

2016

# The DMV Class of 2016: Readiness of Milwaukee 18-Year-Olds for Employment, Citizenship and Adulthood


Lois M. Quinn

*University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee*, [lquinn@uwm.edu](mailto:lquinn@uwm.edu)

John Pawasarat

*University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee*, [pawasara@uwm.edu](mailto:pawasara@uwm.edu)

Follow this and additional works at: [https://dc.uwm.edu/eti\\_pubs](https://dc.uwm.edu/eti_pubs)

 Part of the [Curriculum and Instruction Commons](#), [Public Policy Commons](#), [Race and Ethnicity Commons](#), [Transportation Commons](#), and the [Work, Economy and Organizations Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Quinn, Lois M. and Pawasarat, John, "The DMV Class of 2016: Readiness of Milwaukee 18-Year-Olds for Employment, Citizenship and Adulthood" (2016). *ETI Publications*. 182.  
[https://dc.uwm.edu/eti\\_pubs/182](https://dc.uwm.edu/eti_pubs/182)

This Technical Paper is brought to you for free and open access by UWM Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in ETI Publications by an authorized administrator of UWM Digital Commons. For more information, please contact [open-access@uwm.edu](mailto:open-access@uwm.edu).

# The DMV Class of 2016

## Readiness of Milwaukee 18-Year-Olds for Employment, Citizenship and Adulthood

By Lois M. Quinn and John Pawasarat, Employment and Training Institute,  
School of Continuing Education, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Funded by United Way of Greater Milwaukee & Waukesha County

August 2016

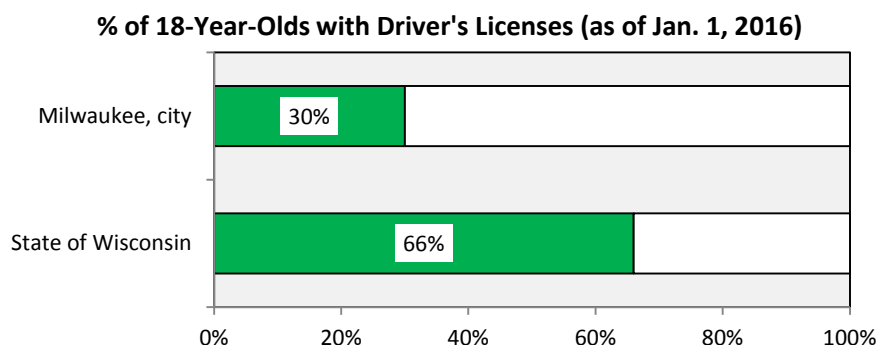
# Contents

	<u>Page</u>
Findings	2
The MPS Universal Driver Education initiative	5
State funding for driver education, 1961-2004	6
2016 licensing rates of Milwaukee eighteen-year-olds	7
Licensing rates by race/ethnicity and gender	9
Low licensing rates in zipcodes with high child poverty	11
Low licensing rates in “working poor” neighborhoods	13
Age of licensing reflects income inequality and race	14
6,000 unlicensed Milwaukee eighteen-year-olds	15
Driver education for employment	17
Addressing traffic safety concerns	18
Wisconsin’s graduated driver license program	19
The driver’s license as a civil rights issue	20
The driver’s license: Wisconsin’s “gold card photo” for voting	20
DMV lists used for jury selection	21
Two-year license suspensions to collect court debts from juvenile non-drivers	22
Court use of license suspensions as a debt collection tool for older teens	24
Failure-to-pay-forfeiture suspensions for unpaid traffic tickets	24
Failure-to-pay-forfeiture suspensions issued to Milwaukee teens	26
Blocking licenses for dropouts and truants	28
Driver’s license suspensions for unsafe driving	29
The license: A critical asset for employment	32
Most Wisconsin workers commute in private vehicles	32
Skilled construction trade jobs need licenses	33
Private sector jobs requiring a valid license	34
City government jobs requiring a valid license	35
The view from the street: 53206 vs. 53217	36
References	37
About the authors	38

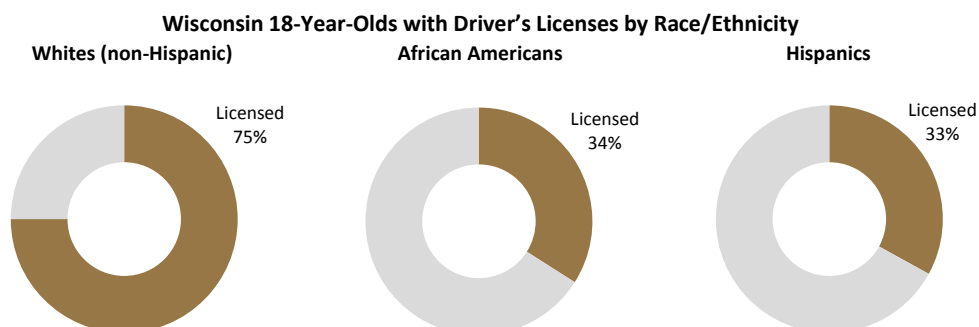
# Findings

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Employment and Training Institute (ETI) examined the driver's license status of the “**DMV Class of 2016**,” that is, all Wisconsin youth aged eighteen as of January 1, 2016. The study used 2016 driver's license data files from the Wisconsin Department of Transportation Division of Motor Vehicles (DMV) along with teen population statistics from the American Community Survey (2010-2014, 5 yr.) to estimate driver's licensing rates. The analysis provides baseline quantitative data for the Universal Driver Education (UDE) program initiated by Milwaukee Public Schools in 2015-2016. A second report will provide a process evaluation of the MPS pilot project offering free driver education to 300 MPS teens in the spring and summer of 2016. The research was funded by United Way of Greater Milwaukee & Waukesha County to aid Milwaukee Public Schools, Wisconsin Community Services, and United Way in their planning work for the MPS Universal Driver Education program.

1. **Only 30%** of Milwaukee eighteen-year-olds have a driver's license (probationary or regular) when they reach adulthood, compared to more than twice that rate (66%) for eighteen-year-olds statewide. Nearly 6,000 Milwaukee eighteen-year-olds were unlicensed, as of January 1, 2016.

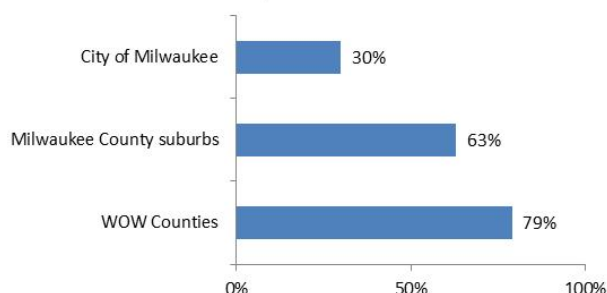


2. Stark differences are seen in **Wisconsin driver's licensing rates by race/ethnicity**, reflecting wide opportunity gaps for employment as teens reach adulthood. Only a third of African American and Hispanic 18-year-olds hold driver's licenses, compared to 75% of white 18-year-olds. Wisconsin discontinued state school aids for driver education in 2004, now requiring most low-income families to pay for commercial driving courses as a condition for their school-age teens obtaining a license.



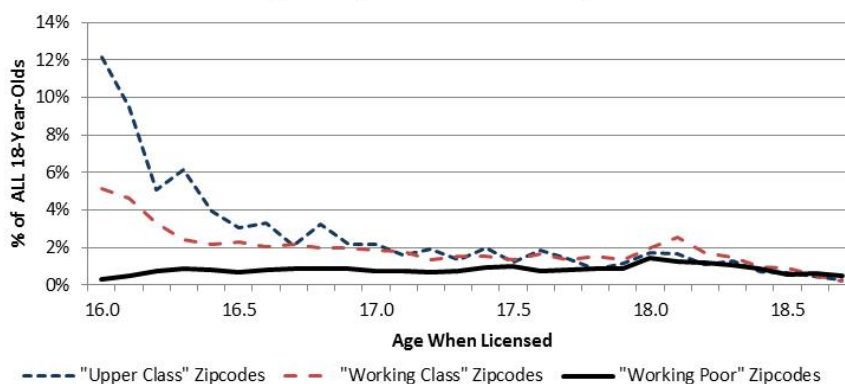
- Disparate licensing rates give **suburban and exurban youth** in the Milwaukee metropolitan area a **head start over city teens in securing jobs** as they enter the labor force. The DMV data for local residents aged eighteen as of January 1, 2016, showed approximately 79% with licenses in the WOW (Waukesha, Ozaukee and Washington) counties and 63% with licenses in the Milwaukee County suburbs, compared to only 30% with licenses in the city of Milwaukee.

**Licensing Rates for 18-Year-Olds in the Milwaukee Metropolitan Area**



- The driver's license serves as a **rite of passage** for youth from higher income neighborhoods with half of eighteen-year-olds from "upper class" zipcodes in Milwaukee County obtaining a probationary license while they were sixteen. Only 7% of eighteen-year-olds from the county's "working poor" zipcodes received their licenses at age sixteen.

**Age When Milwaukee County 18-Year-Olds Obtained Their Driver's License by Working Class Status of the Zipcodes**



- A comparison of Milwaukee County zipcodes (using the average earnings of state income tax family filers) showed far lower rates of driver's licensing for 18-year-olds in "working poor" zipcodes than in "upper class" or "working class" neighborhoods.

<b>% of 18-Year-Olds Licensed by Avg. Income of Working Families in 34 Residential Zipcodes</b>		
<b><u>Zipcode income category</u></b>	<b><u>Avg. income earnings of family tax filers*</u></b>	<b><u>% of 18-year-olds with driver's licenses</u></b>
12 "working poor" zipcodes	Under \$40,000	23%
16 "working class" zipcodes	\$45,000 – 85,000	54%
6 "upper class" zipcodes	Over \$110,000	74%

\*Based on a zipcode level analysis of 2014 Wisconsin state income tax returns for working age family filers with dependents and income above \$0.

6. Increasingly the driver's license has become an **employment asset** for the middle class and the well-to-do, while **unaffordable for families living in poverty**. Milwaukee County zipcodes with the highest levels of child poverty had far lower rates of driver's licensing for their eighteen-year-olds than the zipcodes with relatively low levels of child poverty.

**% of 18-Year-Olds Licensed by Child Poverty Level:  
34 Milwaukee County Residential Zipcodes**

<b><u>Level of child poverty in the zipcode</u></b>	<b><u>% of 18-year-olds with driver's licenses</u></b>
Poorest (over half of children are poor)	14%
Poorer	26%
Poor	46%
Less poor	56%
Least poor (less than a tenth of children are poor)	74%

7. Accident statistics from the Milwaukee Police Department reinforce the need for traffic safety and driver education. A total of 6,042 persons were injured in city **traffic accidents** in 2015, up by 12% over 2014, and deaths resulting from crashes rose from 35 in 2014 to 47 in 2015. Three key components contribute to traffic safety for teens: driver education programs with classroom and behind-the-wheel instruction, the state's Graduated Licensing Program in place as youth begin driving, and consistent and fair local law enforcement issuance of traffic citations and driver's license suspensions to change negative behavior of youth who disobey the rules of the road.
8. Both the U.S. Department of Justice and the American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators recommend against using driver's license suspensions as a **debt collection tool by the courts**. Almost 800 driver's license suspensions were recorded against the eighteen-year-olds in Milwaukee (as of January 1, 2016) for failure to pay forfeitures rather than for unsafe driving. These suspension charges, including 71% issued against unlicensed teens, prevent the youth from legally driving for two years unless they can pay off all of the court costs added onto an original unpaid traffic ticket or vehicle equipment citation. Additional numbers of youth have outstanding license suspensions issued against them by the courts for unpaid court costs resulting from juvenile offenses (including for charges unrelated to driving).
9. The **income inequality impact** of current state and local driver's license policies can be seen in comparisons of teen licensing rates in the "innercity" Milwaukee zipcode 53206 (arguably the poorest zipcode of the county) and "North Shore" zipcode 53217 (the wealthiest suburban zipcode). In zipcode 53206 only 12% of the eighteen-year-olds have a probationary or regular driver's license, while in zipcode 53217 91% have their license. In zipcode 53206 21% of the eighteen-year-olds are both unlicensed and under suspensions, while in zipcode 53217 only 1% of the eighteen-year-olds are both unlicensed and under suspensions.

# The MPS Universal Driver Education initiative

In Milwaukee, as in many school districts in the U.S., driver education is no longer offered as a free high school course. Wisconsin discontinued categorical school aids for driver ed in March 2004, yet requires youth under age 18 to enroll in a school or commercial driving program as a condition for obtaining their learner permit and probationary license, requiring most families to pay for commercial driving instruction -- at a cost of \$350 – \$400 and usually at an off-school site. As a result, **increasingly the driver's license has become an employment asset for the middle class and the well-to-do, while unaffordable for “working poor” families and those living in poverty.** Rather than entering the labor force on an even playing field with teens from higher income families, central city youth, and particularly African American and Hispanic teens, too often enter the labor force handicapped by the lack of a driver's license. Nichole Yunk Todd, director of policy and research at Wisconsin Community Services (WCS), introduced the proposal for Universal Driver Education at the first Greater Together Challenge in 2014, arguing that “Without a driver's license, young African Americans have less access to upward social mobility and often remain isolated in unstable and segregated neighborhoods (Mendez, 2014).”

In the 2015-16 school year Milwaukee Public Schools under the direction of Superintendent Darienne Driver and the Board of School Directors launched a bold experiment to offer free driver education to MPS students as part of its strategic objectives of “educating the whole child” and “redefining the MPS experience.” A pilot program provided driver education to 300 teens in four MPS high schools in spring and summer, and the program will be expanded to serve an estimated 1,400 students ages 15½ and 17¾ in 2016-17. The WCS Center for Driver's License Recovery & Employability (operated cooperatively with Legal Action of Wisconsin and Milwaukee Area Technical College) is providing assistance to teens with driver's license suspensions and unpaid court fines preventing their participation in the UDE program. MPS Superintendent Driver describes the Universal Driver Education initiative as follows:

This unprecedented initiative is designed to eliminate potential barriers preventing a young person from obtaining a driver's license and works to close the gap between Milwaukee youth and their suburban counterparts as it relates to possession of a driver's license. Uniquely, the program also contains a restorative track so that young people with suspended driving privileges can restore their ability to obtain a driver's license prior to participating in driver education classes. (Driver, 2016, p. 2-27)

Expected long-term benefits of Universal Driver Education include:

- To increase the number of Milwaukee teens obtaining their probationary driver's licenses.
- To promote upward social mobility of city youth's access to employment and educational opportunities.
- To improve traffic safety in city neighborhoods.
- To lessen early conflicts between teens of color and the police.
- To reverse the growing culture of unlicensed driving.
- To reduce racial disparities that exist in Milwaukee County around access to driver education and the ability to obtain a valid driver's license. (Milwaukee Public Schools, “Presentation,” 2015)

# State funding for driver education, 1961-2004

The national movement to introduce driver education as a high school course took root in the 1930s in response to national concerns over auto collisions. By 1940 several hundred U.S. high schools were offering driver education, using curricula promoted by the American Automobile Association (AAA), insurance companies, auto dealers, parent teacher associations, and local and national safety councils (Stack, 1966). In the 1950s insurance companies (led by Allstate) began offering premium discounts for youth completing driver education, and individual states (led by Michigan) began requiring teens under age 18 to complete a driver education course before receiving their license (Nichols, 2003).

The Wisconsin legislature began supporting driver education in the high schools and vocational schools in 1961 through **categorical state aids** distributed by the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction and financed by an increase in the DMV driver's license fees. The initial funding totaled about \$1 million annually, with school districts paid \$25 per student successfully completing their classroom and behind-the-wheel training, or the actual cost if less than \$25 (Wisconsin Blue Book, 1962; Wisconsin Legislative Council, 1963). By the 1990s the state was providing about \$4 million annually to local school districts including about \$200,000 to Milwaukee Public Schools. In 2003-2004 the last year of the state funding period, MPS received \$116,900 in driver education categorical aids, or \$100 per student completing the classroom and behind-the-wheel instruction. In 2003-04 state aids covered 36% of the cost of instruction with participating students paying the remainder of the program costs.

State driver education aids were funded in Wisconsin for more than four decades until March 2004 when the Wisconsin legislature ended its categorical aid support for driver education as a state budget cutting measure. The number of Milwaukee Public Schools students enrolled in driver education dropped immediately from 946 in 2003-04 to 381 in 2005-06 after MPS raised student fees to cover the costs no longer supported by state aids (Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau, 2003; Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 2006).



# 2016 licensing rates of Milwaukee 18-year-olds

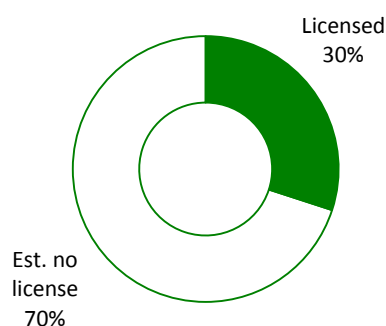
For this project the Employment and Training Institute analyzed state DMV driver's license data files for the period from 2008 to 2016. The teen licensing analysis focuses on the number and percentage of Wisconsin youth with probationary and regular driver's licenses at age eighteen (as of January 1, 2016) as they reach adulthood. Licensing rates are estimated using teen population categories from the U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey (2010-2014, 5 year estimates). Licensing rates are compared for clusters of Milwaukee County zipcodes based on levels of child poverty (as estimated by ACS for zip code tabulation areas) and income earnings of employed families (using Wisconsin Department of Revenue state income tax filings).

The 2016 driver's licensing data from the state Department of Transportation for individuals with probationary and regular driver's licenses showed substantial differences among Wisconsin youth in licensing by city versus suburban residence, race/ethnicity, and by family income of the community or zipcode. The DMV data show licensing rates lowest for youth of color and for the children of the struggling poor and working class families.

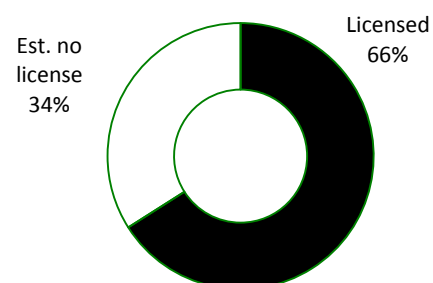
The majority of youth living in Milwaukee do not have a driver's license when they reach adulthood. Only 30% of Milwaukee youth aged eighteen as of January 1, 2016, had a license, while an estimated 70% had not obtained a driver's license. Statewide, the licensing situation is reversed with 66% of eighteen-year-olds licensed compared to 34% unlicensed.

## Licensed and Est. Unlicensed 18-Year-Olds as of January 1, 2016

### City of Milwaukee

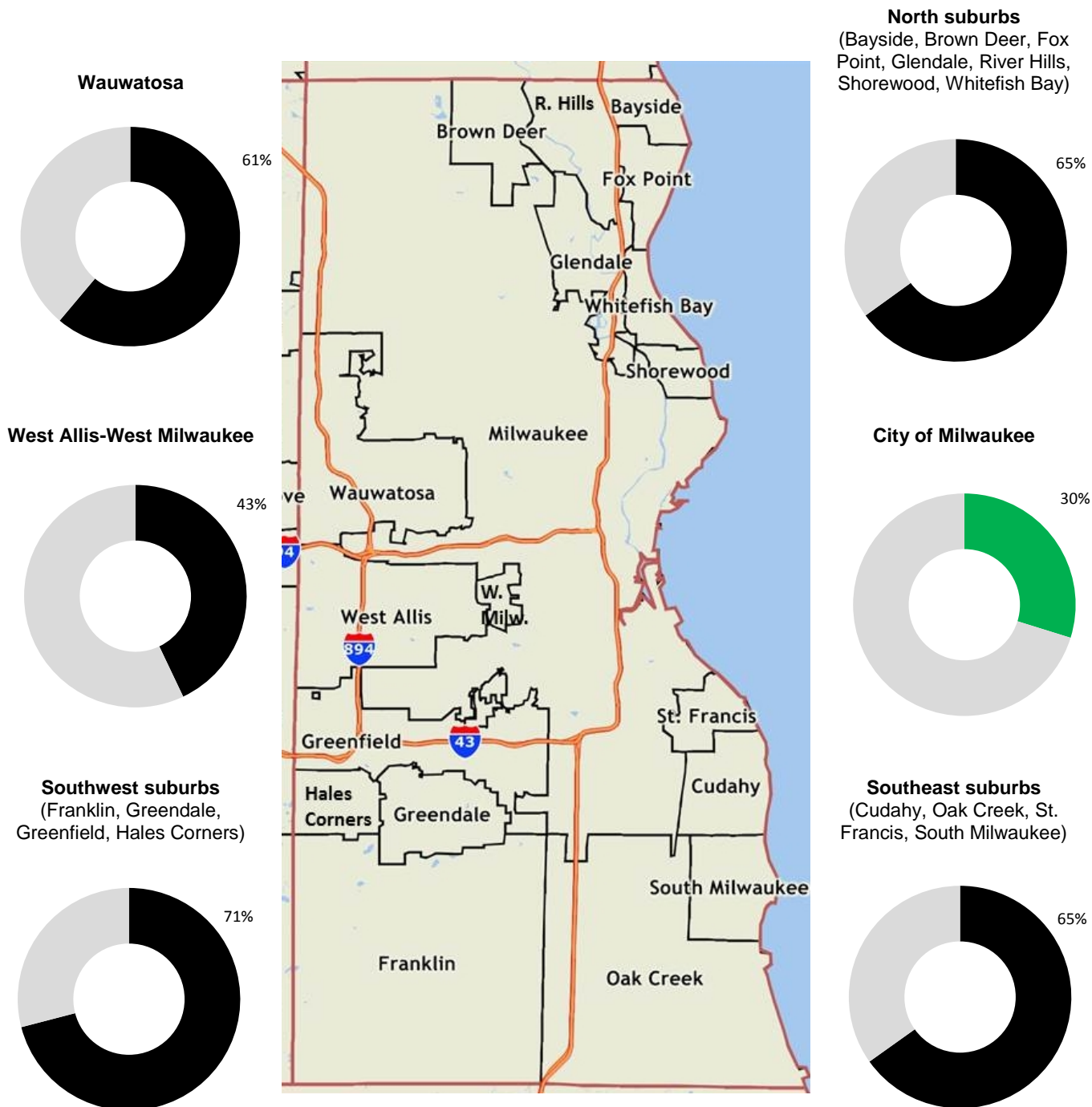


### State of Wisconsin



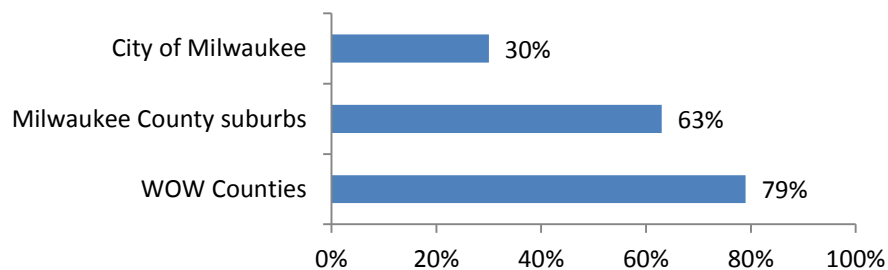
The DMV data show substantial differences between youth licensing rates in the city of Milwaukee compared to the Milwaukee County suburbs. In most cases the suburban communities of Milwaukee County have licensing attainment rates for eighteen-year-olds that are more than double those in Milwaukee. The suburban area with the lowest licensing rates is West Allis and West Milwaukee where an estimated 43% of eighteen-year-olds are licensed.

## % of Milwaukee County 18-Year-Olds with Driver's Licenses (as of Jan. 1, 2016)



Disparate licensing rates give suburban and exurban youth in the Milwaukee metropolitan area a head start over city teens in securing jobs as they enter the labor force. The suburban/exurban WOW (Waukesha, Ozaukee and Washington) counties of the Milwaukee metropolitan area have licensing rates averaging 79% for 18-year-olds, more than 2 -1/2 times higher than the teen licensing rates in the city of Milwaukee.

**Licensing Rates for 18-Year-Olds in the Milwaukee Metro Area**

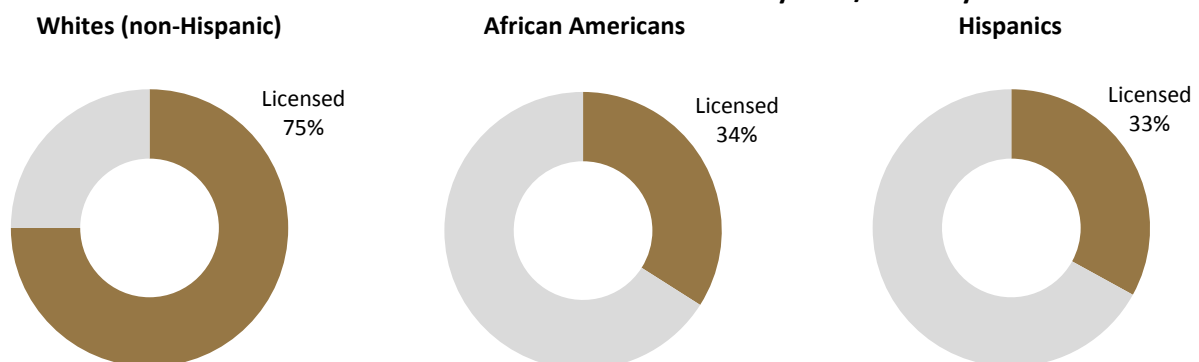


## Licensing rates by race/ethnicity and gender

Teen driver's licensing rates were approximated for non-Hispanic whites, African Americans, and Hispanics comparing DMV data records with population estimates for racial/ethnic categories from the American Community Survey. (The DMV records reported the uniform citation race codes for drivers, i.e., white, black, Hispanic, Asian, American Indian; ACS population categories included Hispanic/Latino of any race, white non-Hispanic, and black or African American alone.) These comparisons indicated large racial divides throughout Wisconsin among rates of teen licensing by racial/ethnic categories.

- Statewide three-fourths of white (non-Hispanic) teens aged eighteen in January 2016 had driver's licenses, compared to only a third of African American and Hispanic eighteen-year-olds.

**Wisconsin 18-Year-Olds with Driver's Licenses by Race/Ethnicity**



- Notably, these differences in licensing rates reflect wide opportunity gaps in Wisconsin among youth by racial/ethnic groups. For example, the compounding interplay of race and income in Wisconsin is evident in the state's child poverty levels where African American children are four times more likely to live in poverty than white children. Hispanic children are three times more likely to live in poverty than white children in the state. Families with very limited financial resources may be less likely to have a working vehicle or to afford driving instructions for their teens.

**Est. Children Living in Poverty by Race/Ethnicity**  
(ACS 2010-2014, 5 yr.)

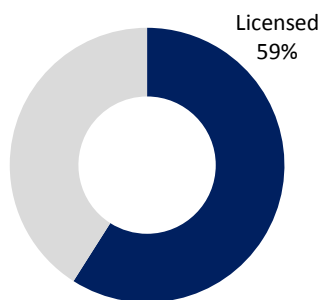
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>	<u>State of Wisconsin</u>	<u>Milwaukee County</u>
White (non-Hispanic)	15%	13%
African American	61%	63%
Hispanic	44%	47%

Licensing rates are lower for teens in Milwaukee than in the state as a whole. Even within the City of Milwaukee racial disparities were seen in the percentages of teens obtaining licenses.

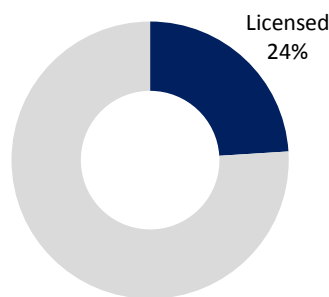
- Nearly 60% of **white** eighteen-year-olds had driver licenses (as of January 1, 2016) compared to only a fourth (24%) of the **African American** and **Hispanic** eighteen-year-olds in the city.

**City of Milwaukee 18-Year-Olds with Driver's Licenses by Race/Ethnicity (as of Jan. 1, 2016)**

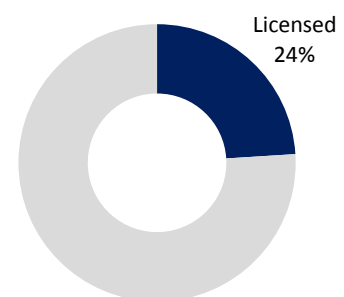
**Whites (non-Hispanic)**



**African Americans**



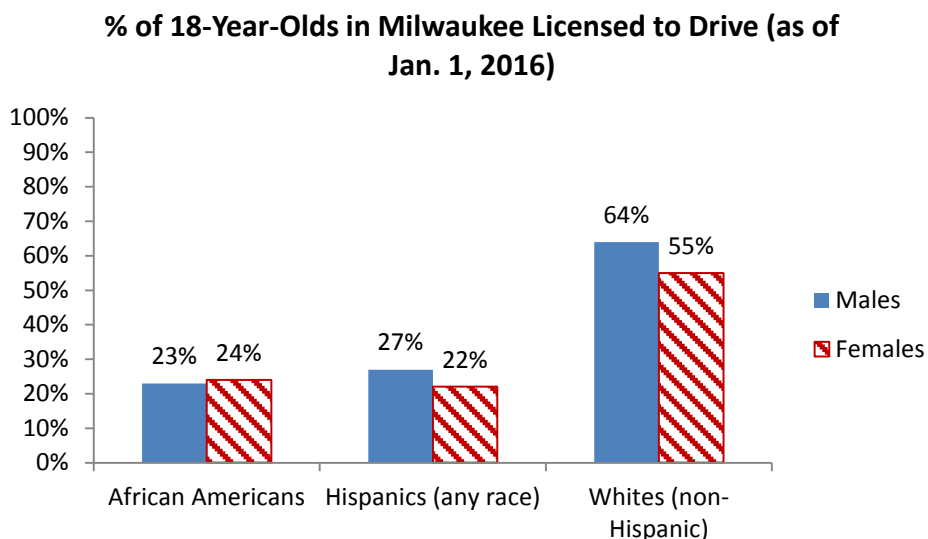
**Hispanics**



Gender patterns differ by race/ethnicity for whites and for Hispanic teens in Milwaukee.

- In Milwaukee white males have the highest licensing rate among 18-year-olds (with 64% licensed), followed by white females with a 55% licensing rate.

- Hispanic male teens have a slightly higher licensing rate (27%) than Hispanic female teens (22%) among those aged eighteen as of January 1, 2016. The licensing rate for both groups is extremely low.
- African American male and female eighteen-year-olds both have licensing rates below 25%.



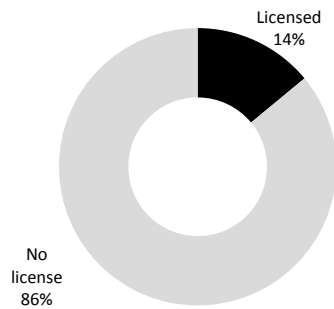
## Low licensing rates in zipcodes with high child poverty

In Wisconsin most families are required to pay for teen driver education classes (unlike for other high school courses, which are offered without charge). Family poverty becomes a major barrier for youth obtaining their driver's licenses – both in terms of affording a vehicle and paying for driver's ed courses. Consequently, teens disadvantaged by poverty often enter the labor force at another disadvantage – that is, without a driver's license. To assess these disadvantages, ACS data on child poverty rates (for residents under age 18) were reviewed for Milwaukee County's 34 residential zipcodes.

There are extremely high levels of child poverty in much of Milwaukee's central city. Five zipcodes showed over half of all children living in poverty and another seven zipcodes showed 40% or more of the children living in families with income below poverty. The teen driver's license analysis showed licensing levels lowest for neighborhood groups where child poverty was highest.

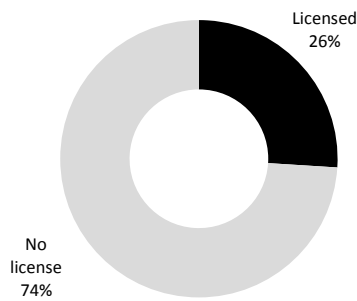
## Licensing and Child Poverty: Milwaukee County 18-Year-Olds Licensed (as of January 1, 2016)

**5 zipcodes with over 50% of children in poverty**



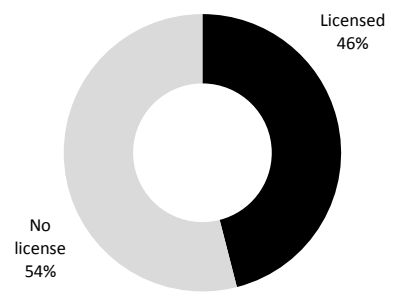
ZIPS 53204, 53205, 53206, 53212, 53233

**7 zipcodes with 40-49% of children in poverty**



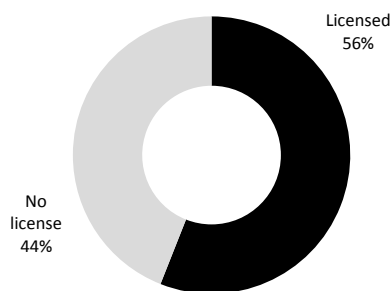
ZIPS 53208, 53209, 53210, 53215, 53216, 53218, 53224

**7 zipcodes with 20-39% of children in poverty**



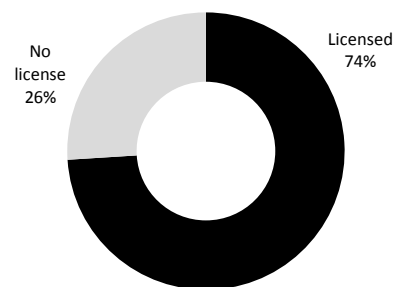
ZIPS 53110, 53202, 53214, 53219, 53223, 53221, 53225

**8 zipcodes with 10-19% of children in poverty**



ZIPS 53129, 53172, 53207, 53220, 53222, 53227, 53228, 53235

**7 zipcodes with under 10% of children in poverty**



ZIPS 53130, 53132, 53154, 53211, 53213, 53217, 53226

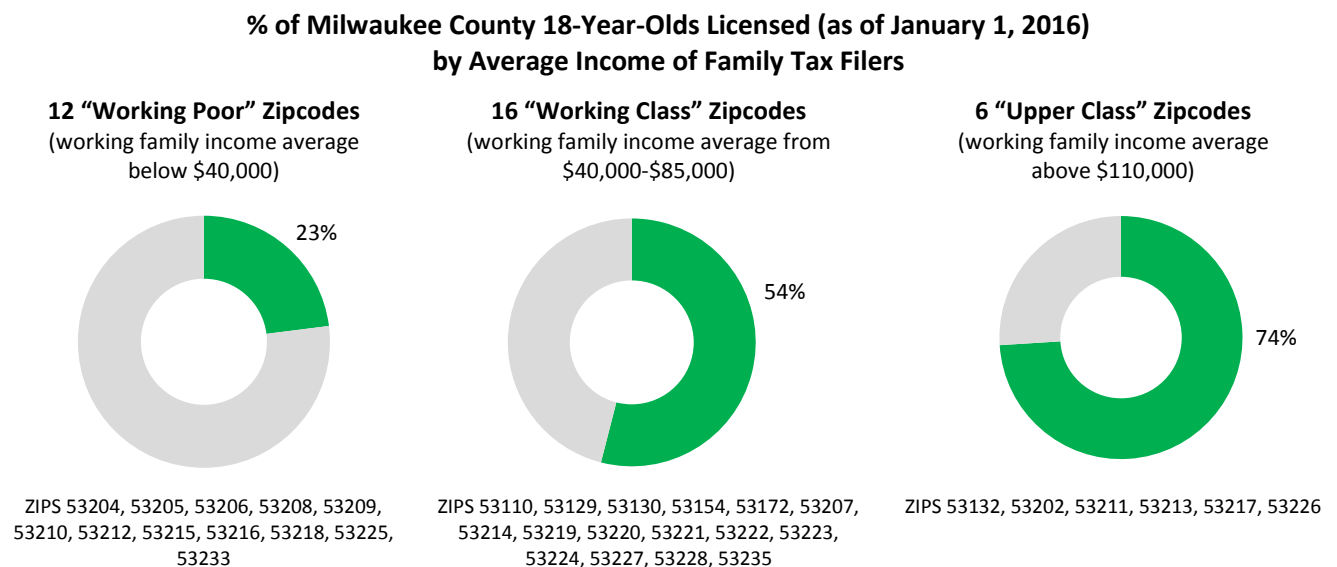
In the five Milwaukee zipcodes where over half of all youth under age 18 live in poverty (i.e., 53204, 53205, 53206, 53212 and 53233), only 14% of eighteen-year-olds had a driver's license. Teen licensing rates improve as levels of child poverty in the neighborhood decreases. In seven zipcodes where less than 10% of children are living in poverty, three-fourths of eighteen-year-olds are licensed.

## Low licensing rates in “working poor” neighborhoods

A second analysis looked at the 2014 income earnings of employed Wisconsin families (i.e., filing state income tax returns with the Wisconsin Department of Revenue). Reported income earnings were examined for married and single filers with dependents, having income above \$0, and of working age (i.e., not claiming the elderly credit).

Since working families of all income levels have an appreciation of the challenges of reaching jobsites – and an understanding of the limits of available public transportation – there is a concern that lower family incomes could still be limiting teens’ access to driver education. The DOR income tax filing data showed wide disparities in family income earnings by neighborhoods within the county. Here, the 34 Milwaukee County residential zipcodes were divided into three groups based on the 2014 average income of working family tax filers in each zipcode. Six zipcodes had average family income earnings below \$40,000 and were classified as “working poor.” Twelve zipcodes had average family income earnings from \$45,000 - \$85,000 and were classified as “working class.” Six zipcodes had average working family incomes above \$110,000 and were classified as “upper class.”

Low percentages of teens with driver’s licenses were most problematic in the “working poor” zipcodes of the county where families had earnings below \$40,000 and where only a fourth (23%) of eighteen-year-olds were licensed (as of January 2016). In the “working class” zipcodes about half (54%) were licensed. In the “upper class” zipcodes three-fourths of eighteen-year-olds were licensed.

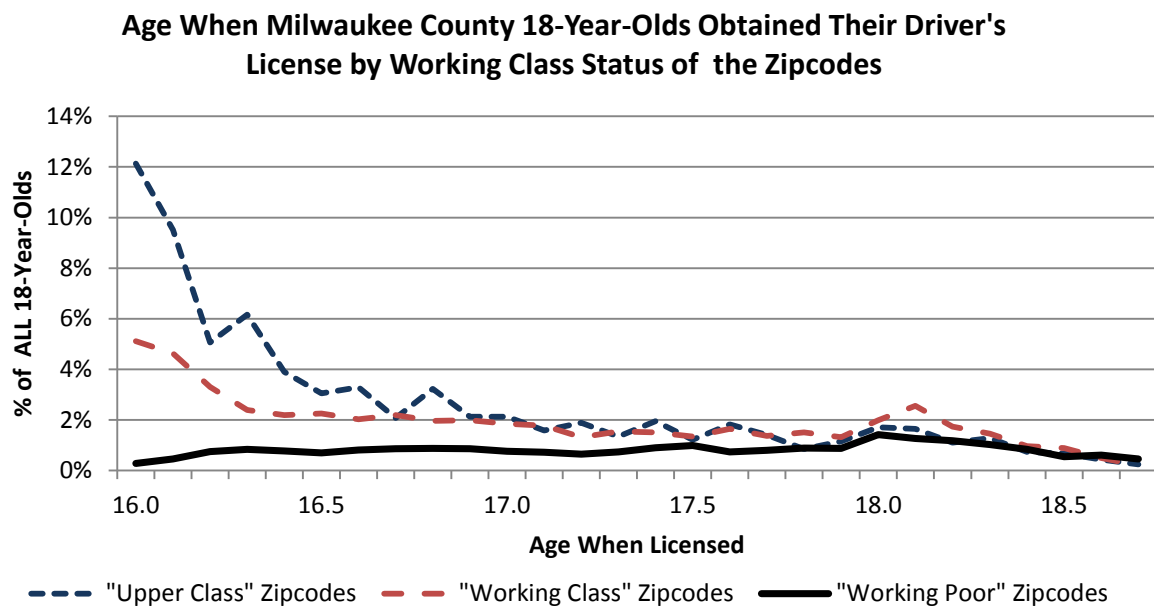


## Age of licensing reflects income inequality and race

Teens from Milwaukee County “upper class” zipcodes are likely to get a driver’s license and they are also most likely to obtain that license in the first months after they turn age sixteen.

- Of the teens from the “**upper class**” zipcodes, three-fourth (74%) were licensed at age eighteen (as of January 1, 2016) and half got licenses while they were sixteen. (Many obtained their licenses in the first few months after they turned sixteen.)
- Of the teens from “**working class**” zipcodes, over half (56%) were licensed by age eighteen (as of January 1, 2016) and 28% got licenses while they were sixteen.
- By contrast, of the teens from “**working poor**” zipcodes, less than a fourth (23%) were licensed at age eighteen (as of January 1, 2016) and only 7% had obtained their licenses while they were sixteen.

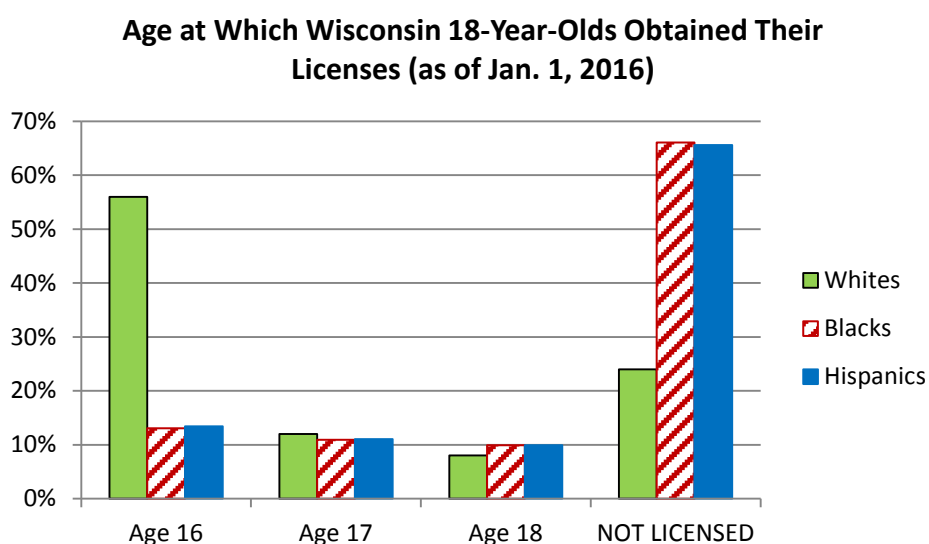
There was a modest bump in the numbers of teens from “working poor” neighborhoods getting their licenses at age eighteen (when they are no longer required to pay for a driver education class prior to testing), but overall the percentage of teens from “working poor” neighborhoods obtaining a license at all remains small.





A review of Wisconsin license records **by race/ethnicity** showed that far lower percentages of African American and Latino teens obtain their driver's licenses and showed that minority youth are also far less likely to get their license while they are sixteen.

- In Wisconsin over half (56%) of all **white** Wisconsin eighteen-year-olds had a license obtained when they were sixteen. Almost half (46%) got their license in the first few months after turning sixteen.
- Only 11% of all **African American** and **Hispanic** eighteen-year-olds in Wisconsin (as of January 1, 2016) had a license obtained when they were sixteen.



## 6,000 Milwaukee unlicensed eighteen-year-olds

The DMV data indicate that very large numbers of Milwaukee youth could benefit from affordable driver education programs. The examination of the licensing situation for the “DMV Class of 2016” showed 2,520 eighteen-year-olds with probationary and regular driver's licenses and **an estimated 5,960 Milwaukee youth aged eighteen without a license**.

Over 60% of the unlicensed teens of the county lived in 9 zipcodes in central city Milwaukee. The highest numbers of youth on Milwaukee's southside needing licenses are concentrated in the heavily populated zipcodes of 53215 and 53204 – where an estimated 1,350 eighteen-year-olds are unlicensed.

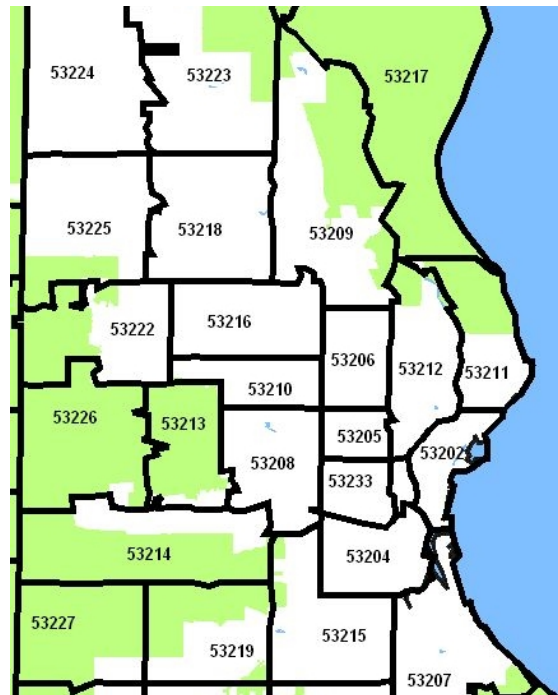
On the northside an estimated 3,285 unlicensed eighteen-year-olds are concentrated in 7 zipcodes: 53218, 53206, 53209, 53208, 53210, 53212 and 53216.

### Milwaukee Zipcodes with Over 300 Estimated Unlicensed 18-Year-Olds

Zipcode	Licensed	Estimated # Unlicensed
53215	278	716
53204	114	635
53218	197	605
53206	74	555
53209*	197	544
53208	117	437
53210	107	401
53212	53	384
53216	162	356

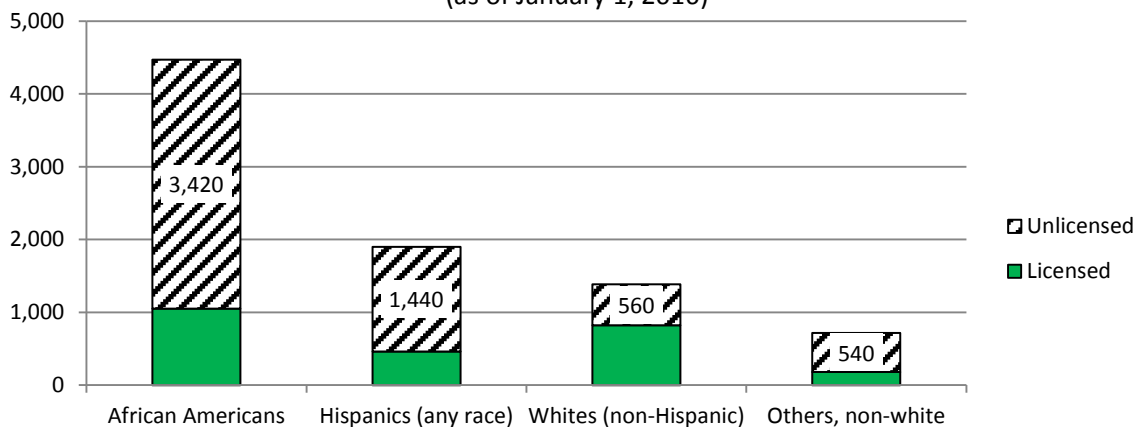
\*Zipcode 53209 includes portions of Glendale and Brown Deer.

The number of licensed eighteen-year-olds is the actual count of individuals in the DMV file with probationary and regular licenses as of January 1, 2016. The unlicensed population is estimated, based on ACS (2010-2014) data on teens by ZCTA.



A majority of the unlicensed eighteen-year-olds in Milwaukee are youth of color, led by African Americans (N=3,420) and Hispanics (1,440). An estimated 560 unlicensed eighteen-year-olds are whites (non-Hispanic) and another 540 unlicensed youth have other racial backgrounds (i.e., Asian, two or more races, Native American). **The DMV files suggest that city teens of color will likely require targeted and persistent outreach.**

**Estimated 5,960 Unlicensed Milwaukee 18-Year-Olds by Race/Ethnicity**  
(as of January 1, 2016)



# Driver education for employment

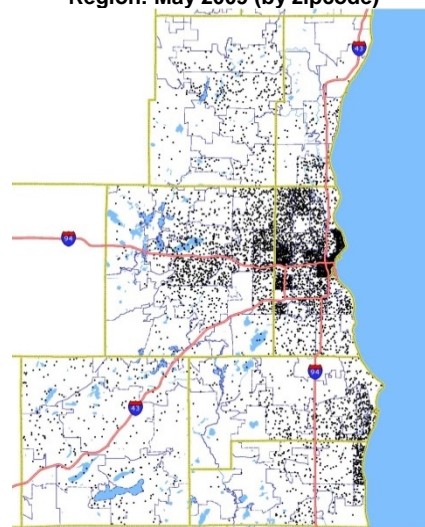
Many African American and Hispanic workers have reported being frequently stopped by local police and county sheriff deputies going to and from jobs in the suburban counties (as well as while traveling through suburban municipalities within Milwaukee County). An Employment and Training Institute analysis of driver's license suspensions imposed in 2006 (when data were made available to ETI on the location of the courts issuing the suspensions) compared license suspensions of adults for failure to pay forfeitures (FPFs) to each county's resident populations by race/ethnicity. The three counties with the highest rates of black to white FPFs compared to their black to white resident populations were Ozaukee, Waukesha and Washington counties – the three suburban WOW counties in the Milwaukee metro area.

Beyond the scope of this report are current data analysis regarding the extent to which **racial profiling** of African American and Latino drivers may further limit the ability of Wisconsin teens and young adults of color to maintain valid driver's licenses. The 2014 ETI study on **Statewide Imprisonment of Black Men in Wisconsin** recommended reestablishing the collection and public dissemination of race-specific data on traffic stop racial profiling and other criminal justice disparity monitoring measures. This data collection and monitoring had been supported by prior Wisconsin governors Tommy Thompson, Scott McCallum, and Jim Doyle and by the Governor's Commission on Reducing Racial Disparities in the Wisconsin Justice System (2008). In 2011 the state legislature and governor ended the collection of traffic stop data by race, eliminating access to critical information on possible racially biased practices in localities and counties.

Significant numbers of jobs in the Milwaukee area require a driver's license or are at jobsites not easily accessible by public transportation. The ETI surveys of job openings in the Milwaukee metro area have consistently shown a majority of jobs in locations beyond the bus routes. A license and vehicle may also be needed for jobs with variable, evening and weekend hours.

An ETI study (Pawasarat and Quinn, 2007) identifying employment barriers for disadvantaged workers served by the Milwaukee County Workforce Investment Board (now "Employ Milwaukee") found that program participants with a valid driver's license were 2 times more likely to show earnings above the family poverty level than those without a license. For participants with less than 12 years of education, workers with a valid license were 4 times more likely to show post-program earnings above the poverty level than those without a license.

Full-Time Job Openings in the 7-County Region: May 2009 (by zipcode)



# Addressing traffic safety concerns

Having well-trained, conscientious drivers is important for the entire community. Youth need to know the rules of the road not only as drivers but as pedestrians and bicyclists. The American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators (2016) recommends that safe driving classes be included in all public and private junior and senior high schools, and Wisconsin requires local school districts to “provide an instructional program on the prevention of accidents and promotion of safety on the public highways, including the relationship between highway safety and the use of alcohol and controlled substances (Statute 118.01(2)(d)6).”

Traffic accidents and risky driving are very serious concerns in the city of Milwaukee, with the numbers of crashes rising, according to Milwaukee Police Department data posted on the city's Compass website.

- A total of 6,042 persons were injured in traffic accidents in 2015, up 12% over 2014. The number of deaths from traffic accidents rose by 34%, from 35 in 2014 to 47 in 2015.
- The accidents reported to the police involved over 23,000 cars, nearly 1,900 trucks, and 153 bicycles.

“Hit and run” accident rates recorded by the Milwaukee Police Department reflect a serious dimension of the licensing and driving behaviors currently facing the city.

- In 2015 31% of the traffic accidents in Milwaukee were “hit and run” where the driver did not remain on the scene to aid victims or to report damages. The highest “hit and run” accident rates were in low-income central city zipcodes.

<b>% of Accidents That Were “Hit and Run” in 2015</b>	
<i>Source: Milwaukee Police Department, City Compass Website</i>	
Zipcode	% hit and run
53206	38%
53205	38%
53210	37%
53204	37%
53216	36%
53209	36%
53215	35%

Three key components contribute to traffic safety for teens:

- driver education programs with classroom and behind-the-wheel instruction for teens.
- the state's Graduated Licensing Program in place as youth begin driving.
- law enforcement through traffic citations and driver's license suspensions to change behavior of youth who disobey the rules of the road.

# Wisconsin's graduated driver license program

The state Graduated Driver License (GDL) provisions guide the early driving experience of youth under age 18, including when they can drive, passengers allowed in their vehicle, and consequences of traffic stops for driving violations. Note that school-age youth with instruction permits may not apply for their probationary license until they have six months of violation-free driving.

## GDL Requirements and Restrictions

BDS350 4/2014

Wisconsin Department of Transportation  
[www.wisconsin.dmv.gov](http://www.wisconsin.dmv.gov)

### Requirements to get an Instruction Permit for an applicant under 18 years of age:

- Be at least 15 ½ years old;
- Have completed or be enrolled in an approved behind-the-wheel driver education course which begins within 60 days of the date your driver education instructor certifies your driver license application;
- Have your adult sponsor sign the driver license application;
- Present proof of citizenship or legal immigration status; name and date of birth; identity;
- Pass the knowledge test, highway signs test and vision screening;

### RESTRICTIONS OF THE INSTRUCTION PERMIT

A driver under 18 may only drive when accompanied by a person with two years driving experience who holds a valid, regular license (it cannot be a probationary or occupational license) and who sits in the front passenger seat and is one of the following:

- A qualified instructor 19 years old or older. Up to three other people may ride in the vehicle if it is equipped with dual controls.
- A parent, legal guardian or spouse 19 years old or older. Immediate family members may ride in the back seat.
- A person 21 or older. This person must be designated in writing by a parent or legal guardian prior to accompanying the teenage driver.

### Requirements to get a Probationary License for an applicant under 18 years of age:

- Hold the Instruction Permit for a minimum of six months before applying for a Probationary License;
- Be violation free in the six months prior to applying for the Probationary License;
- Accumulate a minimum of 30 hours of behind-the-wheel driving experience, 10 of which must be driving experience at night. You may document the hours on a driving log sheet available on the DMV web site and in the Wisconsin Motorists' Handbook;
- Present proof of completion of an approved driver-education training course;
- Have your parent or adult sponsor certify on the driver application the completion of 30 hours of driving experience (10 at night);
- Pass the driving skills test;
- Pay the necessary fees.

### RESTRICTIONS OF THE PROBATIONARY LICENSE

Drivers under 18 have the following restrictions during the first 9 months after obtaining a Probationary License:

From 5 a.m. to midnight, you can drive alone and go anywhere. Any number of immediate family members can ride along as well as the following people:

- ONE person who holds a valid, regular license with at least 2 years of licensed driving experience and who is:
  - a qualified instructor or spouse 19 or older, *OR*
  - a person 21 or older
- ONE other person

From midnight to 5 a.m., you can drive alone only *IF* driving between home, school and/or work. The same people listed immediately above can ride along, too.

If driving anywhere else, one of the following people must be seated in the front passenger seat:

- A parent or legal guardian
- ONE person with a valid, regular license with two years of licensed driving experience and who is:
  - a qualified instructor or spouse 19 or older, *OR*
  - a person 21 or older.
- In addition, any number of the driver's immediate family members and one other person may ride along.

Restrictions will be extended 6 months if:

- You are convicted of a moving traffic violation, *OR*
- You violate any of the restrictions, *OR*
- Your license is suspended or revoked for any reason.

# The driver's license as a civil rights issue

A number of government agencies maintain administrative records on residents in the United States. Local and state Departments of Health collect vital statistics on births and deaths. The U.S. Social Security Administration maintains a 9-digit numbering record system for citizens and permanent residents. The Selective Service System registers all male citizens and male immigrants ages 18 to 25, but lacks similar records on females. State agencies certify data on needy individuals and families for public assistance.

In Wisconsin the legislature has moved to make the Division of Motor Vehicles (i.e., the state agency established to register vehicles and to certify the driving skills of car owners) the center of a government credentialing system for determining which citizens are eligible to vote, which citizens are eligible for jury service, and for supplying official government photographs of residents “proving” they are who they say they are.

## The driver's license: Wisconsin's “gold card photo” for voting

The DMV historically has maintained records on licensed drivers in the state and secondarily has offered government identification cards for non-drivers. When legislators initiated efforts to require state residents to show a photo ID as a condition for voting, the DMV driver's license card was adopted as the preferred instrument for photo identification. As noted in this report's “DMV Class of 2016” data analysis, however, use of the Wisconsin driver's license as the primary mechanism for photographing citizens for voting has a number of biases, particularly disadvantaging young, low-income, minority and urban youth in Wisconsin.

- Only 30% of eighteen-year-olds in Milwaukee have driver's licenses compared to 70% of eighteen-year-olds in the rest of Wisconsin.
- The estimated licensing rate of white eighteen-year-olds in Wisconsin (75%) is more than double the licensing rates for African Americans (34%) and Hispanics (33%).
- In Milwaukee County the licensing rate for eighteen-year-olds living in zipcodes with average working family incomes in the highest earning “upper class” category is 74%, three times higher than the 23% estimated licensing rate for eighteen-year-olds living in the lowest earning “working poor” zipcodes.
- In Milwaukee County the licensing rate for eighteen-year-olds living in zipcodes with relatively low levels of child poverty (74%) is 5 times higher than the licensing rate for 18-year-olds living in zipcodes where over half of the children live in poverty (14%).

To vote in Wisconsin citizens must now provide a photo ID card produced by an approved entity to verify that the citizens resemble the named individual on the voter registration list. For those citizens who lack a DMV-issued driver's license, the following cards are accepted (with specifications as to expiration dates for each):

- A photo ID card issued by a Wisconsin accredited university, college or technical college
- A U.S. passport
- A military ID card issued by a U.S. uniformed service
- A veteran's photo identification card issued by the Veterans Health Administration
- An identification card issued by a federally recognized Indian tribe in Wisconsin
- A recent certificate of naturalization

Like the driver's license, each of these ID forms was created for an administrative purpose unrelated to voting and consequently has a bias toward certain subpopulations of the citizenry. College IDs favor those able to afford post-secondary education. The U.S. passport is more likely to be held by persons who travel on airplanes or internationally. Military and veteran ID credentials are held by those with military service experience.

Citizens wishing to vote and lacking a driver's license and all of the above listed government and college IDs are expected to go to the DMV in order to secure a DMV-issued state government photo identification card. To qualify for this credential they usually need to provide documentation in four areas.

Documents Needed to Secure a State Photo ID from the Wisconsin Division of Motor Vehicles	
<u>Proof Needed</u>	<u>Examples of Documentation</u>
Name and date of birth	a certified birth certificate, marriage license, naturalization papers
Proof of identity	a social security card; if under 18 a statement from a parent with a driver's license
Proof of citizenship	a certified birth certificate, naturalization papers
Proof of Wisconsin residency	a utility bill, bank statement, pay stub, etc.

## DMV lists used for jury selection

In most Wisconsin counties, including Milwaukee County, rosters of citizens used to select jury pools are drawn from the DMV lists of residents with driver's licenses plus those with DMV-issued government IDs. Citizens voting with other forms of ID (e.g., military or school cards) or not voting due to disinterest or lack of ID are not included in the potential jury lists. Consequently, individuals accused of crimes and requesting a trial by a "jury of one's peers" will be judged only by those "peers" who have been issued driver's licenses or who have obtained a DMV-issued photo ID. (See Pawasarat, 2005.)



# Two-year license suspensions to collect court debts from juvenile non-drivers

Younger teenagers from low-income Milwaukee neighborhoods may receive driver's license suspensions sometimes even before they begin driving under state law that allows municipal court judges to suspend the driver's licenses of juveniles (under age 17) for two years if they do not pay fines for violations of municipal ordinances and to threaten such suspensions to spur payment of fines owed. In many cases the "failure to pay forfeitures – juvenile" (FPJ) suspensions are imposed on jobless teens who have not yet acquired a driver's license and often for infractions unrelated to driving (e.g., loitering, curfew violations, underage drinking, shoplifting, disturbing the peace).

**Because these FPJ court actions involve juveniles, the records of numbers of suspensions by geography, reasons for the suspensions, race and age of those suspended, and the subsequent licensing history for youth involved are largely shielded from public scrutiny.**

Youth receiving FPJ suspensions are required to wait for two years after their most recent suspension expires before becoming eligible for a driver's license – unless they can come up with the funds to clear up all outstanding municipal tickets and related court costs. Some teens may be unaware that they have FPJ suspensions until they apply for their driver's license. The FPJ suspensions also place additional enforcement work on the police and during the critical period when inner city youth often have early encounters with police. **Juvenile failure to pay forfeitures (FPJs) are now the fifth leading cause of suspensions and revocations in Wisconsin**, with 13,145 such suspensions issued statewide in 2015 against juveniles owing money to the courts.

64      **Revocation and Suspension Statistics**

Facts & Figures 2015

**Revocations and Suspensions by Reason of Conviction**  
**January - December, 2015**

Rank	Code	Charge	Quantity YTD	% of Total
1	FPF	Failure to pay forfeiture	198,912	54.60%
2	DR	Driver record	48,488	13.31%
3	OWI	Operating under influence of intoxicant or con. sub.	27,863	7.65%
4	BAC	Blood alcohol concentration	18,608	5.11%
5	FPJ	Failure to pay forfeiture-juvenile	13,145	3.61%
6	NCI	Noncompliance with Assessment Interview	11,390	3.13%
7	INC	Insurance Cancelled	8,556	2.35%
8	NCP	Noncompliance with Driver Safety Plan	5,668	1.56%
9	OVS	Operating while suspended	3,797	1.04%
10	FPS	Failure to pay support	3,029	0.83%
11	IC	Implied consent	3,026	0.83%
12	DQF	Disqualification	2,960	0.81%
13	SE	Speeding excess	2,617	0.72%
14	DJN	Damage judgment accruing from negligent operation	2,418	0.66%
15	UAL	Underage alcohol	2,350	0.65%
16	PAC	Prohibited Alcohol Concentration	2,030	0.56%
17	SRR	Safety Responsibility suspension of registration and operating privilege	1,335	0.37%
18	T	Truancy	1,065	0.29%

Wisconsin Division of Motor Vehicles. **Facts & Figures, 2015**

Wisconsin Division of Motor Vehicles, Facts & Figures, 2015



In the Milwaukee area the “failure to pay” FPF and FPJ suspensions fall most heavily on the city’s poorest neighborhoods where fewer families are able to pay the fees involved or to afford the costs of commercial driving instruction classes now required for licensing of school-age youth. In some neighborhoods young people are increasingly driving without a license, and **the culture of unlicensed driving has become prevalent**. Most seriously, the culture of unlicensed driving also leads to early negative conflicts between the police and African American and Hispanic teens.

Historically, the Wisconsin Supreme Court (2016) has advised municipal judges that they may assume the ability of juveniles to pay their forfeitures (traffic and non-traffic) if the youth do not appear in court. The Court stated: “In all cases where you impose a forfeiture, you must find that the juvenile has the ability to pay within 12 months. If the juvenile did not appear, it may be reasonable to assume a juvenile can pay a reasonable amount [emphasis added].” (The Court then vaguely added: “Be careful with high forfeitures (p. 8-4).”)

The March 2016 directive of the U.S. Department of Justice appears to reject this approach, instructing the state and local courts that under the Fourteenth Amendment the courts are responsible for determining that persons are not indigent prior to issuing arrest warrants or suspending driver’s licenses of persons owing money to the courts.

# Court use of license suspensions as a debt collection tool for older teens

Wisconsin allows municipal courts to take away driving rights from teen and adult residents owing money to the courts for fines, civil forfeitures, and added court costs resulting from unpaid tickets and fines for ordinance violations. The use of driver's license suspensions for "failure to pay forfeitures" (FPFs and FPJs) has reached the point in Wisconsin where 60% of all license suspensions and revocations are court fine-related rather than for unsafe driving. By contrast, 13% of license suspensions and revocations in Wisconsin are for drunk driving (DWI and BAC) and 13% are for unsafe driving demerit points -- usually for multiple speeding tickets.

## Failure-to-pay-forfeiture license suspensions for unpaid traffic tickets

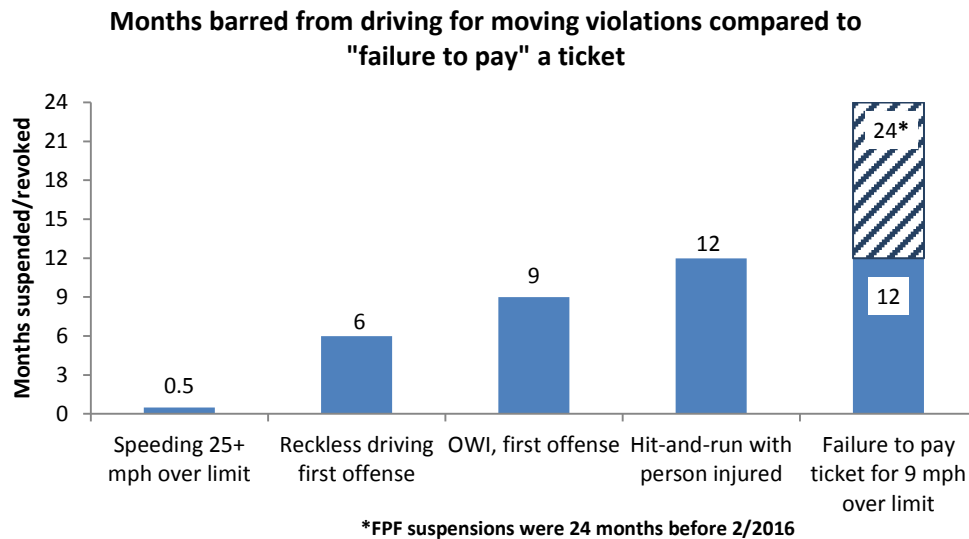
Courts are allowed to order "failure to pay forfeiture" (FPF) suspensions to individual's aged 17 and older for failure to pay a traffic ticket plus added court costs and fines, regardless of the severity of the driving infraction, or for falling behind in monthly installment payments on court-imposed fee payment schedules. The courts often request separate driver's license suspensions from the DMV for each unpaid forfeiture, resulting in multiple suspension orders for one individual. Even if the violator pays off some judgments and court fees, other driving suspensions may remain and continue to bar legal driving.

Milwaukee residents, and particularly males of color, are frequently stopped when driving in suburban and exurban communities and cited for traffic violations or minor vehicle equipment infractions. Milwaukee County clients coming to the Center for Driver's License Recovery & Employability in 2007-2009 for assistance addressing their license suspension problems had cases pending in over 100 different municipal and circuit courts in the state (Quinn and Pawasarat, 2010).

In February 2016 the state legislature voted to reduce the length of time that courts could impose "failure to pay forfeiture" suspensions on non-juveniles (over age 16) from two years to one year. This change was proposed by the Center for Driver's License Recovery & Employability and received bipartisan support (Wisconsin Community Services, 2016). *Note: All of the FPF suspensions analyzed for this report were imposed under the old law where the license was suspended for two years.* The courts may continue to use their primary method of collecting unpaid forfeitures and fines through the state Department of Revenue's Tax Refund Intercept Program (TRIP) which captures tax refunds from violators with income earnings.

See ETI's report on **Issues Related to Wisconsin 'Failure to Pay Forfeitures' Driver's License Suspensions** for an analysis of court uses of adult driver's license suspensions as a debt collection tool. For one example, an eighteen-year-old driver with a probationary license cited for exceeding the speed limit by 10 mph would receive a ticket and 3 demerit points on his driving record. Only when the driver accumulates 12 points will he lose his license for bad driving. If, however, the driver fails to pay the fine

on his single speeding ticket (and does not appear in court to present evidence that he is indigent), the municipal court may immediately suspend his driver's license for twelve months. To regain his driving privileges the teen is required to pay all court-imposed fees and added court costs along with a reinstatement fee to the DMV. While Wisconsin drivers receiving license suspensions for multiple speeding and drunk driving violations may obtain an occupational license to allow them to continue to drive to work (and for school, church, shopping, and errands), violators with suspensions for "failure to pay forfeitures" do not qualify for occupational licenses.



In 2015 a total of 198,912 "failure to pay forfeitures" suspensions were issued by courts in Wisconsin against drivers aged 17 and above. The number of suspensions issued for "failure to pay forfeitures" was four times higher than the 48,488 suspensions issued for bad driving under the state point system (Wisconsin Department of Transportation, 2016).

In a 2016 communication to municipal and circuit courts, the U.S. Department of Justice advised the courts of its concerns regarding the constitutionality and advisability of using driver's license suspensions to compel payment of outstanding court debts. The DOJ stated:

If a defendant's driver's license is suspended because of failure to pay a fine, such a suspension may be unlawful if the defendant was deprived of his due process right to establish inability to pay. ... Even where such suspensions are lawful, they nonetheless raise significant public policy concerns. Research has consistently found that having a valid driver's license can be crucial to individuals' ability to maintain a job, pursue educational opportunities, and care for families. At the same time, suspending defendants' licenses decreases the likelihood that defendants will resolve pending cases and outstanding court debts, both by jeopardizing their employment and by making it more difficult to travel to court, and results in more unlicensed driving. For these reasons, where they have discretion to do so, state and local courts are encouraged to avoid suspending driver's licenses as a debt collection tool, reserving suspension for cases in which it would increase public safety. (U.S. DOJ, 2016: 6-7; footnotes not included)

The DOJ further warned that: **“The due process and equal protection principles of the Fourteenth Amendment prohibit ‘punishing a person for his poverty’ and Courts must not use arrest warrants or license suspensions as a means of coercing the payment of court debt when individuals have not been afforded constitutionally adequate procedural protections.”** (p.6) The DOJ suggested that before imposing license suspensions, under the Fourteenth Amendment the court is required to give adequate notice and conduct a hearing to determine whether the violator was indigent.

Alternatives to monetary punishments that could be expanded for low-income teens include community service (with a government agency or nonprofit organization) and attendance at a “safe driving” or other educational courses.

## Failure-to-pay-forfeitures suspensions issued to Milwaukee teens

Almost 800 “failure to pay forfeiture” suspensions had been entered on the driving records of the Milwaukee 18-year-old population (as of January 2016). Some teens received multiple FPF suspensions (for each municipal citation with unpaid fines), and all must be cleared up before the teen can regain the right to drive.

### **795 “Failure to Pay Forfeiture” (FPF) Suspensions Recorded against Milwaukee 18-Year-Olds** (included in the DMV files for 2013-2105; does not include FPJs<sup>#</sup>)

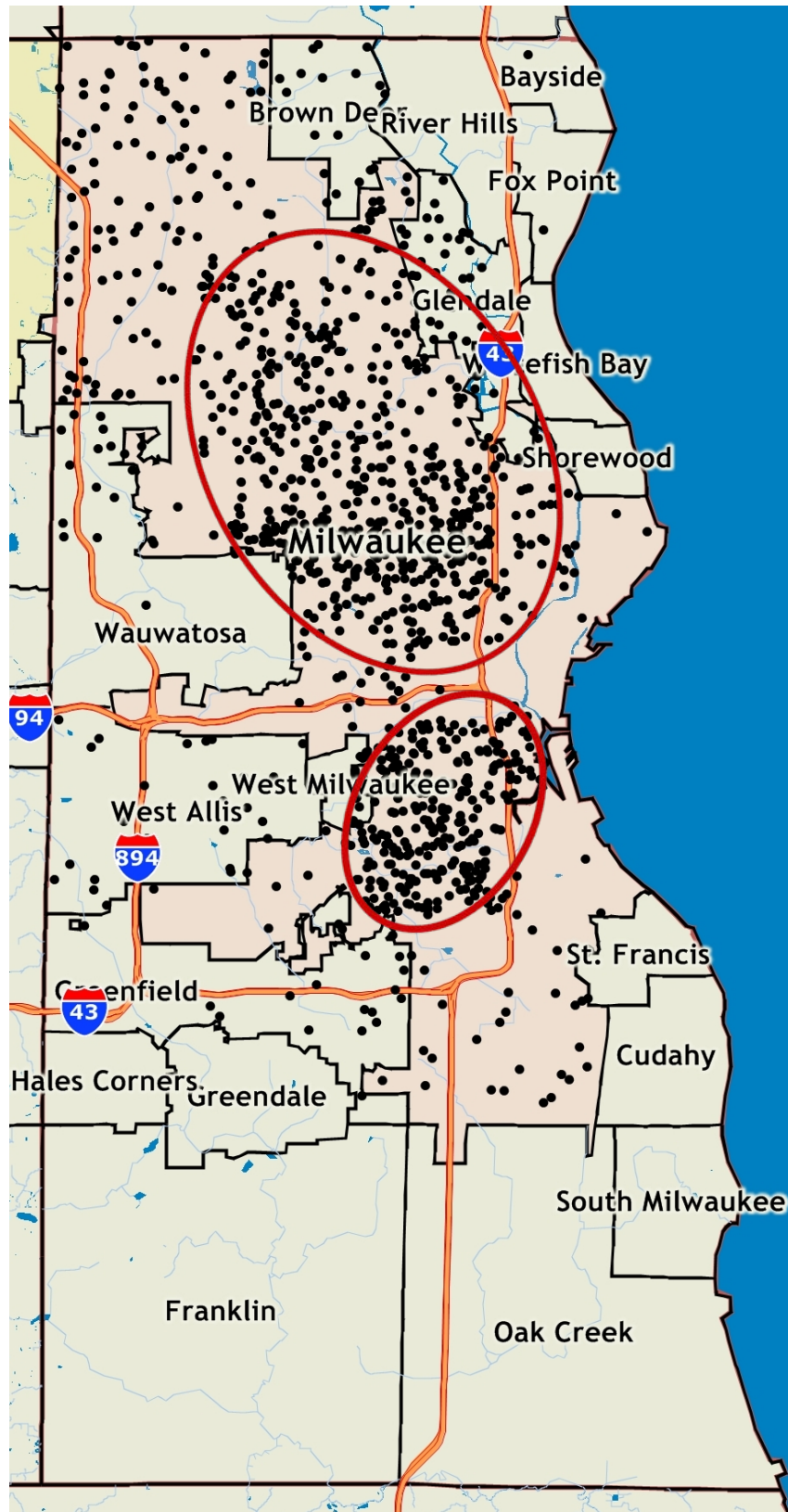
<b><u>Current licensing status</u></b>	<b><u>Females</u></b>	<b><u>Males</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Probationary licensed drivers	87	143	230
Unlicensed youth	<u>127</u>	<u>438</u>	<u>565</u>
<b>TOTAL RECORDED*</b>	214	581	795

<sup>#</sup>Does not include “failure to pay forfeitures – juveniles” (FPJ) suspensions issued against youth under age 17 and taking effect when the youths are old enough to drive. (See discussion below.)

Analysis in prior years by the Employment and Training Institute of the residence of drivers receiving “failure to pay forfeiture” suspensions have consistently shown these suspensions highly concentrated in the poorest neighborhoods of the city – and in the neighborhoods where most residents were African Americans or Hispanics.

The map following shows the distribution by zipcode of Milwaukee County eighteen-year-olds with FPF suspensions in the 2016 DMV driver’s license file. The youth with FPF suspensions are highly concentrated in the African American neighborhoods of the city’s near northside and in the Hispanic neighborhoods on the city’s near southside.

**Milwaukee County 18-Year-Olds with Suspensions for “Failure to Pay Forfeitures”  
Heavily Concentrated in African American and Latino Neighborhoods**  
(Dots are distributed randomly within ZIP codes)



The American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators has recommended that legislatures repeal such state laws using suspensions of driving privileges for non-highway safety related violations, arguing that license suspensions should be focused on dangerous drivers rather than for non-safety goals. The AAMVA's Suspended and Revoked Drivers Working Group argued that such usage "detract from highway and public safety priorities." They further caution, "Unfortunately, the dramatic increase in suspensions has led to changes in public perception of the seriousness of this action. Consequently, law enforcement, courts and society in general view suspensions less seriously. As a result, the system is less effective in keeping dangerous drivers off the road, which was the original intent of driver license suspensions (AAMVA, 2013: 2, 5)." Wisconsin was identified by AAMVA as one of 18 states suspending licenses of persons failing to appear/comply/pay court fines for non-moving violations.

## Blocking licenses for school dropouts and truants

In Wisconsin the driver's license has also been used as a tool by the legislature to promote behavior unrelated to driving. Wisconsin allows local courts to suspend juveniles' driving privileges (from 30 days to one year) as a means of **sanctioning truant students**. If the youth are not yet old enough to drive, the court may postpone the dates of the suspension until the youth reach driving age. The Wisconsin DMV (2016) reported 1,065 driver's license suspensions statewide for truancy in 2015. Clearly, this law is enforced sporadically statewide.

Youth under the legal **drinking** age attempting to procure alcohol can be issued driver's license suspensions for 30 to 90 days (for first offense) and longer for subsequent offenses. The Wisconsin DMV reported 2,350 driver's license suspensions statewide for underage alcohol use.

Wisconsin also blocks **high school dropouts** under age 18 from securing their driver's license under legislation attempting to use the license as a carrot for keeping teens in school. Under Wisconsin statutes, youth seeking a driver's license and under age eighteen must be enrolled in school or a high school equivalency program, have graduated from high school, or have been received high school graduation equivalency credential, and not be a habitual truant. The DMV license application form requires the school-age teen's sponsor to certify that the youth is in school or graduated or obtained a high school equivalency credential. To the extent that it is enforced, this law blocks large segments of the disadvantaged youth population in Milwaukee from securing their license, accessing job opportunities available outside of bus lines, and legally driving before they are 18.

# Driver's license suspensions for unsafe driving

Historically, driver's license suspensions were designed to meet three goals: "to remove dangerous drivers from the road, to manage driving behavior, and to punish unsafe drivers (AAMVA, 2013: 4)." As with its Graduated Driver License (GDL) program, Wisconsin uses a measured approach in its policies governing license suspensions for addressing unsafe driving. Drivers cited for speeding, stop sign violations and other moving violations receive demerit points based on the severity of the violation. Those receiving 12 or more demerit points within a 12-month period are issued license **suspensions**, i.e., temporary denial of their driving privileges for a designed period of time. The more points, the longer the suspension. For example, when adult drivers holding regular (non-probationary) licenses receive 12 demerit points for problem driving, they are subject to a two-month suspension of their license. Teen drivers with probationary licenses and non-licensed drivers accruing 12 demerit points receive a six-month suspension before they can regain/gain their right to hold a valid driver's license.

**Wisconsin Point System for Bad Driving** (Wisconsin DMV, 2015)

<b><u>Demerit points accumulated in 12 month period</u></b>	<b><u>Length of suspension for probationary license holders+ non-licensed drivers</u></b>	<b><u>Length of suspension for regular license holders</u></b>
12 – 16 points	6 months	2 months
17 - 22 points	6 months	4 months
23 - 30 points	6 months	6 months
More than 30 points	1 year	1 year

The table below lists examples of driving citations leading to demerit points. New drivers holding probationary licenses (and non-licensed drivers) are assessed double demerit points for second and subsequent convictions, again a measured approach toward regulating good driving behavior.

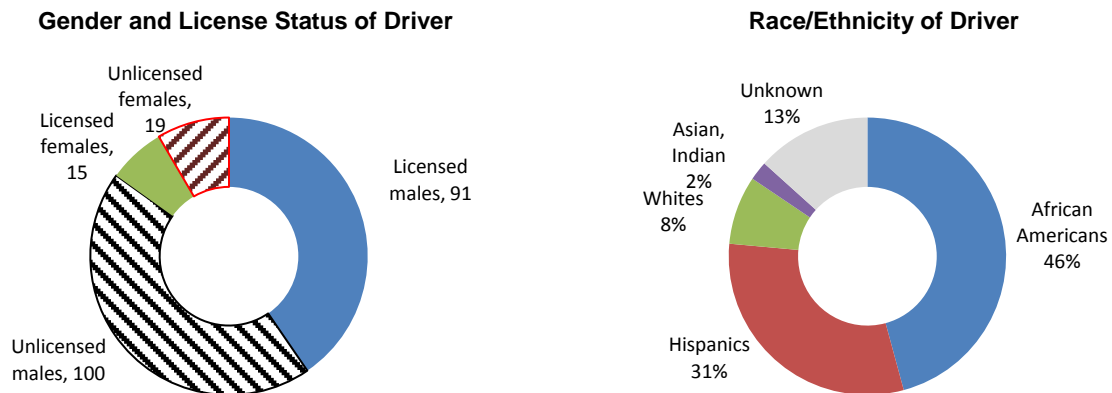
<b><u>Points</u></b>	<b><u>Violation</u></b>
6	Attempting to elude an officer
6	Failure to perform duty after accident
3	Operating while revoked or suspended
6	Operating under the influence of intoxicant or drugs
6	Reckless driving or racing
6	Speeding 20 mph or more over limit
4	Driving on wrong side of highway or street
4	Failure to yield right of way
4	Failure to yield to emergency vehicle
4	Imprudent driving, too fast for conditions, failure to have vehicle under control
4	Inattentive driving
4	Failure by operator to stop for school bus when red lights are flashing
4	Speeding 11 through 19 mph over limit
4	Unnecessary acceleration
3	Driving wrong way on one way street
3	Failure to dim lights
3	Failure to give proper signal
3	Following too closely
3	Illegal passing
3	Improper brakes or lights
3	Operating with expired license or without any license
3	Speeding 1 through 10 mph over limit

Source: Wisconsin Department of Transportation "Wisconsin points system" website (as of /16/2016)

The Employment and Training Institute identified 225 driver's license suspensions recorded against Milwaukee eighteen-year-olds for driver record demerit points.

- Most of the suspension charges (85%) were issued to males.
- Most of those receiving suspensions for points were persons of color (79%) or persons with race/ethnicity unknown (13%) rather than persons identified as white (8%).
- About half (47%) of the suspensions were issued to individuals with a probationary driver's license, and half (53%) to unlicensed drivers (including youth holding learner's permits).

### 225 Suspensions on Record for Milwaukee 18-Year-Olds for "Driver Record" Demerit Points



Among the licensed Milwaukee 18-year-olds a total of 106 suspensions were reported for driver record point system violations, blocking their right to legally drive for 6 months to a year (depending on the number of points accrued). An additional 24 suspensions/revocations were triggered for specific dangerous driving actions, mainly involving alcohol and drug use.

### Bad Driving Suspension/Revocation Charges Recorded for Licensed Milwaukee 18-Year-Olds (from the Wisconsin DMV files, 2013-2106)

<u>Suspension/Revocation Charges</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Total</u>
Driver record (point system violations)	15	91	106
Operating under influence of intoxicant or controlled substance	3	7	10
Blood alcohol concentration	2	4	6
Noncompliance with Assessment Interview	1	1	2
Prohibited Alcohol Concentration	1	1	2
Underage alcohol operation	1	1	2
Failure to yield right of way	1		1
Speeding excess	1		1



Non-licensed 18-year-olds in Milwaukee had received 119 suspensions (blocking their access to obtaining a driver's license) for driver record points violations and an additional 103 suspensions for other dangerous driving, including driving with use of alcohol or drugs.

Very serious suspensions were reported for 65 charges of "vehicle used in commission of a felony" and 2 charges of "negligent homicide." Other dangerous driving suspensions/revocations were 11 OWI charges, 9 "attempt to elude officer," and 2 excess speeding.

**Bad Driving Suspension/Revocation Charges Recorded for Unlicensed Milwaukee  
18-Year-Olds** (from the Wisconsin DMV files, 2013-2106)

<u>Listed Charges</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Total</u>
Driver record points violations	19	100	119
Vehicle used in commission of felony	1	64	65
Operating under influence of intoxicant or controlled substance	3	8	11
Attempt to elude officer		9	9
Blood alcohol concentration	1	5	6
Noncompliance with assessment interview		5	5
Implied consent	1	2	3
Negligent homicide		2	2
Speeding excess	1	1	2
Underage alcohol operation	1	1	2

# The license: A critical asset for employment

The driver's license offers a critical asset for teens' successful entry into the labor force, promotion of traffic safety, and preparation for adult roles in our democracy. Many employers use possession of the license as a screening device for job applicants.

## Most Wisconsin workers commute in private vehicles

A majority of workers throughout Wisconsin rely on private vehicles (cars, trucks and vans) to reach their jobs. Among City of Milwaukee adult residents (aged 20 and above), 83% of employed workers reach their jobs by private vehicles (car, truck or van) with 72% driving to their jobs alone and another 11% carpooling with others. Reliance on private vehicles is higher in the rest of Wisconsin where 90% of employed workers reach their jobs by private vehicles with 82% driving alone and another 8% carpooling.

Eight percent of adult Milwaukee workers (aged 20 and above) use public transportation to get to work, and only 1% of adult workers outside of Milwaukee use public transportation. Teenage workers living in the city of Milwaukee are more likely to use public transportation (18%) or walk to work (15%), yet even for this population 44% drive alone to their jobs in private vehicles (i.e., cars, trucks or vans) and another 18% carpool in private vehicles with others. In the rest of Wisconsin outside of Milwaukee 71% of teenage workers drive alone to work, having access to a private car, truck or van. Relatively few (2%) use – or have access to -- public transportation.

**How Wisconsin Workers Reach Their Jobs**

Place of Residence and Age	Drive alone	Carpool	Public transit	Walk	Taxi, bicycle, motorcycle	Work at home	TOTAL
City of Milwaukee							
Adult workers (20 yr. and above)	72%	11%	8%	5%	1%	3%	100%
Young workers (16-19 yr.)	44%	18%	18%	15%	1%	4%	100%
Rest of Wisconsin							
Adult workers (20 yr. and above)	82%	8%	1%	3%	2%	4%	100%
Young workers (16-19 yr.)	71%	12%	2%	10%	3%	2%	100%
All Wisconsin workers	80%	9%	2%	3%	2%	4%	100%

Source: American Community Survey (B08101, 2010-2014, 5 yr. estimates)

Even in city neighborhoods with networks of bus lines, access to a working vehicle and a current driver's license eases the challenges faced by parents in handling the complex demands of accessing work, child care, daily errands, and medical care. The driver's license is an essential asset for daily mobility and for employment for most workers but is increasingly expensive to obtain, especially for lower-income youth. Paying for a driving course, maintaining a working vehicle, and securing insurance coverage for teenagers (particularly in inner city zipcodes where insurance rates are highest) is a costly undertaking for many financially strapped families.

## Skilled construction trade jobs need licenses

Job training and apprenticeship programs in construction trades are usually limited to those possessing a valid license. Among the apprenticeships usually requiring a current driver's license are bricklayers, carpenters, cement masons, construction craft laborers, electricians, environmental systems technicians/HVAC, glaziers, heat and frost insulators, ironworkers, operating engineers, painters, plasterers, roofers, sheet metal workers, sprinklerfitters, steamfitters, and tile setters.

The Milwaukee Department of City Development (2016) has identified over two billion dollars of current and anticipated major construction projects scheduled for the downtown area. The driver's license is required for many of the Milwaukee jobs on government-supported projects, including the Northwestern Mutual Insurance project under the Residential Preference Program (RPP), and will likely be required for the anticipated Bucks Arena construction.



**BIG STEP**  
**APPRENTICESHIP**  
**READINESS**  
**ORIENTATION**

*The first step to a career in the skilled trades*

Pre-registration is required, walk-ins are not accepted  
Call (414) 937-3600 to register

Learn About:

- ◆ Apprenticeship Application Information
- ◆ BIG STEP Apprenticeship Readiness Tutoring Program
- ◆ Entry Level Training Opportunities
- ◆ Community Certifications
- ◆ Upcoming/Ongoing Construction Projects

To Attend You Must Bring:

- ✱ Proof of High School Graduation
- ✱ Valid WI Driver's License (or proof of working with agency to obtain)
- ✱ Social Security Card
- ✱ Updated Resume

Candidates who do not have all of the requirements for this orientation may call us at 414-342-9787 for more information on other programs.

3841 W. Wisconsin Ave. Milwaukee, WI 53208

**W RTP** **BIG STEP**

It is the policy of W RTP/BIG STEP to provide equal employment opportunity to all persons regardless of age, color, national origin, citizenship status, physical or mental disability, race, religion, creed, gender, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity and/or expression, marital status, status with regard to public assistance, status as a disabled veteran and/or veteran or spouse of a veteran or any other characteristic protected by federal, state or local law. In addition, W RTP/BIG STEP will provide reasonable accommodations for otherwise qualified disabled individuals.

2/25/16

## Private sector jobs requiring a valid license

The seventeen UWM Employment and Training Institute job openings surveys of thousands of employers in the Milwaukee area (1993 through 2009) consistently identified scores of jobs requiring a valid driver's license. ETI prepared an analysis (Quinn and Pawasarat, 2006) for the Job Corps of an estimated 1,880 job openings in the seven-county region that required a driver's license in May 2006. Occupation-specific jobs requiring a license included:

Sales and delivery drivers - 1,043 full-time and part-time jobs were reported for sales-drivers, delivery drivers, labor and van drivers. All required a valid state driver's license and most required a good driving record. In some cases, a commercial driver's license was also required.

Truck drivers – Employers reported a need for 183 truck drivers with commercial driver's licenses.

Bus drivers - An estimated 168 part-time job openings were available for bus drivers.

In addition, a number of jobs in various fields require possession of a valid driver's license as a prerequisite for employment. The table below provides examples of some of those positions.

<b>Job Title</b>	<b>Summary of Education and Training Requirements</b>
Residential counselor	18, 2 years experience, driver's license
Service technician-lead	Driver's license
Marketing associate	HS grad, driver's license
Service sales rep	Valid driver's license
Technical service rep	5 years mechanical experience, valid motorcycle license
Supervisor - a/c groomer	Driver's license, ability to lift 70 lbs
Installer, broadband	HS grad, driver's license
Patron services manager	Valid driver's license, written and verbal communication skills
Support specialist/unit secretary	Age 18, driver's license
Buyer 2	HS grad, 2 years experience, driver's license
Stock selector	Some education, driver's license
Security officer	Driver's license, HS grad diploma or equivalent
Nutrition site manager	Driver's license
Phlebotomist/donor specialist	HS grad, training in phlebotomy, driver's license
Parent educator	6 months experience, driver's license
Psychiatric technician	CNA, driver's license
Facility maintenance engineer I	Driver's license, 3 years experience
Housekeeper	HS grad, driver's license
Facility attendant II	1 year experience, commercial driver's license
Cleaning associate	English speaking, GED, valid driver's license
General services assistant	6 months maintenance experience, driver's license
Head ice arena attendant	Age 18, driver's license
Groundskeeper assistant	Driver's license, 3 years of high school education
Highway/park workers	HS grad, driver's license
Truck mechanics mobile	HS grad, job training in diesel or heavy truck is a must
Carpenter	Remodel experience, tools, driver's license
Carpenter helper	Basic skills, driver's license
Painter	Must be willing to learn the trade, driver's license, own vehicle
Shingler	Driver's license, 5 years experience, drug free

Sheetmetal apprentice svc	HS grad, driver's license
Equipment operator	1-3 yrs of experience, CDL
Recycling landfill attendant	18+ years, driver's license
Aircraft groomer	HS grad, driver's license

## City government jobs requiring a valid driver's license

The importance of the driver's license is evident for many of the professional and technical jobs available with the city of Milwaukee. Major occupations for police officers, firefighters, and public works employees require a driver's license in order to perform daily responsibilities. A review of 20 job titles with posted job openings as of March 11, 2016, showed 18 requiring a valid driver's license as necessary for the work to be performed (at various job sites, for within city travel, or for operating city equipment). Four of the jobs (for health access assistant, public health nurse, real estate coordinator, and traffic engineer) also required the workers to have a personal vehicle available. The water repair worker jobs required a commercial driver's license (CDL).

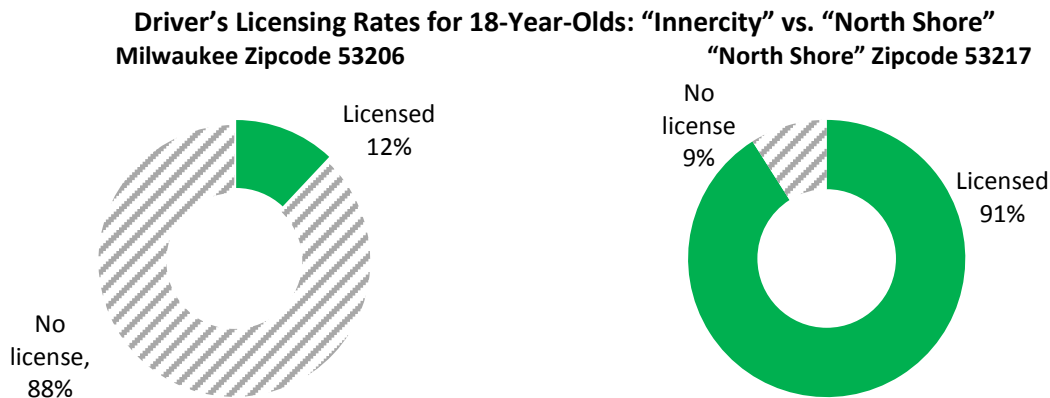
Driver's License Requirements for City of Milwaukee Posted Job Openings (as of March 11, 2016)

<u>Jobs Requiring Valid Driver's License</u>	<u>License</u>	<u>Examples of Job Responsibilities</u>
Database Analyst	Yes	Designs, installs, maintains production databases; backup, training
Economic Development Specialist	Yes	Coordinates economic development efforts, grant programs
Elevator Inspector	Yes	Inspects passenger and freight elevators, lifts, escalators
Emergency Communications Manager	Yes	Develops, implements strategic plans for emergency communications systems
Emergency Communications Manager	Yes	Manages police department's Technical Communication division
Health Access Assistant II	Yes*	Assists clients at clinics, community based organizations, other settings
Human Resources Administrator	Yes	Formulates, implements, maintains HR policies and practices
IT Support Specialist - Senior	Yes	Analyzes, modifies police programming systems, supports end-users
IT Support Specialist-Senior	Yes	Delivers support to end users for software programs
Maintenance Technician II	Yes	Repairs, replaces, adjusts, maintains equipment at city facilities
Network Coordinator Associate	Yes	Coordinates Fire Department's records management systems, workstations, LAN
Programmer Analyst	Yes	Maintains data integrity in police database applications, monitors reliability of databases
Property Management Program Coordinator	Yes	Responsible for Department of Neighborhood Services outreach program
Public Health Nurse	Yes*	Nursing in homes, schools, clinics and community settings
Real Estate Coordinator II	Yes*	Inspects, inventories establishes values for tax foreclosed properties
Traffic Engineer	Yes*	Directs timing of traffic signals, prepares grant applications, analyzes crash data
Transportation Operations Assistant	Yes	Performs traffic studies and analyze data related to transportation facilities
Water Repair Worker	CDL	Repairs and maintains the water distribution system
<u>Jobs NOT requiring a driver's license</u>		
College Intern	No	Generates data for compensation and job evaluations
DCD Accountant Lead	No	Accounting for Tax Increment Districts, Business Improvement Districts, Neighborhood Improvement Districts

\*Requires a valid driver's license and availability of a properly insured personal automobile

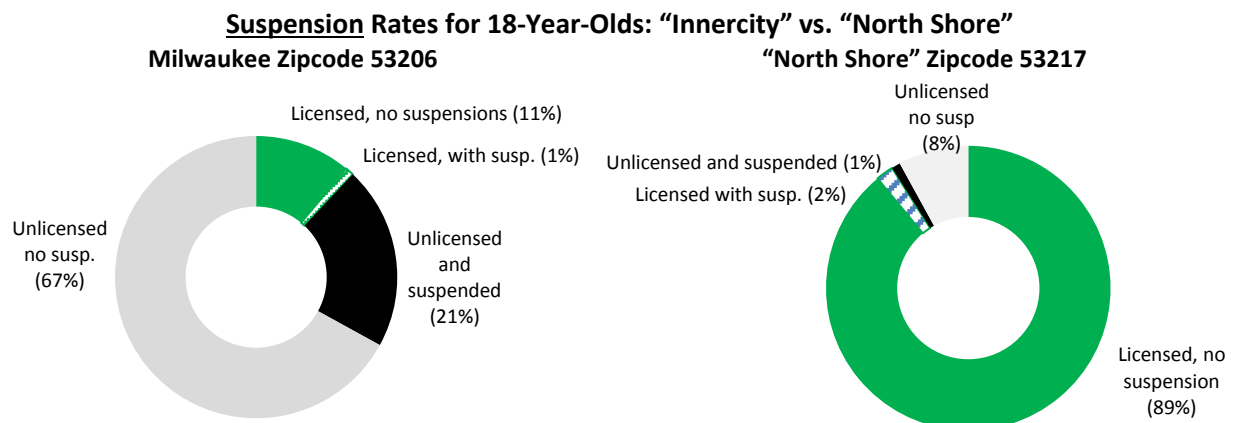
# The view from the street: 53206 vs. 53217

The licensing rates of Milwaukee County youth vary by neighborhoods, and particularly by the wealth of the neighborhoods. Licensing rates of eighteen-year-olds ranged from a low of 12% in zipcode 53206, arguably the most economically challenged “innercity” area of Milwaukee, to a high of 91% licensed in the suburban “North Shore” zipcode 53217, the wealthiest suburban zipcode. (*Zipcode 53217 includes parts or all of the suburbs of Bayside, Fox Point, Glendale, River Hills, and Whitefish Bay.*)



The two zipcodes also show sharply different patterns for driver's license suspensions, particularly given their vastly different economic resources. The average income of working families in zipcode 53206 was \$21,551 compared to a \$201,642 average income in zipcode 53217, according to 2014 state income tax filings of family filers (married and single) with dependents. The ACS estimates that 69% of the children in zipcode 53206 are living in poverty compared to 5% of the children in zipcode 53217. Nearly all (94%) of the residents in zipcode 53206 are black; 86% of the residents in zipcode 53217 are white.

- An estimated 22% of the 18-year-olds in zipcode 53206 had received driver's license suspensions, including many unlicensed youth with failure-to-pay-forfeiture (FPF) suspensions.
- In zipcode 53217 only 3% of the 18-year-olds had received license suspensions, and only a small portion of the population was unlicensed (as of January 1, 2016).



# References

American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators. 2013. **Best Practices Guide to Reducing Suspended Drivers** (Arlington, Va: AAMVA Suspended/Revoked Working Group), February.

\_\_\_\_\_. 2016. **AAMVA Policy Positions** (Arlington, Va.: author), April 27..

Driver, Darienne. 2016. **2016-2017 Superintendent's Proposed Budget** (Milwaukee Public Schools), April.

Mendez, Edgar. 2014. "Plan for Universal Driver Education wins Greater Together Challenge," **Milwaukee Neighborhood News Service**, October 15.

Milwaukee Department of City Development. 2016. "Downtown Proposed and Under Construction Public and Private Projects" (Milwaukee: author), April 11.

Milwaukee Public Schools. 2015. "Universal Driver Education (UDE) Presentation to the Milwaukee Board of School Director," (Milwaukee Public Schools Department of Recreation and Community Services), December 10.

Nichols, Jim. 2005. "Presentation, Public Forum on Driver Education and Training, October 28–29, 2003." (Washington, D.C.: National Transportation Safety Board).

Pawasarat, John. 2005. **The Driver License Status of the Voting Age Population in Wisconsin** (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Employment and Training Institute).

Pawasarat, John and Lois M. Quinn. 2007. **The EARN (Early Assessment and Retention Network) Model for Effectively Targeting WIA and TANF Resources to Participants** (UWM-ETI).

----- . 2014. **Issues Related to Wisconsin "Failure to Pay Forfeitures" Driver's License Suspensions** (UWM-ETI).

Quinn and Pawasarat. 2006. **Job Opportunities for Youth in Southeastern Wisconsin: Skill and Training Needs of Employers in the Milwaukee Region** (UWM-ETI).

\_\_\_\_\_. 2010. "Third Year Evaluation of the Center for Driver's License Recovery & Employability, Presentation of Preliminary Findings" (UWM-ETI), May 27.

\_\_\_\_\_. 2014. **Statewide Imprisonment of Black Men in Wisconsin** (UWM-ETI).

Stack, Herbert J. 1966. "History of Driver Education in the United States" (Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Safety Education, National Education Association).

U.S. Department of Justice. 2016. "Dear Colleagues" (Washington, D.C.: Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice), March 14.

Wisconsin Community Services. 2016. "Press Release: Wisconsin state legislature decreases license suspension for non safety-related monetary judgements" (Milwaukee, Wis.: author), February 19.

Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction. 1995-1996 to 2003-2004. "State Aid Payments to Public School Districts," (Madison, Wis.: author).

----- . 2006. "2007-2009 Biennial Budget Request" (Madison, Wis.: author).

Wisconsin Division of Motor Vehicles. 2016. **Facts & Figures 2015** (Madison, Wis.: Wisconsin Department of Transportation).



Wisconsin Legislative Council. 1963. "Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commercial Code Committee and the Legislative Council, Submitted to the Governor and the Legislature" (Madison, Wis.: author), January.

Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau. 2003. "Categorical Aid Reduction (DPI-Categorical Aids), Joint Finance Committee Paper #615" (Madison, Wis.: author), May 20.

Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance. 2008. **Governor's Commission on Reducing Racial Disparities in the Wisconsin Justice System** (Madison, Wis.: author), February.

Wisconsin Supreme Court. 2016. **Wisconsin Municipal Court Benchbook** (Madison, Wis.: author).

## About the authors

The Employment and Training Institute (ETI) was established by the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents in 1978 as a "Wisconsin Idea" unit of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and UW-Extension to provide research and technical assistance addressing the needs of unemployed and underemployed Wisconsin workers and families. This report was prepared by John Pawasarat, director of the Employment and Training Institute, and Lois Quinn, ETI senior scientist. Pawasarat has used Wisconsin Department of Transportation data files to research driver's license issues as assets and barriers to employment since 1993 – to help address the skill needs of public assistance and workforce program clients, central city minority teens, and released state prisoners. His studies provided the research foundation for the creation of the Center for Driver's License Recovery & Employability, a collaborative program now operated by Wisconsin Community Services and Legal Action of Wisconsin and located at the Milwaukee Area Technical College (MATC). Neighborhood indicators studies by Pawasarat and Quinn have measured the impact of state driver's license laws and enforcement practices on city residents and minority neighborhoods. They conducted a two-year evaluation of the licensing assistance offered by the CDLRE and regularly provide analysis on driver's license concerns to the CDLRE and Employ Milwaukee (formerly the Milwaukee Area Workforce Investment Board).

Quinn and Pawasarat have also conducted research and technical assistance work for Milwaukee Public Schools, including annual school census counts, a community needs assessment for Head Start, socio-economic analyses of neighborhood issues facing MPS students and their families, mapping and analyses of school enrollment patterns, follow-up surveys of MPS graduates, and tracking of post-graduation earnings of MPS graduates attending UWM and MATC.

Employment and Training Institute reports are permanently archived by the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries on the UWM Digital Commons website at <http://dc.uwm.edu/eti/>.