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Diversity in the Creative Occupations Of Greater Milwaukee:

A Labor Market Analysis

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Report Prepared for *Greater Together*

Introduction

Milwaukee has been, for decades, one of the most segregated metropolitan areas in the United States, a place where racial inequality is entrenched and pervasive. These disparities are particularly pronounced in the region's labor market, where racial gaps in employment, earnings, and mobility are among the widest in the nation.¹

This study, prepared for the *Greater Together* “designing diversity” initiative, presents the first systematic overview of racial disparities in a part of Milwaukee's labor market that has attracted increased attention in recent years: occupations in the “creative sector.” After developing a working definition of creative sector occupations, we examine three key questions. First, is employment in creative sector occupations in metro Milwaukee marked by racial disparities and, if so, how wide are those gaps? Specifically, are African Americans and Latinos underrepresented in Milwaukee's creative occupations, compared to their percentage of the overall metro area labor force? Second, are there differences in the level of racial disparity found in different sub-sectors of creative sector jobs? For example, are persons of color in Milwaukee more or less likely to be underrepresented in jobs as, say, musicians or photographers, as opposed to, say, artists or designers? Finally, the study puts Milwaukee in national perspective. We compare the levels of racial disparity in selected creative occupations in the nation's 50 largest metropolitan areas, including Milwaukee, by presenting an “index of concentration” that measures the extent to which a given racial group is “underrepresented” or “overrepresented” in a particular occupation, in relation to their share of the metro area's labor force. As we shall see, although racial disparities in creative occupations are quite evident in Milwaukee, these gaps are not especially out of line with trends in metro areas across the country. Racial disparities in creative sector employment are indeed a common challenge in metropolitan areas across the United States.

Before presenting our findings, a few definitional and methodological points are in order. Although the terms “creative industries” and “creative class” have come into common usage in recent years, there is no hard and fast definition of what occupations constitute “creative sector” jobs (unlike, say, manufacturing, where the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) has a precise menu of occupations in the sector). Clearly, popular

but heavily criticized concepts such as Richard Florida’s “creative class,” which includes so many dissimilar occupations that it totals over one-third of the U.S. labor force, are analytically flawed.² For this study, we have gathered data on jobs in the BLS “standard occupational classification (SOC)” category of “arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media occupations” (ADESM) as the closest approximation to genuinely “creative occupations.” (See appendix for list of the occupations in this SOC). Although this category does not encompass all jobs that could be deemed creative, and it also includes several that seem conceptually dissimilar (e.g. “media workers,” “coaches” and “choreographers,” “public relations specialists” and “musicians,” etc.), it is nonetheless the best data available with which to analyze employment trends in creative occupations in metro areas. U.S. Bureau of the Census data on employment in this occupational category, broken down by race and ethnicity, is available on an annual basis through the American Community Survey (ACS), and it is this data that we have used in this study.

We must also be sensitive to the limitations of the data. The ACS, like all surveys, contains error margins. Consequently, in some metro areas with relatively small numbers of minorities employed in the ADESM occupational category (and thus small survey samples), there are quite large margins of error in the census estimate. In addition, when we look at employment in some of the “sub-sector” occupations that are components of the “arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media” sector, the error margins on the employment estimates for blacks and Latinos are often exceptionally high – especially in cities in which employment in those occupations is quite small. We have, therefore, limited the analysis of sub-sectors to those with the highest employment totals and thus more modest margins of error. Nevertheless, although this study uses the best data available on race, ethnicity, and occupation in metro areas, in light of these substantial margins of error, the analysis presented here must be read with caution, and conclusions should be drawn with appropriate care.

Moreover, to further complicate matters, although our data for ADESM jobs by racial groups is updated through 2017 (the most recent available), the only available data breaking down employment by race in the narrower sub-sector occupations is from 2010.³ Although the 2010 data offer us a sense of the racial and ethnic disparities in the distribution of jobs in these sub-sectors, we must be attentive to the likelihood that

patterns in race and occupation have changed, at least somewhat, in many metropolitan areas over the past decade, especially in light of the demographic growth of the Latino community in numerous metropolitan areas.⁴

With these caveats in mind, we now turn to the data on racial and ethnic diversity in creative occupations in Milwaukee and the nation's largest metropolitan areas.

Racial Disparities in Creative Occupations: Milwaukee

Tables 1 and 2 present the basic descriptive data on trends in the racial and ethnic composition of employment in the “arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media” occupations in metro Milwaukee over the past decade. In these tables, we have aggregated the annual ACS employment estimates, which have substantial margins of error, into pooled, three-year samples, which reduces the error margins. As the tables illustrate, there has been a steady growth of diversity in Milwaukee's labor market, both in overall employment as well as in the creative occupations. The percentage of all jobs in the metro area held by white non-Hispanic workers (WNH) fell from 77.9 percent in 2006-08, to 72.6 percent in 2015-17; similarly, the percentage of ADESM jobs held by WNH workers declined from 87.1 to 84.0 percent over the past decade. Still, the raw numbers of blacks and Latinos employed in creative occupations in Milwaukee, measured by the ADESM sector, remains small: fewer than 2,000 (out of total metro area employment in the sector of over 15,000).

Moreover, as Chart 1 illustrates, the racial composition of the creative sector in Milwaukee remains considerably less diverse than the metropolitan area's overall labor market. For example, black workers represented 12.8 percent of the region's workforce in

Table 1:

Employment by Race and Ethnicity in Metro Milwaukee: 2008-2017
Estimated total employment in All Occupations and in Arts, Design,
Entertainment, Sports, and Media

Year	Black All Empl	Latino All Empl	WNH All Empl	Black ADESM	Latino ADESM	WNH ADESM
2006-2008	89,920	53,480	604,433	818	544	12,716
2009-2011	87,501	56,610	577,652	688	497	12,468
2012-2014	91,416	66,197	577,959	1,000	656	12,971
2015-2017	101,443	73,658	574,822	916	995	13,294

Table 2:
Racial and Ethnic Breakdown of Employment in Metro Milwaukee: 2008-2017
% in All Occupations and in Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media⁵

Year	Black % All Occs	Latino % All Occs	WNH % All Occs	Black % ADESM	Latino % ADESM	WNH% ADESM
2006-2008	11.6	6.9	77.9	5.6	3.7	87.1
2009-2011	11.6	7.5	76.9	5.0	3.6	90.9
2012-2014	11.9	8.6	75.0	6.6	4.3	85.8
2015-2017	12.8	9.3	72.6	5.8	6.3	84.0

2017; by contrast, only 5.8 percent of workers in the ADESM jobs were African-American. One way in which economists gauge the level of diversity in a labor market is to calculate an “index of concentration,” which measures the degree to which a group is employed in a particular occupation at a percentage greater than, or less than, their percentage of total employment. For example, in a stylized case, if black workers make up, say, 25 percent of a city’s labor force, but hold 50 percent of the city’s manufacturing jobs, we would calculate the “index of concentration” for blacks in manufacturing as 200 percent (50/25). For any occupation, then, an index of 100 means that the group is employed roughly in proportion to their presence in the overall labor market; an index below 100 means that the group is “underrepresented” in the occupation; and an index over 100 means that the group is concentrated, in relation to its weight in the overall labor force, in a given occupation. As Chart 2 shows, for black and Latino workers in Milwaukee, the “index of concentration” for the creative sector remains well below 100; blacks, in particular, hold jobs in the “arts, design, entertainment, sports and media” sector at less than half their share of overall metro area employment. Latinos hold creative sector jobs at roughly two-thirds their proportion of overall employment. By contrast, WNH workers are “overrepresented” by almost 16 percent in creative occupations.

These disparities can be viewed at a somewhat more granular level by examining the racial composition of employment in sub-sectors of the ADESM occupational category. The data are arrayed in Tables 3-4 and Charts 3-9. We caution again that the most recent

data for these smaller occupational categories is from 2006-10, so they are less up-to-date than the data for the broader ADESM category, which is for 2017. And, as noted earlier,

Chart 1:

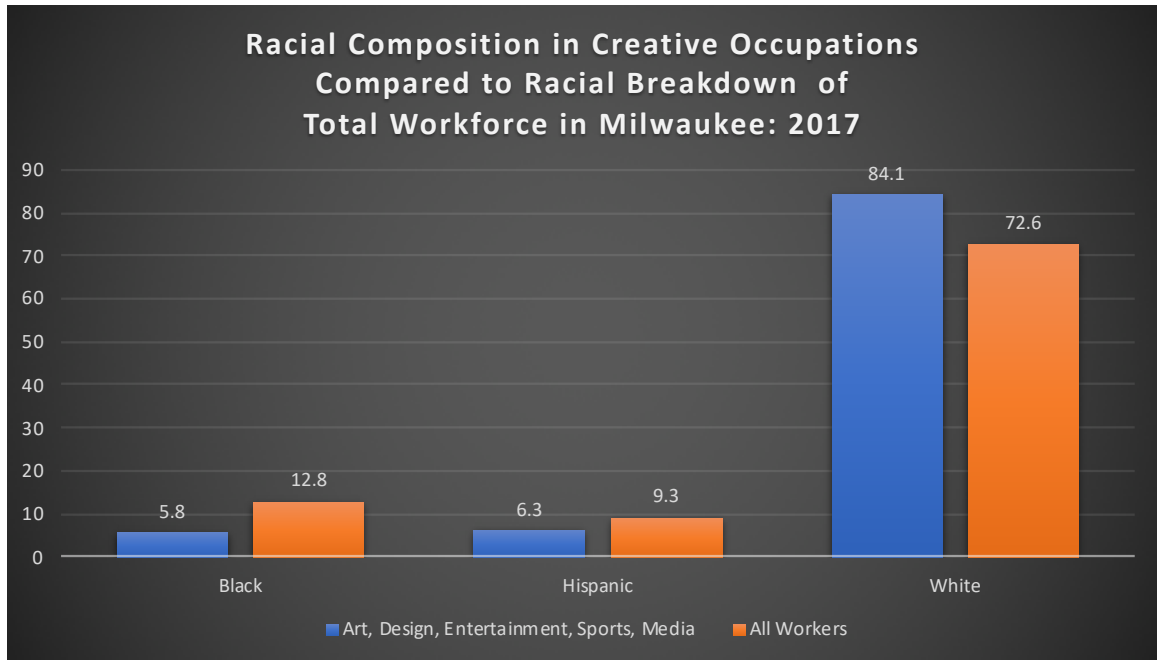
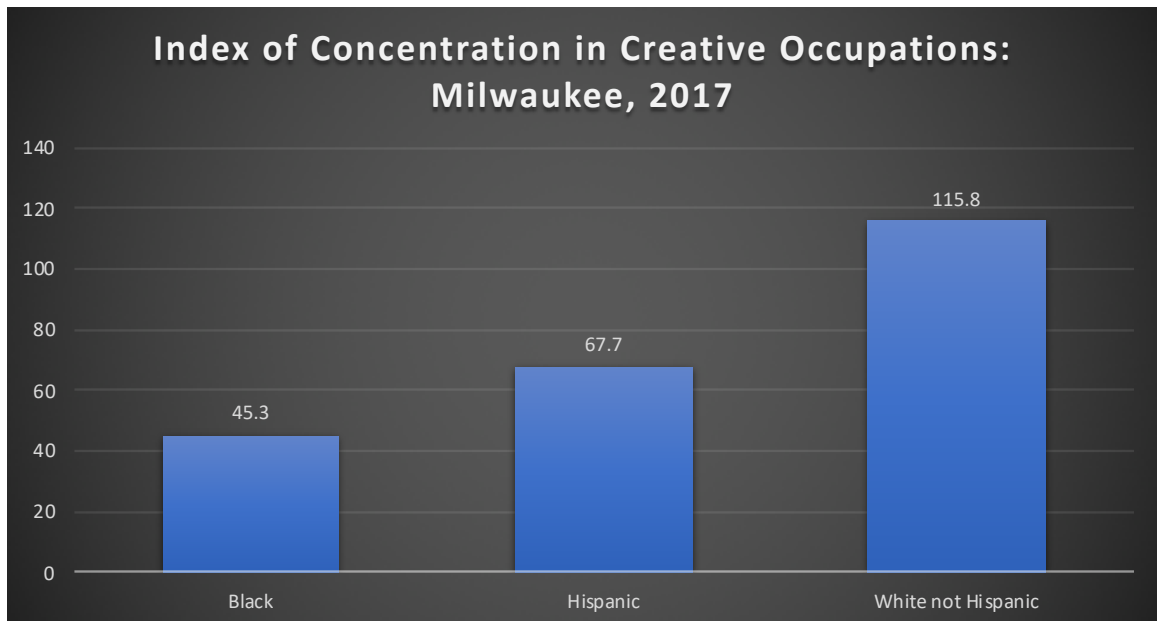


Chart 2:



in some cases, these occupational categories are estimated to contain very small numbers of workers. For example, in several occupations -- such as actors, dancers, entertainers, and television/video/motion picture operators—the estimates from the EEOC survey reveal such a low number of employees in Milwaukee (especially for racial minorities) that the margin of error renders meaningless, for all intents and purposes, the employment number reported, and we have omitted those. Nevertheless, viewed with proper caution, these data give us a somewhat more granular breakdown of the racial and ethnic composition of employment in Milwaukee’s creative sector.

Table 3:
Employment by Race and Ethnicity in Selected
Creative Occupations in Metro Milwaukee: 2006-2010

Occupation	Black	Latino	WNH	%Black	%Latino	%WNH
Artists and related	20	35	995	1.8%	3.1%	87.3%
Designers	115	265	4,415	2.4%	5.5%	90.6%
Producers/Directors	35	40	425	6.9%	8.0%	84.2%
Athletes, coaches and related	115	44	1,075	9.1%	3.5%	85.0%
Musicians	60	35	720	7.3%	4.2%	87.8%
Public relations specialists	115	30	560	16.1%	4.2%	78.3%
Editors	10	15	660	1.5%	2.2%	95.5%
Writers and Authors	60	10	900	6.1%	1.0%	90.9%
Broadcast Engineers	50	30	310	12.8%	7.7%	79.5%
Photographers	10	45	770	1.2%	5.4%	91.1%

Table 4:
Index of Concentration by Race and Ethnicity in Selected
Creative Occupations in Metro Milwaukee: 2006-2010

Occupation	Black	Latino	WNH
Artists and related	16.2	43.7	112.1
Designers	21.6	77.5	116.3
Producers/Directors	62.2	112.7	108.1
Athletes, coaches and related	82.0	49.3	109.1
Musicians	65.8	59.2	112.7
Public relations specialists	145.1	22.5	105.7
Editors	13.5	31.0	124.6
Writers and Authors	56.0	14.1	116.7
Broadcast Engineers	115.3	108.5	102.1
Photographers	10.8	76.1	116.9

Unsurprisingly, these tables and charts provide, for the most part, further evidence of racial disparities in greater Milwaukee's creative occupations. In every sub-sector of the "arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media" occupational group, non-Hispanic whites hold a disproportionately greater share of jobs than their percentage of the overall Milwaukee labor force (see Table 4); in most sub-sectors, by that same measure, blacks and Latinos are significantly underrepresented. In an extreme case, only 1.2 percent of Milwaukee photographers in 2006-10 were African American, although blacks represented 11.1 percent of the metro area's total employment (see Chart 10). Only 1.0 percent of Milwaukee's writers and authors were Latino, although Hispanics represented 7.1 percent of the region's overall employment (see Chart 8). Blacks were almost five times less likely to be employed as designers in Milwaukee than would be predicted by the percentage of blacks in the region's total labor force (see Chart 4).

There are some creative occupations in Milwaukee in which levels of racial diversity apparently approach or even exceed levels in the total labor force. Black employees made up 16.1 percent of public relations specialists in Milwaukee in 2006-10, compared to 11.1 percent of total employment in the region, with an index of concentration of 145.1 (see Table 4 and Chart 7). In the occupational category of "broadcast and sound engineering technicians and radio operators, and media and communication equipment workers" (broadcast engineers, for short), all groups studied here (black, Hispanic, and WNH) hold about the same share of jobs in the sector as they do in the overall labor market, indicating significant racial and ethnic diversity (see Chart 9). On the whole, however, these occupations are the exception rather than the rule. Racial and ethnic minorities in Milwaukee are far from having a firm foothold in the metro area's creative industries.

Chart 3:

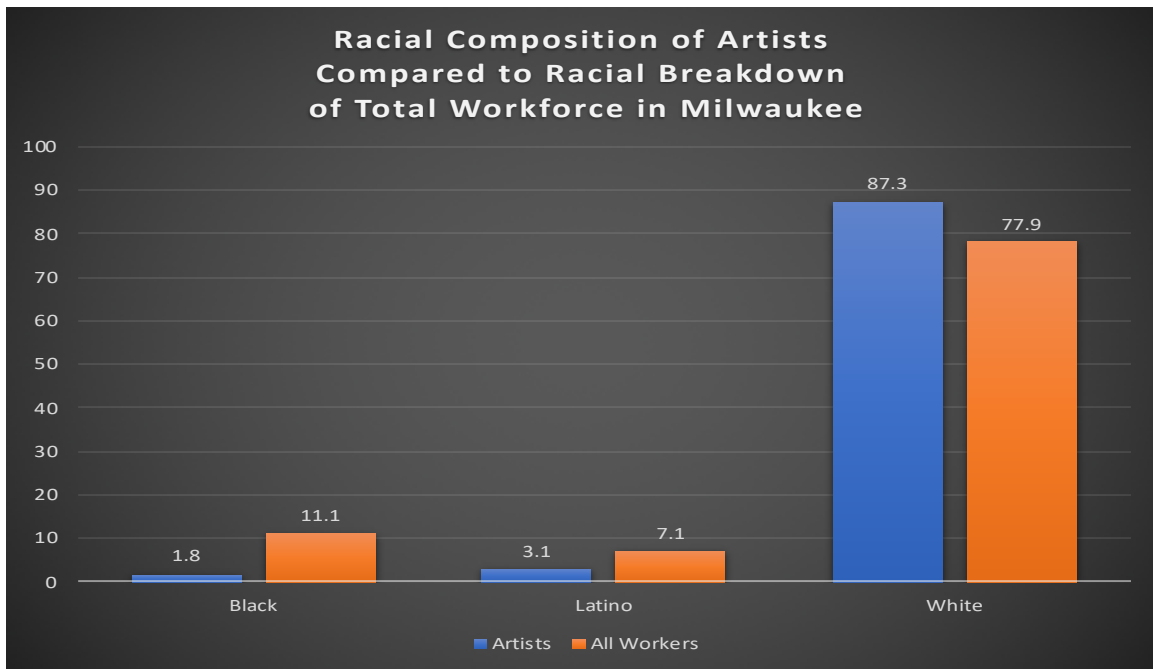


Chart 4:

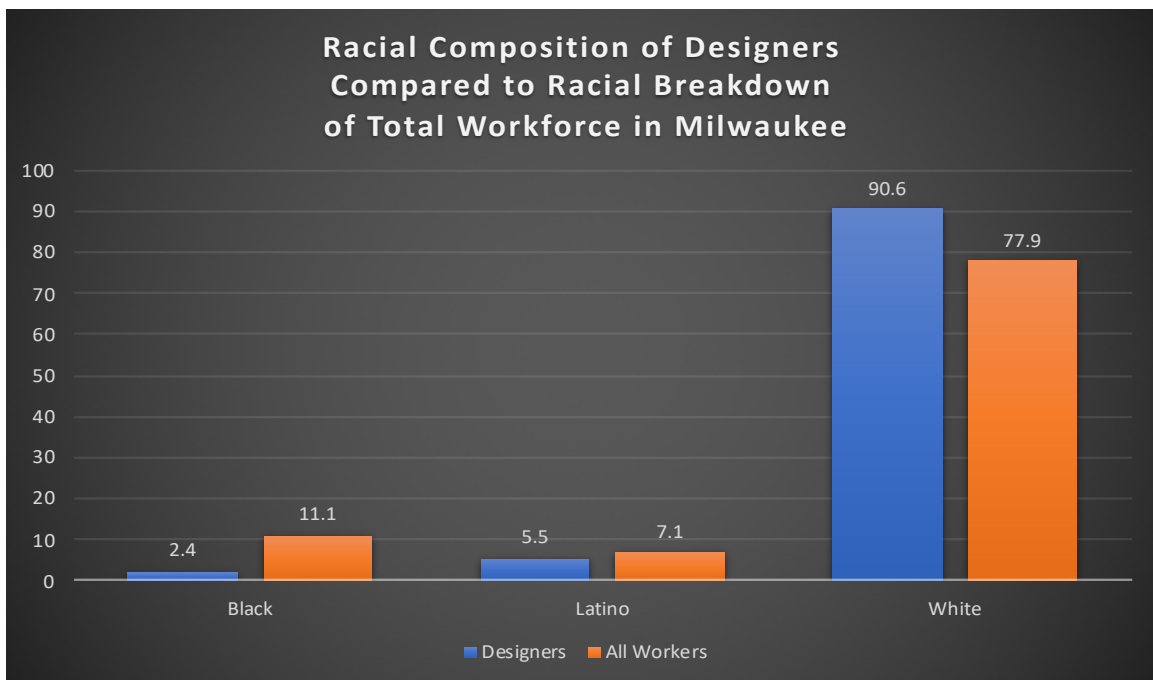


Chart 5:

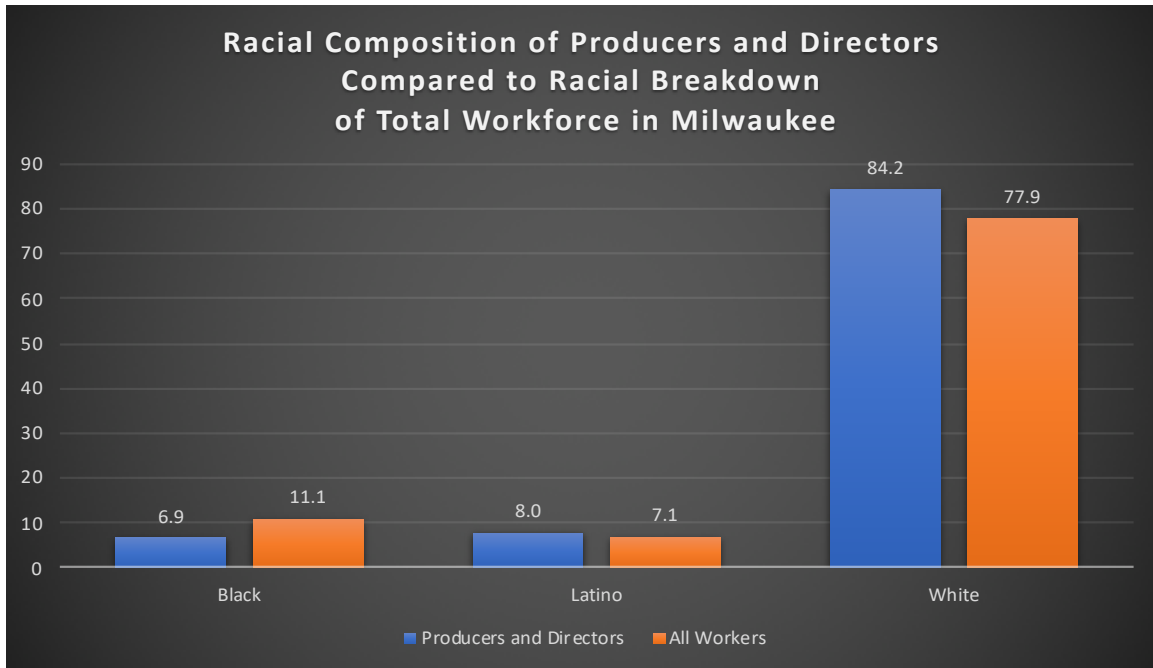


Chart 6:

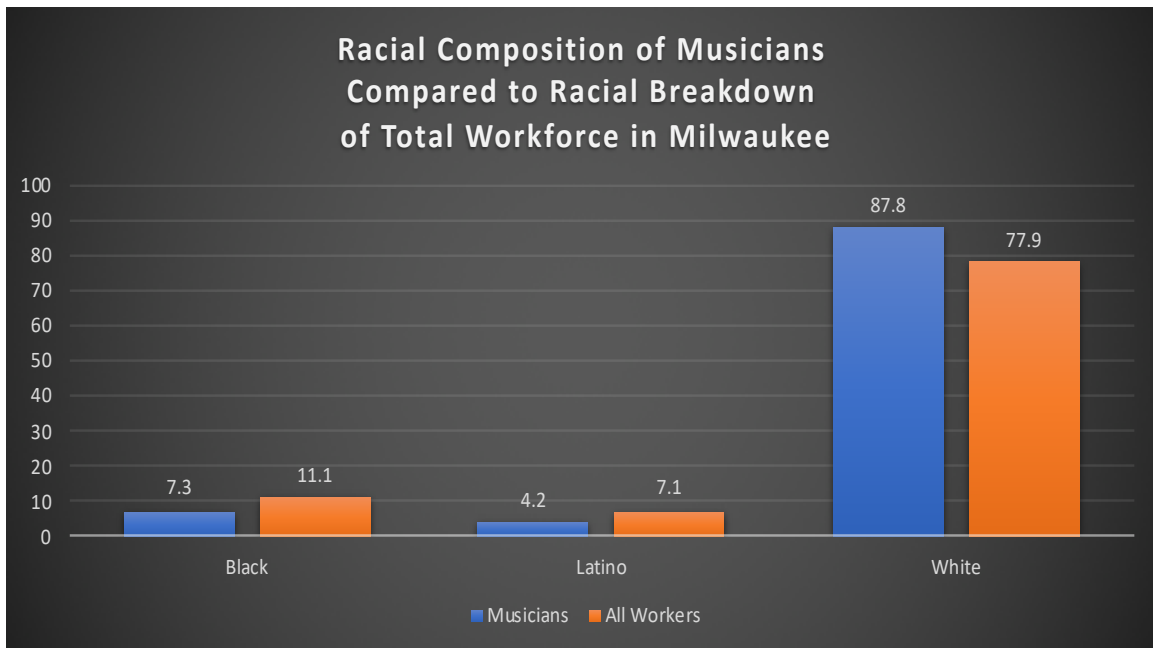


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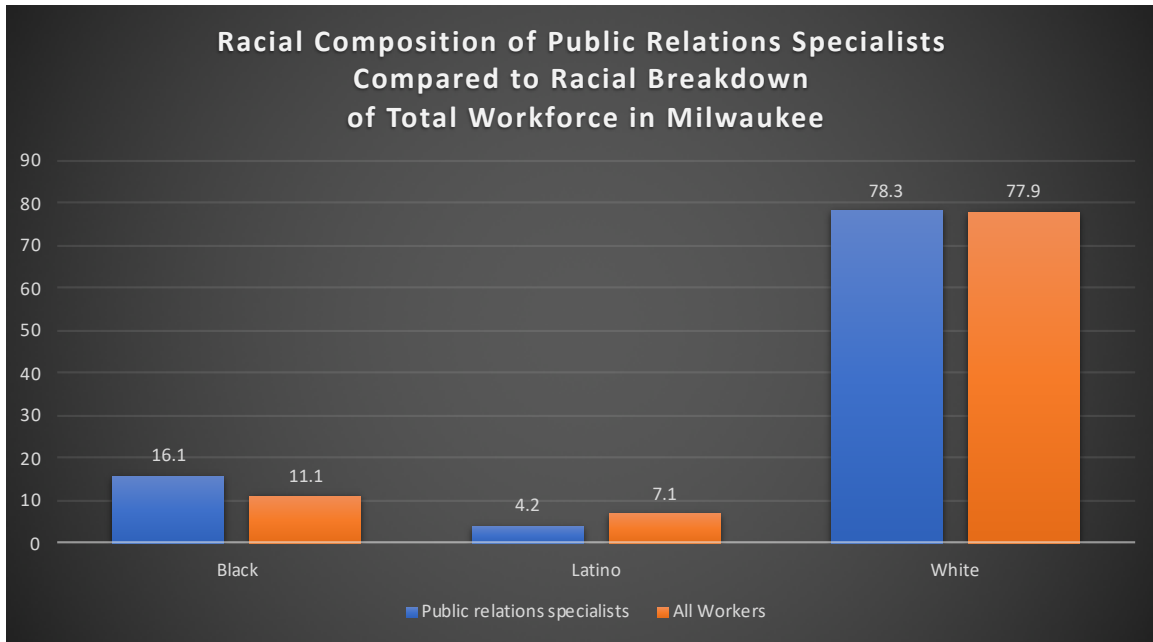


Chart 8:

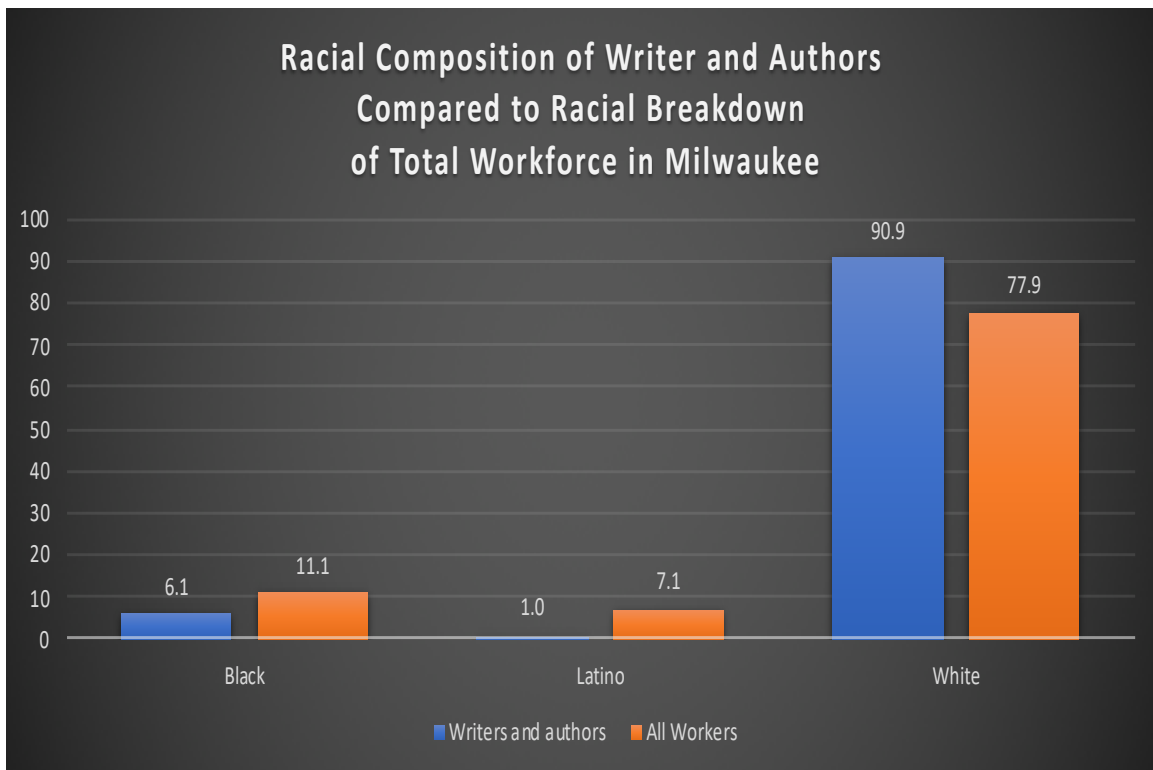


Chart 9:

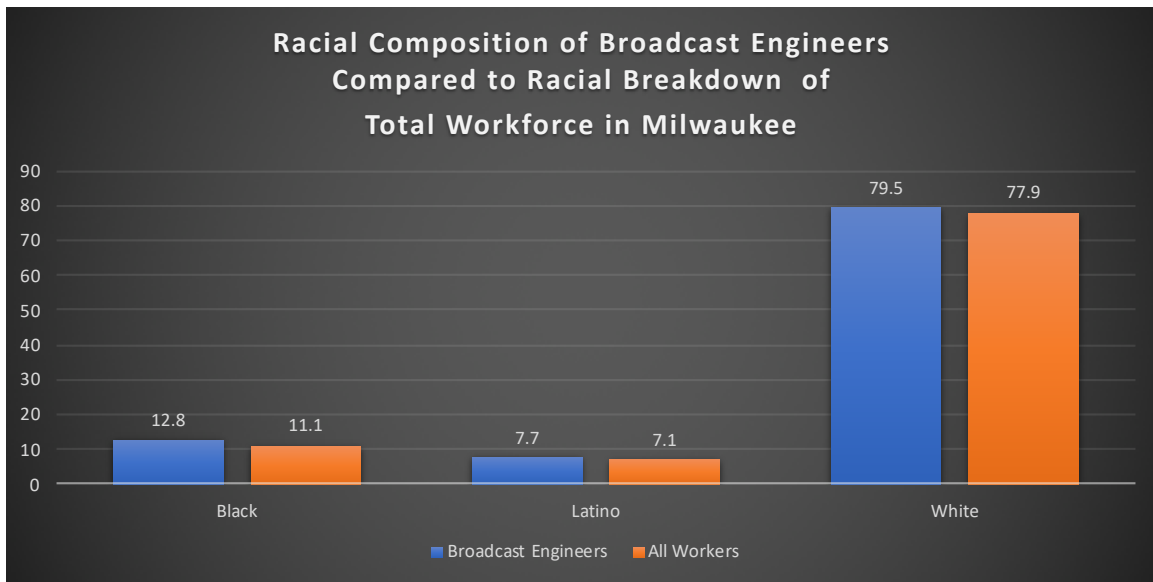
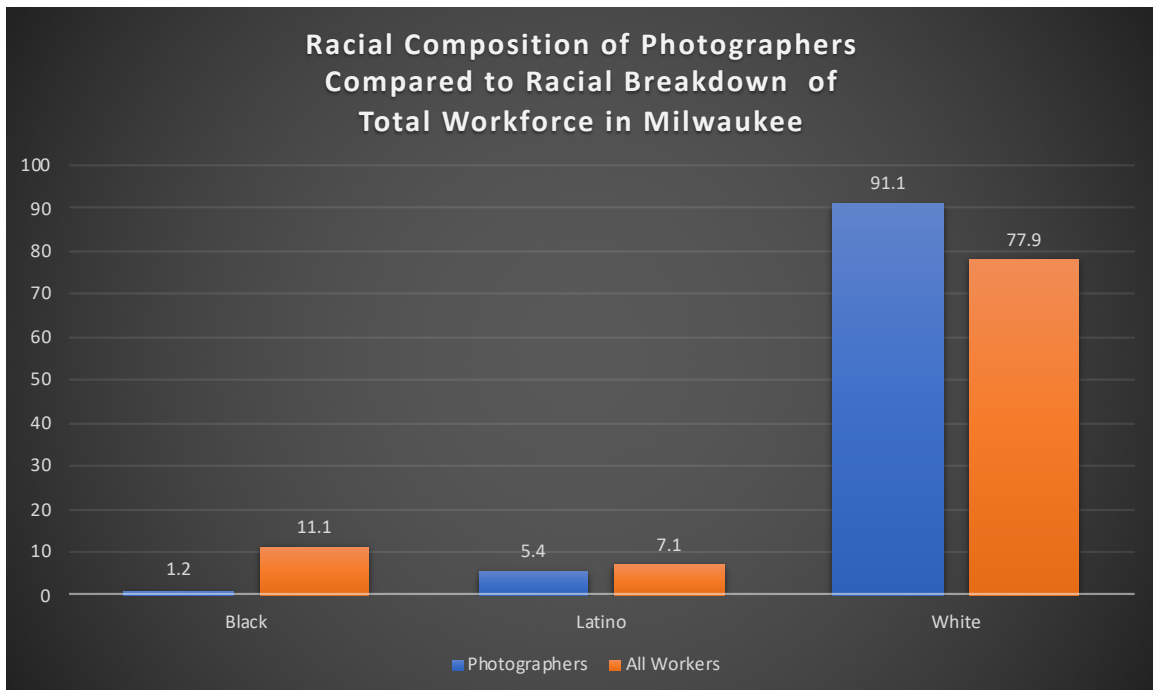


Chart 10:



Racial Diversity in Creative Occupations: Milwaukee in Comparative Perspective

As we have seen, for the most part, blacks and Latinos are generally underrepresented in Milwaukee's creative occupations in relation to their presence in the larger regional labor market. How do Milwaukee's racial disparities in creative occupations stack up against other metropolitan areas? How much better, or worse, is Milwaukee than other metros when it comes to racial diversity in creative occupations?

To gauge which metro areas exhibit greater or lesser diversity in their creative occupations, we have calculated an "index of concentration" in the ADESM sector for each racial group in the nation's largest metropolitan areas. As we have noted, an index of concentration shows the degree to which a group is employed in a particular occupation at a percentage greater than, or less than, their percentage of total employment. For any group, an index under 100 reveals a presence in an occupation less than the group's proportion of the region's overall employment; an index over 100 indicates a concentration of a group in a particular occupation. When comparing metro areas, all things equal, the higher the index of concentration for blacks and Latinos, the greater the diversity in the creative sector; the higher the index of non-Hispanic whites, the less the diversity. (There are some caveats to this we will discuss shortly).

Charts 10-12 display the index of concentration in the "arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media" occupational group for blacks, Latinos, and non-Hispanic whites (WNH) in the nation's 50 largest metropolitan areas.⁶ The charts show that limited diversity in creative occupations is a national challenge. In 44 of the nation's 50 largest metro areas, the index of concentration for black workers in creative occupations is below 100 (see Chart 10); in 47 of the 50 largest metros, the index for Latino workers is under 100 (see Chart 11). Conversely, in every single one of the 50 largest metropolitan areas, the index of concentration in creative occupations for WNH workers is over 100. In short, virtually everywhere in the United States, the creative occupations do not reflect the level of diversity in the community's overall employment.

When we compare diversity levels in "creative" Milwaukee to those in other metros, the results are mixed. In Milwaukee, the index of concentration in ADESM jobs for black workers ranks 40th among the nation's 50 largest metros; for Latinos Milwaukee, the rank

Chart 10:

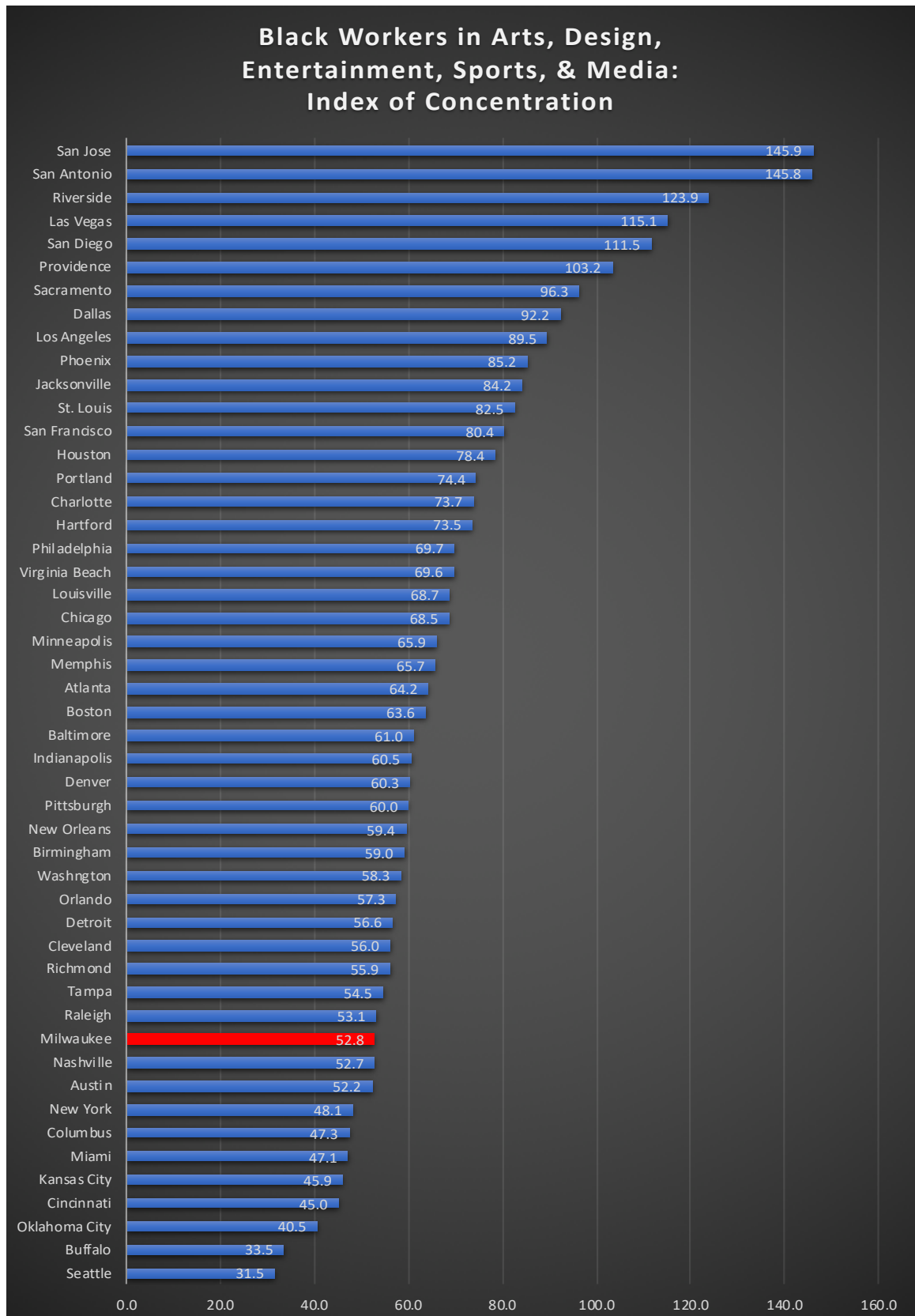


Chart 11:

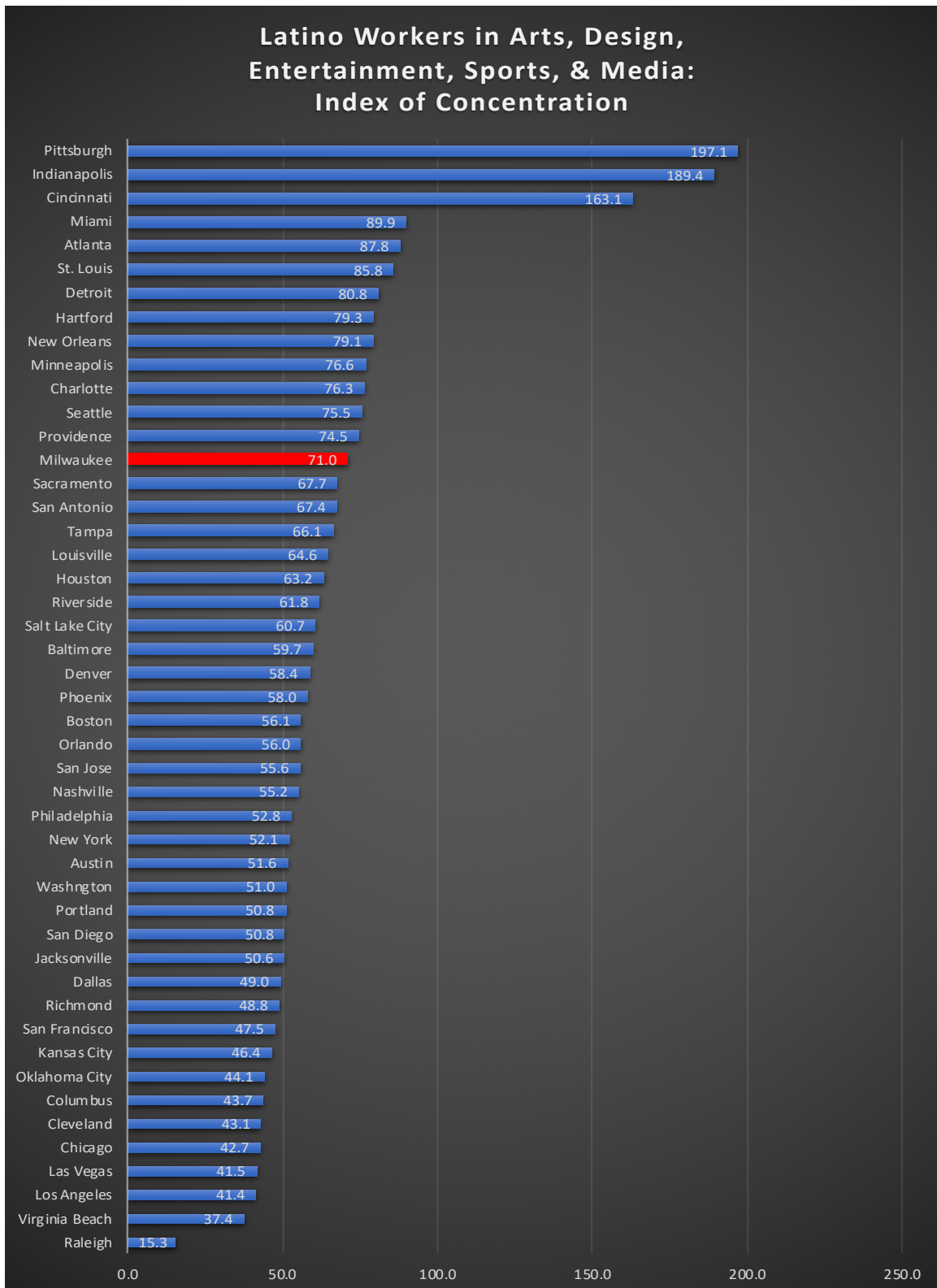
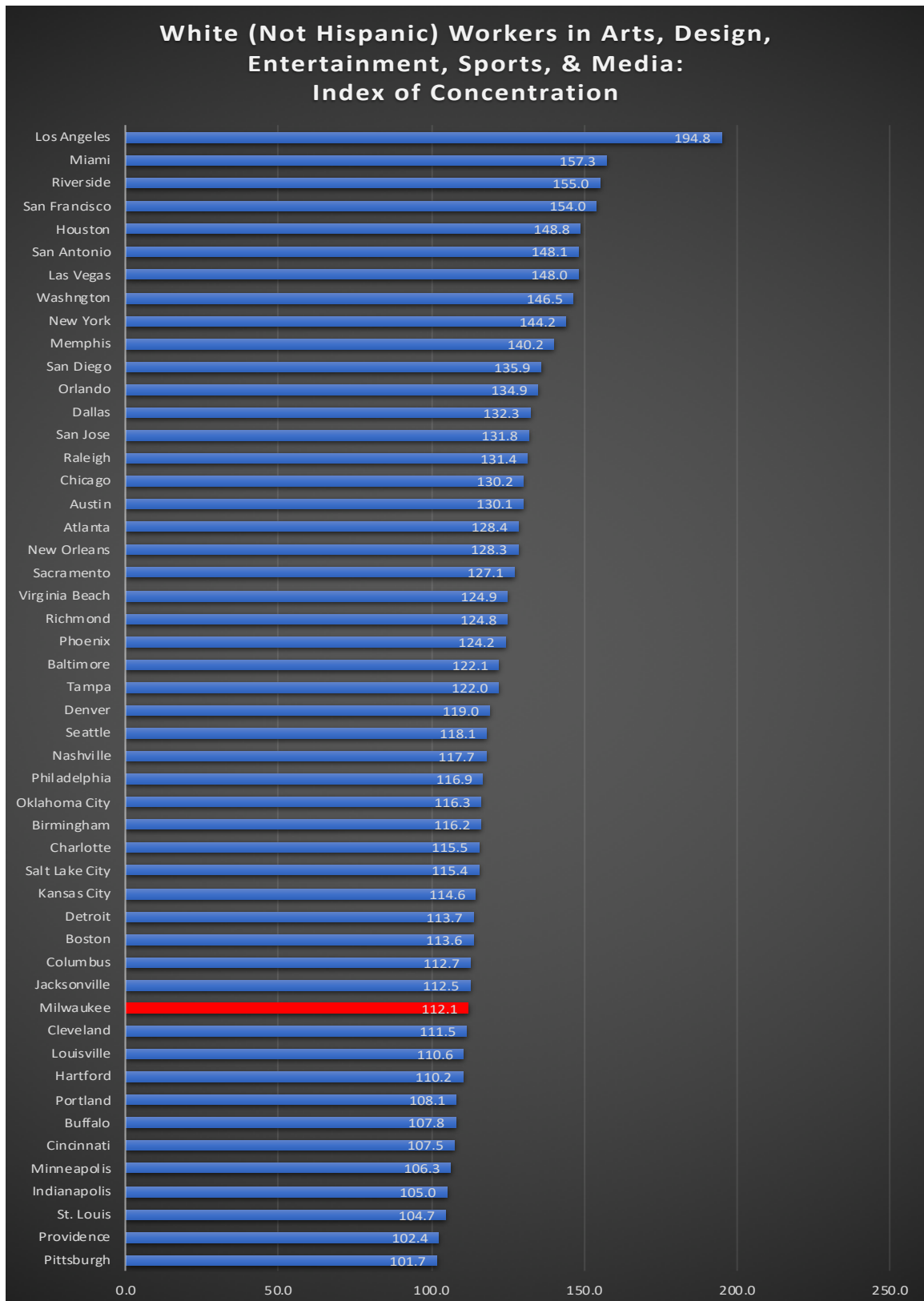


Chart 12:



is 14th. This is misleading: it is more an indicator of the very weak presence of Latinos in creative occupations in other metros rather than a sign that Latinos have secured a significant presence in creative occupations in Milwaukee; as Chart 11 shows, the Latino index of concentration in ADESM jobs in Milwaukee is only 71. Finally, for WNH workers, Milwaukee's index of concentration in ADESM occupations ranks 39th among the nation's 50 largest metropolitan areas.

Although these comparative “indexes of concentration” are suggestive, any conclusions regarding their meaning about diversity in creative occupations should be drawn tentatively and carefully. Take, for example, the case of Los Angeles. As Chart 12 shows, the WNH index of concentration for Los Angeles is almost 200, which would imply strong white “overrepresentation” in creative industries (and commensurate underrepresentation of blacks and Latinos). Yet, looked at from a different optic, because Los Angeles is one of the “creative” capitals of the United States, it is a magnet for workers of *all* races and ethnicities in the arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media occupations. Six percent of all black workers in ADESM jobs in the United States work in Los Angeles; only New York employs more blacks in these occupations. 15% of all Latino ADESM employees in the U.S. work in Los Angeles, far and away the largest percentage in the country. In short, the clustering of creative workers in just a few big metros like Los Angeles distorts somewhat the utility of the index of concentration as a measure of comparative diversity. 43 percent of all Latino ADESM employees in the U.S. work in just six metro areas (Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, New York, and Riverside). 37% of all black ADESM employees in the country also work in just six metros (Atlanta, Chicago, Dallas, Los Angeles, New York, and Washington, D.C.). In these metro areas, even as blacks and Latinos make up a lower percentage of employees in creative jobs than their share of overall metro area employment, there is a level of diversity missing from cities like Milwaukee, with a much smaller “creative sector” that does not function as a magnet drawing creative workers of all races and ethnicities from across the country.⁷

Finally, Charts 13-19 array the index of concentration for selected sub-sectors of the ADESM occupational category. We have presented the index only for the WNH group because, in most metropolitan areas, the error margins for racial minority employment

estimates in these sub-sectors are too high for confidence in the accuracy of the numbers. Nevertheless, albeit limited to non-Hispanic whites, the charts reveal the limited racial diversity in creative occupations across the nation. In virtually all of these occupations, in the vast majority of the nation's largest metropolitan areas, the WNH index is above 100, indicating a higher proportion of WNHs in the particular creative occupation than the WNH share of overall employment. By simple arithmetic, therefore, we can infer that workers of color are “underrepresented” in these occupations in relation to their share of overall employment. These comparative data do not suggest that Milwaukee is among the metros in the country with the least diversity in its creative occupations, although, as noted above, that conclusion must be tempered by the confounding issue of geographic clustering, which can distort indexes of concentration (see endnote 7 below). And in the last analysis, even if Milwaukee may not be among the “least” racially diverse metropolises in these creative jobs, that is small consolation when virtually *all* metropolitan areas –Milwaukee included—manifest limited diversity in their creative occupations.

Chart 13:

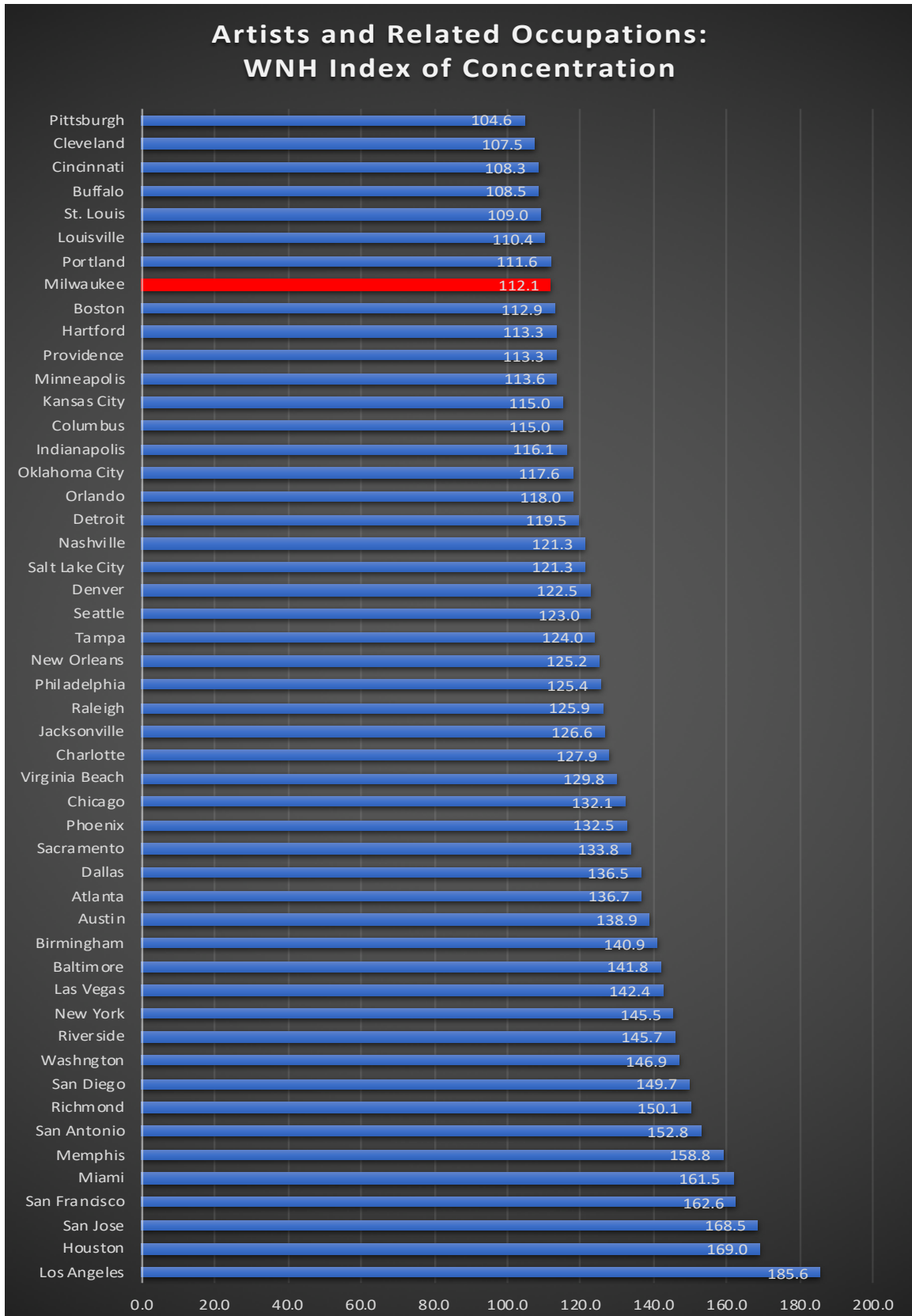


Chart 14:

**Designers:
WNH Index of Concentration**

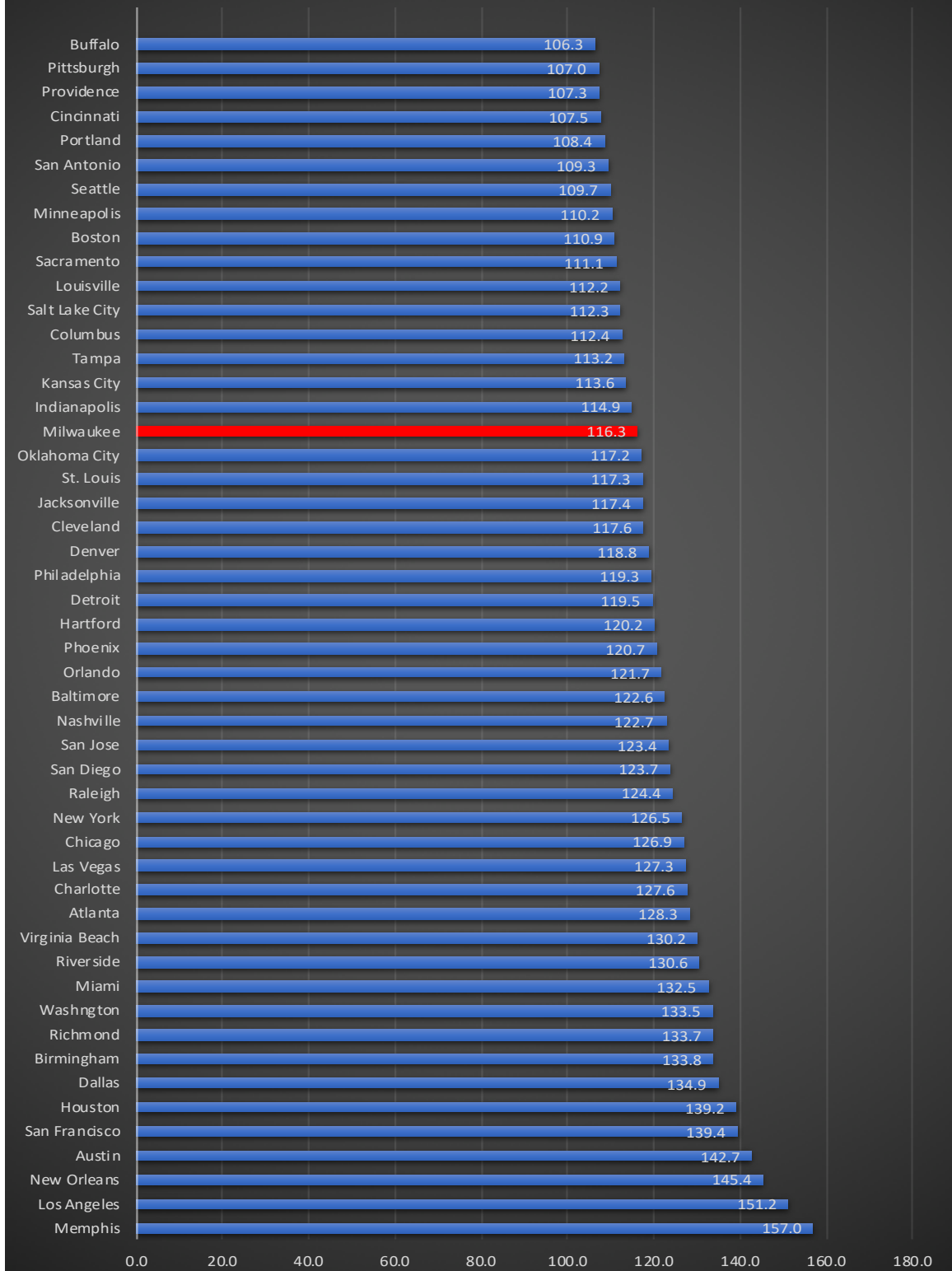


Chart 15:

**Producers and Directors:
WNH Index of Concentration**

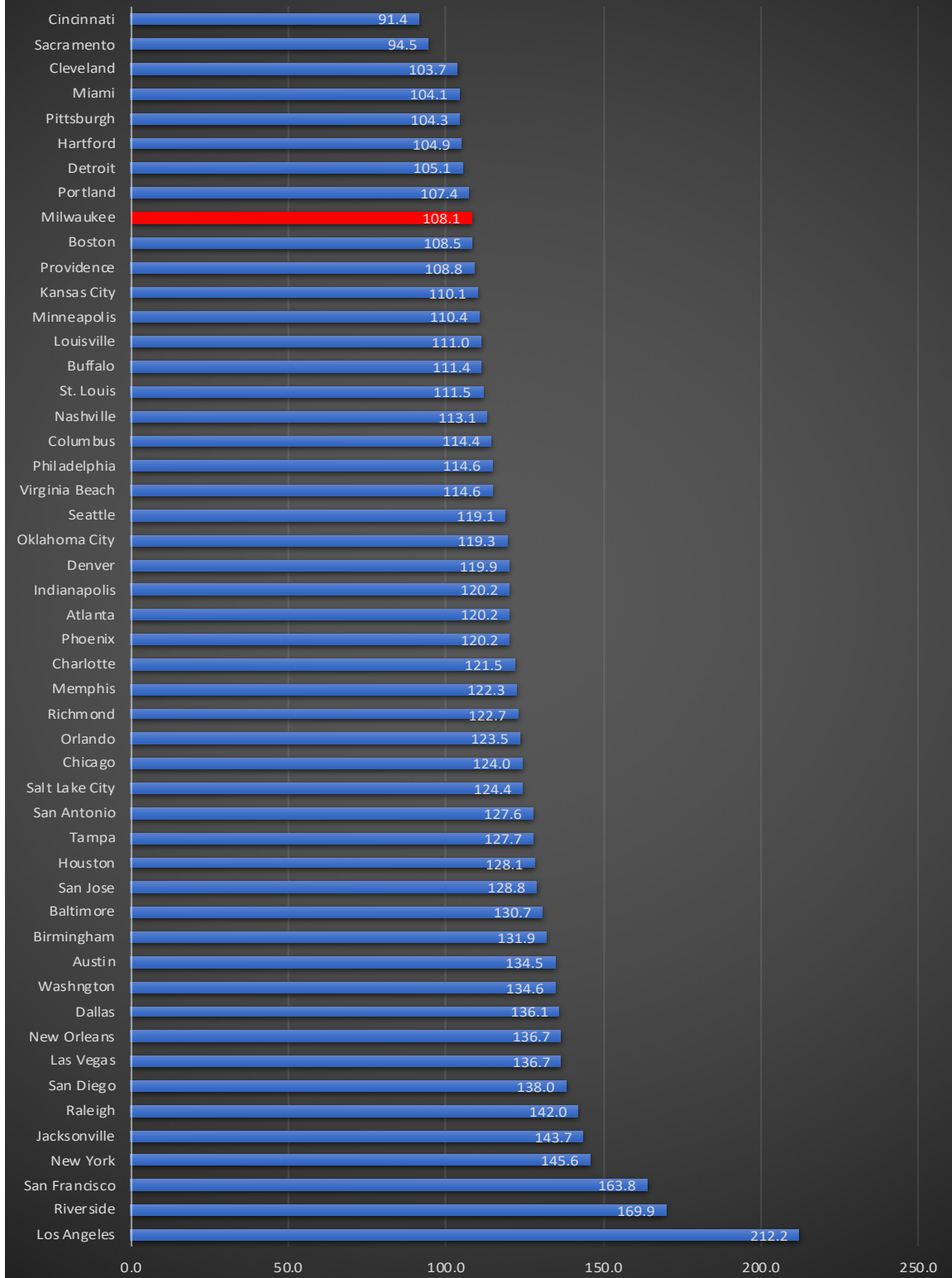


Chart 16:

**Musicians:
WNH Index of Concentration**

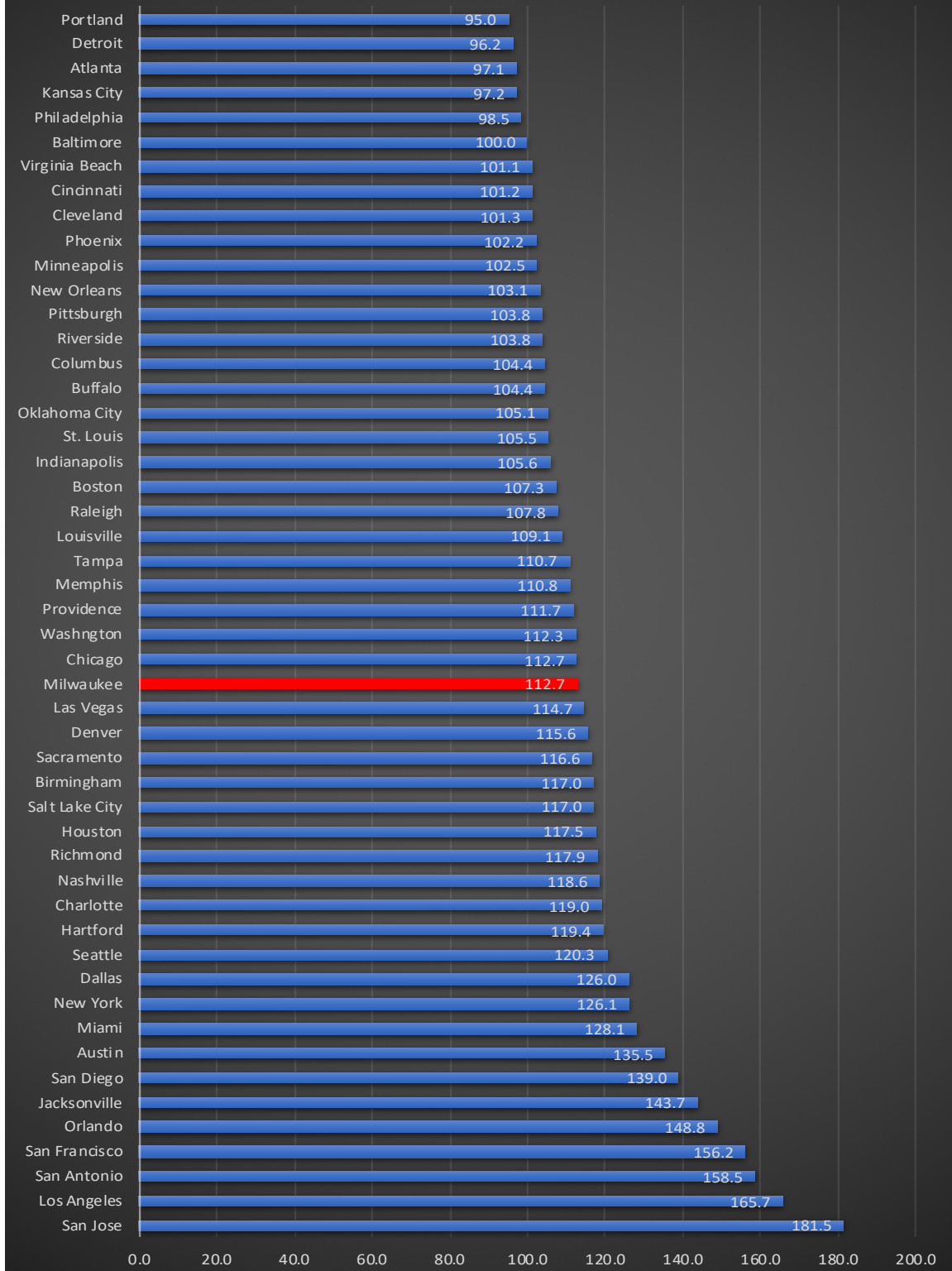


Chart 17:

Writers and Authors:
WNH Index of Concentration

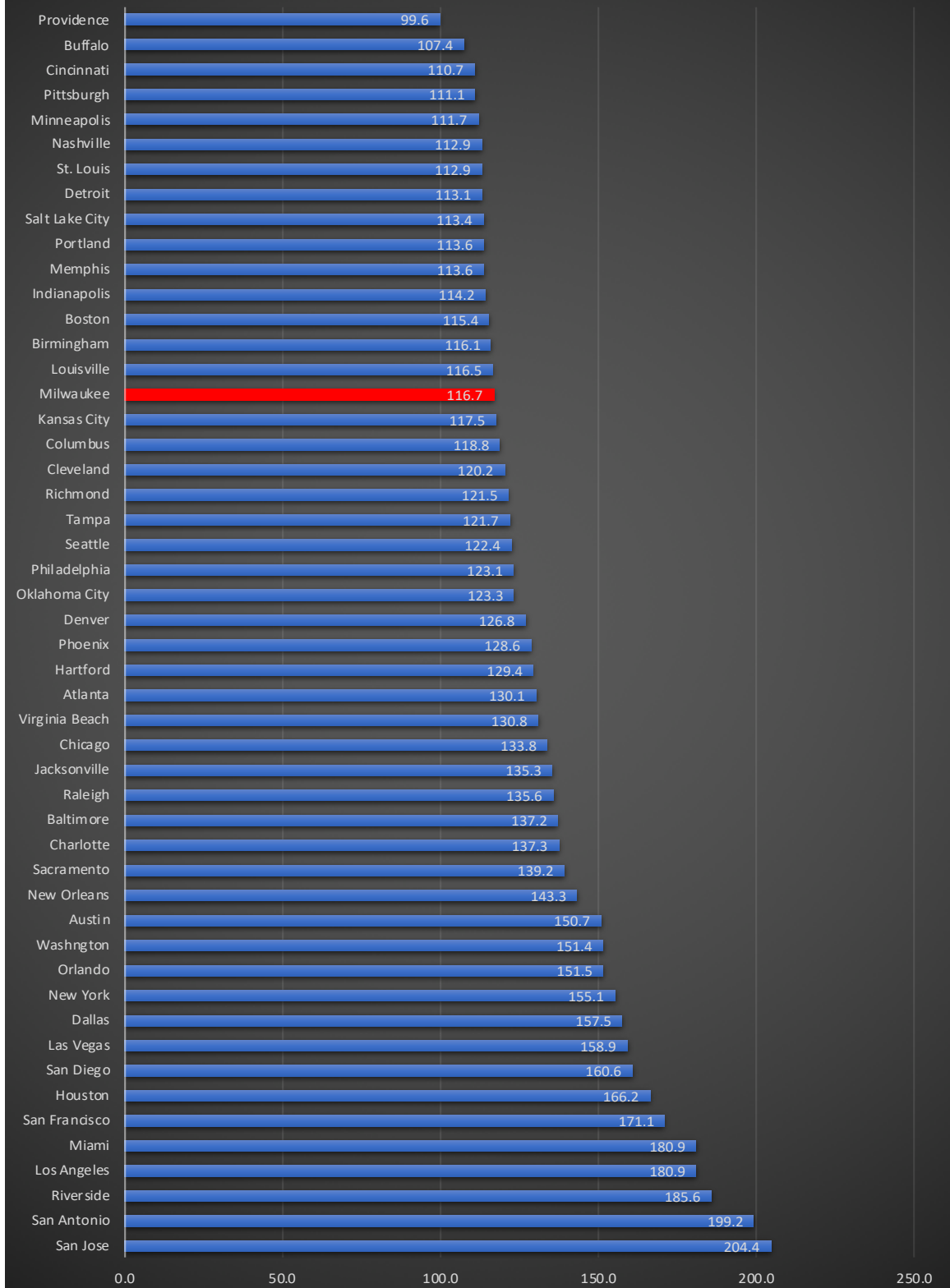


Chart 18:

Broadcast Engineers: WNH Index of Concentration

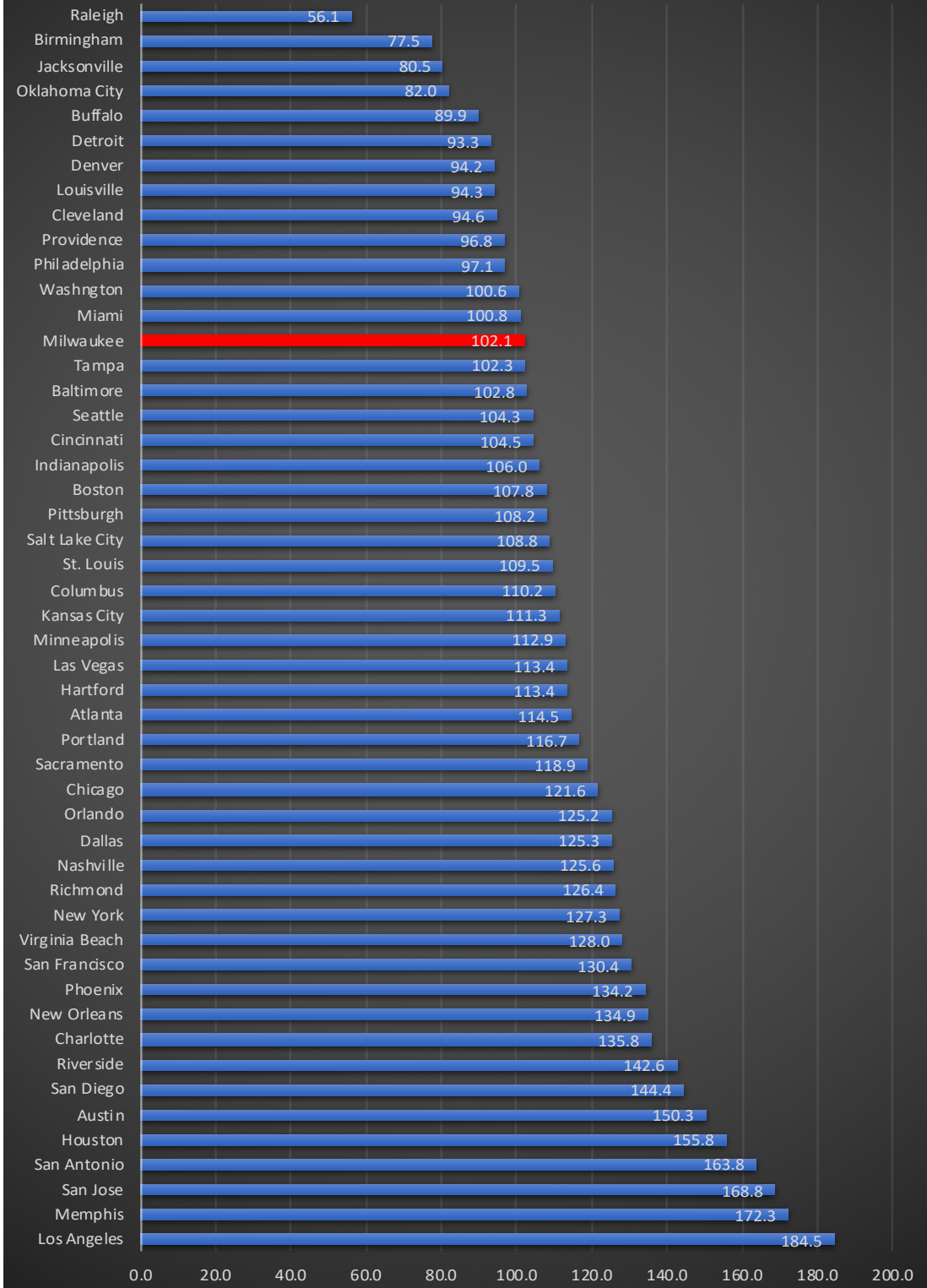
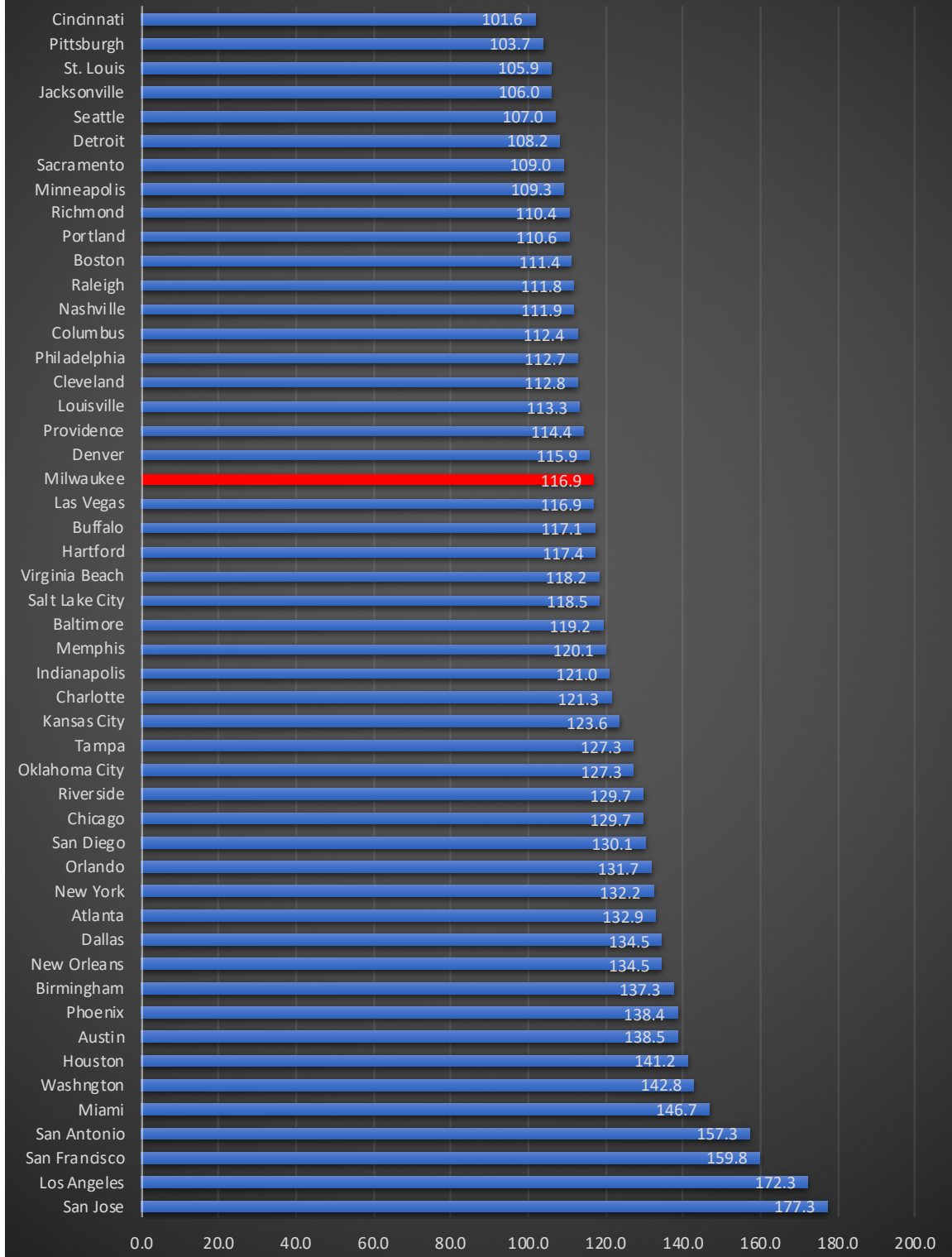


Chart 19:

Photographers: WNH Index of Concentration



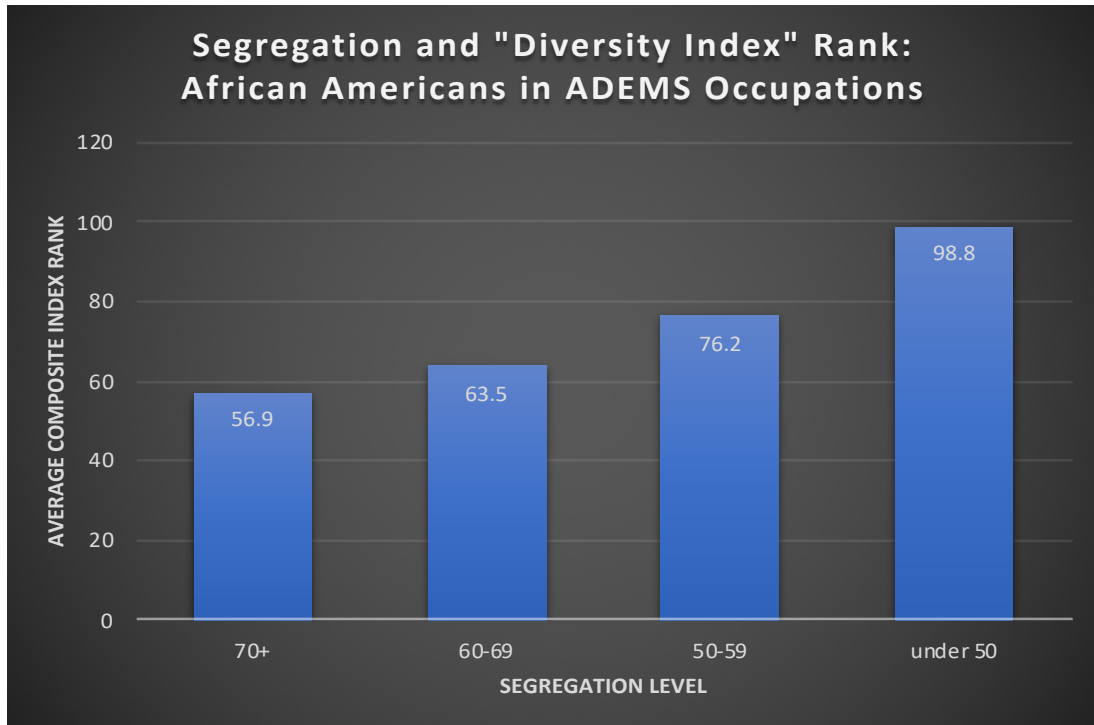
Segregation and Diversity in Metro Area Creative Occupations

This study has presented descriptive data on racial disparities in creative occupations in Milwaukee and the nation's 50 largest metropolitan areas; we have not, however, analyzed the *causes* of these disparities. Although such a comprehensive causal analysis is beyond the scope of this study, we have pulled together some preliminary data on whether there appears to be a connection between levels of segregation in metropolitan areas and the degree to which creative occupations in those metros exhibit racial diversity. Social scientists generally gauge community segregation with a measure known as the “dissimilarity index” (also called the “segregation rate”). Anything above 60 on the index is considered high segregation (over 70 is very high); 40-60 is considered moderately high; and below 40 is considered relatively low (there is only one metro area in the U.S. – Las Vegas—with a segregation rate below 40). In Chart 20 below, we have calculated the average “index of concentration” in ADESM jobs for black workers in metro areas at various levels of segregation. The chart shows what appears to be a fairly direct connection between segregation and creative sector diversity. In the most segregated metropolitan areas in the U.S., with segregation rates above 70, the average “index of concentration” for African Americans in creative occupations is 56.9. This means that in high segregation metros, on average, blacks hold ADESM jobs at just over half their proportion of overall metro area employment. By contrast, in metros with low-to-moderate segregation rates (below 50), the average black “index of concentration” in ADESM jobs is 98.8, meaning that in these lower segregation regions, blacks hold creative sector jobs at about the same level as their share of overall metro area employment.

This correlation does not prove, of course, that segregation is the primary cause of racial disparities in creative occupations. Many other factors --such as education, cultural traditions, or growth rates and opportunities in other local industries, to name just a few—would require analysis as causal variables. But, extensive research has identified reducing segregation as a crucial step to alleviating racial inequality in a wide range of areas such student achievement, income inequality, concentrated poverty, and structural joblessness. It is certainly plausible, in addition to ameliorating conditions in all those crucial areas, that changing Milwaukee's status as the nation's most segregated

metropolitan area would also yield the additional benefit of expanding racial equity in the region’s creative industries.

Chart 20:



Conclusion

This study of racial disparities in the creative occupations of Milwaukee and the nation’s largest metropolitan areas yields three main conclusions:

First, African American and Latino workers are underrepresented, in relation to their presence in overall regional employment, in Greater Milwaukee’s creative occupations. These disparities appear in both the larger occupational category of “arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media” (ADESM), as well as in most of the occupations that are components of the ADESM category.

Second, there are racial disparities in creative occupations in cities across the country. In all of the nation’s 50 largest metropolitan areas, except for a handful of cases, blacks and Latinos are underrepresented in creative occupations, while non-Hispanic whites hold a disproportionate share of ADESM jobs, relative to their percentage of the overall

labor force. Milwaukee ranks particularly poorly among the largest metros in the degree to which blacks hold ADESM jobs, but overall, Milwaukee's racial disparities are more or less in line with the national patterns. The problem, of course, is that racial minorities are underrepresented in creative occupations almost everywhere.

Third, the data suggest a correlation exists between diversity in the creative sector of a metropolitan area and racial segregation in the region. The more segregated a metro area, the lower the likelihood that racial minorities are employed in creative occupations proportionate to their percentage of the labor force. This preliminary finding suggests that reducing residential segregation in Milwaukee, in addition to improving racial equity in areas like income, employment, and schooling, may also help open more creative sector occupations to minority workers.

In raw numbers, how much growth in African American and Latinx employment in Milwaukee's creative occupations would be necessary to eliminate racial disparities in employment in those jobs? As Table 5 shows, based on 2015-17 pooled employment data from the Census Bureau ACS survey, it would take an estimated increase of around 1,600 blacks and Latinx employed in Milwaukee's ADESM occupations for the workforce in those jobs to mirror the share of racial minorities in Milwaukee's overall workforce. (See endnote 8 on how we arrived at this estimate). In percentage terms, it would take an estimated increase of 83 percent in minority employment in ADESM jobs for there to be the same level of racial diversity found in the overall workforce.⁸

Table 5:
Estimates of employment increases required to achieve racial parity in creative occupations in Greater Milwaukee

All Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media Occupations (ADESM)

Group	Current ADESM Employment	Parity ADESM Employment	Targeted Increase in ADESM Employment	Targeted Increase as % of Current Employment
Black	916	2,027	1,111	121.2%
Latinx	995	1,473	478	48.0%
Total	1,911	3,500	1,589	83.2%

Appendix

Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media Occupations (Major Group)

This major group comprises the following occupations: [Art Directors](#) ; [Craft Artists](#) ; [Fine Artists, Including Painters, Sculptors, and Illustrators](#) ; [Multimedia Artists and Animators](#) ; [Artists and Related Workers, All Other](#) ; [Commercial and Industrial Designers](#) ; [Fashion Designers](#) ; [Floral Designers](#) ; [Graphic Designers](#) ; [Interior Designers](#) ; [Merchandise Displayers and Window Trimmers](#) ; [Set and Exhibit Designers](#) ; [Designers, All Other](#) ; [Actors](#) ; [Producers and Directors](#) ; [Athletes and Sports Competitors](#) ; [Coaches and Scouts](#) ; [Umpires, Referees, and Other Sports Officials](#) ; [Dancers](#) ; [Choreographers](#) ; [Music Directors and Composers](#) ; [Musicians and Singers](#) ; [Entertainers and Performers, Sports and Related Workers, All Other](#) ; [Radio and Television Announcers](#) ; [Public Address System and Other Announcers](#) ; [Broadcast News Analysts](#) ; [Reporters and Correspondents](#) ; [Public Relations Specialists](#) ; [Editors](#) ; [Technical Writers](#) ; [Writers and Authors](#) ; [Interpreters and Translators](#) ; [Media and Communication Workers, All Other](#) ; [Audio and Video Equipment Technicians](#) ; [Broadcast Technicians](#) ; [Radio Operators](#) ; [Sound Engineering Technicians](#) ; [Photographers](#) ; [Camera Operators, Television, Video, and Motion Picture](#) ; [Film and Video Editors](#) ; [Media and Communication Equipment Workers, All Other](#)

Endnotes

¹ See, among others: Marc V. Levine, *Race and Nonemployment in Urban America Since the 1970s* (Milwaukee: UWM Center for Economic Development, forthcoming 2019); Marc V. Levine, *Perspectives on the Current State of the Milwaukee Economy* (Milwaukee: UWM Center for Economic Development, UWM Digital Commons, 2013). Access at: https://dc.uwm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1013&context=ced_pubs; Marc V. Levine, *Race and Male Employment in the Wake of the Great Recession: Black Male Employment Rates in Milwaukee and Nation's Largest Metro Areas, 2010* (Milwaukee: UWM Center for Economic Development, UWM Digital Commons, 2012). Access at: https://dc.uwm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1019&context=ced_pubs; Marc V. Levine, *Latino Milwaukee: A Statistical Portrait* (Milwaukee: UWM Center for Economic Development, UWM Digital Commons, 2016). Access at: https://dc.uwm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1004&context=ced_pubs; and Raj Chetty et al, "The Opportunity Atlas: Mapping the Childhood Roots of Social Mobility," (Harvard University: Opportunity Insights, 2018). Accessed at: https://opportunityinsights.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/atlas_paper.pdf

² Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (New York: Basic Books, 2002). Among the many critiques of Florida's concept, see Alec MacGillis, "The Ruse of the Creative Class," *The American Prospect*, December 18, 2009 (accessed at: <http://prospect.org/article/ruse-creative-class-0>); and Marc V. Levine, "La «classe créative» et la prospérité urbaine: mythes et réalités," in R. Tremblay and D-G Tremblay (eds), *La classe créative selon Richard Florida: Un paradigme urbain plausible?* (Quebec: Les presses de l'Université du Québec, 2010), pp. 87-112.

³ This data is from the 2006-10 Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) survey, based on pooled, 5-year ACS data. The EEOC does not have a regularly scheduled release of a new survey of occupations by race and ethnicity for the nation's metropolitan areas, and has provided no indication on when one might be forthcoming.

⁴ See Levine, *Latino Milwaukee*, pp. 15-22; 112.

⁵ The percentages for groups in this table –and others like it in this report—do not add up to 100 percent, as we have only included black, Hispanic, and non-Hispanic white workers; smaller groups, such as "Asian" or "Pacific Islander," as well as small groups reporting multiple races or ethnicities, are not analyzed here.

⁶ These data are drawn from the ACS 2017 one year estimates (as opposed to earlier tables for Milwaukee which pooled ACS estimates for 2015-17). This is why the index of concentration for various groups in Milwaukee are slightly different in these charts than the calculations reported earlier.

⁷ Labor market analysts often use a measure called "location quotients" (LQ) to gauge the geographic concentration of particular industries or occupations. It is calculated by dividing the proportion of a region's employment in an industry or occupation by the proportion of the nation's employment in the same industry or occupation. Thus, if the percentage of a city's employment in ADESM jobs were exactly the same as the percentage nationally, the LQ would be 1.0. In a city in which ADESM jobs were concentrated, the LQ would be above 1.0.

In Los Angeles, the LQ for black workers in ADESM occupations is 2.83; for Latino workers, the LQ is 1.37; and for WNH workers it is 3.38. These LQs bespeak Los Angeles' status as a hub of creative occupations, for all racial and ethnic groups (but especially for non-Hispanic whites). By contrast, the LQ for black workers in ADESM occupations in Milwaukee is 0.78; for Latino workers it is 1.09; and for WNH workers in creative occupations, it is 0.91 – all modest LQs that confirm Milwaukee's peripheral place in the nation's creative industries.

⁸ As noted, these estimates are derived first by calculating current ADESM employment in metro Milwaukee, by race, from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *American Community Survey*, pooled 2015-17

data. Then, we calculated how many blacks and Latinx would be employed in ADESM *if* they were employed at the same percentage as their share of metro area total employment. For example, in 2015-17, blacks constituted 5.8% of metro Milwaukee ADESM employment, compared to 12.8% of total employment. Thus, the parity ADESM number for blacks (2,027) is calculated as 12.8% of total ADESM employment (15,224). Similarly, in 2015-17 Latinx workers constituted 6.3% of Milwaukee's ADESM employment, compared to 9.3% of total employment. Thus, the parity ADESM number for Latinx (1,473) is calculated as 9.3% of total ADESM employment (15,224).

A note of caution: The parity targets for workers of color are calculated the basis of the most recent employment by occupation data (2015-17). If, for example, total ADESM employment is higher in 2019 and going forward (a likely possibility), then the parity target for Black and Latinx employment in those subsequent years would also be higher.