

# THE PEOPLE OF THE INNER CORE-NORTH

A Study of Milwaukee's  
Negro Community

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## I. THE NEGRO POPULATION OF MILWAUKEE

Although the crises of mass transportation, physical deterioration of neighborhoods, and the flight to suburbia tend to monopolize the attention of students of urban problems, (one persistent and unsolved problem confronting many major cities in the United States is the segregated Negro community) (Segregation makes an important contribution to the social problems associated with minority status in American society.) But segregation is not only a problem for members of the segregated minority. (Setting Negroes apart blocks necessary communication between them and white people who, whether they want to be or not, are members of the same community.)

(The ultimate responsibility for the failure in communication is usually due to white attitudes toward the Negro.) Changing these attitudes is an important step toward bridging the gap between Negroes and whites. Understanding the situation of the Negro can contribute to this necessary attitude change. (Knowing the attitudes that Negroes have toward the overall community and its institutions can help social agencies, governmental bodies, civic groups and citizens interested in community well being to better understand the Negro's problems.) The facts we gathered about Negro housing, jobs, and so forth, tend to speak for themselves and help to explain the attitudes of Negro Milwaukeeans. Whether the attitudes are justified or not, the fact that people think in a certain way about the place in which they live is important because it can influence how they live in that place. (Thus facts and attitudes become valuable indicators of actual and potential problem areas in the community.)

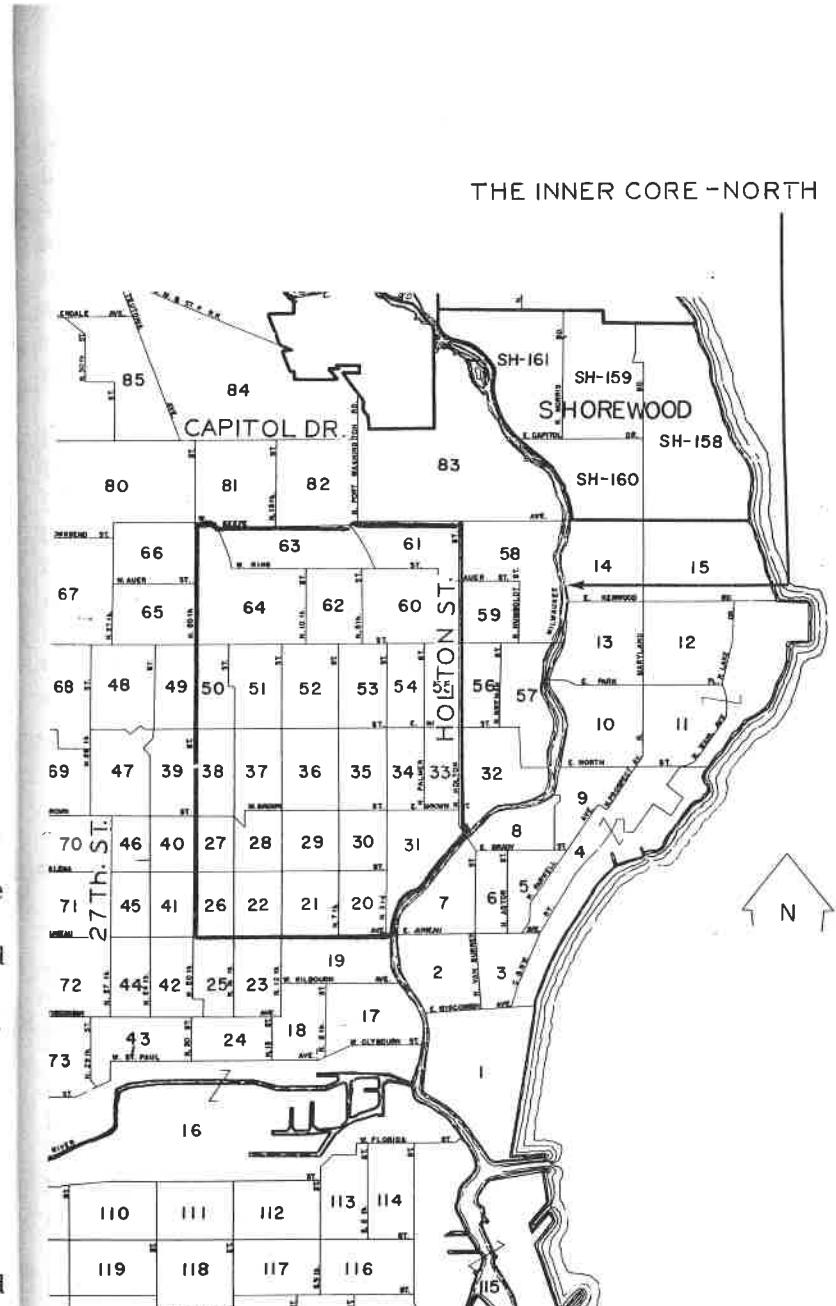
(The People of the Inner Core-North focuses upon some of the attitudes that people in a segregated Negro community have toward social institutions, employment,

housing, local leadership and other important aspects of life in a large city.) During the winter of 1962-1963, 391 Negro men and women from Milwaukee's "inner core" and 47 leaders in the Negro community were interviewed to find out what they thought about the city as a place to raise children, where they came from—and why, what they thought about schools, the police and social agencies and whether they would like to move—and where. They also were asked about many other attitudes toward the city in which they live.

Most Negroes live in what Milwaukee calls the "inner core." This is a major part of the northern underdeveloped, culturally deprived, "gray" area of the inner city. Every city has older, run down areas with higher than average rates of dependency and delinquency. Usually these neighborhoods have witnessed the successive in-movement of one ethnic or racial group after another. Today these most likely are neighborhoods only in the vaguest sense of the word. Unlike their predecessors, the present residents tend to be more mobile, have diverse origins and little sense of community. Although an area began as a German, or Italian or Jewish settlement in the late 19th century, any folk ethos has long since departed and the present residents share only more deprivation than the rest of the people in the city.

These areas have not always suffered a marked decline from higher status. Many always were working class, tenement-like neighborhoods. After years of hard use and little maintenance, dwellings show signs of wear as indicated by the high proportion of deteriorated or dilapidated homes. Today, regardless of who lives in them, such areas have the common attribute of being a problem for the community of which they are part.

Most of our information about the Negro population of Milwaukee is derived from the 1960 census.) In the past few years clearance for an expressway and for redevelopment has changed the characteristics of several census tracts in the core. The people who were displaced tended to move elsewhere within the core, however, so overall data about the core's residents still has considerable validity.



MAP 1. MILWAUKEE IS INNER CORE - NORTH.

(The inner core originally encompassed 26 census tracts on the near northwest side of the city.) For all practical purposes, this is Milwaukee's Negro ghetto. It was defined in 1959 by the Mayor's Study Committee on . . . (the Inner Core as bounded by Juneau Avenue on the south, 20th Street on the west, Holton Street on the east and Keefe Avenue on the north.) The area should more properly be called the "inner core-north" because a comparable, white area with many similar socio-economic characteristics exists on the south side of the city.

The inner core-north was defined using data from the 1950 census.\* The 1960 census revealed that the Negro population of the city had almost tripled since 1950 and had moved into previously white residential areas.) Because the area of Negro residence expanded, the inner core as of 1959 is referred to here as the inner core while the expanded area which either contained Negroes in 1960, or into which they moved by 1963, will be referred to as the Negro community.\*\* It includes the original core area and extends north to beyond Capitol Drive and west to 27th Street, and includes all, or part of, 14 additional census tracts.

Another three tracts also can be considered part of the Negro community. Although tracts 19, 23, and 25 to the south of the core were excluded from the core area defined in 1959, they actually are part of the Negro community. Tracts 23 and 25 had only a token number of Negroes in 1950 but each had 6% in 1960. In tract 19, 16.4% of the residents were Negroes in 1950, a figure which dropped to 12.2% in 1960. Perhaps because the direction of Negro population movement has been to the north in Milwaukee, because these tracts have an institutional and commercial character and because as older areas they may be redeveloped, they tend to be overlooked as parts of the inner core.

\*Identifying numbers for tracts in the core appear in Table 1:2.

\*\*The term "Negro community" refers only to a more or less well defined area of the city. No claim is made that this is a community in the technical sense of the word.

Although it is often assumed that the inner core is solidly Negro, many whites live in the area. The percentage of Negroes in census tracts in the core in 1960 ranged from 94% to less than one percent. The percentage was as much as 21% in tracts in the newer areas of Negro residence. It also should be remembered that Negroes are found increasingly outside of the core, especially north of Capitol Drive and east of Holton Street. The overall pattern of Negro residential movement is toward the north and west and this may result in greater dispersion in the years ahead.

Negroes were a very small part of Milwaukee's population until the 1920's. The need for labor during World War I, which brought large numbers of Negroes to Chicago and Detroit, also helped to bring some Negroes to Milwaukee. In 1910, Milwaukee's 980 Negroes lived in the vicinity of West Walnut and West State Streets and made up one fourth of one percent of the city's population (5). By 1920, the Negro population had more than doubled and then it tripled between 1920 and 1930. In the depression decade, 1930-1940, the number of Negroes increased

Table 1:1

Negro Population Increase,  
City of Milwaukee (1850-1960)

Year	City Population		Negro Population		
	Population	Percent Increase	Population	Percent Increase	Percent Negro
1850	19,963		98		.49
1860	45,140	126.12	106	8.16	.23
1870	71,440	58.26	176	66.04	.25
1880	115,587	61.80	304	72.73	.26
1890	204,468	76.90	449	47.70	.22
1900	285,315	39.54	862	83.96	.30
1910	373,857	31.03	980	13.69	.26
1920	457,147	22.28	2,229	125.45	.49
1930	578,249	26.49	7,501	236.52	1.30
1940	587,472	1.59	8,821	17.60	1.50
1950	637,392	8.50	21,772	146.82	3.42
1960	741,324	16.29	62,458	186.87	8.43

only 17.6%. By 1940, Negroes comprised one and a half percent of the city's population and in the four tracts in which they were concentrated they made up half of the population.

Although the city's population increased 8.5% between 1940 and 1950, the Negro population increased 146.8% and accounted for 3.4% of the residents of the city. By 1950, Negroes resided in all of the inner core's 26 tracts but 79.3% of them lived in six tracts and made up 63.3% of the population of those tracts.\* Between 1940 and 1950 the residential area open to Negroes did not expand to keep pace with the growth in Negro population. From 1950 to 1960 the Negro population grew to 62,458, an increase of 186.9%.\*\* This raised the Negro total to 8.4% of the city's population. The increase was heaviest in the early years of the decade, due largely to in-migration.

By 1960, 24 census tracts in the inner core had large numbers of Negroes and 83.2% of the city's Negroes lived in them. At that time they constituted 67.5% of the residents in these tracts. The 26 core tracts contained 12.5% of the city's population and about nine out of ten of the city's Negroes who made up 60% of the population of the area. Not only was there an increase in the number of Negroes during the 50's, this was accompanied by an increase in the density of Negroes in the core and a decreased dispersal of Negroes among the white population.

The inner core was a declining area that lost 12.1% of its population during the 1950's. Even in the 1940's almost half of its tracts lost population, although the entire area gained 2.8% between 1940 and 1950.\*\*\* Only two tracts failed to lose population between 1950 and 1960, and one tract lost only a fraction of a percent. The rest of the tracts lost more than one percent of their people.

\*In 1940 Milwaukee had 153 tracts; in 1960, 189 tracts.

\*\*In 1960, 88.6% of the population of the United States was white, 10.5% Negro, and .9% other non-whites. In the same year 8.4% of Milwaukee's population was Negro and about .5% was other non-whites.

\*\*\*Its 1940 population was 102,792 and 1950 population was 105,647.

Three tracts lost one-third or more and one lost more than half of its 1950 population. Three of the latter tracts (20, 29, and 30) were redevelopment areas. Some further details on the changes in the core in relation to housing are spelled out later.

Table 1:2  
Population of Milwaukee's Inner Core-North Tracts,  
1940, 1950 and 1960, and Percentage Changes  
1940-50, 1950-60

Tract Number	1960	Percentage Change	
		1940-1950	1950-1960
20	1,496	52.7	-40.9
21	3,010	20.4	-26.4
22	2,996	- 2.9	-14.5
26	3,455	.9	- 3.2
27	3,066	- 1.6	- 2.2
28	2,960	- 5.8	- 6.3
29	2,306	17.5	-56.4
30	2,182	11.1	-44.1
31	1,615	4.5	-32.9
33	3,370	2.7	- 4.1
34	2,818	6.2	- 7.6
35	3,713	.6	-19.8
36	6,113	9.2	-17.8
37	4,234	- 3.9	- 3.3
38	3,596	- .1	.2
50	3,503	- 6.8	- 2.3
51	3,305	- 6.3	- 7.8
52	5,285	6.8	- 5.8
53	3,599	4.1	- 3.8
54	2,314	- 1.0	-10.4
55	2,703	- 3.3	- 3.3
60	5,168	- 2.8	- 7.2
61	4,114	- 1.5	-10.4
62	3,838	3.2	- 1.9
63	5,333	- 3.6	1.2
64	6,732	.3	2.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>92,824</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>-12.1</b>

Milwaukee is the largest city in Wisconsin and housed 83% of the state's 74,511 Negroes in 1960. The city is the center of a metropolitan area with a total population of 1,194,290, but only 1,316 nonwhites live among the 451,650 whites who reside outside of the central city.\* If segregation means the spatial separation of one group from others because of some alleged significant difference on the part of the group that is walled off from the rest of the community, then the Negro population is effectively segregated in the central city. But the Negro is also effectively segregated within the central city in the area called the inner core because nine out of ten of the city's Negroes live within its confines.

In 1960, 47.2% of the Negroes in the 26 tracts of the inner core lived in tracts with more than a 75% Negro

Table 1:3  
Tracts by Degree of Racial Segregation, % of All Negroes in Core in These Tracts, and % of Negroes in Population of Tracts, 1960

Degree Segregated	No. of Tracts	% of All Negroes in Core	% Negroes in Tracts
Highly Segregated	9	47.2	86.0
Segregated	12	44.4	66.4
Transitional	2	6.5	42.8
Integrated	3	1.9	8.8
TOTAL	26	100.0	100.0

\*References are made to data about Negroes and about "nonwhites," a term that includes persons other than Negro. Both terms are used because some census data is available for Negroes and some is available only for all nonwhites. Although distinctions are made between the two terms, they are frequently used interchangeably because Negroes made up 96.1% of the nonwhites in the city in 1960 and 95.7% of the nonwhites in 1950. Thus for all practical purposes, the data about nonwhites can be used to describe the Negro population of the city without materially affecting most kinds of analysis of the data.

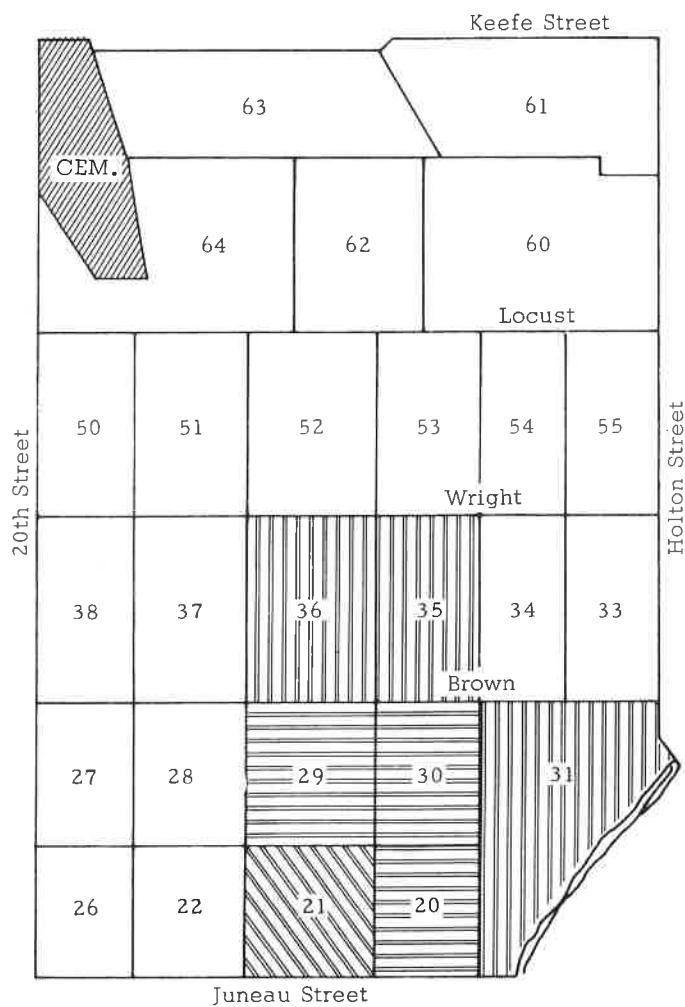
population. These were "highly segregated" tracts. Another 44% lived in "segregated" tracts, i.e., those with from 50% to 74% Negro residents.

Tracts with between 25% and 49% Negro residents were classified as "transitional." The two tracts in this category had 6.5% of all the Negroes in the core. The tracts with less than 25% of their population Negro were called "integrated" and only 2% of the core's Negroes lived in these tracts.

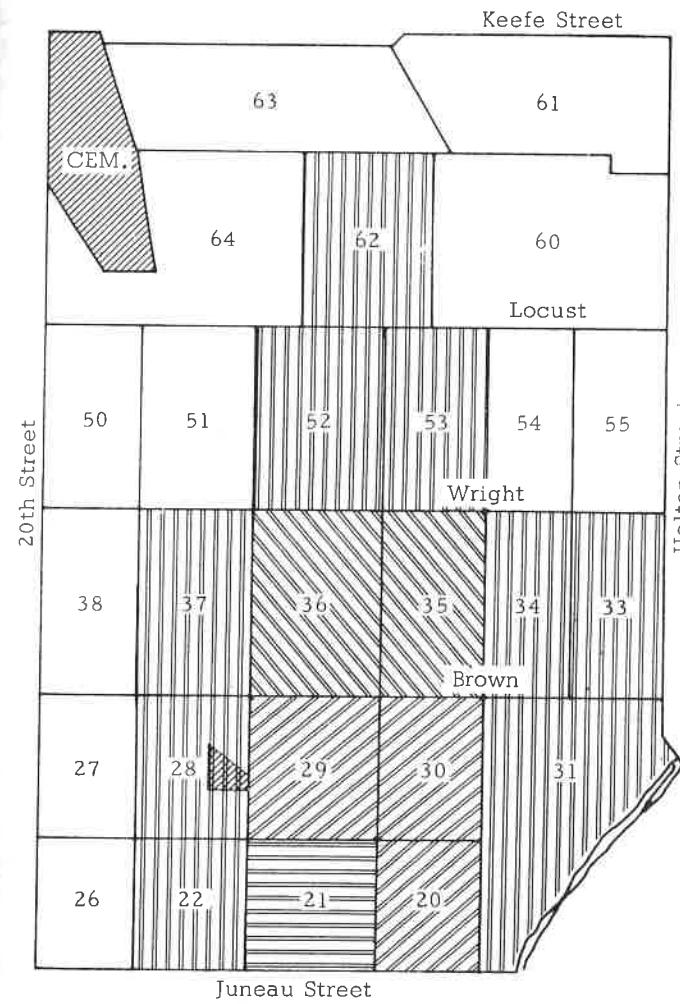
The 14 additional north and west tracts of the core all had fewer than 25% Negroes in 1960. Nine of these tracts had a Negro population of less than 5%, two had between 5% and 10%, two had 12% each and in one, 21.5% of the residents were Negroes. In two of the three southern tracts, 6% of the population was Negro and in the third 12% of the people were Negroes.

In 1940, when less than 9,000 Negroes lived in the city, none lived in highly segregated tracts, but 59.3% lived in segregated tracts. By 1950, when the Negro population was 21,772, 24% of the Negroes lived in highly segregated tracts and altogether one-third lived in tracts that were at least segregated. During that ten year period the incidence of segregation increased considerably. By 1960, however, 43% of the city's Negroes lived in highly segregated tracts and 83.6% lived in tracts that were at least segregated. The 1950's saw a very substantial increase in the defacto segregation of the Negro population of Milwaukee.

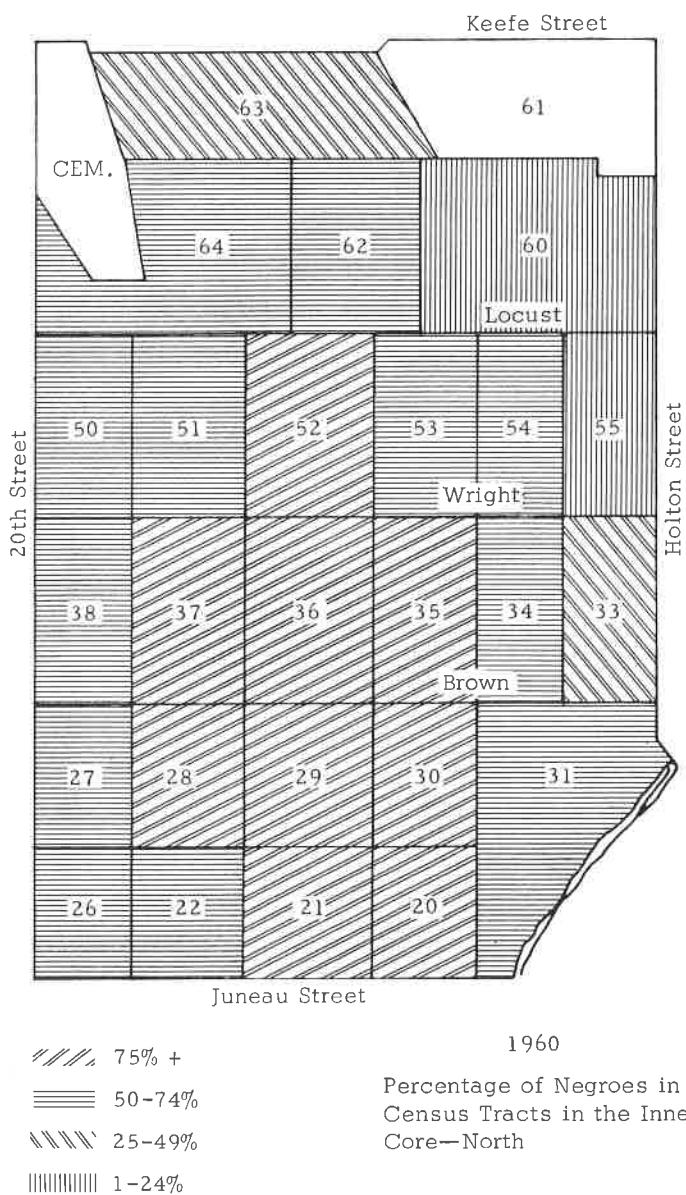
At the beginning of this study we find that the process of communication between whites and Negroes can suffer from the constraints imposed by lack of contact. The Negro community is not only concentrated within the central city, it lives within a well defined area of the inner city of the central city. Although some contacts are made on the job and in other situations, the physical concentration of Negroes in the core identifies them as somehow different and confronts them with special problems because of their separateness from the total community. It is within this context of separateness that the present study was made.



MAP 2. NEGROES IN CORE TRACTS, 1940.



MAP 3. NEGROES IN CORE TRACTS, 1950.



MAP 4. NEGROES IN CORE TRACTS, 1960.

#### How the Study Was Made

(Our information about Negro attitudes comes from 391 adult Negroes who were interviewed in late December, 1962, and in January, 1963.) The data from interviews were edited, coded and then transferred to IBM data cards and manually sorted data cards. Both electronic processing and manual processing were used to prepare tabulations of the data.

Negro interviewees were systematically but randomly chosen from randomly selected blocks in the Negro residential area. Interviewers sought the head of the household or spouse of the head and encountered few refusals to be interviewed. There were two departures from a strictly random procedure: (1) Ordinarily it is easier for interviewers to find women at home than men. This can lead to a sample with an overrepresentation of women. To avoid sex bias the interviewer was asked to interview six men and six women, preferably by calling back at homes at which the man was absent. (2) (Because of an interest in housing and housing preferences, each interviewer was asked to interview four home owners in their quota of 12 interviews.) This resulted in an overrepresentation of home owners in the sample. While the 1960 census found that about 24.4% of the Negro occupied dwellings in the area covered by the interviewers were occupied by home owners, in this study 38.6% of the interviewees were home owners. This overrepresentation of home owners means that lower class Negroes probably are not represented proportionately to their number in the community.

#### Who Was Interviewed?

Because this was a study of the attitudes of a sample of the adult men and women in the Negro community, it is important that the sample be representative. The sex distribution of the people in the sample was the same as that of the adult Negro population (i.e., those over 20) in Milwaukee so there is an adequate representation of men and women in the study.

Table 1:4  
Adult Negro Population of MILWAUKEE, 1960,  
and Sample, by Sex

Sex	Milwaukee Negroes	Sample
Men	48.4	48.5
Women	51.6	51.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 1:5 shows various groups in the city's 1960 population by sex. The ratio of Negro men to Negro women was the same as the ratio of native born white men to native born white women. There were a few more foreign born white men than women and considerably more other nonwhite men than women. The sex ratio, or the proportion of men to women in the population, is important because of its relation to marriage rates, the labor force, household composition, fertility, and many other things.

Table 1:5  
Population Distribution, by Sex and Race,  
MILWAUKEE, 1960\*

Sex	Negro	Other Nonwhite	Native Whites	Foreign Born Whites
Men	30,401 (48.7)	1,719 (56.3)	300,914 (48.6)	28,302 (50.3)
Women	31,976 (51.3)	1,333 (43.7)	318,705 (51.4)	27,974 (49.7)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>62,377(100.0)</b>	<b>3,052(100.0)</b>	<b>619,619(100.0)</b>	<b>56,276(100.0)</b>

\*See Table 96 in reference 7 at end of chapter.

Nationally the sex ratio has declined steadily since 1940. In 1960 it was 97.2 for whites and 93.2 for Negroes. In 1940 when Milwaukee had one-seventh the number of Negroes that it had in 1960, there were 103 Negro men for every 100 women. The change in the sex ratio was

Table 1:6  
Sex Ratios, U.S. and MILWAUKEE 1940,  
1950 and 1960

Year	United States*	Milwaukee**	White	Negro
1940	102.2	95.0	96.8	103.5
1950	99.0	94.3	95.3	106.2***
1960	97.4	93.4	94.4	95.0

\* Table 44(9).

\*\* 1940, Table 35(11); 1950, Table 53(10); 1960, Table 96(7).

\*\*\* Nonwhites.

more substantial in Milwaukee than it was nationally. In spite of this Milwaukee remained higher than the national ratio. Among native whites in Milwaukee the ratio was 94.4 men to every 100 women and for Negroes it was 95. In the young adult ages, 20 to 34 years, however, there were 97.6 native white men for every 100 women while there were only 83.3 Negro men for every 100 Negro women. Among young people of marriageable age the surplus of Negro women is quite large.

#### Age

The age structure of a community is closely related to such things as the characteristics of the labor force and family size. The typical (median) age of native born whites in Milwaukee was 28.5 years for men and 30 years for women; for Negroes it was 20.3 years for men and 20.5 years for women. The median age for all whites in the city is moved upwards several years because of the much higher median age of foreign born whites who constitute 7.6% of the city's population.\* Because 74% of

\*The median ages for foreign born men and women were 58.3 years and 58.2 years respectively.

these people are beyond the age of 45, in terms of the dynamics of future population growth it seemed logical to focus on comparisons between the native born whites and Negroes.

The ages of Milwaukeeans have been compared with those of whites and nonwhites residing in central cities in the United States. This has the advantage of comparing urban dwellers with urbanites with whom they have the most in common. In central cities the nonwhites were substantially younger than whites and the same was true in Milwaukee.

Table 1:7  
Median Ages, by Color, U.S., Central Cities,  
and MILWAUKEE, 1960

Sex	United States*		Milwaukee**	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Negro
Men	31.7	25.3	28.5	20.3
Women	34.2	26.3	30.0	20.5

\*Table 46(9).

\*\*Table 96(7) native whites.

During the 1950's the median age of native white men and women in Milwaukee declined slightly but there was a decline of eight years in the median age of Negro men and of six years in the median age of Negro women. This drop in the age of the Negroes was largely caused by heavy immigration of younger Negroes during the 1950's.

The younger character of the Negro population in 1960 is shown graphically in Figure 1, a population pyramid for Milwaukee. The larger proportion of Negro children is evident and continues until the early teens. Then there are relatively more white boys and young men until the middle 20's. There are proportionately more mature young Negro men until the middle 30's, then the white age groups predominate. Notice, for example, that 11% of all

Table 1:8  
Median Ages, Negroes and Whites, MILWAUKEE,  
1950 and 1960

Sex	1950*		1960**	
	Negroes	Whites***	Negroes	Whites
Men	28.4	29.6	20.3	28.5
Women	26.8	30.6	20.5	30.0

\*Table 53(10).

\*\*Table 96(7).

\*\*\*Native whites.

Population of Milwaukee, 1960

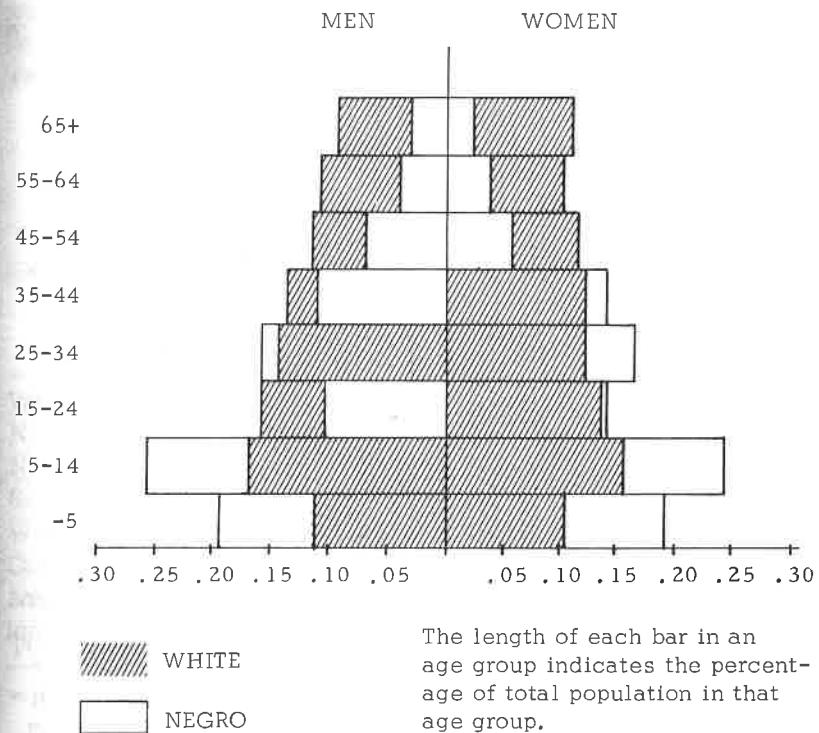


FIG. 1

Table 1:9  
Age of MILWAUKEE'S Adult Negroes,  
and of Sample, by Sex

Age	MILWAUKEE Negroes*		Sample	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
20-24	12.4	15.6	5.8	9.4
25-29	16.5	19.3	12.6	19.9
30-34	16.8	16.8	17.4	23.9
35-44	25.4	21.9	34.7	20.4
45-54	14.6	13.1	15.8	11.9
55-64	9.5	8.0	8.9	11.9
65 plus	4.7	5.2	4.7	1.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\* Derived from Table 96 (7).

the Negro males but 22.2% of the white males are middle aged (45-64 years) and that 9.3% of all white males but only 2.8% of the Negro males are over 65 years of age. Furthermore, 43.8% of the Negro females are in the child bearing ages between 15 and 44 compared to 39.3% of the white females. Factors like these contribute to a higher potential for natural growth among nonwhites. In the early 1960's natural increase exceeded immigration in adding to the Negro population of the city. Assuming that the present birth rate continues, and in-migration does not increase, the Negro population can reach between 90,000 and 100,000 by 1970.

In age distribution, the sample overrepresented men and women under 25, as well as the men between 25 and 29. Men between 35 and 44 were overrepresented as were women between 30 and 34. However, all age groups except for men over 65 were represented in the sample by substantial groups. The median age of the men who were interviewed was 39.1 years and that of the women 35 years. Their average ages were 40.4 years and 37.6 years. This compares with an average age in 1960 of 38.9 years for

adult (20 years and older) nonwhite men and 36.6 years for adult nonwhite women. Because this was to be a study of adult attitudes, younger persons were not interviewed.

#### Place of Birth

Where do the city's residents come from? Among all the city residents about 76% were born in Wisconsin, while among the native born whites 80% of the men and women were born in Wisconsin compared to only 35.4% of the nonwhite men and 34% of the nonwhite women. Table 1:10 shows the place of birth of all whites and nonwhites. The high percentage of native Wisconsinites among nonwhites is due to the inclusion of children in the table. Few older nonwhites were natives of the state and until one considers persons under 30 years of age, the percentage of native nonwhite Wisconsinites does not rise over 10%. The largest number of nonwhite residents came from southern states.

Table 1:10  
Place of Birth, All MILWAUKEE Residents  
and Nonwhites, by Sex

POB	All		Nonwhites	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Wisconsin	75.9	77.1	35.4	34.0
Northeastern US	1.9	1.4	.5	
North Central US	11.0	10.8	8.3	8.6
South	6.1	6.3	46.9	50.7
West	.9	.7	.8	.5
Other	.5	.4	.1	
NA*	3.7	3.2	7.8	5.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\* NA = No answer.

As were most adults in the Negro community, most people in the sample came from southern states and about

one fifth from border states. Native Wisconsinites were few, accounting for 6% of the sample and only 10.4% came from other Northern states.

Table 1:11  
Place of Birth of Men and Women in Sample

Place of Birth	Men	Women
Milwaukee	3.2	6.5
Other Wisconsin	2.1	.5
Chicago	1.6	1.5
Other Illinois	2.1	2.5
Southern State	64.2	64.2
Northern State	7.9	5.5
Border State	18.4	19.4
NA	.5	-
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Between the age of six and sixteen, most of the respondents had been raised in an urban environment and only one in four was raised on a farm. The stereotype of the Negro in-migrant as a rural dweller gets little support from these figures. It must be remembered, however, that most respondents came from the South and that

Table 1:12  
Place Respondent Lived Between Age of 6 and 16

Place Was	Men	Women
Large City	33.2	29.4
Small City	23.7	19.9
Town	19.5	18.3
Farm	23.2	28.4
NA	.4	4.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

although their experience was urban, it was not necessarily one which offered what would be considered urban opportunities.

The high percentage of urban residents in the sample reflects the fact that in 1960 73% of the nation's Negroes were urban dwellers, 51.4% lived in central cities, 8.4% in the urban fringe and 13.5% in other urban places. In comparison, 69.5% of all whites were urban dwellers in 1960. Thirty percent of them lived in central cities, 22.8% in the urban fringe and 16.8% in other urban places. Thus in terms of place of residence Negroes tended to be more urban than whites.

Before coming to Milwaukee 51.1% of the men and 35% of the women respondents lived in a state other than that in which they were born. Because many of them made an intermediate stop en route to Milwaukee, the immigrants probably were not strangers to city life.

Table 1:13  
State Lived in Before Coming to Milwaukee

Lived In	Men	Women
State of Birth	48.9	65.0
Other State	51.1	35.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Very few respondents came to Milwaukee as preschool children and not many came before they were 15 years old. Most of those who came to Milwaukee did so between the ages of 20 and 39. The typical (median) man was almost 25 when he arrived and the typical woman was just under 22. Few of the respondents were over 40 when they came to the city. Thus, most respondents came to Milwaukee as mature adults in the most productive years of their lives.

Like other, earlier newcomers to Milwaukee, these people came to the city for a variety of reasons. Table 1:15 shows some of their reasons. More than one-fifth of

Table 1:14

## Age at Which Respondents Came to Milwaukee

Age	Men	Women
5 or under	3.3	5.3
6 - 14	9.8	7.4
15 - 19	10.3	22.3
20 - 24	29.3	31.4
25 - 29	17.9	12.2
30 - 39	21.2	12.2
40 plus	8.2	8.5
NA	--	.6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

the women came to join a spouse, 13.3% were brought by parents and 22.9% came in order to find employment.

"Better living" and "opportunity" can also include jobs, as did some answers in the "others" category. It is important to note that a majority of the men who came on their own, said they came to get work. As a group, these people came to Milwaukee of their own volition and probably for the same reasons their immigrant, ethnic predecessors came to Milwaukee.

Table 1:15  
Why Respondents Came to Milwaukee

Why Came	Men	Women
Join Spouse	1.6	21.8
Brought by Parents	10.9	13.3
To Get Job	46.7	22.9
Find a Better Living	4.9	4.8
Opportunity	8.2	2.1
Other	22.8	31.4
NA	4.9	3.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Employment

In 1960, nonwhite men made up 7.2% of the male civilian labor force in Milwaukee and nonwhite women made up 7.5% of the female labor force. This compares with figures of 3% for nonwhite men and 2.3% for nonwhite women in 1950. A slightly larger percentage of the nonwhite women over 14 years of age (43.1%) was in the labor force in 1960 than was white women (39%). In 1950, 37.4% of the nonwhite women and 35.6% of the white women were in the labor force. Apparently more nonwhite women seek employment and the percentage has increased more rapidly for nonwhites than for whites during the last decade.

Unemployment hit nonwhites more severely than whites in 1950 and 1960. In 1950, 9.4% of the nonwhite men and 8.9% of the nonwhite women in the civilian labor force were unemployed compared to only 2.7% of the white men and 2% of the white women. It will be recalled that in 1950 3.4% of the city's population was nonwhite. In 1960, when 8.9% of the city's people was nonwhite, 11.5% of the nonwhite men and 11.3% of the nonwhite women were unemployed. At the same time only 4% of the whites in the labor force was unemployed. The magnitude of the unemployment problem for nonwhites also can be seen from the fact that 18% of all the unemployed men and as many unemployed women in the city was nonwhite.

Table 1:16  
Occupations, Negroes in Milwaukee SMSA\* and in Sample

Occupations	Milwaukee	Sample
Prof.-Managerial	3.9	1.3
Small Business	.5	4.3
Skilled	11.4	15.3
Service	22.9	8.2
Semiskilled	30.3	38.6
Unskilled	18.7	24.3
NA	12.1	7.9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\* Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area

The largest occupational group in the sample was the semiskilled. They were followed by unskilled workers who made up one-fourth of the sample. The service workers did not come close to approximating their percentage in the universe from which the sample was drawn, and skilled workers, small businessmen and semiskilled workers were overrepresented in the sample.

The typical (median) man reported that he held his job for 7.4 years and the typical woman held hers for about five years. The figure for men was based upon information from 90% of the men.

Table 1:17  
Length of Time Held Principal Job\*

Time	Men	Women
Under 1 year	10.5	13.5
1 - 4 years	25.7	33.3
5 - 11 years	39.8	22.4
12 - 19 years	20.5	14.4
20 plus	3.5	6.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\* Men and women reporting jobs.

Employment provided income for 75.3% of the men and 69.6% of the women. Property, savings and relatives provided for a few respondents but unemployment compensation was the resource for 7.4% of all respondents and public aid for another 9.2%. In January, 1963, when these people were interviewed the overall unemployment rate was 4.8% in Milwaukee but probably closer to 12% for Negroes. At that time, at least 165 men in the sample were in the labor market (the 143 currently employed plus 22 receiving unemployment insurance) and 13.3% of them were not working.

Actually, there were 47 men not working who considered themselves in the labor market. In this

Table 1:18  
Source of Income

Source	Men	Women
Employment	75.3	69.6
Public Aid	3.2	14.9
Unemployment Compensation	11.6	3.5
OASDI, VA, other Pensions	7.9	3.5
Alimony-Support	-	3.0
Property	-	1.0
Savings	-	.5
Relatives	1.0	1.5
NA	1.0	2.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

unemployed group 14.4% said they were out of work because of illness or injury, 42.5% said they had been laid off and 42.5% gave a variety of other reasons. When the unemployed men were asked when they expected to get another job, 30% said they did not know, 38% mentioned a specific time within which they expected to be working, and 30% gave other answers.

Although unemployment rates are useful indices they tell a story at one point in time. Life goes on 52 weeks a year and a man needs steady work in order to support himself and his family. Although three-fourths of the white men in the Milwaukee area worked for at least 48 weeks during 1959, this was true for only 60.4% of the nonwhite men. In some of the prime years of employability and of family responsibility, for example between age 30 and 35, 79% of the working men in the Milwaukee area worked for 50 weeks or more during the year and another 13.3% worked from 40 to 50 weeks. Among nonwhites in this age group, however, only 54.4% worked for 50 weeks or more and another 15.9% for 40 to 50 weeks. Thus while 9 out of 10 of the white men in this age group had jobs for more than 40 weeks a year, only 7 out of 10 nonwhite men were similarly employed. These

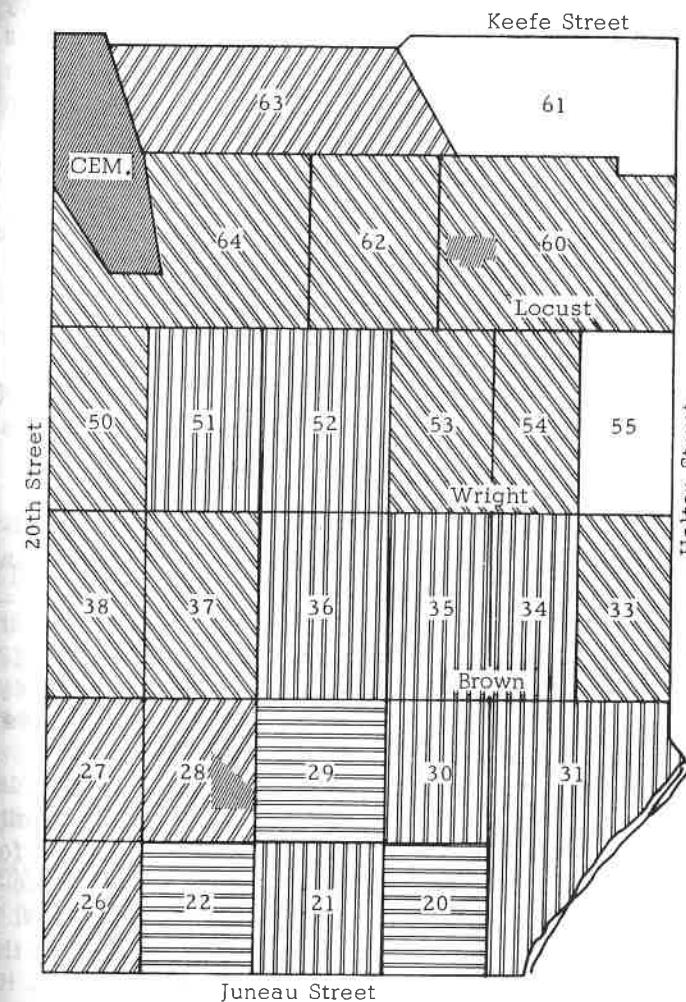
employment patterns can have serious consequences in terms of one's ability to support a family.

### Income

Although the people interviewed were asked questions about their income, the wording of these questions was unfortunate and the data obtained was judged unreliable. However, information about the incomes of families in the core is an important part of the background of this study of their attitudes. Because the study was problem oriented, income information was analyzed in relation to poverty instead of in more abstract terms.

The economic position of Milwaukee's Negroes improved considerably during the 1950's and in increasing numbers they are achieving adequate incomes and middle class status. Many, however, are still in the ranks of the poverty stricken. Definitions of poverty differ and what would be poverty in one part of the country, or for one person, might not qualify as poverty for another. In general, poverty means an income that compels one to occupy undesirable or inadequate shelter and to obtain minimal or inadequate food, clothing, medical care and other things deemed necessary by our society. The poor range from the utterly destitute who suffer from cold and hunger to those who live on a bare subsistence level, and to those who are a little better off but unable to live in what most people would call decent circumstances. The latter does not include luxuries, or even many of the amenities that the typical middle class American takes for granted.

The federal government's working definition of poverty is an annual family income of less than \$3,000, which means a maximum weekly income of \$57.69 a week. (2, p. 58) According to this definition, 21.4% of the nation's families lived in poverty in 1960 and the same was true of 17.4%, or 171,743 of Wisconsin's 986,595 families. The \$3,000 figure may have considerable validity for planning national programs but it is a very conservative figure. The Social Security Administration defined a low cost annual budget for a family of four as \$3,955 in 1962, and set an "economy plan" budget at \$3,165. The latter actually is closer to a subsistence than to an adequate budget.



MAP 5. UNEMPLOYED NONWHITE MEN, 1960.

Like other large cities, Milwaukee has a higher cost of living than rural areas and smaller urban areas. For this reason, the figure of \$4,000 used in a study of poverty by the Conference on Economic Progress probably is better adapted to the local scene and to the situation in other large cities. (1) This means a maximum weekly income of \$76.92 a week.\*

The noted economist Gunnar Myrdal also used a family income of \$4,000 as the limit of poverty. In a recent book, Challenge to Affluence, he mentioned several levels of inadequate income. (4) A \$4,000 figure for families and a corresponding \$2,000 figure for individuals was set as the limit below which poverty is experienced. He considered families with between \$4,000 and \$6,000 "deprived," as were individuals with incomes between \$2,000 and \$3,000. Those families and individuals with incomes one-half or less that of the poverty level were called "destitute."

Between 1950 and 1960 the economic status of American families showed considerable improvement with many families moving out of poverty. The median family income increased from \$3,803 in 1949 to \$5,657 in 1959, an increase not only in dollar terms but also in purchasing power.\*\* It is reasonable to assume that the cost of living increased about 25% during the decade, thus families

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\*Housing, for example, costs more in Milwaukee than in many smaller communities. By rule of thumb, a family should not spend more than one-fourth of its income for housing. In the metropolitan area the monthly median gross rent was \$88, and it was \$87 in the central city. If the typical family with a \$4,000 income paid the median rent, it would be spending slightly more than it should for rent. It should be noted that even in the inner core, the central city's Negro ghetto, median rental in census tracts seldom went below \$80 and often exceeded the central city median rent.

\*\*Using 1959 as the base year (100.0) for the Consumer Price Index, the index in 1949, was 81.7(12). Thus the purchasing power of a \$3,803 income in 1949 would be equaled by one of \$4,654 in 1959.

receiving \$4,000 in 1960 are the equivalent of those receiving \$3,000 in 1950. In 1950, 48.5% of all families had incomes less than \$3,000. By 1960 only 31% of all families had incomes under \$4,000. The improvement was real, but almost a third of all families remained in financial straits.

If \$3,000 was accepted as the poverty limit, then one in every five families in the nation lived in poverty in 1960. This was a drop of 8% from the 1950 figure, assuming that the \$3,000 in 1960 was equivalent to about \$2,000 in 1950. The decline in the number of poverty-stricken families was substantial. However, at the other end of the income scale there was a five-fold increase in the percentage of families with incomes over \$10,000.

Table 1:19  
Family Income, U.S. Census, 1950 and 1960\*

Income Level	1950	1960
Under \$2,000	29.3	13.1
\$2,000 to 2,999	19.2	8.3
\$3,000 to 3,999	19.4	9.5
\$4,000 to 4,999	12.1	11.0
\$5,000 to 6,999	12.1	23.0
\$7,000 to 9,999	4.8	20.1
\$10,000	3.1	15.0
Median Income	\$3,083	\$5,657

\* Table 96 (8).

In Wisconsin one-fourth of all the state's 986,595 families lived below the poverty line of \$4,000 in 1960, or slightly fewer than was the case nationally. The 18,287 nonwhite families in the state had 40.8% of their number with incomes under this figure compared with 61.4% nationally. While fewer of the state's nonwhites lived in poverty than was true nationally, there were substantially more nonwhites than whites in this condition. If the \$3,000

figure is used to measure poverty, then 28.4% of the state's nonwhite families and 17.4% of all families lived in poverty in 1960.\*

Table 1:20

Income Levels of All Families and Nonwhite Families, Wisconsin, 1960\*

Income Level	All Families	Nonwhite Families
Destitution (Under \$2,000)	10.0	17.3
Poverty (\$2,000 to \$4,000)	15.9	23.5
Deprivation (\$4,000 to \$6,000)	25.0	27.9

\* Table 139 (8).

Though the median income of the Wisconsin family was \$5,926 in 1960, it was only \$4,653 for the nonwhite family. In husband and wife families with children under 18, the median income was \$6,318 for all families and \$5,198 for nonwhite families. These nonwhite families received 17.7% less annually than all similar families. Families with children under 18 and headed by a woman had a median income of \$2,715 compared to \$2,052 for nonwhite families in this category. The broken family and especially the nonwhite broken family lived well below the poverty level in this as in other states.

In 1960, the median income for all families in the Milwaukee metropolitan area was \$6,995, while the median income for nonwhite families was \$4,872, or 40.4% less. The following table shows family income in the metropolitan area. Income disparities were dramatic

\* Because of the relatively few nonwhite families in the state (1.9%), data for all families is virtually identical with that for white families. For example, 17.4% of all families received less than \$3,000 in 1960, and so did 17.2% of all white families.

Table 1:21

Family Income, Milwaukee SMSA, 1960\*

Income Level	White	Nonwhite
Under \$1,000	1.9	6.4
\$1,000 to \$1,999	3.0	8.9
\$2,000 to \$2,999	3.9	10.7
\$3,000 to \$3,999	4.7	11.9
\$4,000 to \$5,999	20.6	28.0
\$6,000 to \$9,999	44.4	27.1
\$10,000+	21.4	6.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\* Table 142 (7).

because three times more white families than nonwhite families had incomes above the \$10,000 level, and only one-third of the nonwhites but two-thirds of the whites had incomes of \$6,000 or more.

Income figures for 1959 showed that while 4.9% of white families in the metropolitan area lived in destitution, the same was true for three times as many nonwhite families (15.3%).\* Another 8.7% of white families and 22.7% of nonwhite families lived between destitution and poverty making a total of 13.6% of the white families and 38% of the nonwhite families below the poverty level. An additional 20.6% of white and 28% of the nonwhite families experienced deprivation.

The 1960 median income of the 188,984 families in the City of Milwaukee was \$6,664, which was slightly less than the median in the metropolitan area, (SMSA). The

\*The most detailed census data on income is for the Milwaukee Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). In some instances, however, data is available for the county or the central city. The text makes it clear when the "area" (SMSA) is discussed, or the county (Milwaukee County), or the central city (City of Milwaukee).

Table 1:22  
Income Levels, White and Nonwhite Families,  
Milwaukee SMSA, 1960\*

Income Level	White	Nonwhite
Destitution (Under \$2,000)	14,244 (4.9)	2,106 (15.3)
Poverty (\$2,000 to \$4,000)	25,201 (8.7)	3,112 (22.7)
Deprivation (\$4,000 to \$6,000)	59,698 (20.6)	3,851 (28.0)

\* Table 142 (7).

median income of the 13,594 nonwhite families was \$4,842. Since 98% of the metropolitan area's nonwhites lived in the central city, their median income in the city and in the metropolitan area was nearly identical.

Table 1:23  
Income Levels, White and Nonwhite Families,  
Milwaukee City, 1960\*

Income Level	White	Nonwhite
Destitution (Under \$2,000)	5.7	15.5
Poverty (\$2,000 to \$4,000)	10.1	22.8
Deprivation (\$4,000 to \$6,000)	22.5	28.1

\* Tables P-1, P-4 (6).

The contrasts between the economic situation of white and nonwhite families are obvious. Three times as many nonwhite families as white families lived on extremely inadequate incomes. But this was not the only important fact emerging from the data. The magnitude of the problem of poverty in the Milwaukee area becomes evident when one realizes that 16,351 of the 303,887 families in the Milwaukee area had yearly incomes of less than \$2,000.

in 1960. These constituted 5.4% of all families in the area, and only one in seven was nonwhite. The 28,313 families with incomes between \$2,000 and \$4,000 a year made up another 9.3% of the area's families, and only one in eight of these families was nonwhite. As a group, nonwhites have more economic problems than whites, and this tends to focus attention upon them and to obscure the problems faced by many whites. Regardless of race, however, the fact remains that about 15 of every 100 families in the Milwaukee area were living below the poverty level in 1960.

One reason for the lower incomes of Negroes was their generally lower occupational status. Nationally in 1960, 64% of the employed urban white men but only 26.7% of the urban nonwhite men were in white-collar occupations, which often are more stable and better paying than blue-collar occupations. In Milwaukee, 56.1% of the employed white men but only 20.6% of the nonwhite men had white-collar jobs. The percentage of nonwhites in white-collar jobs increased from 12% in 1950 to 19.2% in 1960, but in spite of the increase they were still far from adequately represented in this better paid sector of the labor market.

Sizable differences were found in the incomes of white and nonwhite families whose heads were in the same occupational groups. Except when the family head was in a professional, technical or allied occupation, the income of nonwhite families was at least \$1,000 less than that of families in general, and often the difference was much more. To some extent the smaller family income of nonwhite families was due to the fact that whites were better represented in more stable employment which assured a larger annual income. It is not due to the fact that more whites have more than one earner in the family. In fact, 53.9% of the nonwhite families and 51.7% of the white families in the area had two or more wage earners. Regardless of what level of occupational status it occupied, however, a white family was more apt to live above the deprivation level than a nonwhite family of the same occupational status.

One reason for the lower occupational status of Negro men is their lesser education. The median education of

Table 1:24

Median Incomes, All Families and Nonwhite Families  
with Head of Family in Civilian Labor Force,  
by Occupation, Milwaukee SMSA, 1960\*

Occupational Group	All Families	Nonwhite Families
Professional, technical	\$7,407	\$6,961
Managerial	\$9,550	**
Clerical	\$6,748	\$5,627
Sales	\$8,114	**
Craftsmen, Foremen	\$7,679	\$5,825
Operatives	\$6,791	\$5,711
Service Workers	\$5,937	\$3,986
Laborers	\$6,031	\$4,914

\* Table 145 (7).      \*\* Not enough persons in category.

white men in the metropolitan area was 10.9 years; it was 9.2 years for nonwhite men. The educational lag among nonwhites was especially evident among older men (age 55-64), 32% of whom were functional illiterates (less than 5 years of schooling) compared to 16.5% of the older white men. Among younger men (25-34) only 7.2% of the nonwhite men and 1% of the white men were functional illiterates. The inadequate formal preparation to enter the labor market that characterized many older nonwhites helps to explain their lower earning power. Business and industry require increased preparation for jobs, so the need for strenuous efforts to educationally upgrade nonwhites, especially nonwhite youth, has become more important. This, of course, must be coupled with increased employment opportunities in order to motivate nonwhite youth by demonstrating that opportunity does exist for them. Until they are prepared to compete effectively in the labor market, and the labor market is open to them, earnings will tend to remain low.

When a Milwaukee area family was without a breadwinner, its median income was \$1,979, or \$1,644, if the

family was nonwhite. In 1960, 18,205, or 5.9%, of all families in the area were in this position, and so were 10.7% of all nonwhite families. Families with one wage earner were in a lower income bracket than those with two or more wage earners and substantially more of the former were living in poverty--48% of the nonwhite families compared to 14.8% of all families with one wage earner. The median income of the nonwhite, one-earner family was on the borderline of poverty while that of other families was above the level of deprivation.

Even with more than one wage earner in the family, many families experienced poverty, although the proportion declined substantially with added breadwinners. Although almost one-half of nonwhite families with one earner lived in poverty, this was true of only 17.8% of nonwhite families with two wage earners. In two-earner white families only one-third as many (5.3%) lived in poverty.

Table 1:25

Median Income of All Families and Nonwhite Families,  
by Number of Wage Earners, Milwaukee SMSA, 1960\*

Number of Wage Earners in Family	All Families	Nonwhite Families
One	\$ 6,312	\$4,089
Two	\$ 7,924	\$6,139
Three	\$10,852	\$8,514

\* Table 142 (7).

A problem faced by nonwhite families with two earners was that both earners could very likely be in lower status, relatively poorly paid occupations. Thus the economic gain from two workers in the family was notably less than it was for the white family. But the economic advantages of having more than one wage earner in the family were evident. In the case of nonwhite families, one wage earner

provided a median income above the deprivation level, and 77% as large as that of all two-earner families in the area. The situation of families with three or more wage earners was even better, with less than one per cent of the nonwhites and even fewer of all families receiving an income below the poverty level. Income problems are especially critical among nonwhites, but by no means absent among white families. It also was apparent that substantial numbers of Milwaukee area families needed at least two wage earners in order to have an adequate income. Economic need generated much of the pressure for women to work. If they or someone else in the family did not work and the family was nonwhite, there was a 50-50 chance that the family would experience poverty. The white family had about one chance in seven that it would experience poverty. An adequate income is an important factor in stable family life, yet a large number of Milwaukee's families find this factor missing.

Table 1:26

Number of Earners in White Families and in Nonwhite Families, Milwaukee SMSA, 1960\*

Number of Wage Earners in Family	White Families	Nonwhite Families
None	16,735 (5.8)	1,470 (10.7)
One	134,827 (46.5)	5,649 (41.1)
Two	108,380 (37.3)	5,315 (38.7)
Three or more	30,211 (10.4)	1,300 (9.5)

\* Table 142 (7).

In families with dependent children, (under 18) the median income for nonwhites was \$4,654, but it was \$7,055 for all similar families in the Milwaukee area. About 10% of all families with dependent children lived in poverty; the same held true for more than a third of the nonwhite families with dependent children. The typical (median)

nonwhite family with dependent children was just above the poverty line.

For all husband and wife families with children under 18, the median income was \$7,319, but for similar non-white families the median income was \$5,410. When a woman headed the family and there were dependent children, the median income for all such families was \$2,810; it was \$2,054 for nonwhite families. Among the 10,932 families with children under 18 and headed by a woman, 34.6% had incomes of less than \$2,000 and \$3,000, and an additional 15% received between \$3,000 and \$4,000 a year. Poverty level incomes characterized 68.6% of the broken families headed by women. These are doubly disadvantaged families, both in terms of social opportunities and economics. Their number is disproportionately high in the Negro community.

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## II. A PLACE TO LIVE

Although studies of minority housing made elsewhere have considerable relevance as background for understanding the situation in Milwaukee, it is important to examine the local housing situation insofar as it affects Negroes.\* It also is important to find out what Negroes think about their housing situation. That is why this chapter examines the kind of housing occupied by Negroes and also whether Negroes are satisfied with their present housing, whether they want to move, and if so where, and whether they feel free to move anywhere in the area.

For a long time there has been widespread recognition of the close ties between social problems and the conditions under which people live. In the late 19th century, social reformers concentrated upon cleaning out slums and regulating the construction of tenements. Public housing is an outgrowth of this recognition and concern for decent living conditions. Years ago in Milwaukee, it was "The Italian, the Slovac, the Hungarian, the Pole, the Jew and others . . . who suffer most from bad housing." (6, p. 376) Today, many Negroes are in the same predicament. Although both Negroes and whites suffer physically and morally from slum living, our focus here is upon the Negro because he has the additional problem of living in slum housing that also is segregated housing.

Substandard housing creates obvious problems, but so does overcrowding within a neighborhood. One effect of segregation is to foster high population density which

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\*See, for example, L. Laurenti, Property Values and Race: Studies in Seven Cities. Berkeley, University of California Press: 1960, and N. Glazer and D. McEntire, Studies in Housing and Minority Groups. Berkeley, University of California Press: 1960.