



CENTER ON URBAN & METROPOLITAN POLICY

Rewarding Work: The Impact of the Earned Income Tax Credit in Greater Milwaukee

“...working families live throughout the Milwaukee metropolitan area, and the EITC is an important source of income for these families and their jurisdictions.”



Findings

This year the federal Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) will provide over \$30 billion to 18.4 million low-income taxpayers across the US, making it the largest federal aid program for working poor families. This study is the first to describe the spatial distribution of the EITC in 27 metropolitan areas across the country.¹ An analysis of the Milwaukee region shows that:²

- **In 1997, over 75,000 residents of the Milwaukee region earned \$117 million in federal EITC refunds.** Residents of the city alone received over \$78 million in EITC refunds, a considerably larger share of the region's EITC dollars than the city's share of the region's population.
- **The region's low-income working families were largely concentrated in the city of Milwaukee.** Working poor families were particularly concentrated in the city's central area, where nearly fifty percent of taxpayers earned an EITC in 1998.
- **The percentage of families in the Milwaukee region that earned the EITC (11 percent) was similar to that in other Midwest regions.** The rate of EITC receipt in the city of Milwaukee (22 percent) was comparable to the median rate across all 27 cities studied (24 percent).
- **In 1999, the Wisconsin refundable state EITC added over \$21 million to the budgets of working families in the Milwaukee region.** Residents of Milwaukee County alone earned over \$19 million in state EITC refunds in 1999, an average of \$364 per family.

I. Introduction

Despite a great deal of public and policy interest in the working poor and working families, particularly in the aftermath of welfare reform, there is little understanding of who the working poor are and where they live. Families may claim an Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) if they are working but not earning more than roughly 200 percent of the federal poverty level. Therefore, this survey uses

EITC receipt as a measure of the number and location of low-income working residents in a metropolitan area. This Milwaukee survey is one of a series looking at the EITC and its value to 27 regions around the country. Using IRS data, this survey mapped the geographic distribution of the EITC to help these regions better understand where working poor families in their areas live. This survey confirms that working families live throughout the

Milwaukee metropolitan area, and that the EITC is an important source of income for these families and their jurisdictions.

II. What Is the EITC?

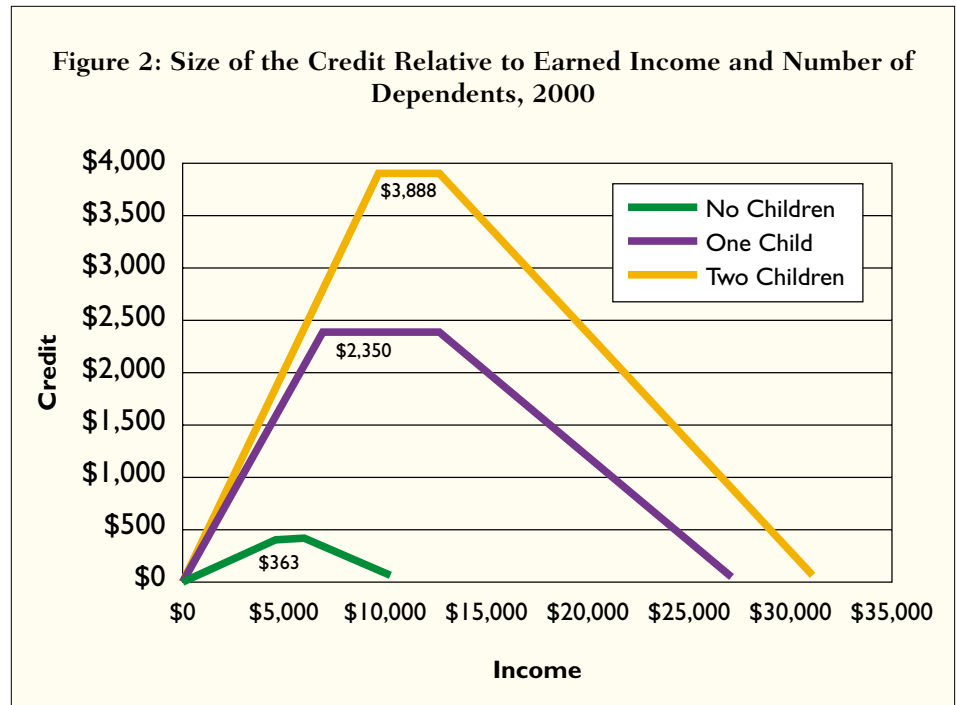
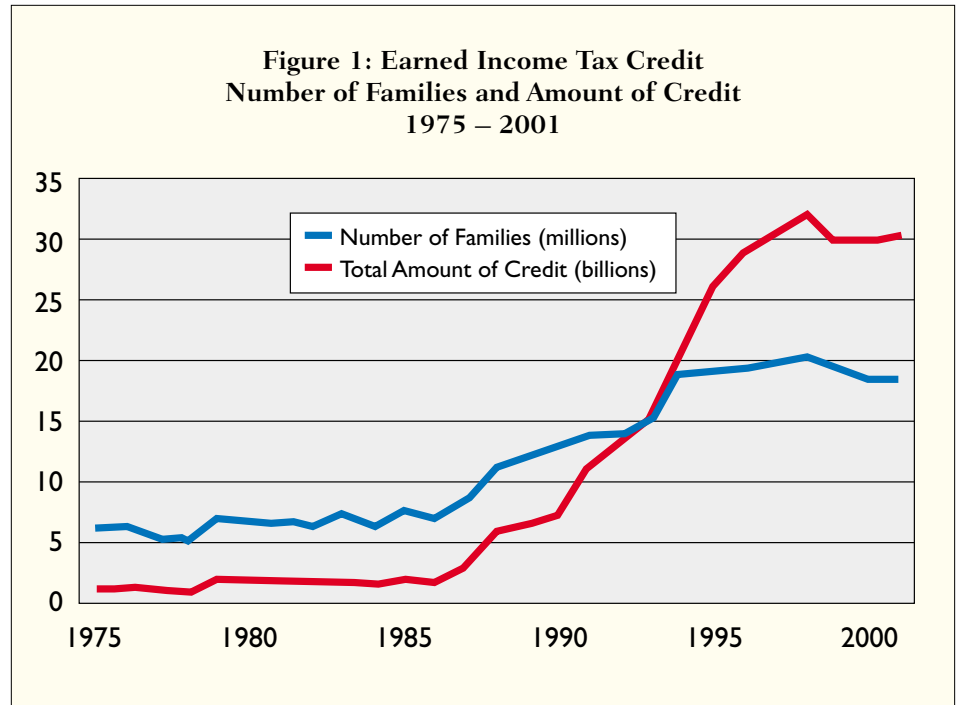
The EITC is a refundable income tax credit designed to make work pay for low-income families. Congress enacted the credit in 1975 in response to high unemployment and the burden that social security taxes imposed on low-wage workers. Substantial increases in the EITC were approved by Congress several times during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Between 1984 and 1996, the amount of dollars transferred to working families through the credit increased more than 10 times (Figure 1). In 1997, over 19 million families claimed more than \$30 billion in EITCs – an average of \$1,567 per family. The EITC is now the largest federal aid program targeted to the working poor.

A. How Does the EITC Work?

Eligibility

The EITC is available to families whose incomes range from below the federal poverty line to roughly double the poverty line (see Figure 2). Families with two children could earn up to \$3,888 in EITC in 2000; families with one child are eligible for a credit of up to \$2,353. Very low-income workers with no children are eligible for a small EITC.

The size of the credit increases as earnings increase, up to a point, and then remains constant at a maximum level (based on the number of dependents) before declining with each additional dollar of income (see Figure 2). For example, a household with two children and earnings between \$9,700 and \$12,700 was eligible for a \$3,888 refund for tax year 2000.



The data analyzed in this survey are for tax years 1997 and 1998. In these years, the maximum credit available to families with two children was about \$3,700, and the maximum credit for families with one child was about \$2,250.

Applying

Workers must file a tax return and complete Schedule EIC in order to claim the credit. Taxpayers whom the IRS believes are eligible for the EITC are sent notices if they do not complete Schedule EIC. These taxpayers

may file amended returns, but low-income workers who are otherwise exempt from filing will not receive any notice unless they complete a tax return. Employers can also make the Advance EITC available to their employees, allowing eligible workers to earn a portion of their credit with each paycheck. Nearly all families, however, receive the credit in their tax refund check at the end of the year.

B. Who Actually Claims the EITC?

In tax year 1998, half of all EITC dollars went to families who earned less than \$12,000.³ The remainder went to families earning up to \$29,000.

Larger percentages of eligible families claim the EITC compared to traditional social welfare programs (TANF, Food Stamps, Medicaid). Nevertheless, studies have found that many eligible households, particularly families with very low incomes, former welfare recipients, and those with language barriers, are not filing for the EITC.⁴ Additional research also shows that many of those who are eligible have, at best, a vague understanding of how the EITC works. A recent study showed that minorities, particularly low-income Hispanic households, are less likely to know about the EITC than low-income non-Hispanic parents of any race.⁵

C. Why Is the EITC Important?

A series of recent studies have provided strong evidence that the EITC significantly reduces poverty and income inequality while encouraging work and helping low-income families build assets for the future.

Lifts Families Out of Poverty

The EITC's success in moving families out of poverty is largely attributable to recent increases in the size of the credit and the number of working families eligible for the credit.⁶ In 1993, the EITC helped lift 2.1 million people above the poverty line. By 1999,

Table 1: Who Can Get the Credit?

Occupation	Avg. Annual Salary in the Milwaukee Region
Child Care Workers	\$15,510
Taxi Drivers	\$16,030
Preschool Teachers	\$16,540
Security Guards	\$17,540
Janitors	\$17,680

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

that figure had more than doubled to 4.7 million people. In just that one year, the credit lifted 2.5 million children out of poverty—more than any other federal aid program.⁷

Increases Work

By restricting eligibility to families with earnings, the EITC promotes work. In 1984, prior to large increases in the EITC and changes in other federal transfer programs, 73 percent of single mothers with children worked at some point during the year. By 1996, 81 percent of single mothers were working at some point during the year. One study found that three-fifths of this increase in workforce participation by single mothers was attributable to increases in the EITC.⁸ Researchers have also shown that the EITC increases work for those who previously received welfare.⁹

Supplements Wages

The wages and salaries of the working poor have not kept pace over the last 20 years with those earning larger incomes. Despite strong economic growth over the last decade, the income gap between rich and poor has widened.

In Wisconsin, during the late 1990s, the average before-tax income of a family in the bottom fifth of the income distribution was around \$16,700. Adjusted for inflation, these

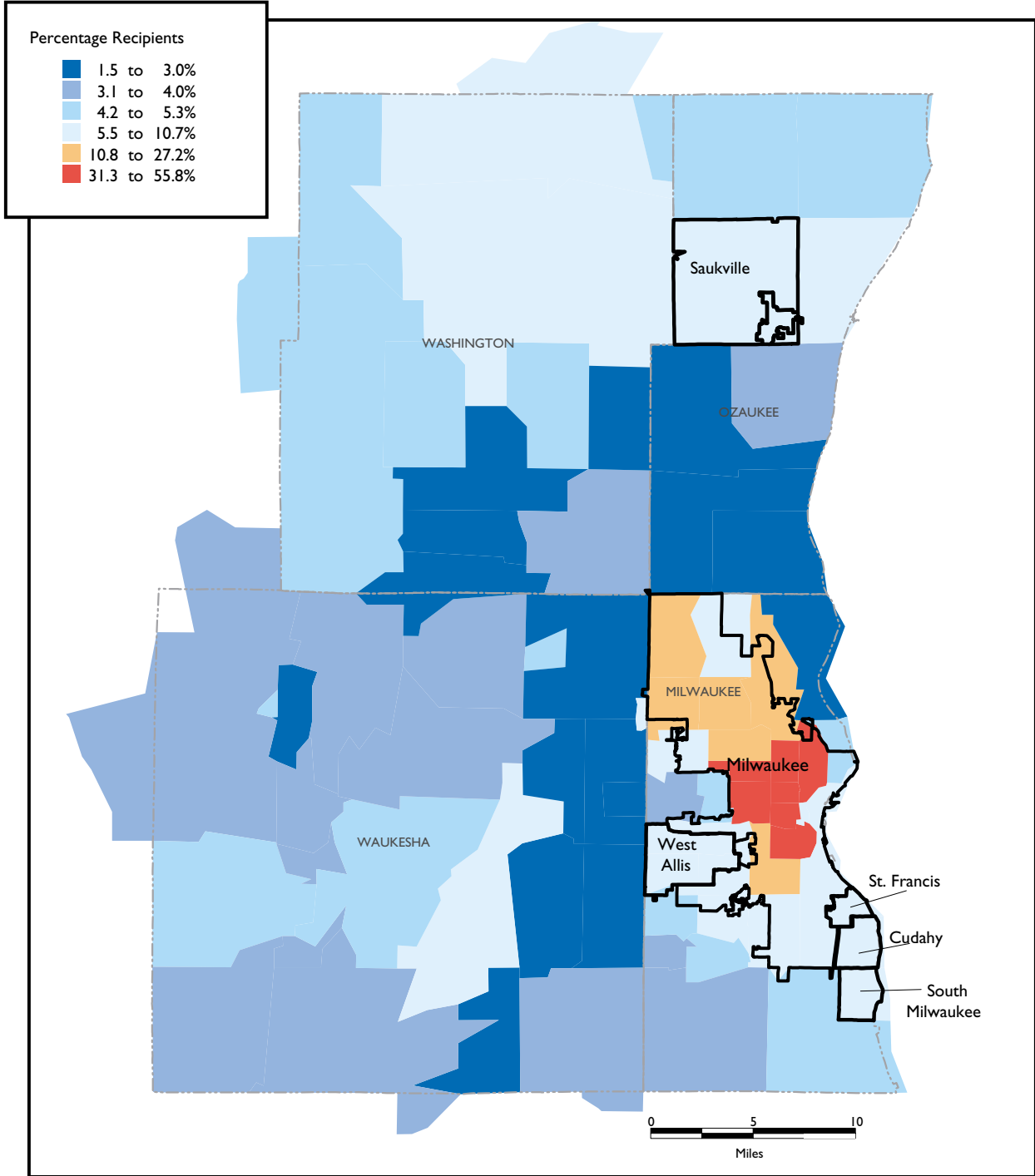
families were actually earning about 3 percent less than they were during the late 1970s. At the same time, families in the top fifth of the distribution had average before-tax income of over \$136,000, 30 percent more than during the late 1970s.¹⁰ Research suggests that the EITC, by supplementing the wages of low-income working families, has curbed growth in national after-tax income inequality.¹¹

Builds Wealth and Purchasing Power

EITC dollars represent additional income coming into the community, increasing families' purchasing power and helping them build assets for the future. The one study to investigate how families use the EITC found that over half of recipients planned to spend their refunds on investments like paying for tuition or other educational expenses, increasing their access to jobs through car repairs and other transportation improvements, moving to a new neighborhood, or putting money into a savings account. The study also found that the EITC helped the lowest-income families meet immediate needs such as utilities and rent.¹²



Milwaukee PMSA:
EITC Recipients as a Percentage of Total Tax
Returns by Zip Code, 1998



Data Source: U.S. Internal Revenue Service.

III. Findings: The Value of the EITC in Greater Milwaukee

This study examines the spatial distribution of the EITC in the Milwaukee region, which is defined as the Milwaukee-Waukesha Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA). This area includes roughly 1.5 million people living in four Wisconsin counties (Milwaukee, Ozaukee, Washington and Waukesha). The EITC data used for this study, which are publicly available through the Internal Revenue Service, reflect actual credits claimed by taxpayers for the tax years 1997 and 1998 (see Appendix D for further information on the data).¹³

A. In 1997, over 75,000 residents of the Milwaukee region earned \$117 million in federal EITC refunds.

Of the \$117 million in EITC refunds flowing into the Milwaukee region in 1997, \$102 million was earned by working families in Milwaukee County (see Appendix A). In that year, the EITC lifted the incomes of low-wage workers in the city of Milwaukee alone by almost \$79 million. Particularly large refunds were earned by families living in Milwaukee's central city neighborhoods (approximately \$58 million).

Working poor families living in Waukesha and Washington counties also earned large EITC refunds—\$8.8 million and \$3.6 million, respectively. Over 9,000 families in these counties benefited from the credit in 1998.

The average EITC for families in the Milwaukee region in 1997 was \$1,505. Families in the city of Milwaukee claiming the EITC earned an average credit of \$1,603, while those in Milwaukee's suburbs earned, on average, \$1,407 in credits.

The city of Milwaukee's share of the region's EITC dollars was larger than its share of the region's population. While the city of Milwaukee contained about 40 percent of the region's population, the city received more than two-thirds of the region's EITC refunds (see Appendix C). However, EITC dollars were still more dispersed than money redistributed by other federal assistance programs that benefit residents of greater Milwaukee. While 88 percent of the region's EITC dollars flowed into Milwaukee County, 98 percent of the region's TANF funds and 97 percent of its Food Stamp funds went to Milwaukee County residents.¹⁴

B. The region's low-income working families were largely concentrated in the city of Milwaukee.

In 1998, 21.9 percent of taxpayers in the city of Milwaukee earned an EITC refund. Neighborhoods with much higher rates of EITC receipt were found in central and northwest Milwaukee. For example, in the central city area, nearly half of all taxpayers earned an EITC. In the Glendale area, one out of every four taxpayers earned the credit. Large numbers of working poor families also lived on the city's Northwest side and in areas just south of the central city, where one out of every five workers earned an EITC. Rates of EITC receipt in the city's lakefront neighborhoods were lower, about 4 percent on average. Altogether, the EITC lifted the incomes of 65,000 working poor families in Milwaukee County in 1998.

Working poverty was dispersed in other areas of the Milwaukee region. While 9,000 families in Washington and Waukesha counties earned the EITC in 1998, there were no zip codes in either county where more than 10 percent of families received the credit.

C. The percentage of working families in the Milwaukee region that earned the EITC (11 percent) was similar to that in other Midwest regions.

With 10.7 percent of all families earning the EITC in 1998, the Milwaukee region had a slightly lower rate of EITC receipt than the median region studied, in which 12.6 percent of taxpayers received the credit (see Appendix C). However, other Midwestern regions studied had very similar percentages of families benefit from the EITC, including Akron (11 percent), Detroit (12 percent), Gary (13 percent) and Indianapolis (13 percent).

The EITC lifted the incomes of a slightly lower percentage of families in Milwaukee (22 percent) than in the median city among the 27 studied, where 24 percent earned the credit. As noted above, however, the overall rate of EITC receipt in Milwaukee masks a great deal of diversity among the city's neighborhoods—the percentage of families earning the EITC in 1998 ranged from 4 percent in the Shorewood/Whitefish Bay area to nearly 50 percent in some central city neighborhoods. The percentage of families in the city of Milwaukee that earned the EITC was in the same range as that for the other Midwestern cities. With 22 percent of all tax filers claiming the EITC, the rate of EITC receipt in Milwaukee was lower than in Gary (34 percent) and Detroit (32 percent), but higher than in Akron (20 percent) and Indianapolis (16 percent).

D. In 1999, the Wisconsin refundable state EITC added over \$21 million to the budgets of working families in the Milwaukee region.

The state of Wisconsin was the first to enact a refundable EITC within its state income tax code in 1989.¹⁵ The Wisconsin credit is equal to a percent-

“Policymakers in the Milwaukee region can leverage this investment by partnering with community institutions to preserve the value of the EITC, and by helping low-income working families use the EITC to build assets for the future.”

age of the federal EITC that varies according to the number of children in the family: 4 percent for families with one child, 14 percent for families with two children, and 43 percent for families with three or more children. In 1999, this credit contributed an additional \$21 million to the budgets of greater Milwaukee’s low-income working families. In the city of Milwaukee alone, 53,000 working residents earned \$19 million in state EITC refunds, boosting their purchasing power by an average of \$364.¹⁶

IV. What Milwaukee Can Do To Leverage the EITC Locally

This study confirms that the EITC is a significant federal support for working poor residents of the Milwaukee region. Policymakers in the Milwaukee region can leverage this investment by partnering with community institutions to preserve the value of the EITC, and by helping low-income working families use the EITC to build assets for the future. There are three things that Milwaukee’s communities can do right now to maximize the use and value of the EITC.

1. Help low-income taxpayers learn about and file for the EITC

In 1997, the average EITC for Milwaukee area families claiming the credit was \$1,500. Still, evidence suggests that many working families eligible for the credit fail to claim it. In fact, researchers at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee found that declining percentages of working poor families in the central city’s neighborhoods are claiming the credit.¹⁷ In 2000, the City of Chicago launched an education and outreach campaign to increase awareness of the EITC among low-wage workers and their employers, and to make free tax preparation available to eligible families through volunteer organizations. The campaign also alerted employers that

their lower-wage workers could qualify for the Advance EITC which, by adding a portion of the value of a worker’s anticipated EITC to each paycheck, serves to boost the take-home pay of eligible families throughout the year. The city and county of Milwaukee have taken important steps in this area, notably through the Milwaukee Workers website, and could build on these efforts by partnering with employers to reach additional eligible families who may not be receiving the credit.¹⁸

2. Support community organizations that preserve the value of the EITC

According to researchers, over half of all families who receive the federal EITC file their taxes through a tax preparation service.¹⁹ Unfortunately, many of these services charge an exorbitant fee and even offer “refund anticipation loans”: high-interest loans that—often for \$100 and more—give taxpayers their money only a few days sooner than the Treasury would. The Center for Law and Human Service’s Tax Counseling Project and the Tax Assistance Project in Chicago, as well as the Community Action Project of Tulsa County in Oklahoma, are examples of organizations that are helping EITC recipients who need assistance in filing their returns to receive the full value of the credit. States and localities can also help recruit volunteers for the IRS Volunteer Income Tax Assistance (VITA) program, which provides free individual tax preparation for taxpayers claiming the EITC.

3. Help families use the EITC as a gateway to financial services

According to the Federal Reserve, 22 percent of families with less than \$25,000 in income (the majority of the EITC-eligible population) lack a bank account of any kind.²⁰ By not having this most basic access to mainstream financial services, these families must often rely on high-cost check cashing or other alternative financial services

that consume large portions of their small incomes, and make it even more difficult for them to put aside small amounts of savings for the future. The average federal EITC refund in Milwaukee of \$1,505 represents a large initial deposit that, with cooperation from local banks and credit unions, could help many lower-income families open an account and begin to build modest amounts of savings.²¹ Some states and counties, including

those in California and Missouri, are working with banks to make low-cost accounts available to families making the transition from welfare to work. Cities and towns in the Milwaukee region, as well as the state of Wisconsin, could make similar efforts on behalf of “unbanked” low-income working families, making it possible for them to receive their tax refunds via Direct Deposit.

Appendix A: Value of Claimed EITCs for the Milwaukee Region, 1997

County	Value of EITCs Claimed	Share of Regional Total Value of EITCs Claimed	Share of Regional Population
Milwaukee	\$102,439,000	87.8%	62.9%
Ozaukee	\$1,874,000	1.6%	5.5%
Washington	\$3,604,000	3.1%	7.7%
Waukesha	\$8,804,000	7.5%	23.9%
Regional Total	\$116,721,000	100%	100%

Source: Internal Revenue Service, 1997 ZIP Code files.

Appendix B: Profile of EITCs Received for the Milwaukee Region, 1998

County	Avg. Adjusted Gross Income	Total Number of Returns	Total Number of EITCs Claimed	% of Taxpayers Filing for EITC
Milwaukee	\$38,774	431,766	65,164	15.1%
Ozaukee	\$60,680	41,412	1,433	3.5%
Washington	\$47,144	57,002	2,758	4.8%
Waukesha	\$59,073	181,619	6,613	3.6%
Regional Total	-	711,799	75,968	10.7%

Source: Internal Revenue Service, E-File Demographics.



Appendix C: Estimates for 27 Regions and Cities

	Region		Central City		City Share of Regional EITC Value	City Share of Regional Population
	% of Taxpayers Filing for EITC	Value of EITCs Claimed (Millions of Dollars)	% of Taxpayers Filing for EITC	Value of EITCs Claimed (Millions of Dollars)		
Akron	11.2	54.3	20.3	27.7	51.1	31.4
Atlanta	15.8	423.2	25.4	67.0	15.8	11.0
Baltimore	13.9	242.1	28.0	123.0	50.8	26.6
Boston	8.9	321.8	15.1	53.4	16.6	9.5
Denver	10.7	147.0	16.9	52.0	35.4	26.3
Des Moines	9.8	29.2	13.6	14.0	47.9	44.4
Detroit	11.8	348.2	32.3	161.3	46.3	21.8
Gary	13.2	57.3	33.6	19.0	33.1	17.8
*Grand Forks	11.6	7.0	11.7	4.2	60.1	48.7
Hartford	8.8	65.1	31.6	20.6	31.6	11.7
Indianapolis	12.9	146.0	16.4	88.6	60.7	49.4
Los Angeles	21.2	1238.1	24.6	509.0	41.1	39.1
Louisville	14.7	105.8	24.0	41.1	38.8	25.8
Macon	22.6	54.6	35.2	20.7	38.0	35.9
Miami	27.2	393.1	32.3	61.5	15.6	17.4
Milwaukee	10.7	116.7	21.9	78.7	67.4	40.0
New Orleans	25.4	253.8	36.0	125.2	49.3	35.9
Oakland	9.5	130.7	15.9	35.5	27.2	16.1
Philadelphia-Camden	12.2	403.4	24.1	209.3	51.9	29.4
Providence	12.6	74.3	23.6	26.5	35.6	16.7
Saint Louis	13.5	252.4	29.6	70.7	28.0	13.5
San Antonio	23.0	264.9	24.9	195.9	74.0	73.9
San Diego	14.3	253.3	14.4	113.8	44.9	44.0
San Jose	7.9	85.6	11.1	47.4	55.4	52.5
*Savannah	21.6	44.0	24.2	35.7	81.3	48.7
*Seattle	8.2	119.1	8.7	36.3	30.5	23.5
Washington D.C.	10.8	362.5	18.9	76.9	21.2	11.5
Median for all 27 Regions:	12.6%	\$146.0	24.0%	\$53.4	41.6%	26.6%

Source: Internal Revenue Service

*Denotes a central city where a large percentage of zip codes extend beyond the municipal boundaries. See Appendix D.

Appendix D: Methodology

The data for this study were derived from two IRS files (described below). This study uses a 1998 file to map the percentage of taxpayers who received the EITC. In order to determine the actual amount of EITC dollars that went into each jurisdiction, we needed to use a more detailed data file. The 1997 IRS zipcode file is the most recent year for which these detailed data are available.

The 1997 file contains information by zip code on the total number of individual income tax filers, the number of filers with certain tax items (salaries and wages, interest, Schedule C, Schedule F) and total amounts for those items for tax year 1997 returns. Among these are the number of filers who claimed the Earned Income Credit, and the total amount of Earned Income Credit claimed. We used these data to calculate the amount of Earned Income Credit that flowed into each county in 1997, as well as the average EITC amount per county. The data are available online at http://www.irs.gov/tax_stats/soi/zip-codes.html.

The 1998 file contains similar information by zip code, including the total number of filers and the number of filers claiming the EITC, but does not provide the total amount of EITC claimed per zip code. Since these data were for a more recent tax year, we used them to calculate the percentage of filers receiving the EITC in a given zip code, and throughout a given county. These data are based on returns between January 1, 1999 and December 31, 1999; nearly all of these returns were for tax year 1998. The data are available online at http://www.irs.gov/elec_svs/demogrfx.html.

Although the raw data are reported at the zip code level, most of the data in the study are characterized at the county or city level. To calculate the county totals we simply aggregated zip codes based on the county names provided in the IRS file. Estimating accurate totals for smaller levels of geography, i.e. cities, was more difficult. Because zip codes are determined by the United States Postal Service and are designed to facilitate the delivery of mail, their borders very often do not coincide with municipal boundaries. In some cities, zip codes more or less match the actual jurisdictional lines; in others, zip codes that cover large parts of a city extend well into neighboring cities and towns. We used GIS (Geographic Information System) to determine which zip codes fit well enough within a given city's boundaries to associate with that city. If a zip code's center was inside the city's boundaries, then the zipcode was included. In a few cases, where there were a large number of zip codes that extended beyond the city's boundaries in an unusual manner, we included all zip codes that were within, or intersected with, the city's boundaries. In these instances, the total amount of EITC flowing into the central city may be slightly overstated, but the regional totals are as accurate as for other regions. These cities are marked with an asterisk in Appendix C.

Endnotes

- 1 The regions included in this survey series were selected because they are areas where the Annie E. Casey Foundation and John S. Knight Foundation are involved in initiatives aimed at improving the lives of working poor families.
- 2 The 'EITC' referenced throughout this survey is the federal Earned Income Tax Credit. All references to EITCs claimed or the value of EITCs claimed are for the tax year to which we refer.
- 3 David Campbell, Michael Parisi, and Brian Balkovic (2000). "Individual Income Tax Returns, 1998." *Statistics of Income Bulletin*, Fall 2000. US Department of the Treasury.
- 4 See John Karl Scholz (1994). "The Earned Income Tax Credit: Participation, Compliance, and Antipoverty Effectiveness." *National Tax Journal* 48: 64–85. Scholz found that between 80 and 86 percent of those eligible actually claim the credit. His study was based on 1990 data. Significant increases in the value of the EITC have probably altered actual participation rates. Also see Carolyn J. Hill, V. Joseph Hotz, Charles H. Mullin, John Karl Scholz (1999). "EITC Eligibility, Participation, and Compliance Rates for AFDC Households: Evidence from the California Caseload." http://www.jcpr.org/wpfiles/hotz_eitc.pdf
- 5 Katherin Ross Phillips (2001). "Who Knows About the Earned Income Tax Credit?" Urban Institute. http://newfederalism.urban.org/html/series_b/b27/b27.html
- 6 Between 1993 and 1999, the number of families receiving the EITC increased by 29 percent. The number of people lifted out of poverty by the EITC increased by 124 percent over the same time period.

- 7 The increasing contribution of the EITC to the safety net contrasts sharply with trends in other federal aid programs in the 1990s. Social security insurance, for example, lifted 300,000 less people out of poverty in 1999 than it did in 1993. Food stamps helped about 700,000 less people in 1999 than in 1993. And means-tested cash benefits, mainly TANF, lifted 600,000 less. See "Poverty and Income Trends: 1999," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.
- 8 For increase in labor market participation see Nada Eissa and Jefferey Liebman (1996). "Labor Supply Response to the Earned Income Credit." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, CXI, 605–647. Another set of estimates by Bruce Meyer and Dan Rosenbaum suggest that more than 60 percent of the increase in annual employment of single mothers was due to increases in the EITC. Welfare waivers contributed one-sixth and AFDC benefit cuts about one-eighth. Changes in Medicaid, employment training, and child care programs played a smaller role. <http://dsl.nber.org/papers/w7363.pdf>
- 9 V. Joseph Hotz, Charles H. Mullin, and John K. Scholz (2000). "The Earned Income Tax Credit and Labor Market Participation of Families on Welfare." Joint Center on Poverty Research. http://www.jcpr.org/wpfiles/hotz_mullin_scholz_final.pdf
- 10 The income distributions by state are from the Current Population Survey. The data was pooled for larger sample sizes. The years analyzed were 1978-1980 and 1996-1998. See Jared Bernstein, Elizabeth C. McNichol, Lawrence Mishel, and Robert Zahradnik (2000). "State-by-State Analysis of Income Trends." Center on Budget and Policy Priorities and Economic Policy Institute. <http://www.cbpp.org/1-18-00sfp.htm>.
- 11 Jeffrey B. Liebman (1998). "The Impact of the Earned Income Credit on Incentives and Income Distribution." From *Tax Policy and the Economy*, Volume 12, (James Poterba, Editor), MIT Press. <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/jeffreyliebman/taeeitc.pdf>
- 12 Timothy M. Smeeding, Katherin Ross Phillips, and Michael O'Connor (2000). "The EITC: Expectation, Knowledge, Use, and Economic and Social Mobility." Center for Policy Research, Working Paper Series No. 13. <http://www-cpr.maxwell.syr.edu/pdf/wp13.pdf>
- 13 The IRS data on the EITC, and the data presented in this survey, reflect credits claimed, and not necessarily dollars refunded. Some EITC offsets tax owed, and does not result directly in a refund. The overwhelming majority of credit amounts claimed are, however, refunded to taxpayers—in 1997, over 80 percent of all EITC amounts were refunded.
- 14 "Table CA35," Regional Economic Information System. Bureau of Economic Analysis. June 2000
- 15 For further discussion of state EITCs, including the Massachusetts EITC, see Nicholas Johnson (2000). "A HAND UP: How State Earned Income Tax Credits Help Working Families Escape Poverty—2000," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. <http://www.cbpp.org/11-4-00sfp.pdf>
- 16 "Wisconsin Earned Income Tax Credit: Summary for 1999." Memo. Wisconsin Department of Revenue.
- 17 Lois M. Quinn and John Pawasarat (2001). "The Milwaukee Neighborhood Indicators/Asset Mapping Project: Employment and Income Growth in Central City Milwaukee Neighborhoods." University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee, Employment and Training Institute. <http://www.uwm.edu/Dept/ETI/reports/dor99.htm>
- 18 See <http://www.milwaukeeworkers.org>.
- 19 "Earned Income Tax Credit: Profile of Tax Year 1994 Credit Recipients," General Accounting Office. GAO/GGD-96-122BR. http://www.access.gpo.gov/su_docs/aces/aces160.shtml; "Nationwide Analysis of the Individual Tax Return Records for Partial Tax Year 1998," Internal Revenue Service Publication 3493. <http://ftp.fedworld.gov/pub/irs-utl/p3493.pdf>.
- 20 Arthur B. Kennickell, Martha Starr-McCluer, and Brian Surette. "Recent Changes in U.S. Family Finances: Results from the 1998 Survey of the Consumer Finances." *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, January 2000.
- 21 One credit union in Milwaukee is helping to make checking accounts, and accompanying financial education, available to people who have not previously had an account at a financial institution, or who have had problems with an account in the past. See <http://www.acuwi.org/getchecking.htm>.

Acknowledgements

The Brookings Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy would like to thank the Annie E. Casey and John S. and James L. Knight foundations for their generous support of our work on working family investments and policies. We would also like to thank Jennifer Bradley, John Bare, Michael Barr, Bob Greenstein, Nicholas Johnson, Michael Laracy, John Monahan, Andrea Kane, John Pawasarat, Isabel Sawhill, and Irene Skricki for their comments on early drafts.

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Note

This survey is available on the Brookings Institution's website at: www.brookings.edu/urban. Also available are similar surveys for 26 other metropolitan regions.



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