of 1990, the black population had a lower average household income of \$21,419 compared to the overall average of \$28,415. While the distribution of our sample reveals that the percentage of black households with incomes of more than \$35,000 has seemingly not changed between 1989 and 1994, the percentage of black households with current incomes of more than \$35,000 grew from seven percent in 1980 to 20% in 1990 and 1995. During the 1980-90 decade, however, the number of black families in poverty rose from 29% to 39% and the number of individuals in poverty rose from 30% to 42%. While such figures cast some doubts on the income distribution of our sample, given the facts that poverty income cutoffs vary with household size and are approximately \$20,000 for households of six persons and \$18,000 for five, it is conceivable that many households in the \$15,001-\$25,000 income category are in poverty.

To help put some of these poverty numbers in perspective, the percentage of black individuals in poverty in 1990 in Washington, D.C., was 20%. In Cook County, Illinois, which includes Chicago and several suburbs, the figure was 30%. Among blacks in the cities of Cleveland and Pittsburgh, the figures were 39% and 41%, respectively, very comparable to Milwaukee. Thus, the prevalence of poverty among members of this population is not unique to Milwaukee, nor is it any more common here than in other comparable midwestern cities.

One obvious contributor to this pattern of lower incomes is the fact that black adults experience substantially higher levels of unemployment than do whites. This is very clear from the responses to this survey. When queried about their current employment status, respondents reported their employment statuses as listed at right. If the unemployment rate is recalculated, as it should be, on the basis of only those in the labor force — the employed plus the unemployed — the recalculated unemployment rate becomes 16.9%, roughly four times the metropolitan-Milwaukee average for December 1994. This average represents individuals who have made an explicit effort to find work in the preceding 30 days and is very similar to the average estimated annually in the *Current Population Survey*. It clearly shows a black population that is having difficulty finding employment despite an overall healthy economy. Lower levels of education are obviously one contributing factor to this high rate of unemployment, but other factors must also be responsible.

Additionally, it should be noted that being employed was directly related to age. Those respondents 18 to 24 years old are markedly less commonly employed (they report an unemployment rate of 28%) than are those aged 25 to 54, and the youngest respondents, if working, are more commonly working part-time rather than full-time. Above age 54, however, employment is rare: only one-third of those persons 55 to 64 were employed. A whopping 43% claim to be retired, a figure that probably reflects the disappearance of many of the types of jobs this population originally held. We must also note that those persons of all ages who are unemployed are more likely to not have finished high school and that school completion links very

Current Employment Status

Employed Full-Time	45%
Employed Part-Time	13
Unemployed	12
Retired	12
Student	8
Homemaker	4
Other	4
Refused	1

inversely to the rate of unemployment (as well as to income).

Having described general characteristics of the black population, the many issues on which the opinions of this population were sought can be explored.

III. ECONOMIC EXPECTATIONS

A key issue for city residents is their perception of the city's economic future and their own economic future. Do they see the city's economy as expanding, aiding its residents in their quest for a better life, or is the city seen as declining, dimming their prospects, and creating a pall over the lives of its citizens? In this survey, only blacks were polled to learn of their views on these and a variety of other issues that may be of concern to the citizens of Milwaukee.

When asked whether they expect the city's economic condition to improve, get worse, or stay the same during the next year, the black population is virtually evenly divided among the three options. Some 30% think the economy will improve, 33% think it will get worse, and 32% think it will stay the same. Males and respondents 45 to 64 years of age are slightly more optimistic. Females and those persons aged 18 to 34 are more pessimistic. Those who are college-educated are more likely to see stability, as are those with the highest incomes (commonly the college-educated). The even distribution reveals a certain ambiguity about what will occur in 1995.

Change Expected in Milwaukee's Economy in 1995

Improve	30.2%
Get Worse	32.6
Stay the Same	32.4
Don't Know/Refused	4.8

Such ambiguity was missing when respondents were asked about their own family's economic circumstances during the next year. The responses are markedly positive. By more than a 10-to-1 ratio, respondents are overwhelmingly more likely to be optimistic (58.6% foresee improvement) than pessimistic (only 5.5% expect things will get worse), with approximately one out of three, again, anticipating no change.

Family's Economic Circumstances in 1995

Improve	58.6%
Get Worse	5.5
Stay the Same	33.1
Don't Know/Refused	2.8

The optimism is more strongly felt by younger respondents, those aged 18 to 34, whereas older citizens are more likely to see stability. There are few differences across gender, education levels, place of birth (in Wisconsin or not), or income. The black population in the city is basically optimistic about their own economic circumstances, a finding

which reinforces previous survey results.¹ The one drawback of such a finding is the potential for social unrest if this optimism is not met by the reality of improving economic conditions.

When asked specifically why they feel the way they do about what they consider to be their families' economic prospects over the next year, they give a range of responses. Many of these responses indicate a change in actual conditions, not just a hope, suggesting some reasonable probability of conditions improving. Reasons given for optimism fell into five categorical areas: General Belief/Hope (26%), Job/Work-Related (22%), Personal Effort (22%), Family/Status (13%) and the Economy (six percent).

Those persons most likely to base their view on belief and hope are 55 years old and over, have

less than a high school degree, and have a low income. Those who attribute their optimism to job or work-related reasons — such as getting a better job, a raise, or working for an expanding company — are more likely to be 35 to 44 years of age, have had at least some college education, and already have a higher income. Those who see the key being enhanced personal effort — such as having a more positive attitude, getting a better education, or working more — are more likely to be 25 to 34 years old, be better educated, and yet have incomes below \$25,000.

The long list of specific answers among the 586 respondents who expect their families' economic circumstances to improve is a testimony to the human spirit. Answers included expressions of general hope, specific expectations of upward career mobility, and determined resolutions of self-improvement.

Among the small minority of 55 respondents who said they expect their families' economic circumstances to worsen over the next year, the predominant explanation was the Economy (44%), followed by Personal Problems (15%), Government (14%) and General Expectations (11%). Only three respondents among the 1,000 interviewed expect their personal economic situation to get worse because of "racism."

Interestingly, the changes in Madison and Washington were seen as having little influence: an extremely small number of respondents saw the emergence of the Republican majority as having a primary impact, positive or negative, on their economic circumstances in the next year.

IV. PUBLIC PRIORITIES

All respondents were read a list of six possible areas for public initiative and were asked to indicate which area they thought needed the most attention from government at the present time. The six issue areas in order of respondent selection priority were: Creating Jobs, Reducing Crime and Violence, Improving Public Education, Reforming the Welfare System, Combating Racism and Discrimination, and Reforming the Tax System.

In recent years, most surveys of urban populations have revealed a primary concern with crime. It is noteworthy that the most-urgent imperative for blacks in Milwaukee is "Creating Jobs," followed very closely by "Reducing Crime." The high level of interest in job creation shows a different focus than other populations have had and is indicative of the difficulties blacks in Milwaukee have had finding employment (as was noted above, some 17% of the respondents were unemployed). It may also reflect the tenor of the times, in which "work" is more commonly mentioned in public-policy discussions.

Issues Most Needing Government Attention

Creating Jobs	32.2%
Reducing Crime and Violence	31.5
Improving Public Education	15.0
Reforming the Welfare System	7.9
Combating Racism and Discrimination	7.8
Reforming the Tax System	3.0
Don't Know/Refused	2.6

As already mentioned, this survey covered four specific issue areas in depth — Crime, Education, Housing, and Welfare. The responses to the present issue-priority question suggest that "Welfare Reform," though topical in Washington and Madison, is not at the top of the typical black Milwaukee resident's issue agenda. It should be noted, however, that Wisconsin-born respondents are more likely (11%) than those from out of state (six percent) to assign highest priority to this issue.

"Combating Racism" is also not perceived to be a pressing issue. Even among those who later in the survey reported that they had suffered significant discrimination within the past five years, only 13% selected "Combating Racism" as the most-compelling issue at this time. "Reforming the Tax System" is the public-policy goal least likely to be endorsed as requiring attention. The only subgroup to get excited

by this option, and it was only eight percent of the respondents, were those with incomes between \$35,001 and \$50,000. Far more important were the three areas "Creating Jobs," "Reducing Crime," and "Improving Education" to emerge as the most-salient public-policy concerns among Milwaukee's black population.

Age, once again, was found to be strongly related to response patterns. Those persons aged 45 and older are significantly more likely than younger respondents to assign greatest importance to "Creating Jobs." Those under 45 are relatively more concerned with "Reducing Crime." But somewhat surprisingly, those respondents aged 18 to 24 are also more likely to be concerned with improving public education. Not surprisingly, the higher the education level of the respondent, the more likely he or she was to believe that "Improving Public Education" should get the most government attention. Aside from these few differences, the relative priority of the issues does not vary significantly by demographic characteristics of the respondents.

V. CRIME PREVENTION AND CONTROL

In addition to the questions about the future and public issues, respondents were asked a series of questions on four major topic areas that affect life in the city. One that was covered rather extensively was that of crime and crime control. This topic has commonly been among the subjects of greatest interest to all citizens in recent years. An August 1994 poll revealed that 42% of Milwaukee citizens thought that crime was the topic that needed the most attention from the government, and statewide this topic received more responses (29%) than any other.² Blacks in Milwaukee share this concern, although at this point employment opportunity is at least as great a concern.

Respondent or Family Member Crime Victim in 1994

Respondent	15.4%
Immediate Family	13.0
Both	4.4
Neither	66.2
Don't Know/Refused	1.0

Crime has negatively affected almost all black families in Milwaukee. Some 91% of the respondents have changed their lifestyle in at least one way in reaction to crime, and almost as many have changed in at least two ways. These changes have been driven by both reality and perception. Approximately one-third of the respondents or members of their immediate families have been the victims of crime in the last year. (The victims are more likely to have been young — 18 to 24 — have some college education, and be either low income — \$15,000 or less — or have an income between \$25,001 and \$35,000.)

Perception of Crime Rates in Milwaukee

Rising	68.2%
Staying the Same	19.9
Dropping	10.1
Don't Know/Refused	1.8

Furthermore, victimization or fear of crime has influenced their perceptions: the vast majority of all respondents think that crime in the city as a whole is increasing, compared to only one in ten (10.1%) who think it is dropping and 20% who think the citywide crime rate is staying the same. The perception is less negative at the neighborhood level, where only 32% are of the opinion that crime is rising in their own neighborhoods, whereas 47% think the crime rate is stable and 18% think that it is falling.

Perception of Crime Rates in Own Neighborhood

Rising	31.8%
Staying the Same	46.7
Dropping	17.6
Don't Know/Refused	3.9

Age, once again, clearly colors perceptions. Although the majority of respondents in all age groups believe that crime across the city is on the rise, younger respondents, possibly based on their own experiences as victims, are

significantly more likely than those over age 45 to be of this opinion. Interestingly, those between 18 and 24 are at the same time most likely to believe that the crime rate in their own neighborhoods is falling. This seeming incongruity may be similar to the case of economic conditions — where the less familiar, the larger community, is viewed much more negatively than the more familiar, themselves or the area closest to home. (We see the same pattern again below with regard to schools.)

Personal Response

Respondents were read a list of preemptive actions individuals might take to protect themselves or their families from crime. The percentage of respondents reporting that they have taken various actions is as listed at right.

As the table shows, all but nine percent of the respondents have taken some form of preemptive action to protect themselves from crime, with the most-common precaution being going out less frequently at night. It is not just females or older respondents who are exercising caution. Over 55% of males and 58% of all respondents between the ages of 18 and 25 report that they go out less frequently at night. There are, however, some differences in the actions taken by males versus females and younger respondents versus older respondents. Females are more likely than males to have started carrying mace or a whistle (28% versus 15%), while males are more likely than females to have started keeping a gun in the home (27% versus 12%).

Preemptive Actions Against Crime

Gone out less frequently at night	59.2%
Purchased a car alarm or other protection for a car	46.4
Moved or thought of moving	39.0
Purchased an alarm for the house	34.7
Ridden public transportation less frequently	34.4
Started carrying mace or a whistle	22.4
Started keeping a gun in the home	18.2
None	8.6

Female respondents are more likely than males to have started carrying mace or a whistle (28% versus 15%), while males are more likely than females to have started keeping a gun in the home (27% versus 12%).

Moving, or the consideration of moving, to escape from the threat of crime, is a common personal response among younger people (under age 45). It is probably true that younger people are more likely to move in general, regardless of any consideration of crime, so this finding is not particularly surprising. Older respondents are basically settled in, reconciled to staying in their present neighborhoods.

The one personal response more prevalent among those over age 55 than among those under this age is keeping a gun in the home. This could reflect a number of things. Older respondents are significantly more likely to have been born out of state in general, and in the south in particular, where gun ownership is more common. Also, fewer households among the elderly have children present, thereby removing some of the danger of keeping a gun in the home. These explanations aside, there may be at least some element of older respondents keeping a gun in the home that is sadly due to the development of a bunker mentality.

Another finding that, in retrospect, makes perfect sense is that the likelihood of purchasing alarms for both automobiles and for homes tends to increase with income level.

Subjective Appraisal

At a more personal level, respondents were asked whether they felt safe or unsafe out on the streets in their own neighborhoods. A distinction was made between when it is light out and when it is dark. During the day, it turns

Perception of Safety in One's Neighborhood

	Daytime	Nighttime
Very Safe	36.2%	17.7%
Somewhat Safe	49.4	40.7
Not at All Safe	13.8	39.4
Don't Know/Refused	0.6	2.2

out that the vast majority (86%) say they either feel very safe (36%) or somewhat safe (49%). The majority (58%) also feel safe at night, but the comfort level is obviously not as great. Only 18% say they feel very safe, 41% say somewhat safe, and the number who say they do not feel safe at all almost triples to 39%. Obviously, nighttime in the city generates fear and changes in behavior. What is curious is that when a sample of all residents was asked similar questions in July 1994,³ only 77% of all citizens, versus 86% of black respondents, felt very or somewhat safe during daylight and 39% of all respondents felt somewhat or very safe at night compared to 58% of black respondents. Blacks feel more comfortable despite media images of their living under siege.

There are very strong associations between several demographic variables and the level of perceived safety. Income level and educational level are both directly related to feeling safe in one's neighborhood. This is not surprising, because those with higher levels of education and higher incomes probably do, in fact, live in safer neighborhoods. For example, homeowners were significantly more likely than renters to say that they feel safe on the street. Gender is also a factor, with females more inclined to fear for their safety. Finally, age is also related in a predictable direction. Those aged 55 and over are dramatically more likely than younger residents to feel unsafe in their own neighborhoods, even though only two percent (versus 15% of the overall population) of respondents over 65 had personally been a victim of crime in the last year.

Against the backdrop of perceived rising crime rates and the issue of personal safety, respondents were asked to rate the job that the police are doing in their respective neighborhoods. Overall, the assessment is mixed (10% excellent, 35% good, 36% only fair, 17% poor). But just as education and income levels are related to perceptions of safety, so too are these variables related to respondents' evaluations of police services. The higher the education level, and the higher the income level, the more highly do respondents rate the job the police are doing. This reinforces the speculation previously made that blacks with higher education and income levels probably do, in fact, live in less crime-plagued, or, presumably, better-policed neighborhoods within the city.

Excellent	10.2%
Good	35.3
Only Fair	35.5
Poor	17.1

Age and gender each influence opinion on this question. Males in general are significantly more critical of the job the police are doing than females, and the youngest respondents — those between 18 and 24 years of age — are the most disparaging of all (probably because they are most likely to have been victimized).

An interesting pattern seems to be emerging. When questioned about the direction of the economy, younger blacks have a relatively negative impression of the status of the city as a whole, but are relatively optimistic about their own short-term future economic prospects. When questioned about crime rates, younger blacks are more negative in their assessment of citywide trends, but more positive about the situation in their own neighborhoods, including their own safety. And young blacks are by far the most reproachful regarding the quality of police services. These findings suggest that younger blacks may be more cynical than their more-mature counterparts *vis-a-vis* "the big picture," yet their youthful idealism carries the day and they remain confident in their own ability to sidestep social obstacles and to personally overcome economic and other forms of adversity.

Getting Tougher on Criminals	61.5%
Spending More on Social Programs	32.4
Don't Know/Refused	6.1

Social Remedies

A very important public issue is what society should do to decrease crime rates and increase resident safety. To develop a better understanding of citizen views, respondents were asked a series of questions dealing with alternative strategies for controlling and/or preventing crime. One was a question on general

strategy. Overall, respondents take a “get-tough” approach regarding crime. By an almost 2-to-1 margin, black respondents said they thought that getting tougher on criminals (62%) would work better than spending more on social programs (32%).

Gender, age, and education level, however, each tend to be influential in affecting one’s outlook in this regard. While the majority among all groups favors getting tough, the margin of preference is substantially smaller among males than among females. And those between 18 and 24 years of age favor “getting tough” over “spending more” by a more-modest margin of 58% to 39%, respectively. Education level, however, has the strongest impact on creating opinions that vary from the norm. While all categories favor getting tough, as educational level increases, the percentage opting for greater spending increases directly. And surprisingly, those respondents with the highest incomes are the group most likely to advocate spending more rather than getting tough, even though they and their families had been victimized as often as everyone else.

Respondents were asked two questions touching on the issue of sentencing. The results of the first question are that, by more than a 3-to-1 ratio, respondents think that prisoners should have to serve the full sentences imposed by the courts (66%), as opposed to allowing parole boards to shorten sentences (22%). On a related issue, a clear majority (59%) favors a state law that would sentence criminals convicted of three felonies to life in prison without parole (30% said they opposed this).

On both of the above issues regarding sentencing, while the majority clearly favors a get-tough approach, gender and age significantly affect response patterns. Black females are decidedly less forgiving than black males when it comes to cracking down on criminals, and respondents under 25 years of age are the most likely to favor giving convicted felons a second (or, in this case a fourth) chance.

While black Milwaukee residents are obviously concerned about crime and while they seem resolute in their support for tougher sentences for offenders, they do not overwhelmingly embrace capital punishment as an appropriate or effective means of reducing crime. In general, 45% support the death penalty, versus 44% who oppose it. While females tend to be less forgiving than males regarding sentencing, females are apparently less willing to impose the ultimate punishment — the death penalty. Age, however, is strongly related to opinion on this issue. Those over 65 years of age, and those under 25, strongly oppose capital punishment — breaking company with the large majority between these ages who say that, in general, they do favor the death penalty.

While overall opinion regarding the death penalty in general is evenly split, when the explicit choice of an appropriate sentence for a convicted murderer is “the death penalty” versus “life in prison with no chance of parole,” a sizable majority of black respondents opt for the latter. Consistent with attitudes toward the death penalty in general, the

Should Prisoners Serve Full Sentences?

Prisoners Should Serve Full Sentences	65.8%
Parole Boards Should be Able to Shorten Them	21.7
Don't Know/Refused	12.5

Life Sentences After Three Convictions

Favor	58.9%
Oppose	30.3
Don't Know/Refused	10.8

View of the Death Penalty

Support	44.5%
Oppose	43.7
Don't Know/Refused	11.8

Death Penalty vs. Life Imprisonment

Death Penalty	34.9%
Life Imprisonment	56.5
Don't Know/Refused	8.6

margin of preference for life imprisonment over the death penalty is greatest among respondents in the youngest and the oldest age categories. And while males and females alike prefer life imprisonment to capital punishment, the margin is significantly greater among females.

Finally, among the group who chose "Reducing Crime" as the top public-issue priority, there was a slight inclination to be relatively tough on the subject of sentencing, but they are no different from other respondents in their preference for life imprisonment over the death penalty.

VI. EDUCATION

Improving public education is a priority for blacks in Milwaukee. They want change. Even though improving education came in third in terms of the number of respondents choosing it as the highest public priority, the responses to individual questions on education indicated very strong support for approaching education differently than we do now. By far the most-impressive figure in the entire survey is the response to the question on the issue of school choice. When asked whether they thought parents should have the right to choose which local schools their children will attend, an overwhelming 95% say that parents should have that choice.

Should Parents Have Right to Choose Local School?

Yes, Should	95.2%
No, Should Not	3.4
Don't Know/Refused	1.4

Why are blacks so adamant on this issue? We cannot tell for sure, but it may well be a reaction to their assessment of present conditions. Blacks in Milwaukee are not pleased with the Milwaukee Public Schools system. Some 70% of the respondents think that students in private and parochial schools get a better education than students in MPS (16%).⁴ This is an across-the-board assessment, explicitly confirmed by parents who actually have children in school, 67% of whom agreed with the majority.

Which Schools Provide the Better Education?

Private/Parochial	69.6%
Milwaukee Public	16.3
Don't Know/Refused	14.1

Although this negative assessment is broad-based, cutting across all major subgroupings of the sample, a few categories of respondents vary in one direction or the other. For example, those with children in private school are significantly more negative; on average, their decision to use private schools probably testifying to the negative trend that they perceive exists.

Those born in Wisconsin also tend to be relatively negative, perhaps reflecting their consternation at being repeatedly told that Wisconsin's schools are better than those elsewhere and seeing that Milwaukee's are not or it could reflect the experience of those born elsewhere who have experienced schools worse than those in Milwaukee. Older respondents are among those least likely to be critical, but they may be least in touch with the current system and their frame of reference is probably influenced by less than ideal conditions when they themselves were in school.

Have Milwaukee Schools Improved in 5 Years?

Yes, Improved	21.0%
Stayed the Same	22.3
Gotten Worse	47.0
Don't Know/Refused	9.7

Some 47% of respondents, and 49% of respondents with children in MPS, think that the quality of education in MPS has gotten worse over the last five years. The general 47% response is a seven percentage-point increase over the black response to the same question asked in 1990. On the other hand, today, some 21% of all respondents, and 23% of MPS parents, think that MPS has improved compared to 19% in 1990.

The views that MPS schools have improved are not commonly shared. Those who think that the schools have

improved are generally older (55 to 64 years of age, but not 65 and over, a group which is quite critical of the schools), think that children get a better education in public schools, and have incomes in excess of \$50,000. Those that think that the schools have deteriorated in the last five years are more likely to be young, aged 18 to 24 and likely products of those schools, those who believe private and parochial do a better job, and those who have children in private or parochial schools.

The negative view of MPS is further reinforced by responses to the question as to how they would use a voucher (a government-sponsored certificate to cover the cost of tuition) were it to be provided to them for a child's education. Respondents were asked the hypothetical question below, dealing with the school-choice issue.

Suppose that you had a child in the local Milwaukee public school, and that the government gave you a voucher worth \$3,500 which you could use to enroll your child in any school — public, private, or church-related. Would you use that voucher to enroll your child in a different public school from your local school, in a private school, in a church-related school, or would you keep your child in the same public school he or she would be in right now?

	All Respondents	MPS Parents
Private	41.5%	39.6%
Church-Related	18.5	15.7
Same Public	28.9	34.2
Different Public	5.4	7.2
Don't Know/Refused	5.7	3.4

Three-fifths of the respondents (up five percentage points from the 1990 survey) would use private (42%) or parochial (19%) schools, if given the choice and almost as many current MPS parents would do the same. The overall number is almost five times the number of households that use these schools today (13% of respondents with children in school use either private or parochial schools currently). Of note, however, is the fact that 29% would choose the same public school their child attends today, indicating support for those schools most familiar to them, while having a negative view of the MPS system. (This is a common finding in past surveys of citizen reactions to evaluating their schools — respondents always rank the schools with which they are most familiar more highly than the system of which they are a part.)

Respondents were also asked to specifically compare the quality of education today with the education they themselves received at the elementary- and high-school level. Overall, 40% say they think that children today get a better education, compared with 48% who say that children's education today is worse than when they were in school.

Age, education level, income, and state of birth all influence opinion on this question. By age, only those over age 55 think today's education is better. By education level, those with at least some college are especially critical of education today. By income, as income increases, negativity towards the quality of education today increases in direct proportion. And finally, native Wisconsin residents also tend to be more negative than those born out of state, again possibly reflecting the experience of those born out of state in even worse schools out of state. The group most supportive of

Is Today's Education Better Than Your Own?

Yes, Better	40.3%
No, Worse	48.1
The Same	7.9
Don't Know/Refused	3.7

today's schools are parents who have children in the public schools — some 60% of these think today's education is better.

Options for Education

Respondents were given an opportunity to express their preferences on a series of public-policy options in the area of education reform. As noted above, the single most-uniformly requested reform is for parental choice. It is virtually unanimously agreed (95%) that parents should have the right to choose which local schools their children will attend. Even though the question did not state whether this choice included all schools or was restricted to only public schools, this is an extremely strong endorsement of "school choice" as a concept.

The more-detailed, policy-option question below — currently being debated in Madison — regarding school choice was put to all respondents.

A choice plan is currently being offered to low income parents in Milwaukee. Under this plan some parents can choose to send their children to a local public or private school, but not to a parochial school. Would you favor or oppose expanding this choice program to include parochial schools?

Favor	70.5%
Oppose	21.7
Don't Know/Refused	7.8

This is a socially as well as a statistically significant finding. A large majority favors expanding school choice to include parochial schools,⁵ even though only 19% of respondents would elect to use them if given the choice. And agreement on this is not only by a decisive numerical majority, but by a socio-demographically diverse majority as well. All major subgroupings of the sample concur in this decision, although those over 55 years of age and those with less than a high-school degree are somewhat less enthusiastic.

Educational Emphasis on Basics vs. Building Confidence

Emphasis on Reading, Writing, Math	60.0%
Building Confidence and Self-Esteem	33.2
Don't Know/Refused	6.8

Two other education-policy questions yielded interesting and important results. First, by an almost 2-to-1 margin, black Milwaukee residents would favor a back-to-basics approach to education with emphasis on reading, writing, and arithmetic, over a curriculum that would spend class time on other things such as building confidence and self-esteem.

This preference was also consistent across all major categories of the sample, with the single exception being those who initially identified "Improving Education" as the issue most needing government attention: they more commonly favored a move away from basics to building confidence and self-esteem. This response is important because it suggests that those most outspoken in the area of educational reform may not reflect the views of the majority of citizens or parents.

One last question on education brings into doubt a major thrust of current policy — integration. Individuals were asked the question on the top of the next page. A clear majority said they would approve reducing the degree of integration, if by so doing, the Milwaukee public schools had the

If the Milwaukee Public Schools had the opportunity to increase learning among all students by reducing the degree of integration, would you approve or disapprove of this?

Approve	55.3%
Disapprove	36.8
Don't Know/Refused	7.9

opportunity to increase learning among all students. A little over one-third are opposed. This distribution demonstrates that for the majority of black Milwaukee residents, the goal of learning takes precedence over the goal of integration *per se*. This, of course, does not imply that they reject the goal of integrated schooling, merely that the desire to achieve racial balance should be deferred to the higher goal of educating children.

While almost all subcategories of respondents are inclined to approve trading off some measure of integration for increased learning, the margin of approval tends to drop proportionately with increasing age of respondent. Furthermore, college graduates are evenly split on this issue. And those currently in school are more likely to disapprove (54%) of relaxing efforts to achieve integration in order to increase learning than they are to approve (44%) it. While the majority favors a change, the issue would certainly be hotly debated.

VII. WELFARE REFORM

Among six issue areas from which respondents were asked to choose the one most needing government attention, "Reforming the Welfare System" was selected by only 7.9% of all survey respondents. Two sub-groups are especially in favor of reforming welfare, those persons earning \$25,001 to \$35,000 (15%) and persons 18 to 24 years of age (12%). Otherwise, support is fairly uniform across demographic lines. Despite the vast majority of black Milwaukee residents believing that other goals such as "Creating Jobs" and "Reducing Crime and Violence" should take precedence over "Welfare Reform," when asked the specifics of reform, they are also very much in favor of changing the welfare system.

Respondents were read a list of welfare-reform proposals and asked whether they approved or disapproved of each. At the top of the next page is a table that shows the list of proposed reforms, some of which are currently being implemented on an experimental basis in specific counties in Wisconsin, and the percentage of black Milwaukee residents who say they approve of each. The items are listed in descending order, based on the respective percentage who approve.

As the table shows, there is extremely strong support among black Milwaukee residents for all of the welfare-reform proposals, with the conspicuous exception of the last two on the list. Opinion is evenly divided regarding the proposal to remove children from unfit parents and place them in orphanages (48% approve versus 45% who disapprove). And the proposal to deny benefits to women under 18 who bear illegitimate children is totally repudiated (only 28% approve versus 65% who disapprove).

The strongest support is for the notion of a *quid pro quo* or some form of reciprocity for welfare recipients. Almost all respondents express the view that welfare recipients must do something in return for being supported by the rest of society. This 93% is an overwhelming vote in favor of changing from the current notion of welfare as an entitlement to welfare as support that is earned by recipients. While the notion of reciprocity is central to current discussions of changes in welfare policy, the strength of the support for the revolutionary concept is surprising.

Welfare-Reform Proposal	Approval	Disapproval
Requiring that welfare recipients take some action, be it working, volunteering, or going to school or training, if they are to receive welfare benefits	92.6%	6.0%
Providing public service jobs with the government for welfare recipients who are able to work, but who can't find jobs with private employers	88.8	9.5
Taking money out of the paychecks and tax returns of fathers who refuse to make child-support payments	84.4	13.6
Making persons who move to Wisconsin and immediately apply for welfare, receive the same amount they received in their former state for 6 months, before it rises to Wisconsin levels	68.3	28.7
Requiring that welfare recipients lose some of their benefits if their children drop out of school or are absent more than a pre-set number of days per year	64.7	30.9
Removing all children from homes with parents who cannot handle parenting responsibilities, and putting the children in orphanages, children's villages, and residential schools	47.9	45.1
Denying all welfare benefits to any woman under 18 years of age who has a child out of wedlock	28.3	65.2

Almost as strong as the support for earning welfare is the support for public-service jobs for those recipients who cannot find private-sector employment and the more-aggressive effort to attach the income streams of fathers who refuse to make child-care support payments. Both have fairly uniform support from all population subgroups. It should be noted, however, that males and persons aged 18 to 24 are a little less enthusiastic about the attachment of wages and tax returns.

Two controversial proposals that are being tried in Wisconsin — in fact, right in Milwaukee — received about a two-thirds vote. The six-month waiting period for immigrant welfare recipients and “Learnfare” both receive solid support. Given the controversy both programs raised when they were initially proposed, the level of support for their use is higher than might be expected, especially since two-thirds of the respondents were themselves immigrants at some point. Not surprisingly, males are somewhat more supportive of Learnfare than females, who must deal with the frustration of overseeing children’s behavior, and those with less than a high-school degree see less need for sanctions for not attending school. Support for the six-month waiting period is fairly uniform, except for persons aged 55 and over, who give the notion less support. Persons born in Wisconsin are only slightly more in favor of this reform than those born elsewhere.

Black Milwaukee residents’ attitudes probably reflect national opinion quite closely on all of the welfare-reform proposals tested, with the exception of denying benefits to teenage girls having babies out of wedlock. Bearing illegitimate children is apparently not regarded as an incident that should be

penalized. This may be attributable to the fact that among the sample responding to this survey, only 30% of all households with children present are headed by a married couple.

VIII. RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION

When asked at the outset of the survey what one issue out of the six offered respondents thought most needed attention from the government at the present time, less than eight percent say that combating racism and discrimination is at the top of their list. Those who express this view are slightly more likely to be male, 25 to 34 or over 65 years of age, and have completed at least some college. Overall, it is not near the top of the priority list.

Only two subsequent questions were asked that related directly to this issue. Respondents were asked if they had suffered any significant discrimination in the last five years. A sizable majority say no, while just over one third say yes. Given the rhetoric about the role of race today, the fact that only one-third of the respondents claim significant discrimination is surprising.

Suffered Significant Discrimination in Last 5 Years?

Yes	35.8%
No	63.0
Don't Know/Refused	1.2

Males are much more likely to claim this experience, 44% to 30% for females. Respondents under 55 years of age are much more likely to have been discriminated against (39%) than those over 55 (19%). And those with less than a high-school degree are somewhat less likely to have experienced discrimination than those with some college or a college degree.

Somewhat interestingly, those who say they did indeed suffer discrimination tend to place slightly greater importance on living in a racially integrated neighborhood than those who say they have not encountered any significant discrimination. Going beyond the data, it may be the case that blacks who have suffered discrimination are not necessarily anxious to live in integrated neighborhoods as much as they are committed to the principle that they should not be excluded from living in any neighborhood they choose.

A follow-up question on the types of discrimination reported having been experienced were diverse. Far and away the leader, however, are problems related to employment. Finding a job is the source for 41% of afflicted respondents, whereas not getting a promotion is cited by 21%. The general category of housing is cited by 25% of those saying they had suffered from discrimination, while 15% are explicit in saying they had trouble finding housing and another 15% say they had difficulty getting a loan. Thus, employment and housing are far and away the two most-common areas for discrimination.

As might be expected, these causes are cited differentially by various demographic subgroups. Job-related discrimination is seldom cited by those aged 55 and over, but commonly cited (74%) by those who earn between \$25,001 and \$35,000. Housing problems, on the other hand, are more commonly cited by those 55 and over. Dealing with the police is more of a problem for males, those 18 to 24 and those 65 and over. Other than these distinctions, the problems seem relatively evenly divided and less common than might be expected.

Part of Life in Which Discrimination Occurred

Job-Related	61.5%
Housing	39.4
Dealing with Police	17.9
Getting a Mortgage/Loan	15.1
Other City Officials	6.7
General	26.5

Note: Total adds to more than 100% because multiple answers were allowed.

IX. HOUSING

The survey contained an extensive series of questions eliciting information about respondents' housing characteristics and opinions, even though housing was not on the list of public issues. A set of tables displaying various housing characteristics of black residents of the City of Milwaukee is below. Many of the characteristics are comparable to those in the 1990 Census, but the data here are five years more current. Additionally, several questions were asked about topics like ownership and neighborhood preference, appealing neighborhood characteristics, and obstacles to ownership for current renters.

Before reporting on specific characteristics of the housing stock occupied by black Milwaukeeans, it must be reported that "the American Dream" of home ownership is alive and well in Milwaukee's black population. Some 37% of respondents already do own, and some 80% of the renters would prefer to own. Collectively, this means that 87% of black households in Milwaukee do own or want to own their own home. This figure is higher than that reported on national surveys and indicates a force on which the city could capitalize.

If the city, WHEDA, or some other organization were to target specific population subgroups to locate those most interested in changing from rental to owner status, there are several targets that have higher than 80% of its members interested in owning. By age, those less than 45 years of age (84%), especially those 35-44 years old (88%), are very interested, as are males (86%), and those with incomes

Lived in Neighborhood ...		Housing Tenure		Persons/Household	
5 Years/Less	57.8%	Own	37.4%	1	14.5%
6-10 Years	16.1	Rent	62.6	2	23.9
11-20 Years	12.6			3	24.3
20+ Years	13.5			4	19.5
				5+	17.3
				<i>Mean</i>	3.15
Number of Bedrooms		Monthly Rent		Include Utilities	
None	1.2%	Less/\$250	12.6%	Heat & Electric	18.5%
1	10.9	\$250-\$349	23.8	Just Heat	14.4
2	32.9	\$350-\$449	30.2	Just Electric	1.4
3	34.2	\$450-\$549	17.1	Neither	64.1
4	14.0	\$550/More	9.7	Refused	1.6
5+	6.5	Refused	6.5		
<i>Mean</i>	2.7	<i>Mean</i>	\$393		
Mortgage & Taxes/Month		Could Sell Home for ...		Neighborhood Travel	
Less/\$250	12.8%	Less/\$25K	10.2%	Private Auto	68.0%
\$250-\$349	10.2	\$25K-\$39.9K	25.1	Bus	19.8
\$350-\$449	15.5	\$40K-\$54.9K	21.7	Walk	7.4
\$450-\$549	11.8	\$55K-\$69.9K	12.6	Taxi/Car Service	2.9
\$550-\$649	11.0	\$70K-\$84.9K	7.8	Other	1.9
\$650-\$749	6.7	\$85K/More	9.1		
\$750/More	11.5	Don't Know/Refused	13.6		
Don't Know/Refused	20.6	<i>Mean</i>	\$51,750		
<i>Mean</i>	\$508				

between \$15,001 and \$35,000 (86%).

Where these households would like to own is not specifically known. Based on past location patterns, the majority of demand is likely to be in the city, but we do not know. What we do know is that when renters were asked if they were buying a home would they locate in the same or another neighborhood, almost two-thirds (65%) indicated that they would purchase outside their present neighborhood. Given their previously reported assessments of crime and the schools, that desire is quite predictable. The most-important point to note, though, is the almost-universal desire for home ownership.

Housing Characteristics

The data on the previous page describe a population living in modest housing. The rents paid are only a few dollars a month higher than what was reported to be the case in the 1990 Census (\$375 per month, adjusted). Average housing values are modestly lower, when adjusted for inflation during the same period (the 1990 adjusted mean for black owners in the city would be \$52,857). The difference between average rents and average costs of mortgage and taxes do indicate a difference in ability to pay: the average cost to owners is \$508 a month versus \$393 for renters. Both rents and home values are below the averages for the city as a whole and markedly below those of the region.

The black population is also rather transient. The majority of residents have lived in their present neighborhoods for less than five years, reflecting the high rate of mobility often associated with people living in rental units. Among renters, 72% have moved into the neighborhood within the past five years, a figure comparable to the 74% number found in the 1990 Census. Among owners, only 34% have moved in that recently, slightly more than the 27% found in 1990. This higher percentage — along with a higher percentage of ownership than in 1990, 37% today versus 30% in 1990 — may reflect a more-active lending effort by the financial community.

The average family size is 3.15 persons per household, not dramatically higher for owners (3.31) than for renters (3.06). This parity is not an anomaly, though, since older residents are at the same time more likely to own homes and less likely to have young children living with them.

The average number of bedrooms per household is 2.7, broken down by owners (3.35) versus renters (2.33). Thus, given the similar average household sizes, renters tend to live in more crowded quarters than owners. Overall, the number of bedrooms is directly related to the number of persons per household, ranging from a low of 1.66 bedrooms for single-person households to a high of 3.67 bedrooms for households of five or more.

The average monthly rent is \$393, and most rents do not include utilities. Interestingly, only those with rents of less than \$250 a month are likely not to have to pay for utilities on top of their rent. This, of course, suggests that the lowest rent payers are renting rooms rather than apartments.

All respondents were asked what one type of home improvement or repair their residences are most in need. Only two-thirds of the respondents are able to specify a need. An array of answers is given, topped by three outdoor repairs: "Insulation/Weather-Proofing," "Siding/Outdoor Paint," and "Roof/Roof Repair." As is clear from the listing given, no single type of repair is identified by more than one-tenth of the respondents. This indicates a varied housing stock. What is more, the need for repairs is evenly distributed across demographic subgroups: the only group

Most-Needed Home Improvement or Repair

Insulation/Weather-Proofing	9%
Siding/Outdoor Paint	7
Roof/Roof Repair	6
Bathroom Repair/Improvements	5
Boiler/Furnace/Heat	5
Floors/Carpets	5
Windows	4
Electric Repair/Wiring	4

to report a markedly lower need for any repairs were those persons 55 years of age and above. Perhaps surprisingly, homeowners named somewhat more needed repairs than renters.

The picture thus painted suggests that the housing occupied by black residents of Milwaukee is older, in need of some repairs, and, especially among the rental stock, experiences a relatively high change of occupants.

Neighborhood Life

Respondents were asked whether they lived in their present neighborhoods by choice or because it was too impractical to move out. More than three out of four (76%) say it was by choice. Owners are especially likely to claim that their selection of neighborhood occurred by choice (85%), but the large majority of renters echo this claim as well (71%). Both education level and income are related to response patterns, with higher levels of each being associated with higher proportions claiming that residence in their present neighborhood is voluntary.

As stated earlier, although most black Milwaukee residents say they live in their present neighborhood by choice, renters, when asked if they prefer renting or would rather own their residence, overwhelmingly say they would prefer to be homeowners (80%). Furthermore, when renters who say they would prefer being owners are questioned further, they are much more likely to say that if they did buy a house, they would want to buy it in some other location (65%) rather than in their present neighborhood (32%).

The above findings seem to be at odds with the finding that most respondents claim to live in their neighborhood by choice. One possible explanation is that respondents have a good sense of reality. Given the economic realities of their present situations, they live in their present neighborhoods by choice in the sense that they have chosen their neighborhoods from among the set of neighborhoods in which it would be economically and practically feasible for them to reside. Choice, in this sense, does not mean that they consider their situation the best of all possible worlds, only the best of all practical worlds.

At the risk of reading too much into the data, the large proportion of black respondents claiming to be living where they are by choice dovetails with the relatively optimistic, short-term, personal economic forecasts also found in the survey to suggest that, overall, black residents of Milwaukee, as a group, are by no means an embittered population. This conclusion is reinforced by additional survey results as well.

For example, all respondents who rent but who said they would rather own a home were asked what they considered to be the single-greatest obstacle to their buying a home. It is abundantly clear that "Money/Financial-Related Reasons" predominate, as opposed to social or institutional barriers. For example, fewer than one percent say "Racism/Redlining," whereas 56% say lack of income, seven percent say they could not qualify for a mortgage, and four percent say they did not have a sufficient down payment. Besides "Money," the only other significant cluster of responses was "Personal Reasons" (14%), which have to do with individual-respondent characteristics — again, not social obstacles. Examples of answers in this category include "I have a poor credit rating" (nine percent), "I'm unemployed" (two percent), and "My age" (one percent).

Single-Greatest Obstacle to Buying a Home

Insufficient Income	56%
Can't Qualify for Mortgage	7
No Down Payment	4
Poor Credit Rating	9
Trouble Finding a House	4
Don't Know Where to Look	3
Other	12

Another finding suggesting at least a certain degree of contentment was that 95% of all respondents are able to give a positive answer to the question "What one thing do you like most about living in your present neighborhood?" Even the five percent

who did not answer gave "Don't Know" responses, as opposed to negative answers. The most-enjoyed neighborhood characteristics, that is, those cited most frequently, are "Private/Quiet," "People," and "Convenient Location." The common image of blacks living in undesirable neighborhoods seems to overstate the lack of qualities which do exist there. Certainly the respondents have identified crime and schools as negatives, but they are also able to find positive attributes in their current residential situations.

The ability to find positives is almost universal (95%). The only groups that are slightly less able to say anything positive are the youngest, those with the lowest incomes, and those with less than a high-school degree. The three characteristics undoubtedly overlap. Even among these respondents, 92% can identify at least one appealing characteristic of their current location.

In the previous part of this section entitled "Housing Characteristics," a list of the most-needed home improvements or repairs, solicited from respondents, was presented. That survey question was followed by another asking, "What is the single greatest obstacle to your making the repairs and improvements that your home needs?" The replies given fell into the following categories: "Finances/Money" (48%), "No Time" (eight percent), "Finding Qualified Help" (three percent), "Bad Weather" (two percent), and "Don't Know/Nothing" (38%). There is no indication that respondents blame anyone or anything for their less-than-perfect housing, again reinforcing the inference that black residents of Milwaukee do not constitute an angry population.

Two other findings related to neighborhood life include that the primary mode of neighborhood transportation is private automobile (68%), followed by bus (20%) and walking (seven percent). In the question on the impact of crime on respondents' lives, 34% reported that they were riding the bus less frequently. The bus may still be the primary means of transportation for one-fifth of the respondents, but its role is being sadly diminished by the presence of crime.

The other question related to neighborhood life asked respondents what one type of neighborhood shop or service their neighborhood needs most. Respondents identify 84 different types of shops or services they would most want to see in their neighborhoods. The responses are diversified with only 15 types of stores or services having been identified by two or more persons. Two types of stores/services are much more-commonly cited: Grocery/Supermarket and Recreation Facilities. The consensus seems to disappear rather rapidly after that, as a glance at the table at right will reveal.

Both grocery stores and recreation facilities have commonly been mentioned as needed in the black community. What is not as expected is the small interest in banking services, an item that is repeatedly discussed as banks and savings and loans continue to merge and their service to neighborhoods is called into question.

One last question relating to housing and neighborhood

One Thing Most Liked in Present Neighborhood

Private/Quiet	29.1%
People	21.7
Convenient Location	19.3
Safety	8.0
Physical Qualities	7.7
Familiarity	3.7
Financial Appeal	2.3
Don't Know	5.0

Shop or Service Most Needed in Neighborhood

Grocery/Supermarket	17.1%
Recreation Facilities	14.7
Department Stores	7.5
Day-Care Facilities	6.9
Health-Care Facilities	4.0
Laundromat	2.7
Banking Services	2.6
Beauty Salon/Barber	1.8
Hardware Store	1.6

Importance of Living in Integrated Neighborhood

Very Important	24.8%
Somewhat Important	25.8
Not at All Important	48.1
Don't Know/Refused	1.3

life squarely addresses the issue of the highly segregated racial patterns found in Milwaukee. Respondents were asked what priority they placed on integration: "How important is it to you personally, to live in a racially integrated neighborhood? Would you say very important, somewhat important, or not important at all?"

About a quarter of all respondents say it is "Very Important" for them personally to live in a racially integrated neighborhood and another quarter say it is "Somewhat Important," while approximately half (48.1%) say "Not Important at All." It appears that, overall, black Milwaukee residents are not desperate to live in integrated neighborhoods. However, while the modal response conveys the predominant opinion, response patterns differed based on age, education level, and income. By age, those under 45 place greater importance on integration than older respondents. And education level and income are each positively associated with attaching a greater priority to living in an integrated neighborhood. College graduates, those with incomes over \$50,000, and those with children in private school are by far the most committed to an integrated lifestyle.

X. CONCLUSIONS

Black Milwaukee residents constitute largely a working-class population. Income and education levels are below national averages. Yet despite relatively low socio-economic status, and despite somewhat pessimistic economic expectations for their city as a whole, and despite a relatively negative assessment of the crime situation citywide, and despite a relatively critical evaluation of the Milwaukee Public Schools system, most respondents seem content, if not upbeat, regarding their own personal short-term economic prospects. Respondents, for the most part, also seem relatively satisfied with life in general in their respective neighborhoods.

The gap between negative or cynical views of the larger picture versus positive or optimistic outlooks at the local and personal levels, is exhibited most prominently among young blacks between the ages of 18 and 24.

"Creating Jobs" and "Reducing Crime" are in extremely close competition for the top public priority for this population. The fact that creating jobs is the most-important issue is unusual (crime commonly is by a wide margin) and speaks to the clear desire that employment opportunity be addressed forthwith.

Black Milwaukee residents have very traditional views on crime control. As a group, they favor a "get-tough" approach. The one issue on which they part company with national opinion is capital punishment. Opinion is evenly split on the death penalty in principle, and there is a clear preference for life imprisonment with no chance of parole.

Black residents of Milwaukee are less than impressed with public-school education in their city. By a wide margin, they believe private schools do a better job. Just as with the crime issue, blacks have traditional attitudes regarding education. They strongly favor a back-to-basics approach. Although they do not reject the goal of school integration, most think it warrants a lower priority than successful learning.

Most significantly, blacks in Milwaukee overwhelmingly support "school choice" in general and they specifically think that "choice" should be extended to include parochial, or church-run, schools.

The survey data also suggest that those blacks who are most interested in education as an issue, and consequently might be the most-actively involved, may have views that do not reflect those of the majority of black residents in the city. Those who think "Improving Education" is the single issue needing the most government attention are likely to favor a curriculum that would spend class time on

non-basic things such as building confidence and self-esteem, a priority for only one-third of the total respondents.

A clear majority of black Milwaukee residents are renters, living in modest, if not crowded, housing. "The American Dream" is still alive, however, in the sense that a very high percentage would prefer to own their own homes. Despite this, and despite the admission that they would prefer to buy a home in a location other than their own neighborhood, most say that they live in their present neighborhoods "by choice." This seems to imply that blacks have a healthy sense of reality. They would prefer owning, but they are apparently not bitter that this goal has not been achieved and they do not attribute their renter status to social obstacles having been placed in their way.

The large majority of black Milwaukee residents, although they cite problems with crime and schools, are apparently content with life in their neighborhoods and offer specific examples of neighborhood characteristics they enjoy.

Black Milwaukee residents do not think that "Welfare Reform" merits the same priority as "Creating Jobs" or "Reducing Crime," but as a group, they do support many welfare-reform proposals. The one notable exception is the proposal to deny benefits to young girls bearing children out of wedlock, which is rejected by a broad cross-section of the black community. The consensus in this regard, as well as the high incidence among the sample of children being present in households not headed by a married couple, suggests that penalizing the bearing of illegitimate children is not an avenue that should be pursued.

Finally, regarding the issue of integration, it would appear that the black population in Milwaukee is ambivalent toward the idea of living in an integrated neighborhood. And it may be the case that part of the impetus by a minority in the sample to claim that integrated living is important may derive from resentment at the idea that they could be excluded from living anywhere they chose.

APPENDIX

Q1. - BASED ON WHAT YOU KNOW OR MAY HAVE HEARD ABOUT MILWAUKEE'S ECONOMY, DO YOU EXPECT THE CITY'S ECONOMIC CONDITION TO IMPROVE, GET WORSE, OR STAY THE SAME DURING THE NEXT YEAR?

-1000 Total:
 - 302 30.2 IMPROVE
 - 326 32.6 GET WORSE
 - 324 32.4 STAY THE SAME
 - 48 4.8 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q2. - WHAT ABOUT YOUR OWN FAMILY'S ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES? DO YOU EXPECT THEM TO IMPROVE, GET WORSE, OR STAY THE SAME DURING THE NEXT YEAR?

-1000 Total:
 - 586 58.6 IMPROVE
 - 55 5.5 GET WORSE
 - 331 33.1 STAY THE SAME
 - 28 2.8 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q3A. - WHY DO YOU THINK YOUR OWN FAMILY'S ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES WILL IMPROVE?

- 586 Total:
 - 150 25.6 BELIEF/HOPE
 - 131 22.4 JOB/WORK RELATED
 - 129 22.0 PERSONAL EFFORT
 - 76 13.0 FAMILY/STATUS
 - 36 6.1 ECONOMY
 - 42 7.2 DON'T KNOW

Q3B. - WHY DO YOU THINK YOUR OWN FAMILY'S ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES WILL GET WORSE?

- 55 Total:
 - 24 43.6 ECONOMY
 - 8 14.5 PERSONAL PROBLEMS
 - 8 14.5 GOVERNMENT
 - 6 10.9 GENERAL EXPECTATION
 - 3 5.5 RACISM
 - 4 7.3 DON'T KNOW

Q3C. - WHY DO YOU THINK YOUR OWN FAMILY'S ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES WILL STAY THE SAME?

- 331 Total:
 - 109 32.9 STABLE PERSONAL STATUS
 - 108 32.6 GENERAL EXPECTATIONS
 - 29 8.8 NEGATIVE ECONOMIC
 - 9 2.7 POSITIVE ECONOMIC
 - 5 1.5 GOVERNMENT

- 37 11.2 DON'T KNOW

Q4. - WHICH ONE OF THE FOLLOWING SIX ISSUES DO YOU THINK NEEDS THE MOST ATTENTION FROM GOVERNMENT AT THE PRESENT TIME?

-1000 Total:
 - 322 32.2 CREATING JOBS
 - 315 31.5 REDUCING CRIME AND VIOLENCE
 - 150 15.0 IMPROVING PUBLIC EDUCATION
 - 79 7.9 REFORMING THE WELFARE SYSTEM
 - 78 7.8 COMBATING RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION
 - 30 3.0 REFORMING THE TAX SYSTEM
 - 26 2.6 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q5. - DO YOU THINK THAT CRIME IN MILWAUKEE IS RISING, STAYING THE SAME, OR DROPPING?

-1000 Total:
 - 682 68.2 RISING
 - 199 19.9 STAYING THE SAME
 - 101 10.1 DROPPING
 - 18 1.8 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q6. - DO YOU THINK THAT CRIME IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD IS RISING, STAYING THE SAME, OR DROPPING?

-1000 Total:
 - 318 31.8 RISING
 - 467 46.7 STAYING THE SAME
 - 176 17.6 DROPPING
 - 39 3.9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q7. - DURING THE DAY, THAT IS, WHILE IT IS LIGHT OUT, HOW SAFE DO YOU FEEL OUT ON THE STREET IN YOUR OWN NEIGHBORHOOD? WOULD YOU SAY VERY SAFE, SOMEWHAT SAFE, OR NOT AT ALL SAFE?

-1000 Total:
 - 362 36.2 VERY SAFE
 - 494 49.4 SOMEWHAT SAFE
 - 138 13.8 NOT AT ALL SAFE
 - 6 0.6 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q8. - HOW ABOUT AT NIGHT, WHEN IT'S DARK, HOW SAFE DO YOU FEEL OUT ON THE STREET IN YOUR OWN NEIGHBORHOOD? WOULD YOU SAY VERY SAFE, SOMEWHAT SAFE, OR NOT AT ALL SAFE?

-1000 Total:
 - 177 17.7 VERY SAFE
 - 407 40.7 SOMEWHAT SAFE

- 394 39.4 NOT AT ALL SAFE
- 22 2.2 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q9. - DO YOU THINK THAT PRISONERS SHOULD HAVE TO SERVE THE FULL SENTENCES IMPOSED BY THE COURTS, OR SHOULD PAROLE BOARDS BE ALLOWED TO SHORTEN SENTENCES?

- 1000 Total:
- 658 65.8 FULL SENTENCES
- 217 21.7 SHORTEN SENTENCES
- 125 12.5 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q10. - WOULD YOU FAVOR OR OPPOSE A STATE LAW THAT WOULD SENTENCE CRIMINALS CONVICTED OF THREE FELONIES TO LIFE IN PRISON WITHOUT PAROLE?

- 1000 Total:
- 589 58.9 FAVOR
- 303 30.3 OPPOSE
- 108 10.8 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q11. - IN GENERAL, DO YOU SUPPORT OR OPPOSE THE DEATH PENALTY?

- 1000 Total:
- 445 44.5 SUPPORT
- 437 43.7 OPPOSE
- 118 11.8 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q12. - WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING ALTERNATIVES DO YOU PREFER FOR CONVICTED MURDERERS?

- 1000 Total:
- 349 34.9 THE DEATH PENALTY
- 565 56.5 LIFE IMPRISONMENT WITH NO CHANCE OF PAROLE
- 86 8.6 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q13. - OVERALL, WOULD YOU SAY THAT THE POLICE IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD ARE DOING AN EXCELLENT JOB, A GOOD JOB, ONLY A FAIR JOB, OR A POOR JOB?

- 1000 Total:
- 102 10.2 EXCELLENT
- 353 35.3 GOOD
- 355 35.5 ONLY FAIR
- 171 17.1 POOR
- 19 1.9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q14. - WHICH DO YOU THINK WOULD WORK BETTER TO REDUCE CRIME, GETTING TOUGHER ON CRIMINALS OR SPENDING MORE ON SOCIAL PROGRAMS?

- 1000 Total:

- 615 61.5 GETTING TOUGHER
- 324 32.4 SPENDING MORE
- 61 6.1 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q15. - WITHIN THE LAST YEAR, HAVE YOU, OR HAS ANY MEMBER OF YOUR IMMEDIATE FAMILY, BEEN THE VICTIM OF A CRIME?

- 1000 Total:
- 328 32.8 YES
- 154 15.4 Personally
- 130 13.0 Family member
- 44 4.4 Both
- 662 66.2 NEITHER
- 10 1.0 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q16. - PLEASE TELL ME WHETHER YOU HAVE DONE ANY OF THE FOLLOWING TO PROTECT YOURSELF OR YOUR FAMILY FROM CRIME

- 1000 Total:
- 592 59.2 GONE OUT LESS FREQUENTLY AT NIGHT
- 464 46.4 PURCHASED A CAR ALARM OR OTHER PROTECTION FOR YOUR CAR
- 390 39.0 MOVED OR THOUGHT OF MOVING
- 347 34.7 PURCHASED AN ALARM FOR YOUR HOUSE
- 344 34.4 RIDDEN PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION LESS FREQUENTLY
- 224 22.4 STARTED CARRYING MACE OR A WHISTLE
- 182 18.2 STARTED KEEPING A GUN IN YOUR HOME
- 86 8.6 NONE

Q17. - WOULD YOU SAY THAT THE MILWAUKEE PUBLIC SCHOOLS HAVE IMPROVED FROM FIVE YEARS AGO, STAYED ABOUT THE SAME, OR GOTTEN WORSE?

- 1000 Total:
- 210 21.0 IMPROVED
- 223 22.3 STAYED THE SAME
- 470 47.0 GOTTEN WORSE
- 97 9.7 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q18. - AS YOU LOOK BACK AT YOUR OWN ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION, IS IT YOUR IMPRESSION THAT CHILDREN TODAY GET BETTER, OR WORSE, EDUCATION THAN YOU DID?

- 1000 Total:
- 403 40.3 BETTER
- 481 48.1 WORSE
- 79 7.9 SAME
- 37 3.7 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q19. - IN WHICH TYPE OF SCHOOL DO YOU THINK STUDENTS GET A BETTER EDUCATION, IN THE MILWAUKEE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OR IN

PRIVATE/PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS?

-1000 Total:
 - 163 16.3 MILWAUKEE PUBLIC
 - 696 69.6 PRIVATE/PAROCHIAL
 - 141 14.1 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q20. - DO YOU THINK THAT PARENTS IN YOUR AREA SHOULD OR SHOULD NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE WHICH LOCAL SCHOOLS THEIR CHILDREN WILL ATTEND?

-1000 Total:
 - 952 95.2 SHOULD
 - 34 3.4 SHOULD NOT
 - 14 1.4 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q21. - WHICH WOULD YOU PREFER, A BACK-TO-BASICS APPROACH IN EDUCATION WITH EMPHASIS ON READING, WRITING AND ARITHMETIC, OR A CURRICULUM THAT WOULD SPEND CLASS TIME ON OTHER THINGS SUCH AS BUILDING CONFIDENCE AND SELF-ESTEEM?

-1000 Total:
 - 600 60.0 BACK-TO-BASICS
 - 332 33.2 CONFIDENCE/SELF-ESTEEM
 - 68 6.8 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q22. - SUPPOSE THAT YOU HAD A CHILD IN THE LOCAL MILWAUKEE PUBLIC SCHOOL, AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT GAVE YOU A VOUCHER WORTH \$3,500 WHICH YOU COULD USE TO ENROLL YOUR CHILD IN ANY SCHOOL - PUBLIC, PRIVATE, OR CHURCH-RELATED. WOULD YOU USE THAT VOUCHER TO ENROLL YOUR CHILD IN A DIFFERENT PUBLIC SCHOOL FROM YOUR LOCAL SCHOOL, IN A PRIVATE SCHOOL, IN A CHURCH-RELATED SCHOOL, OR WOULD YOU KEEP YOUR CHILD IN THE SAME PUBLIC SCHOOL HE OR SHE WOULD BE IN RIGHT NOW?

-1000 Total:
 - 54 5.4 DIFFERENT PUBLIC
 - 415 41.5 PRIVATE
 - 185 18.5 PAROCHIAL
 - 289 28.9 SAME PUBLIC
 - 57 5.7 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q23. - IF THE MILWAUKEE PUBLIC SCHOOLS HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO INCREASE LEARNING AMONG ALL STUDENTS BY REDUCING THE DEGREE OF INTEGRATION, WOULD YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THIS?

-1000 Total:
 - 553 55.3 APPROVE
 - 368 36.8 DISAPPROVE
 - 79 7.9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q24. - A CHOICE PLAN IS CURRENTLY BEING OFFERED TO LOW INCOME PARENTS IN MILWAUKEE. UNDER THIS PLAN SOME PARENTS CAN CHOOSE TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO A LOCAL PUBLIC OR PRIVATE SCHOOL, BUT NOT TO A PAROCHIAL SCHOOL. WOULD YOU FAVOR OR OPPOSE EXPANDING THIS CHOICE PROGRAM TO INCLUDE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS?

-1000 Total:
 - 705 70.5 FAVOR
 - 217 21.7 OPPOSE
 - 78 7.8 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q25. - HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD WHERE YOU ARE NOW LIVING?

-1000 Total:
 - 578 57.8 FIVE YEARS OR LESS
 - 161 16.1 6 - 10 YEARS
 - 126 12.6 11 - 20 YEARS
 - 135 13.5 MORE THAN 20 YEARS

Q26. - DO YOU OWN OR RENT YOUR CURRENT RESIDENCE?

-1000 Total:
 - 374 37.4 OWN
 - 626 62.6 RENT

Q27. - DO YOU PREFER RENTING, OR WOULD YOU RATHER OWN YOUR RESIDENCE? (ASKED TO PEOPLE WHO RENT)

- 626 Total:
 - 124 19.8 PREFER RENTING
 - 498 79.6 RATHER OWN
 - 4 0.6 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q28. - WHAT WOULD YOU SAY IS THE SINGLE GREATEST OBSTACLE TO YOUR BUYING A HOME? (ASKED TO PEOPLE WHO WOULD RATHER OWN A HOME)

- 498 Total:
 - 346 69.5 MONEY
 - 70 14.1 PERSONAL REASONS
 - 33 6.6 UNCERTAINTY
 - 4 0.8 RACISM/RED LINING
 - 24 4.8 DON'T KNOW

Q29. - IF YOU WERE GOING TO BUY A HOME, WOULD YOU WANT TO BUY A HOME IN YOUR PRESENT NEIGHBORHOOD OR WOULD YOU LOOK TO BUY ELSEWHERE? (ASKED TO PEOPLE WHO WOULD RATHER OWN A HOME)

- 498 Total:
 - 158 31.7 PRESENT NEIGHBORHOOD
 - 323 64.9 ELSEWHERE

- 17 3.4 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q30. - ALL THINGS CONSIDERED, WOULD YOU SAY YOU LIVE IN YOUR PRESENT NEIGHBORHOOD BY CHOICE, OR BECAUSE IT IS JUST TOO IMPRACTICAL FOR YOU TO MOVE OUT?

-1000 Total:
 - 759 75.9 BY CHOICE
 - 226 22.6 TOO IMPRACTICAL
 - 15 1.5 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q31. - WHAT ONE THING DO YOU LIKE MOST ABOUT LIVING IN YOUR PRESENT NEIGHBORHOOD?

-1000 Total:
 - 291 29.1 PRIVATE/QUIET
 - 217 21.7 PEOPLE
 - 193 19.3 CONVENIENT LOCATION
 - 80 8.0 SAFETY
 - 77 7.7 PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS
 - 37 3.7 FAMILIARITY
 - 23 2.3 FINANCIAL
 - 50 5.0 DON'T KNOW

Q32. - WHAT TYPE OF NEIGHBORHOOD SHOP OR SERVICE IS YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD MOST IN NEED?

-1000 Total:
 - 171 17.1 GROCERY/SUPERMARKET
 - 147 14.7 RECREATION FACILITIES
 - 75 7.5 DEPARTMENT STORE
 - 69 6.9 DAY CARE FACILITY
 - 40 4.0 HEALTH CARE FACILITY
 - 27 2.7 LAUNDROMAT
 - 26 2.6 BANKING SERVICES
 - 138 13.8 OTHER STORES OR SERVICES
 - 307 30.7 DK/DON'T NEED ANYTHING

Q33. - WHAT ONE TYPE OF HOME IMPROVEMENT OR REPAIR IS YOUR RESIDENCE MOST IN NEED?

-1000 Total:
 - 92 9.2 INSULATION/WEATHER-PROOFING
 - 70 7.0 SIDING/OUTDOOR PAINT
 - 57 5.7 ROOF/ROOF REPAIR
 - 48 4.8 BATHROOM REPAIRS/IMPROVEMENTS
 - 48 4.8 BOILER/FURNACE/HEAT
 - 46 4.6 FLOORS/CARPETING
 - 43 4.3 WINDOWS
 - 41 4.1 ELECTRIC REPAIRS/WIRING
 - 25 2.5 KITCHEN REPAIRS/IMPROVEMENTS
 - 205 20.5 OTHER
 - 325 32.5 DK/DON'T NEED ANYTHING

Q34. - WHAT IS THE SINGLE GREATEST OBSTACLE TO YOUR MAKING THE REPAIRS AND IMPROVEMENTS THAT YOUR HOME NEEDS? (ASKED TO HOMEOWNERS)

- 374 Total:
 - 180 48.1 FINANCES/MONEY
 - 29 7.8 NO TIME
 - 11 2.9 FINDING QUALIFIED HELP
 - 8 2.1 BAD WEATHER
 - 4 1.1 OTHER
 - 142 38.0 DON'T KNOW

Q35. - INCLUDING YOU, HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE NOW LIVING IN YOUR HOME?

-1000 Total:
 - 145 14.5 1
 - 239 23.9 2
 - 243 24.3 3
 - 195 19.5 4
 - 173 17.3 5 OR MORE
 - 5 0.5 REFUSED

Q36. - HOW MANY BEDROOMS ARE THERE IN YOUR RESIDENCE?

-1000 Total:
 - 12 1.2 NONE
 - 109 10.9 1
 - 329 32.9 2
 - 342 34.2 3
 - 140 14.0 4
 - 65 6.5 5 OR MORE
 - 3 0.3 REFUSED

Q37. - HOW MUCH IS YOUR MONTHLY RENT? (ASKED TO RENTERS)

- 626 Total:
 - 79 12.6 LESS THAN \$250
 - 149 23.8 \$250 - \$349
 - 189 30.2 \$350 - \$449
 - 107 17.1 \$450 - \$549
 - 61 9.7 \$550 OR MORE
 - 41 6.5 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q38. - DOES YOUR RENT INCLUDE UTILITIES (HEAT & ELECTRIC), OR NOT? (ASKED TO RENTERS)

- 626 Total:
 - 116 18.5 HEAT AND ELECTRIC
 - 90 14.4 JUST HEAT
 - 9 1.4 JUST ELECTRIC
 - 401 64.1 INCLUDES NEITHER
 - 10 1.6 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q39. - HOW MUCH DO YOU PAY PER MONTH FOR YOUR MORTGAGE AND TAXES COMBINED? (ASKED TO HOMEOWNERS)

- 374 Total:
 - 48 12.8 LESS THAN \$250
 - 38 10.2 \$250 - \$349
 - 58 15.5 \$350 - \$449
 - 44 11.8 \$450 - \$549
 - 41 11.0 \$550 - \$649
 - 25 6.7 \$650 - \$749
 - 43 11.5 \$750 OR MORE
 - 77 20.6 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q40. - WHAT WOULD YOU ESTIMATE YOU COULD SELL YOUR HOME FOR TODAY? (ASKED TO HOMEOWNERS)

- 374 Total:
 - 38 10.2 LESS THAN \$25,000
 - 94 25.1 \$25,000 - \$39,999
 - 81 21.7 \$40,000 - \$54,999
 - 47 12.6 \$55,000 - \$69,999
 - 29 7.8 \$70,000 - \$84,999
 - 34 9.1 \$85,000 OR MORE
 - 51 13.6 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q41. - WHAT IS THE MOST COMMON MEANS YOU USE TO TRAVEL AND GET AROUND YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD?

-1000 Total:
 - 680 68.0 PRIVATE AUTOMOBILE
 - 198 19.8 BUS
 - 74 7.4 WALK
 - 29 2.9 TAXI/CAR SERVICE
 - 19 1.9 OTHER

Q42. - HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO YOU PERSONALLY, TO LIVE IN A RACIALLY INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOOD? WOULD YOU SAY VERY IMPORTANT, SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT, OR NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL?

-1000 Total:
 - 248 24.8 VERY IMPORTANT
 - 258 25.8 SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT
 - 481 48.1 NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
 - 13 1.3 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q43. - PLEASE TELL ME WHETHER YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE FOLLOWING IDEA FOR REFORMING THE WELFARE SYSTEM. "MAKING PERSONS WHO MOVE TO WISCONSIN AND IMMEDIATELY APPLY FOR WELFARE, RECEIVE THE SAME AMOUNT THEY RECEIVED IN THEIR FORMER STATE FOR 6 MONTHS, BEFORE IT RISES TO WISCONSIN LEVELS."

-1000 Total:

- 683 68.3 APPROVE
 - 287 28.7 DISAPPROVE
 - 30 3.0 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q44. - PLEASE TELL ME WHETHER YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE FOLLOWING IDEA FOR REFORMING THE WELFARE SYSTEM. "TAKING MONEY OUT OF THE PAYCHECKS AND TAX RETURNS OF FATHERS WHO REFUSE TO MAKE CHILD-SUPPORT PAYMENTS."

-1000 Total:
 - 844 84.4 APPROVE
 - 136 13.6 DISAPPROVE
 - 20 2.0 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q45. - PLEASE TELL ME WHETHER YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE FOLLOWING IDEA FOR REFORMING THE WELFARE SYSTEM. "REQUIRING THAT WELFARE RECIPIENTS LOSE SOME OF THEIR BENEFITS IF THEIR CHILDREN DROP OUT OF SCHOOL OR ARE ABSENT MORE THAN A PRE-SET NUMBER OF DAYS PER YEAR."

-1000 Total:
 - 647 64.7 APPROVE
 - 309 30.9 DISAPPROVE
 - 44 4.4 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q46. - PLEASE TELL ME WHETHER YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE FOLLOWING IDEA FOR REFORMING THE WELFARE SYSTEM. "PROVIDING PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS WITH THE GOVERNMENT FOR WELFARE RECIPIENTS WHO ARE ABLE TO WORK, BUT WHO CANNOT FIND JOBS WITH PRIVATE EMPLOYERS."

-1000 Total:
 - 888 88.8 APPROVE
 - 95 9.5 DISAPPROVE
 - 17 1.7 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q47. - PLEASE TELL ME WHETHER YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE FOLLOWING IDEA FOR REFORMING THE WELFARE SYSTEM. "REQUIRING THAT WELFARE RECIPIENTS TAKE SOME ACTION, BE IT WORKING, VOLUNTEERING, OR GOING TO SCHOOL OR TRAINING, IF THEY ARE TO RECEIVE WELFARE BENEFITS."

-1000 Total:
 - 926 92.6 APPROVE
 - 60 6.0 DISAPPROVE
 - 14 1.4 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q48. - PLEASE TELL ME WHETHER YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE FOLLOWING IDEA FOR REFORMING THE WELFARE SYSTEM. "DENYING ALL WELFARE BENEFITS TO ANY WOMAN UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE WHO HAS A CHILD OUT OF WEDLOCK."

-1000 Total:
 - 283 28.3 APPROVE

- 652 65.2 DISAPPROVE
- 65 6.5 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q49. - PLEASE TELL ME WHETHER YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE FOLLOWING IDEA FOR REFORMING THE WELFARE SYSTEM.

"REMOVING ALL CHILDREN FROM HOMES WITH PARENTS WHO CANNOT HANDLE PARENTING RESPONSIBILITIES, AND PUTTING THE CHILDREN IN ORPHANAGES, CHILDREN'S VILLAGES, AND RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS."

- 1000 Total:
- 479 47.9 APPROVE
- 451 45.1 DISAPPROVE
- 70 7.0 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q50. - DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU HAVE SUFFERED ANY SIGNIFICANT DISCRIMINATION IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS?

- 1000 Total:
- 358 35.8 YES
- 630 63.0 NO
- 12 1.2 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q51. - IN WHAT PART OF YOUR LIFE DID THIS DISCRIMINATION OCCUR?

- 358 Total:
- 220 61.5 JOB RELATED
- 88 24.6 HOUSING
- 64 17.9 DEALING WITH POLICE
- 54 15.1 GET MORTGAGE/LOAN
- 53 14.8 FINDING HOUSING
- 24 6.7 OTHER CITY OFFICIALS
- 95 26.5 GENERAL
- 9 2.5 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q52. - WHAT IS YOUR AGE?

- 1000 Total:
- 234 23.4 18-24
- 254 25.4 25-34
- 209 20.9 35-44
- 124 12.4 45-54
- 77 7.7 55-64
- 86 8.6 65 OR OLDER
- 16 1.6 REFUSED

Q53. - ARE YOU CURRENTLY SINGLE, MARRIED, DIVORCED, OR WHAT?

- 1000 Total:
- 502 50.2 SINGLE, NEVER MARRIED
- 271 27.1 MARRIED
- 89 8.9 DIVORCED

- 53 5.3 SEPARATED
- 62 6.2 WIDOWED
- 13 1.3 LIVING TOGETHER
- 10 1.0 REFUSED

Q54. - HOW MANY CHILDREN, IF ANY, 21 YEARS OF AGE OR YOUNGER, ARE LIVING IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD?

- 1000 Total:
- 391 39.1 NONE
- 208 20.8 1
- 200 20.0 2
- 123 12.3 3
- 71 7.1 4 OR MORE
- 7 0.7 REFUSED

Q55. - DO THE CHILDREN IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD ATTEND PUBLIC SCHOOL OR PRIVATE SCHOOL?

- 602 Total:
- 421 69.9 PUBLIC
- 53 8.8 PRIVATE
- 24 4.0 SOME PUBLIC/PRIVATE
- 104 17.3 NEITHER

Q56. - WHAT IS THE LAST GRADE OF FORMAL EDUCATION YOU HAVE COMPLETED?

- 1000 Total:
- 250 25.0 LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL
- 380 38.0 HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE
- 235 23.5 SOME COLLEGE
- 95 9.5 COLLEGE GRADUATE
- 28 2.8 POST GRADUATE
- 12 1.2 REFUSED

Q57. - WHAT IS YOUR ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME?

- 1000 Total:
- 320 32.0 \$15,000 OR LESS
- 220 22.0 \$15,001 - \$25,000
- 137 13.7 \$25,001 - \$35,000
- 94 9.4 \$35,001 - \$50,000
- 79 7.9 OVER \$50,000
- 150 15.0 REFUSED

Q58. - WHAT IS YOUR PERSONAL CURRENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS? ARE YOU EMPLOYED FULL-TIME, PART-TIME, UNEMPLOYED BUT LOOKING FOR WORK, A STUDENT, HOMEMAKER, RETIRED, OR WHAT?

- 1000 Total:
- 452 45.2 EMPLOYED FULL-TIME
- 133 13.3 EMPLOYED PART-TIME

- 119 11.9 UNEMPLOYED
 - 84 8.4 STUDENT
 - 36 3.6 HOMEMAKER
 - 120 12.0 RETIRED
 - 44 4.4 OTHER
 - 12 1.2 REFUSED

- 123 12.3 OTHER STATE
 - 16 1.6 OTHER COUNTRY
 - 12 1.2 REFUSED

Q60. - FROM WHAT COUNTRY OR PLACE OUTSIDE OF THE UNITED STATES DO YOUR ANCESTORS ORIGINATE?

Q59. - IN WHAT STATE WERE YOU BORN?

-1000 Total:
 - 363 36.3 WISCONSIN
 - 181 18.1 MISSISSIPPI
 - 91 9.1 ILLINOIS
 - 90 9.0 ARKANSAS
 - 47 4.7 TENNESSEE
 - 26 2.6 INDIANA
 - 26 2.6 MISSOURI
 - 25 2.5 LOUISIANA

-1000 Total:
 - 675 67.5 AFRICA
 - 30 3.0 CARIBBEAN/ISLANDS
 - 36 3.6 OTHER
 - 259 25.9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q61. - GENDER:

-1000 Total:
 - 410 41.0 MALE
 - 590 59.0 FEMALE

NOTES

- 1 Ronald H. Hinckley, *The Wisconsin Citizen Surveys: An Analysis of Public Opinion from 1988 to 1993* (Milwaukee: Wisconsin Policy Research Institute Report), Vol. 7, No. 4, June 1994, p.7.
- 2 Gordon S. Black, *The Wisconsin Citizen Survey, August 1994: A Survey of Wisconsin Public Opinion* (Milwaukee: Wisconsin Policy Research Institute Report), Vol. 7, No. 6, August 1994, p.19.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- 4 In a 1990 survey sponsored by the Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS) system, only 62% of the black respondents thought that education in private and parochial schools was better. *Research Study Prepared for Milwaukee Public School System* (Milwaukee: Hyco Inc. Marketing Research), August 1990, p. D-215. Respondents seem to be less impressed by today's public schools.
- 5 In the 1990 MPS-sponsored survey, some 67% of black respondents favored using tax money for support of parochial schools. *Id.*, p. D-216.

ABOUT THE INSTITUTE

The Wisconsin Policy Research Institute is a not-for-profit institute established to study public-policy issues affecting the state of Wisconsin.

Under the new federalism, government policy increasingly is made at the state and local level. These public-policy decisions affect the lives of every citizen in the state of Wisconsin. Our goal is to provide nonpartisan research on key issues that affect citizens living in Wisconsin so that their elected representatives are able to make informed decisions to improve the quality of life and future of the State.

Our major priority is to improve the accountability of Wisconsin's government. State and local government must be responsive to the citizens of Wisconsin in terms of the programs they devise and the tax money they spend. Accountability should be made available in every major area to which Wisconsin devotes the public's funds.

The agenda for the Institute's activities will direct attention and resources to study the following issues: education, welfare and social services, criminal justice, taxes and spending, and economic development.

We believe that the views of the citizens of Wisconsin should guide the decisions of government officials. To help accomplish this, we will conduct semi-annual public-opinion polls that are structured to enable the citizens of Wisconsin to inform government officials about how they view major statewide issues. These polls will be disseminated through the media and be made available to the general public and to the legislative and executive branches of State government. It is essential that elected officials remember that all the programs established and all the money spent comes from the citizens of the State of Wisconsin and is made available through their taxes. Public policy should reflect the real needs and concerns of all the citizens of Wisconsin and not those of specific special-interest groups.