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Research Brief on ETI Studies of African American and Latino Access to Jobs

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Research Brief on ETI Studies of African American and Latino Access to Jobs

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Employment and Training Institute, 2016

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Employment and Training Institute conducted research studies from 1994-2014 on access of African Americans and Latinos to equal employment opportunities for the City of Milwaukee, NAACP, Private Industry Council of Milwaukee County (MAWIB/Employ Milwaukee), Milwaukee Public Schools, Helen Bader Foundation, and Greater Milwaukee Foundation. The analysis focused on labor market issues for African Americans, Hispanics and other non-Caucasian populations as critical to addressing housing integration and economic concerns in local communities. The ETI prepared a series of report cards on hiring practices and challenges for Milwaukee area companies and governments, provided customized tables showing diversity (and non-diversity) of employment by place-of-work and residence for every U.S. census tract, and offered critiques of the paradigms imbedded in academic measures of segregation in housing.

The ETI research on race/ethnicity are archived in the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Digital Commons collection at http://dc.uwm.edu/eti_pubs/.

Wisconsin's Mass Incarceration of African American Males: Workforce Challenges for 2013

Among the most critical workforce issues facing Wisconsin relate to governmental policies and practices leading to mass incarceration of African Americans men and suspensions of driving privileges to low-income adults. This report used two decades of Wisconsin Department of Corrections prison files to assess levels of imprisonment of African Americans from Milwaukee County. The data showed 26,222 black men incarcerated in state correctional facilities from 1990 to 2012. A staggering 53% of men in their 30s have already served time in state prison as have over a fourth of black men in their 20s. The 2010 U.S. Census counts showed Wisconsin having the highest rates of incarceration for African American men of working age in local jails and state prisons in the U.S.

Statewide Imprisonment of Black Men in Wisconsin (2014)

State Department of Corrections records showed incarceration rates for African American men at epidemic levels throughout Wisconsin and not just in Milwaukee County. As previously reported, over half of African American men of prime working age (30-44 years) from Milwaukee County have served time in state prison or are currently incarcerated. In the rest of Wisconsin (outside Milwaukee County), a staggering 43% of African American men in the 30-44 year age cohort have also been incarcerated in state correctional facilities. For most ex-offenders, their prison records remain public and impediments to employment for the rest of their lives.

Workforce recommendations are presented to increase public safety, support sustained employment, and strengthen families.

1. Make African American males the state's #1 jobs priority for job creation, training, and education, given Wisconsin's history of mass incarceration of black men and outlier in the United States for imprisonment of black males.
2. Modify the Wisconsin Circuit Court's CCAP public internet postings and municipal court public website postings to stop publishing all ex-offenders' charges and offenses for life.
3. Divert technical violators of Department of Corrections' probation, parole and extended supervision rules to community programs and change the rules to focus on more meaningful conditions supporting employment wherever possible.
4. Provide comprehensive employment training and job placement programs for black male youth.
5. Restore state school aids ensuring free driver's education in school districts where the families of more than half of the students are poor or near poor.
6. Support driver's license recovery programs locally and statewide for ex-offenders and non-offenders and allow community service work as compensation for license violations.
7. Reestablish the collection and public dissemination of race-specific data on traffic stop racial profiling and other criminal justice disparity monitoring measures supported by Wisconsin governors Tommy Thompson, Scott McCallum, and Jim Doyle.

In Wisconsin African Americans make up 5% of the adult population but 41% of the prison population. State electoral policies further increase the racial divide between state decision-makers and those most impacted by their criminal justice policies.

- Ex-felons under supervision of the Department of Corrections as well as persons in prison and jail are not allowed to vote in Wisconsin.
- The driver's license is used as the primary form of identification required for voting in Wisconsin even though licensing rates of white adults are nearly double the licensing rates for African Americans. See [The Driver License Status of the Voter Age Population in Wisconsin.](#)
- The legislature counts prisoners as part of the residential population at the jurisdiction where their prison is located rather than at their home address -- thus increasing the political representation for rural areas of the state where prisons are cited and decreasing representation for the home neighborhoods of ex-offenders.
- In Milwaukee and Dane counties (among others) jury pools are selected from state Department of Motor Vehicle lists of persons with driver's licenses and DMV-issued state IDs (and the DMV records are used to generate "current" mailing addresses for potential jurors) even though these administrative data bases have been found by the courts to underrepresent African Americans and Latinos and low-income residents. Poverty neighborhoods in Milwaukee County disproportionately show suspended driver's licenses for debt collection (rather than unsafe driving) problems.

Is a "Milwaukee Plan" Needed for Construction Trade Apprenticeships? (2014)

Over 40 years after Milwaukee construction firms and unions committed to increased hiring of African American, Hispanic, Native American, and Asian apprentices, Milwaukee minorities remain excluded from an equitable share of skilled construction trade jobs. What now appears needed is an enforceable MILWAUKEE PLAN to train the current and future workforce and to retool for future building projects in the community and state. One approach is to set goals for training of your African American, Latino, Native American, and Asian men based on consideration of the race/ethnicity of the resident male teen populations ages 14 through 17 at the time of the 2010 U.S. Census (and 20 through 23 in 2016). In the City of Milwaukee this male teen population is 84% minority (i.e., 55% African Americans, 22% Hispanics, 4% Asians, 1% Native Americans, and 2% persons of more than 1 race). In the four-county metro area, this male teen population is 42% minorities (including 23% African Americans, 12% Hispanics, 3% Asians, 1% Native Americans, and 3% persons of more than 1 race).

Who's Training Milwaukee's Future Builders? Race/Ethnicity of Construction Trade Apprentices (2013)

Of 643 apprentices with union construction firms in the Milwaukee metro area in April 2013, only 65 were African Americans, 53 Latinos, and 8 Asian Americans. Of 175 non-union apprentices, only 10 were African Americans, 16 Latinos, 1 Native American, and 1 Asian American. It is difficult for companies to hire and train apprentices while their experienced workers are on lay-off or only employed part-time. At the same time, there is a public interest in supporting training for the future construction industry workforce and for investments in increased participation of minorities, and particularly African Americans and Latino males, in the construction industry in Milwaukee County.

Who's Building Milwaukee? Race/Ethnicity of Employees in the Largest Construction Firms (2013)

The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunities Commission requires all companies with 100 or more workers to report annually on the race/ethnicity and gender of their workforce by ten occupational groups. In 2011 African Americans held less than 4% of the jobs in the largest construction firms in metro Milwaukee. Only 85 African Americans were employed as skilled craftsmen (compared to 2,771 whites), only 35 African Americans were working as apprentices and skilled operatives (compared to 441 whites), and only 73 African Americans were employed as laborers (compared to 431 whites).

Latinos also showed low employment levels in the largest construction firms of the Milwaukee area, holding only 4% of the jobs. The companies reported 135 Latinos employed as skilled craftsmen, only 28 as apprentices and semi-skilled operatives, and only 65 as laborers.

Losing Ground: 2010 Report Card on Apprentices in the Construction Trade (2010)

This collaborative report with the NAACP Milwaukee Branch analyzes state records on 1,740 apprentices working for 443 contractors (341 union and 102 non-union) in the Milwaukee area as of January 2010. The data show African Americans hardest hit by the recession's impact on the construction industry as well as by long-standing failures to effectively recruit and retain African Americans in the trades. Too often, African Americans suffered higher job losses and were placed on lay-off in disproportionate numbers. Of the 341 union contractors with apprentices, 94% employed white apprentices but only 6% employed African American apprentices. In non-union firms, African Americans held only 6% of apprenticeships. Cancellation rates for African American apprentices were more than double the rates for white apprentices, and African Americans had a higher rate of unassigned apprentices than any other racial/ethnic group. The NAACP's Industry and Labor Committee has been working with the state Department of Workforce Development and local trade unions to improve hiring and retention of African Americans in skilled construction work.

Drilldown on African American Male Unemployment and Workforce Needs (2009)

This report uses the American Community Survey PUMs data for 2008 to describe the employed and unemployed African American male population in Milwaukee County by age, level of education and means of transportation to work. In 2008 unemployment was lowest among men of prime working age (where 12.4% of men ages 25 thru 54 were unemployed, as were 13.4% of men ages 55 thru 64) and highest for teens and young adults (teens including high school students showed an unemployment rate of 39.5%, and young adults ages 20 thru 24 had an unemployment rate of 37.1%). Most of African American males **not** in the labor force were students (28%), receiving SSI or social security (24%), institutionalized (10%), on retirement income other than social security (9%), or disabled/not on SSI (7%).

Health Occupation Drilldowns for Milwaukee County (2009)

Racial breakdowns are analyzed for Milwaukee County residents credentialed in 7 health care occupations, using records from the Wisconsin Department of Regulation & Licensing. Among county residents credentialed from 2000-2008, minorities made up 57% of licensed practical nurses, 23% of registered nurses, 16% of dental hygienists, 16% of physical therapist assistants, 11% of physical therapists, and 8% of occupational therapists and occupational therapy assistants.

Report Cards on African American and Minority Participation in Construction Trade Apprenticeships in the Milwaukee Area: A Two-Year Progress Report (2008)

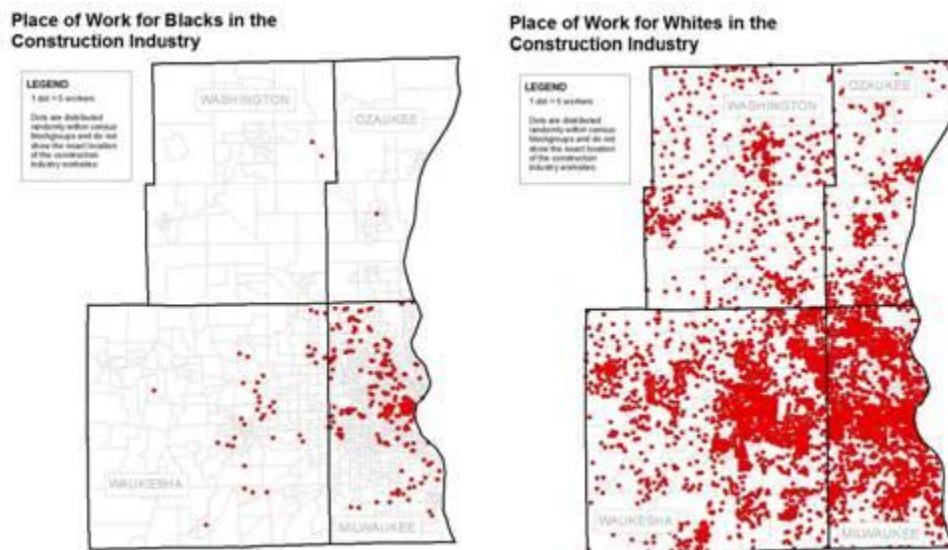
Updated report cards, prepared collaboratively with the NAACP Milwaukee Branch, examined progress in hiring of minority and female apprentices by Milwaukee area construction trade companies. The number of African American apprentices in the construction trades increased 80% (rising from 122 to 219) in the two years since the NAACP issued its report card and recommendations in 2006 calling for increased hiring of minorities in the trades. 85 companies increased their hires of African American

apprentices. As of 2007, women still made up only 3.5% of the union apprentices (62 of 1,776) and 2% of the non-union apprentices (5 of 250), with the "largest" numbers employed as electricians (N=14) and operating engineers (N=13).

The Wisconsin Department of Workforce Development now posts statistics on the race/ethnicity and gender of apprentices in each of the Milwaukee area construction trades.

Who Gets Construction Jobs and Where? Employment of African Americans, Hispanics and Total Minorities in the Construction Trades in the Milwaukee MSA, (2006).

Worksite analysis and maps using Census 2000 place-of-work data from the decennial census long-form questionnaire responses were prepared by the Employment and Training Institute to show where white, African American and Latino workers were employed, allowing a first-time examination of census place-of-work data from the perspective of central city neighborhoods and racial/ethnic groups.



How to Use ETI Drill Downs to Map Employment Integration and to Assess Workforce Diversity at Government Jobsites (2005).

This report used place-of-work data from the 2000 U.S. Census, released in 2004 and 2005 and designed for transportation planners, to assess and compare employment patterns by race/ethnicity at 1,554 federal, state and local government jobsites in the Milwaukee metro area. The report offered a first-time analysis of the presence of minorities at specific government worksites and assessed the extent to which larger government sites meet availability standards typically used by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs

(OFCCP) for the enforcement of anti-discrimination laws and affirmative action requirements placed on federal contractors.

The report offered examples of the following:

- Maps of jobsites for African Americans and Hispanics, compared to whites (for the federal, state and local governments).
- Numbers of government jobsites meeting availability standards for employment of minorities.
- Reports on the diversity record of the largest 25 government worksites in the metro area.
- Methodology for targeting opportunities for increased employment of minorities and affirmative action efforts by government and worksite.

Employer Diversity Drill Downs for All Census Tracts in the U.S. (2002/2003)

An interactive website created by the Employment and Training Institute in 2002/2003 allowed users to identify the race/Hispanic origin of the workforce employed in each U.S. census tract by industry, occupation, and type of employer based on the 2000 Census (the last decennial census using the long-form questionnaire for 1 out of 7 households). The data offered a first-time examination of the Census Transportation Planning Package (CTPP2000) place-of-work data from the perspective of central city neighborhoods and minority populations seeking greater business and employment opportunities. Tables (which could be requested for individual or groups of census tracts) also showed the earnings of workers employed in each neighborhood by race/ethnicity and by age, the poverty status of workers by means of transportation to work. Populations analyzed included African Americans, Hispanics, Asians, and whites.

Assumptions and Limitations of the Census Bureau Methodology Ranking Racial and Ethnic Residential Segregation in Cities and Metro Areas (2004)

This ETI monograph by Lois Quinn responded to a request from the U.S. Census Bureau to serve on a five-member peer review panel examining a detailed study by the Bureau ranking major metro areas by their level of racial and ethnic housing segregation. The ETI paper raises concerns about definitions of race used for the study, the "white reference" perspectives imbedded in the indexes selected, the choice of census tracts (rather than blocks), and the reliance on metropolitan statistical area boundaries as proxies for housing markets. The Census study reported on segregation of various racial/ethnic groups but not on "white segregation." Quinn criticized the indices used for their racial bias against majority non-white neighborhoods, noting the origins of the indices in the 1960s and based on concerns of white academics with "tipping," the notion that urban whites will move out of a neighborhood once the African American population reaches a critical mass. Consequently, the academics developed rankings which valued "dispersal" of the minority (i.e., non-white) populations to minimize their effect on any single white neighborhood. Geographer Harold Rose, a noted African American author, observed that the terminology used by these scholars to describe racial changes in neighborhoods [e.g., invasion, succession], while derived from descriptions of plant ecology, "has come

to represent the white residents' perception of events in the struggle for residential space, and in all likelihood the white writer's perceptions as well." (cited from Harold M. Rose, **The Black Ghetto: A Spatial Behavioral Perspective**, New York, 1971, p. 8)

Quinn called for measures of integration that are multi-racial (not just black-white, Hispanic-white, Asian-white, etc.) and which recognize both minority-majority and majority-minority neighborhoods as integrated. The Census Bureau study on **Racial and Ethnic Segregation in the United States: 1980-2000** is available on the Census Bureau website. The panelists' perspectives on the Census Bureau methodology are posted on the Census Bureau [Housing Patterns website](#).

Author's Discussion by Lois Quinn

In her nuanced 2004 book on **The Failures of Integration: How Race and Class Are Undermining the American Dream**, Sheryll Cashin still embraces the dissimilarity index as the primary measure of "integration," leading her to such puzzling observations as, "Communities with few blacks integrate better than those with many blacks. Of the nation's five most integrated urban areas, none is more than 3 percent black." (p. 90) Far more promising are her observations about the diverse urban landscape, writing: "Predominately minority neighborhoods, in particular, offer rich, interesting opportunities for class mixing, even of the one-race kind. They also offer a context for learning that will be sorely needed in the majority-minority America of the future. Whites who choose such environments will have the opportunity to test and stretch their capacity for being among, and outnumbered by, people of other races and, hence, for adjusting to and participating in our nation's emerging demographic reality. When millions of whites learn that the sky does not fall when they or their children are outnumbered racially, we will have finally begun to render the metaphor of America's melting pot a reality." (pp. 327-328)

A 2007 study on [Stable Integrated Communities](#) in Cincinnati by Charles F. Casey-Leininger and Erinn L. Green defined integrated neighborhoods using both the dissimilarity index (requiring a score of 65 or less) and a racial percentage range (requiring an African American population between 10% and 60%). Casey-Leininger explained in part: "Although we sought to solve some of the problem of how to define integration, we recognize that our criteria for racial integration has limitations. Not the least of these is that it excludes neighborhoods like Kennedy Heights that have a larger percentage of blacks than our upper limit of 60%, but that are in fact stably racially integrated at the block level. Moreover, it privileges as integrated those neighborhoods between about 40% and 90% white, but not neighborhoods between 60% and 90% black. However, the definition we chose has some merit in that it is a rough representation of the range of black/white ratios that many **whites** will tolerate in racially mixed neighborhoods.... [emphasis added]" (p. 13) A subsequent 2010 update on [Hamilton](#)

County: Stable Integrated Communities used an African American population between 10% and 80% as the standard for measuring integration.

A 2012 report on America's Racially Diverse Suburbs: Opportunities and Challenges by Myron Orfield and Thomas Luce of the University of Minnesota Law School Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity defines municipalities (and census tracts) as "integrated" or "racially diverse" if their non-white population is between 20 and 60 percent. The authors refer to communities as "predominately white" if they are over 80% white, but "predominately non-white" if they are over 60% non-white. No explanation is given for the discrepancy in the standards used -- apparently any place less than 40% white in America is considered non-diverse by the standards imposed.

The ETI analysis of African American-white integration considered residential blocks black-white integrated if they were at least 20% white and at least 20% African American, regardless of which population was in the majority.

Dustin Cable, a demographer with the University of Virginia produced an extremely useful "Racial dot map" showing the location by census block of the race/ethnicity (i.e., African American non-Hispanic, Asian, Hispanic of any race, white non-Hispanic, and all other categories including multiracial) for the 308.7 million persons counted in the 2010 U.S. Census. As noted on the website: *"This map is an American snapshot, it provides an accessible visualization of geographic distribution, population density, and racial diversity of the American people in every neighborhood in the entire country."* Nate Silver of FiveThirtyEight uses the five categories to to measure racial/ethnic diversity by city and by neighborhood (using census tract-level data), noting that *"the most diverse cities are often the most segregated."* He contrasts his city/neighborhood diversity findings to the outcomes of the dissimilarity index rankings: *"To be clear, New York and Chicago are still more diverse than cities like Lincoln [Nebraska], even at the neighborhood level. But as the numbers show, they are segregated because they underachieve their potential to have racially diverse neighborhoods."* Both sites are worth examining.

Racial Integration in Urban America: A Block Level Analysis of African American and White Housing Patterns (2003).

This study raised questions about the white-black dissimilarity index historically used to rank metropolitan areas and its assumptions about the lack of integration occurring in many cities with large African American populations. The study included preliminary development of alternative measures of integration -- which views white and other racial/ethnic populations as equal partners in the integrating process -- as a first step toward articulating measures that might assist cities in identifying the strengths and weaknesses of their population mixes. In the City of

Milwaukee, for example, one-fifth (21.6 percent) of all residents live on blocks that are black-white racially mixed -- that is, where African Americans make up at least 20 percent of the population and where whites make up at least 20 percent of the population as well. Outside of the City of Milwaukee, less than 1 percent of residents in the metro area lived on black-white integrated blocks.

Maps of the African American and White Populations in the 100 Largest Metro Areas

For the 100 largest metro areas in the U.S., the Employment and Training Institute offers 400 maps showing the integrated, predominantly African American, and predominantly white neighborhoods, based on 2000 Census data.

Birmingham MSA



Block groups with at least 20% white and 20% African American populations



Block groups with more than 80% African American populations



Block groups with more than 80% white populations, Census 2000

RELATED STUDIES

Planning Document for Employers: Changing Demographics of the Milwaukee Metro Labor Force (2003)

The future of the Milwaukee metro labor force lies in large part with its minority populations. The 2000 Census showed metro Milwaukee with the youngest African American population among the 100 largest metro areas in the U.S. Its Asian population was 4th youngest and its Latino population was 9th youngest. By contrast, the white population was older than in most metro areas, and many white baby boomers were reaching retirement age. Major challenges will be to replace retiring workers with younger trained workers from Milwaukee and to attract professionals to the metro area from other parts of the U.S. Successfully educating African American and Latino youth is imperative for the health of the metro economy.

Confronting Anti-Urban Marketing Stereotypes: A Milwaukee Economic Development Challenge (2001)

An examination of products promoted by national marketing firms indicated that many firms used racial and class-based stereotypes to describe urban neighborhoods. For example, international firms' websites claimed that African Americans in Milwaukee "splurge on fast food and spend leisure time going to bars and dancing," that Milwaukee Hispanics "splurge on videos, long-distance phone calls, cable TV, and theme parks and casino visits," while upper-income white residents were described as "interested in civic activities, volunteer work, contributions and travel." This ETI report compared the spending per square mile by central city residents in racially mixed and non-white neighborhoods with spending in suburban areas to show the concentrated buying power of central city residents. As background, the report examined the methodologies firms use to develop marketing information on Milwaukee neighborhoods, traced the history of marketing clustering systems, and explored the damage marketing stereotypes pose for Milwaukee and other cities. A paper for The Brookings Institution on Exposing Urban Legends: The Real Purchasing Poor of Central City Neighborhoods (2001) provides a template for other cities on how to address marketing stereotypes and identify economic assets of urban communities.

Author's Discussion by Lois Quinn

John T. Metzger has a useful working paper on Clustered Spaces: Racial Profiling in Real Estate Investment, which offers a detailed history of the evolution of the firms specializing in clustering data and explores the racial aspects of several ranking systems.

In 2001, after Milwaukee Mayor John Norquist criticized Claritas and CACI for using misleading information that discouraged business expansion in innercity neighborhoods, the president and CEO of Claritas reported to the press that his marketing company would remove references to gambling or use of tobacco and alcohol in characterizing neighborhoods. The new stereotypes subsequently posted on the Internet, however, described central city Milwaukee African Americans as "inner city strugglers" who "watch a lot of television and listen to a lot of radio." A major concern is that marketing firms will remove overtly racist descriptions and labels from their cluster reports while continuing to downgrade neighborhoods *because* they are predominately minority.

For another example of anti-urban marketing stereotypes, see the Congress for the New Urbanism coverage, Beware! Data-fudgers from Detroit Might "Steal" Your Car in Milwaukee, following up on Michael Horne's examination of use of data demographics to "estimate" auto thefts in an unknown "Triangle Neighborhood" of Milwaukee.