



*The AALAM/UWMCED
Index of African American Well-Being in the
Nation's Largest Metropolitan Areas
2024 Edition*

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Introduction

Multiple studies over the past 25 years have documented the entrenched racial inequality that has pervaded African American life in Milwaukee.¹ As we argued in a comprehensive 2020 study: “Milwaukee represents the archetype of modern-day metropolitan racial apartheid and inequality. On virtually all key indicators of Black community well-being, Milwaukee ranks at or near the bottom when ranked against other large metropolitan areas. Moreover, Black Milwaukee is generally worse off today than it was 40 or 50 years ago.”²

In 2020, at the request and with the sponsorship of the African American Leadership Alliance MKE (AALAM), the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Center for Economic Development (UWMCED) created an *Index of African American Well-Being*, to benchmark how well African Americans were faring in Milwaukee compared to each of the nation’s largest 50 metropolitan areas. The *Index* synthesized the latest available data on employment, income, poverty, homeownership, educational attainment, business leadership, and health outcomes into a composite index ranking each of the 50 metro areas on the well-being of their African American communities. As a composite and comparative measure, the *Index* provided a “big picture” view of the status of Black Milwaukee – and it was not an encouraging one. As we concluded in the 2020 *Index of African American Well-Being*: “The chief finding of this report is sobering: Milwaukee ranks, by a clear margin, at the bottom of all metro areas examined on the composite index of African American well-being. Most disturbingly, this poor performance is consistent on almost all the indicators for which we collected data to construct the index.”³ The founding mission of AALAM was “to redefine Milwaukee as a top-ranking city for African Americans by 2025,” and the first edition of the *Index of African American Well-Being* made clear in stark terms the magnitude of that challenge.

This report represents the second release of the *Index* and gives us some sense of whether conditions have improved in Black Milwaukee over the past four years, and whether Milwaukee has made any progress toward becoming “a top-ranking city for African Americans.” The 2020 release of the *Index* comprised data on 30 indicators of community well-being, mostly through 2017 and 2018. The

¹ See, for example, Marc V. Levine, *Race and Male Employment in the Wake of the Great Recession in the Nation’s Largest Metro Areas: 2010*, (Milwaukee: UWMCED, 2012). Access at: https://dc.uwm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1019&context=ced_pubs; Marc V. Levine, *Perspectives on the Current State of the Milwaukee Economy* (Milwaukee: UWMCED, 2013). Access at: https://dc.uwm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1013&context=ced_pubs; Marc V. Levine, *The State of Black-Owned Businesses in Milwaukee* (Milwaukee: UWMCED, 2013). Access at: https://dc.uwm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1012&context=ced_pubs; Marc V. Levine, *Milwaukee 53206: The Anatomy of Concentrated Disadvantage in an Inner City Neighborhood* (Milwaukee: UWMCED, 2019): Access at: https://dc.uwm.edu/ced_pubs/48/; and Marc V. Levine, *The State of Black Milwaukee in National Perspective: Racial Inequality in the Nation’s 50 Largest Metropolitan Areas. In 65 Charts and Tables* (Milwaukee: UWMCED, 2020). Access at: https://dc.uwm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1055&context=ced_pubs

² Levine, *The State of Black Milwaukee in National Perspective*, p. 8.

³ Levine, *The AALAM/UWMCED Index of African American Well-Being in the Nation’s Largest Metropolitan Areas* (Milwaukee: UWMCED, 2020), p. 4. Access at: https://dc.uwm.edu/ced_pubs/57/

2024 *Index* incorporates the most available recent data on our component variables, running primarily through 2020, 2021, and 2022. Moreover, the new report has significantly expanded and enhanced the components in the *Index*, which now contains 44 indicators, including several that focus more sharply on Black-White (non-Hispanic)⁴ disparities as well as recent trends on various indicators.⁵ The result is a richer, more robust *Index* that provides a fuller portrait of the well-being of the African American community in Milwaukee and across the nation’s largest metropolitan areas.

The 2024 *Index of African American Well-Being* delivers another set of troubling results on the state of Black Milwaukee. Once again, Milwaukee ranked dead last --50th out of 50-- on the composite index of African American well-being. On 20 of the 44 individual indicators making up the *Index*, *Milwaukee* ranked 48th or worse. On 14 indicators, Milwaukee ranked last or next to last, by far the worst performance of any of the metro areas in the index. Milwaukee continues to post the lowest Black median household income; the highest Black poverty rate; the lowest percentage of African Americans holding a college degree or higher; and the widest racial disparities among the 50 largest metro areas in income, poverty, educational attainment, and prime-working age male employment. And, of course, Milwaukee continues to register the highest Black-WNH residential segregation rate among the metro areas. There is no way to sugarcoat the numbers: Milwaukee remains firmly ensconced as the nation’s lowest ranked large metro area in African American well-being.

Although the “top line” findings for Black Milwaukee in the 2024 *Index* are abysmal, there are some promising “green shoots” in the recent data, signs of progress that could be harbingers of future improvement. Between 2017-22, for the first time in 30 years, real median income rose for Milwaukee’s African American households, by 7.1 percent. Poverty fell slightly, the share of Blacks holding high school and college degrees rose, and Milwaukee’s notoriously high segregation rate declined modestly over the last decade. We should not overstate these shifts. None were sufficient to move the needle on where Milwaukee stands nationally in the well-being of the Black community, and it remains to be seen whether these trends are durable. Nonetheless, it is encouraging to see improvement on several indicators of African American community well-being in Milwaukee, for the first time in many years.

This report is divided into four sections. First, after a brief discussion of how the *Index* was constructed and the meaning of the values displayed in the index, we present the ranking of metropolitan areas on the 2024 *Index of African American Well-Being*. Second, we drill down the analysis with “sub-indexes,” which illustrate how metro areas stack up on several clusters of indicators: employment, income and poverty, public health, business participation, and educational attainment. Third, we array

⁴ Hereafter, we abbreviate White non-Hispanic as WNH.

⁵ The 2024 *Index* differs from the earlier version not only with the addition of new indicators, but with deletion of several indicators that were in the 2020 edition but for which no new data is available. See Appendix A for a full listing of the variables, and explanation of why certain indicators were omitted from this version of the *Index*.

the data for Milwaukee on all the component indicators of the *Index*, including charts and tables that show where Milwaukee sits in relation to other metro areas on each of the indicators. Finally, we conclude with historical data on trends in Milwaukee’s African American community on certain key indicators, to provide deeper context from which to interpret the *Index* and to perhaps give a broader sense of the directions that Black Milwaukee is heading. Finally, an Appendix (D) provides data on all indicators for all 50 metro areas.

[Note: To streamline presentation of the data in the body of the report, we have placed two important sections in the appendices. First, Appendix A lists and describes the component variables of the *Index*, as well as the sources of the data in this report. Second, Appendix C discusses some of the methodological challenges and statistical limitations of the data underlying this report; we strongly encourage readers to review this appendix to properly appreciate the judiciousness that should be used in interpreting the results of the 2024 *Index*].

How the Composite Index Was Put Together and What it How to Read It

There are numerous ways that researchers can synthesize multiple indicators into a composite index – an index that, with a single number, conveys the overall status of the phenomenon under investigation. Typically, when researchers assemble “best places to live” or “community well-being” indexes, they gather data on several variables bearing on quality of life in a city or region, and then choose a technique to standardize those variables into a single index. There are always methodological issues involved: Should variables be weighted? Should statistical techniques be used to account for different “intervals” and “ratios” among the variables? In the last analysis, though, the key issue for a useful index is whether it contains the right component indicators and enough of them to yield a meaningful final “index number.”

This report presents data on 44 indicators of African American community well-being for each of the nation’s 50 largest metropolitan areas. The results on each of these indicators is then synthesized into a composite index that then ranks each of the metros on the overall well-being of their Hispanic communities. Although the list of indicators we’ve assembled is hardly exhaustive –there are dozens more that could have been chosen—it is extensive, and we believe they convey a solid sense of how African American communities are faring in the metro areas we have analyzed. We have opted for a simple index that takes the ranks on each indicator for each of the 50 metro areas, and then aggregates and averages them to produce a final “index number” for each metro. On each indicator, the better the “performance” (e.g. high income, low poverty, or high employment), the higher the rank. To give a highly stylized example, if a metro area had the best performance on every single one of the indicators,

the ultimate index number for that metro would be “1;” conversely, a uniformly worst performance for a metro would yield an index number of “50.” Obviously, no metros fall into those extremes, but as Chart 1 below shows, there are clear gradations among the metro areas in their final, aggregate index numbers. In the end, though imperfect, we believe this simple indexing approach provides a useful perspective on how various metropolitan areas stack up on African American community well-being.

The 2024 Index of African American Well-Being

Chart 1 below displays the ranking of metro areas on the 2024 *Index*. Austin, which ranked 10th on the 2020 edition of the *Index*, now holds the top position (displacing San Jose, which now ranks second). Milwaukee remains the 50th and lowest ranked metro area in African American well-being. Table 1 shows how each of the nation’s largest metropolitan areas has stacked up on the two editions of the *Index*.

Several metro areas saw striking improvement in their index rankings between 2020 and 2024.⁶ Austin vaulted from 10th to 1st; Phoenix jumped from 18th to 3rd; Atlanta rose from 15th to 5th; and Portland surged from 25th to 10th. Conversely, a few metros also tumbled: New York fell from 19th to 31st; Hartford from 12th to 22nd; and Providence from 4th to 13th.

But in most metro areas, there has been minimal movement in the rankings.⁷ Seven of the metros ranked in the top ten the 2024 rankings were also in the top 10 in 2020 (Austin, San Jose, Seattle, Boston, Raleigh, Charlotte, Washington, D.C.). Even more striking, *eight* of the lowest ten metros in 2024 were also stuck at the bottom in 2020 (Milwaukee, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, and Memphis). As in the earlier version of the *Index*, deindustrialized metropolises of the urban Midwest continue to manifest the worst conditions for African Americans, notwithstanding a flurry of media stories on “renaissance” and “turnarounds” in some of these cities.⁸ Whatever revitalization is occurring in these cities, the evidence is scant that the benefits are trickling down in transformative ways to the city’s African American community.

⁶ Recall that the 2020 index is based mainly on data through 2017-18; the 2024 index incorporates data mostly through 2020-22.

⁷ This could be a sign of minimal change in social and economic conditions in these communities but could also be a product of some of the statistical and methodological issues discussed in Appendix C, most notably the slight (and somewhat problematic) chronological overlap in some of the American Community Survey data sets used in constructing the index.

⁸ See for example: “America’s best example of turning around a dying downtown (Cleveland),” *Washington Post*, December 19, 2023; C.J. Hughes, “Buffalo’s ‘Other Story’ is Told in Redevelopment and Growth,” *New York Times*, July 3, 2022; “Detroit is working again,” *The Economist*, April 20, 2023; Bruce Katz and Jeremy Nowak, “How struggling Pittsburgh is reinventing itself as an innovation hub,” *Next City*, January 25, 2018; and Dan Simmons, “Milwaukee: Making Waves,” *U.S. News and World Report*, August 22, 2018.

Chart 1: 2024 Composite Index of African American Well-Being in the Nation's 50 Largest Metropolitan Areas

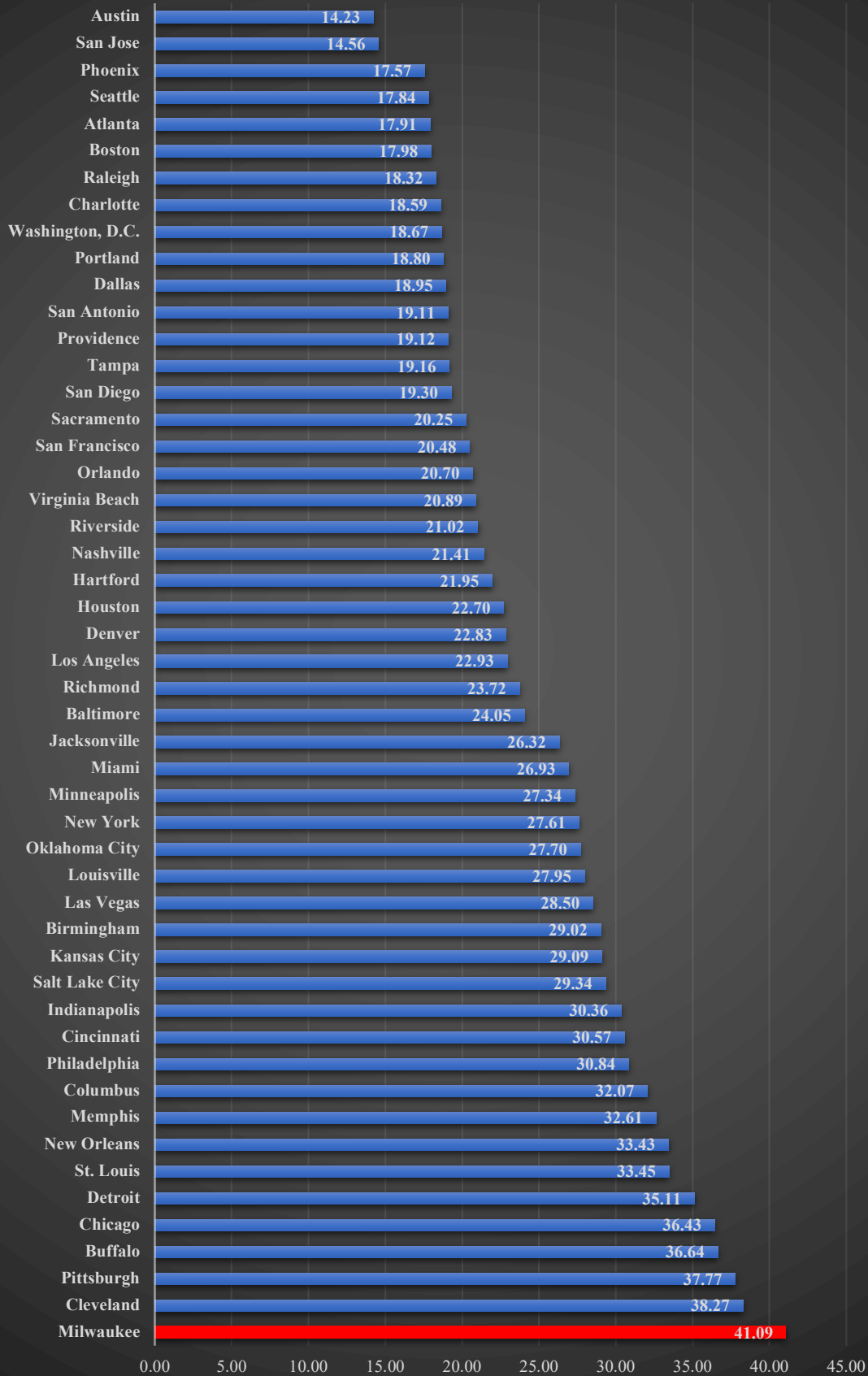


Table 1
Changing Ranks on the Composite Index of
African American Well-Being: 2020-2024

Metropolitan Area	2020 Index Rank	2024 Index Rank
Atlanta	15	5
Austin	10	1
Baltimore	24	27
Birmingham	33	35
Boston	2	6
Buffalo	48	47
Charlotte	9	8
Chicago	47	46
Cincinnati	42	39
Cleveland	49	49
Columbus	32	41
Dallas	17	11
Denver	14	24
Detroit	45	45
Hartford	12	22
Houston	20	23
Indianapolis	39	38
Jacksonville	35	28
Kansas City	36	36
Las Vegas	38	34
Los Angeles	30	25
Louisville	34	33
Memphis	43	42
Miami	27	29
Milwaukee	50	50
Minneapolis	23	30
Nashville	21	21
New Orleans	40	43
New York	19	31
Oklahoma City	37	32
Orlando	16	18
Philadelphia	41	40
Phoenix	18	3
Pittsburgh	46	48
Portland	25	10
Providence	4	13
Raleigh	3	7
Richmond	29	26
Riverside	13	20
Sacramento	26	16
Salt Lake City	31	37
San Antonio	8	12
San Diego	5	15
San Francisco	28	17
San Jose	1	2
Seattle	7	4
St. Louis	44	44
Tampa	22	14
Virginia Beach	11	19
Washington, D.C.	6	9

Even amidst the general struggles of African American communities in midwestern cities, it is striking how Black Milwaukee continues to stand out. As we noted in the introduction, Milwaukee ranked 48th or worse on nearly half of the indicators; last (50th) on ten of the indicators, and on three-

quarters of the indicators, Milwaukee was in the bottom ten of the 50 metro areas in African American well-being. (See Table 2 for the details on all these rankings).

Charts 2-8 aggregate all the indicators used to construct the index, into several clusters of indicators (“subindexes”) such as employment, income and poverty, public health, business participation, and educational attainment.⁹ This enables us to further drill down on the areas of strength or weakness in community well-being. Black Milwaukee’s worst areas are income and poverty; employment; educational attainment; and measures of racial disparities: on each of these, Milwaukee ranked 50th among the 50 metro areas. Milwaukee ranked poorly, but somewhat better on the subindex of health care indicators (44th); the subindex business ownership and leadership (32nd of 44 metros)¹⁰; and 36th on a subindex measuring recent trendlines on indicators. We explore the specific Milwaukee data underlying these ranks in the next section of the report.

The State of Black Milwaukee in Comparative Perspective

Table 2 adds granular detail to this portrait of African American distress in Milwaukee, showing not only the metro area’s rank on each component indicator of the composite index of well-being, but also the actual measure on each (e.g. Black poverty rate of 30.1%; Black homeownership rate 27.5%; prime-age Black male employment rate of 67.6%; and so forth). As Table 2 illustrates, the scale of African American distress in Milwaukee remains staggering. Consider just a few of the key observations:

Income and Poverty

- Black median household income in Milwaukee (\$37,182 in 2022) ranked last among the nation’s 50 largest metropolitan areas. The income of the median Black household was only 43.5% that of a WNH household – the biggest racial disparity in the large metros.
- Only 13.4% of Milwaukee’s Black households reported annual income over \$100,000 in 2022, lowest percentage among the 50 metro areas in this study.
- Milwaukee’s Black poverty rate –30.1%-- remained the worst in the large metros, and Black-WNH disparity in poverty was also the widest.

⁹ See Appendix B for a list of the indicators that make up each of the subindexes.

¹⁰ For six metros, data on Black-owned employer businesses were suppressed, for reasons of confidentiality.

Chart 2: Employment Index

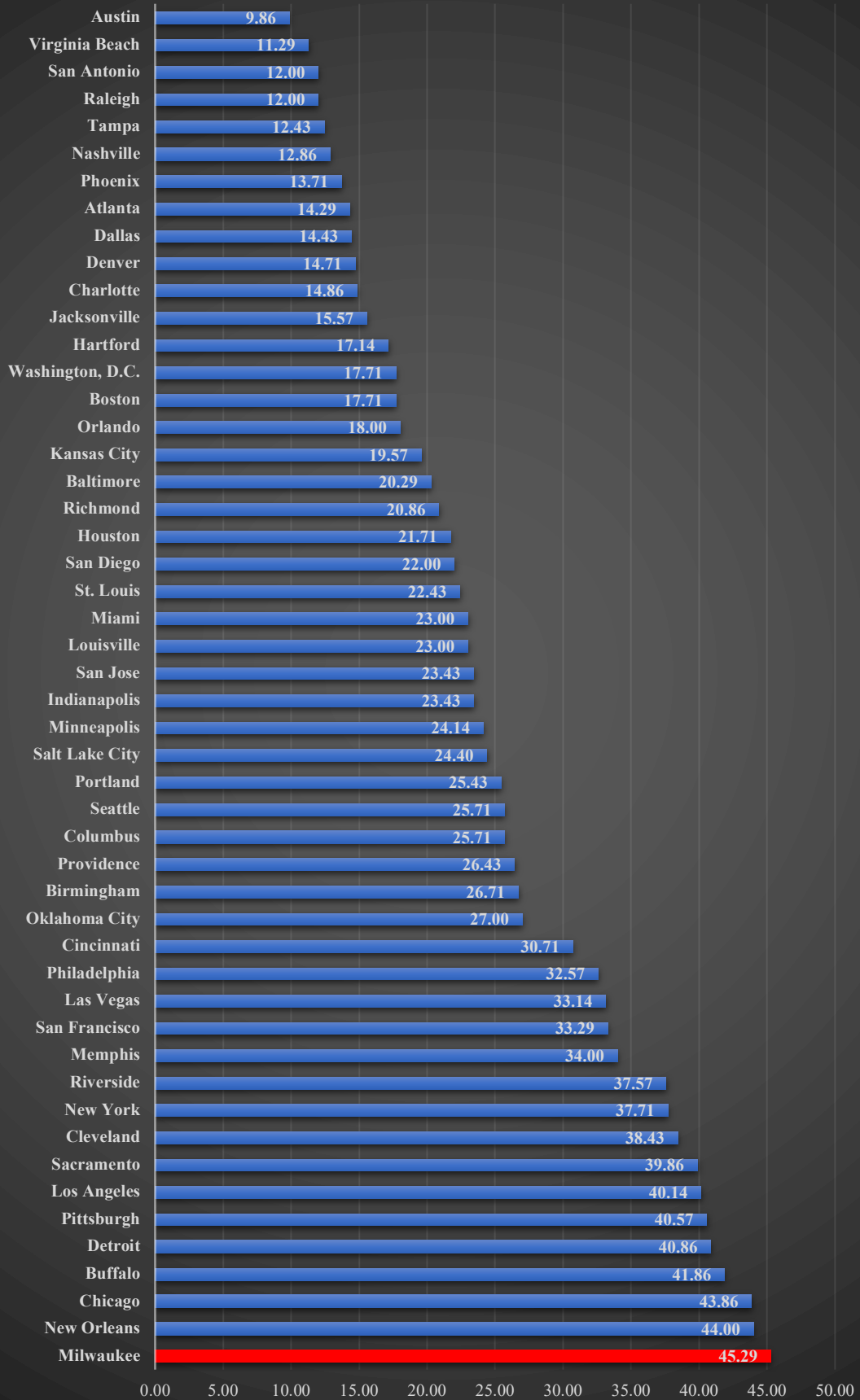


Chart 3: Health Index

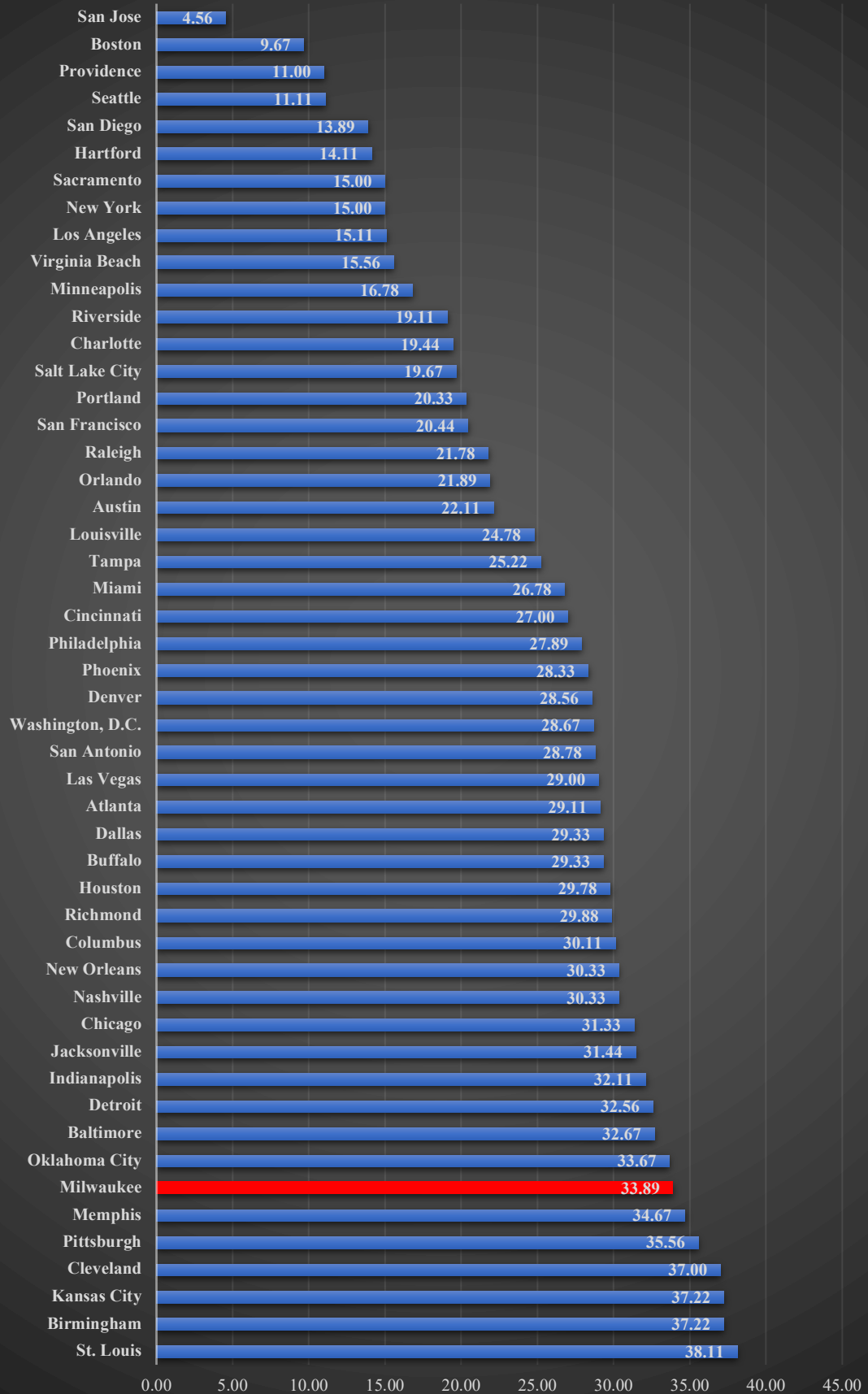


Chart 4: Income and Poverty Index

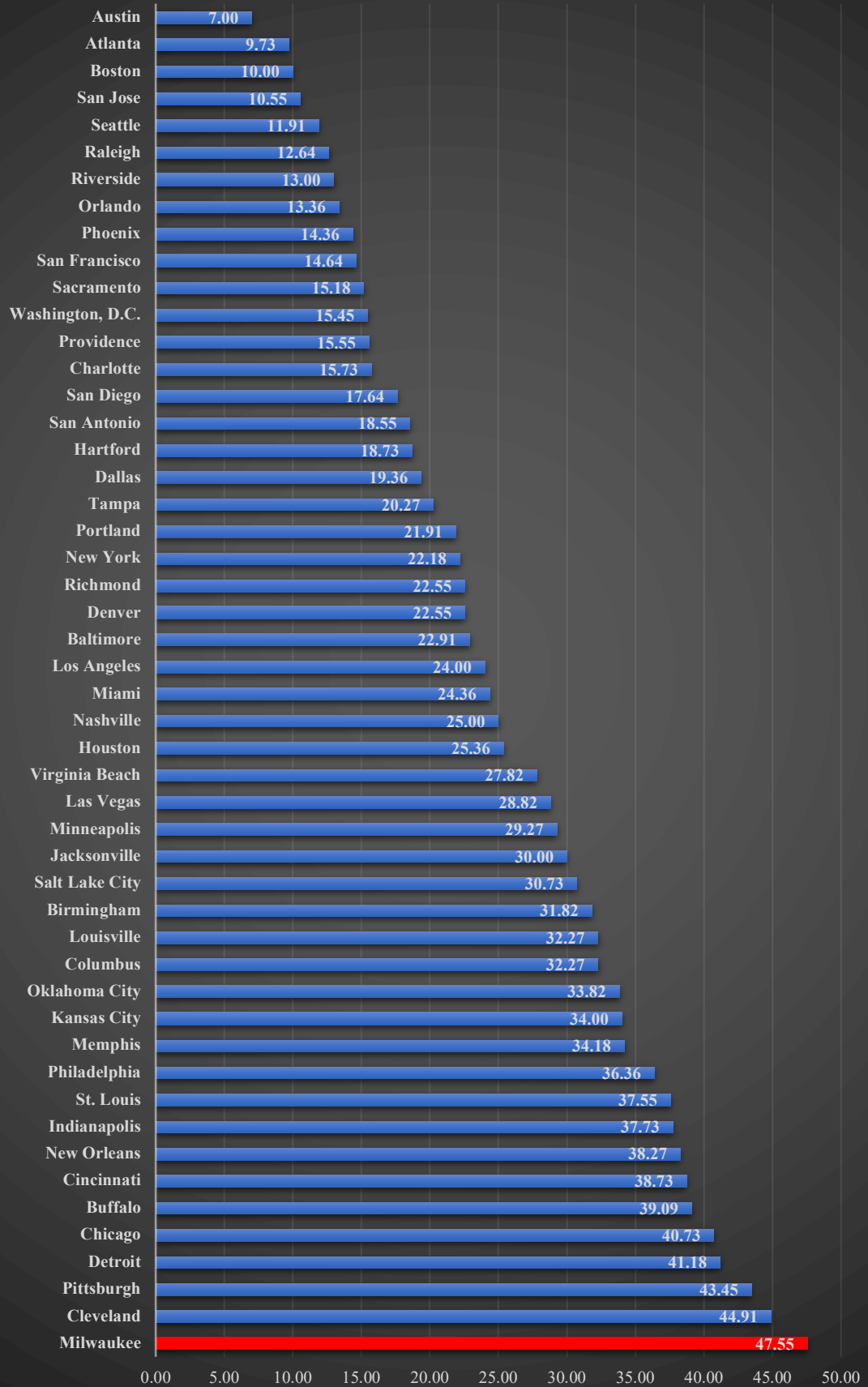


Chart 5: Index of Educational Attainment

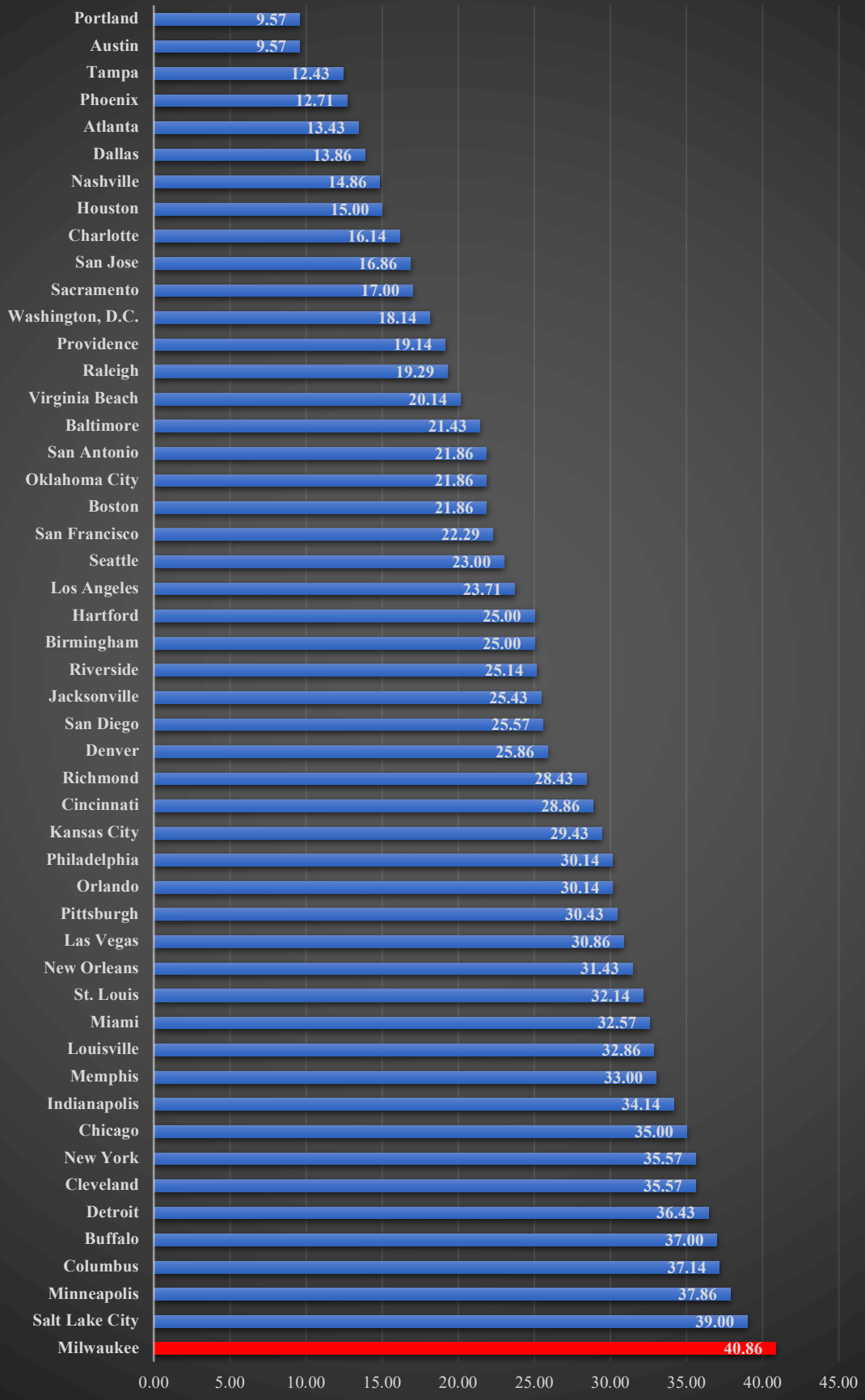


Chart 6: Index of Business Ownership and Leadership

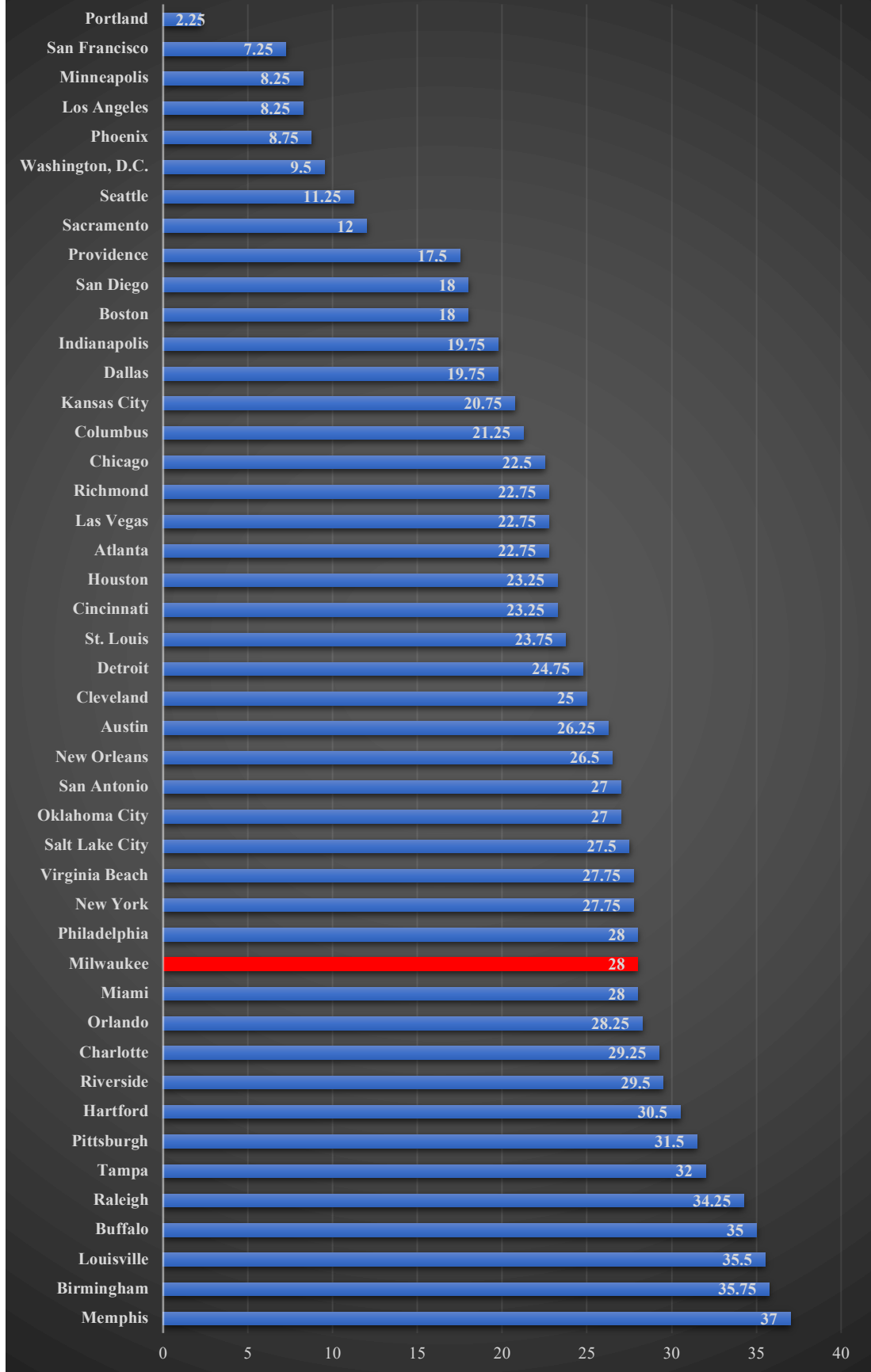


Chart 7: Index of Black-WNH Disparities

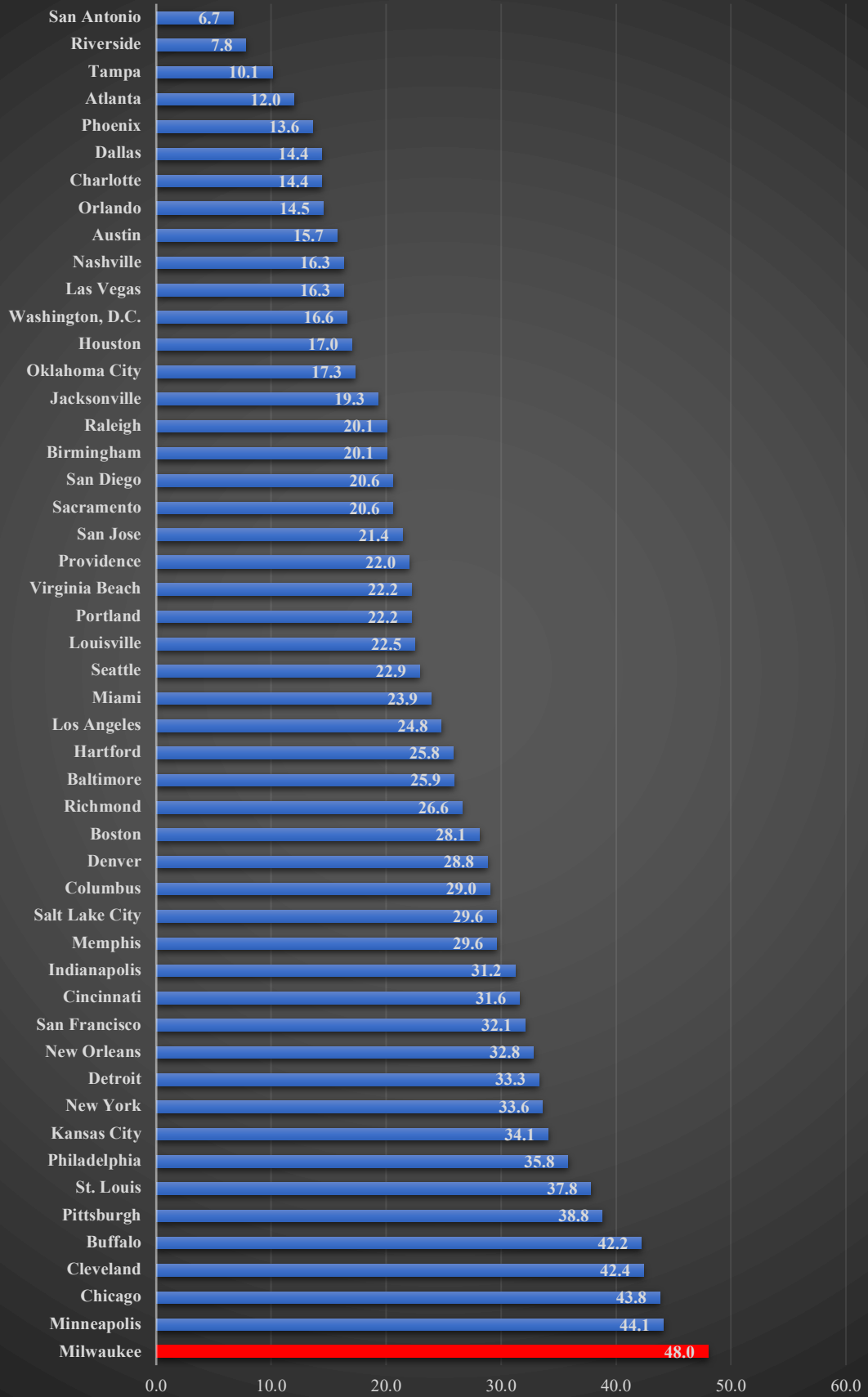
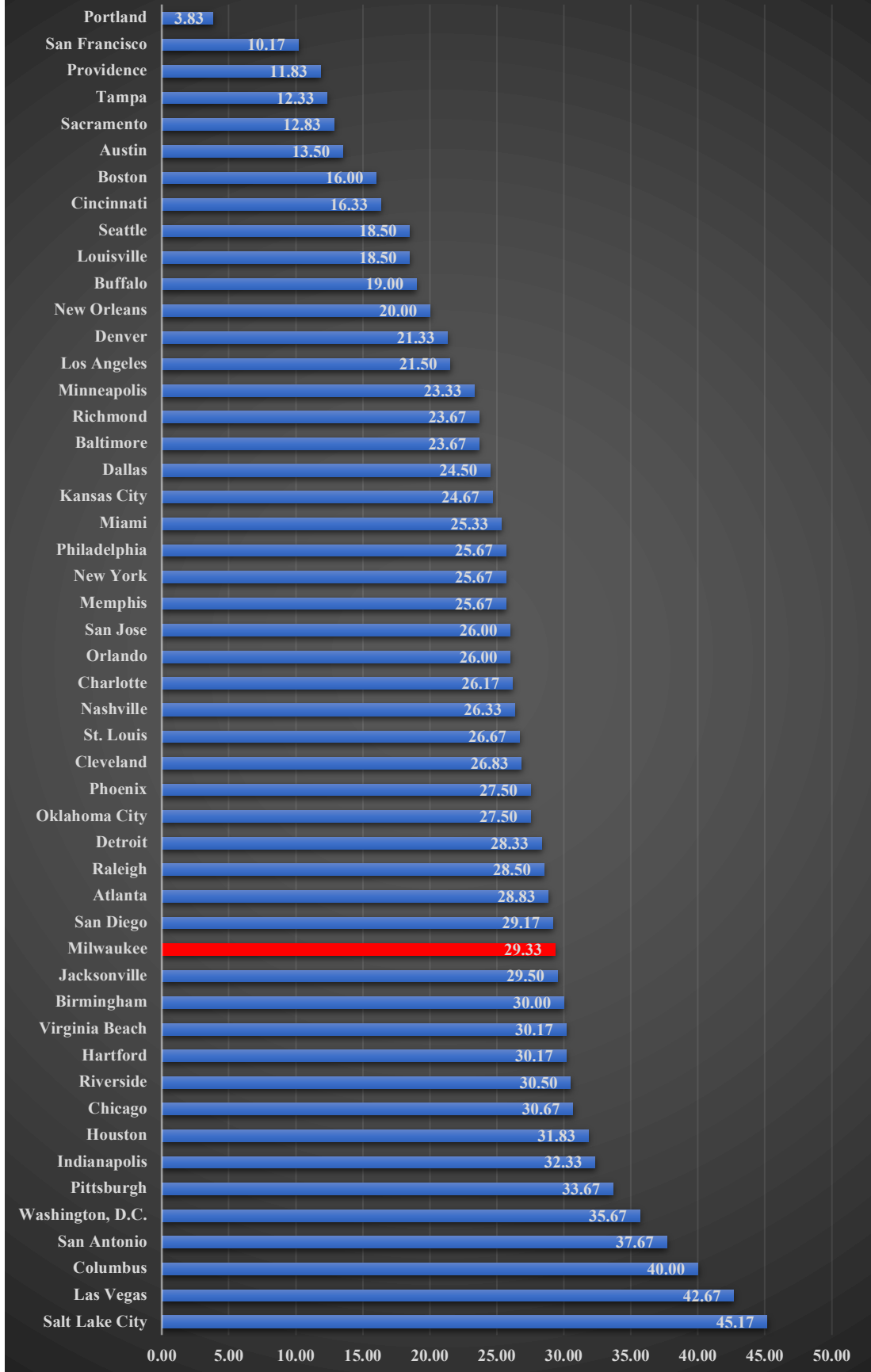


Chart 8: Index of Positive Recent Trends on Selected Indicators



- The poverty rate for Black children in Milwaukee was 38.8% -- the third worst among the 50 metros.
- Milwaukee’s rate of Black homeownership, 27.5%, ranked next-to-last among the 50 metro areas, and the Black-WNH disparity in homeownership ranked 48th. Disparities in homeownership, in turn, are a major factor in racial wealth gaps that play a key role in perpetuating generational racial inequality.

Employment

- 67.6% of prime working-age African American males (ages 25-54) were employed in 2022, which placed Milwaukee 43rd among the 50 metros. The Black-WNH disparity in employment rates – a 23 percentage point gap—was the largest in the nation.
- 22.5% of Milwaukee’s African American youth (ages 16-24) were “disconnected”: not in school nor holding a job; this was the third worst rate of disconnection in the nation.

Health

- Black Milwaukee posted rates of low birth-weight babies and births to teen mothers that ranked next-to-worst (49th) among the 50 metro areas; Milwaukee Black infant mortality rate ranked 46th.
- Milwaukee’s African American community ranked in the bottom ten in “deaths of despair”: mortality from suicide or (mainly) alcohol or drug abuse. This rate doubled from the last version of the *Index*; a surge undoubtedly pandemic-related.

Business Leadership

- Milwaukee ranked comparatively well – in the top half of the 50 metros—in various measures of Black ownership of employer businesses.
- But on the key measure of leadership in regional economy, Milwaukee ranked 45th in the share of African Americans (controlling for the racial composition of the overall labor force) holding executive or senior management positions in private industry.

Educational Attainment

- Compared to other metros, Milwaukee continues to lag in Black educational attainment, ranking last in the percentage of adults (25 and over) holding a bachelor’s degree or higher, and 43rd in the fraction of adults holding a high school degree/equivalent or higher. The metro’s Black-WNH disparity in college degrees is the worst in the nation.

Residential Segregation

- Milwaukee’s Black-WNH segregation fell slightly over the past decade, but the metro still ranks as the most segregated in the nation. As we analyzed in 2020, Black-WNH

segregation is the factor most strongly correlated with overall performance on the *Index of African American Well-Being*.¹¹

**Table 2:
The State of Black Milwaukee 2024:
Performance on the Component Indicators of the Index of Community Well-Being**

Indicator	Mke Value 2020 Index	Mke Value 2024 Index	Mke Rank 2020 Index	Mke Rank 2024 Index
Employment Rate, Young Adult Males (ages 20-24)	55.9	49.6	41	45
Employment Rate, Young Adult Females (ages 20-24)	66.4	52.9	25	48
Employment Rate, Prime Working Age Males (ages 25-54)	66.3	67.6	47	43
Employment Rate, Prime Working Age Females (ages 25-54)	70.8	73.3	42	36
Black-WNH Prime-Age Male (25-54) Employment Disparity (pct point gap)		22.9		50
Black-WNH Prime-Age Female Employment Disparity (pct point gap)		11.8		47
Disconnected Youth (% 16-24 not in school/not employed)	25.6	22.5	49	48
Median Household Income (cost of living adjusted)	\$36,331	\$37,182	50	50
% Change in Household Income (inflation adjusted): (2010-18) (2017-2022)	-7.1%	+7.1%	46	36
Black Household Income as Percentage of White (Non-Hispanic) Income	42.0%	43.5%	50	50
\$100,000 Real Income HHs as Fraction of All Black Households (RPP adjusted)	13.2%	13.4%	49	50
% Change in % Black \$100,000 Income HHs: 2010-2022 (inflation-adjusted)		1.7%		45
Poverty Rate	33.4	30.1	50	50
Ratio of Black Poverty Rate to White (Non-Hispanic)	4.7 to 1	4.5 to 1	49	50
Children's Poverty Rate	44.6	38.8	48	48
Percentage Living in Extreme Poverty	14.4	13.1	47	47
Percentage Living in Concentrated Poverty Neighborhoods		37.4		48
Black-WNH Concentrated poverty ratio/disparsity		13.4 to 1		49
Pct of Population over 25 years with high school degree/equivalent or higher	82.8	86.4	47	43
% growth in pct of Blacks with high school degree or higher: 2017-2022		5.6%		1
WNH-Black High School degree ratio/disparsity		1.12		48
Pct of Population over 25 years with a bachelor's degree or higher	14.1	15.2	50	50
% growth in pct of Blacks with bachelor's degree or higher: 2017-2022		9.8%		46
WNH-Black Bachelor's degree ratio/disparsity		2.9 to 1		50
Homeownership Rate	27.4	27.5	49	49
WNH-Black Homeownership Rate gap/disparsity (pct point gap)		42.3		48
Ratio of Black-to-Overall Rates in Mortgage Denials		2.1 to 1		47
Percentage Receiving SNAP benefits	40.9	40.0	50	50
% Children (under 18) with no Health Insurance coverage	1.4	3.2	6	14
Adults (19-64) with no Health Insurance coverage	12.6	9.6	26	22
% decline in share of adults with no health insurance coverage (2010-2022)		-58.7%		20
Rate of Births to Teenage Mothers	9.5%	9.6%	47	49
Rate of Low Birth-Weight Babies	16.8%	16.6%	49	49
Infant Mortality Rate per 1,000 births	14.5	14.4	47	46
Mortality Rate from Circulatory Diseases per 100,000 pop		276.0		25
Rate of Deaths by Homicide per 100,000 pop	38.6	51.6	41	39
Rate of "Deaths of Despair" per 100,000 pop (Alcohol, Drugs, Suicide)	39.6	85.2	40	41
Black-owned employer firms per 1000 Black working-age population		4.97		23
Employment in Black-owned emp firms per 1000 Black working-age pop		41.4		24
Employees per Black-owned employer firm		8.3		20
Index of Black rep in private sector senior executive posts (100=parity)	19.4	17.7	42	45
Black-WNH Segregation Index	79.8	75.1	50	50
% Change in Segregation Index (2010-2020)		-5.65%		28
Black-WNH Jail Incarceration Disparity		9.7 to 1		41

Notes: The empty cells (in data and ranking) for the 2020 index are for those new variables that we added to the 2024 index. Two variables from the earlier versions of the index – concentrated poverty and coronary mortality rate—were defined slightly differently in the 2024 index (see Appendix A for explanation), so we omitted the earlier data to avoid erroneous comparisons. These two new variables are sufficiently like the old ones, however, that we have retained the rankings from the earlier versions of the index, to give a sense of the trendline.

¹¹ See Marc V. Levine, *The AALAM/UWMCED Index of African American Well-Being in the Nation's Largest Metropolitan Areas* (Milwaukee: UWMCED and AALAM, 2020), p.26.

Taken together, these indicators suggest an ongoing crisis and little meaningful improvement in the well-being of Milwaukee’s African American community. But that conclusion should be nuanced. It is important to distinguish between *relative* measures and *absolute* measures. Although there is no doubt that in *relative* terms, Black Milwaukee ranks as the most distressed African American community among the nation’s largest metros, in *absolute* terms, there has been modest but discernible improvement in recent years on several gauges. Take, for example, the crucial indicator of household income. Milwaukee’s African American community continues to rank last among the nation’s 50 largest metropolitan areas, with a cost-of-living adjusted median annual household income of just \$37,182 in 2022. Yet, masked in that *relative* measure has been *absolute* improvement over the past five years. Between 2017-2022, inflation-adjusted Black median household income in Milwaukee rose by seven percent – the first increase in that measure since the 1990s. This income growth¹² rippled through several related indicators: Black household income as a percentage of WNH income rose slightly between 2017-22 (though remains abysmally low at 43.5%); and the Black poverty rate, extreme poverty rate, and children’s poverty rate all fell slightly. These gains are modest¹³ but encouraging, perhaps representing the start of a turnaround in the five-decade long “stealth depression” in Black Milwaukee.¹⁴

Several other, more positive findings should be noted that give a fuller picture of the trajectory of Black Milwaukee:

- Although health indicators for Milwaukee’s African American community are generally distressing, Black Milwaukee continues to rank favorably on measures of health insurance coverage: 22nd best of 50 in the % of adults without coverage (9.6% in 2022). Since the passage of the Affordable Care Act, the percentage of Milwaukee Black adults without coverage has declined by almost 59%, the 20th best decline among African Americans in the nation’s largest metropolitan areas.
- Joblessness, especially for Black males, has been a decades-long crisis in Milwaukee, but the percentage of prime-age males who are working has continued to climb slowly since the Great Recession. Milwaukee’s rank continues in the bottom ten of metro areas, but the prime-age Black male employment rate has climbed to 67.6%, the highest level since

¹² Researchers have recently documented the remarkable degree to which nationally earnings have risen for low-wage workers in the wake of pandemic and post-pandemic tightening in labor markets as well as the impact of policies such as pandemic recovery expenditures (CARES and ARPA) and the Inflation Reduction Act. As African American workers have historically been disproportionately represented in low-wage segment of the labor market, our data suggests that these gains have clearly boosted Black household income. See David Autor, Arindrajit Dube, and Annie McGrew, “The Unexpected Compression: Competition at Work in the Low Wage Labor Market,” NBER Working Paper No. 31010, November 2023

¹³ The reductions in extreme poverty and in the Black-WNH income disparity are also technically inside the margin of error of the American Community Survey estimates for this data and should be interpreted cautiously.

¹⁴ See Marc V. Levine, *Stealth Depression: Joblessness in the City of Milwaukee Since 1990* (Milwaukee: UWMCED, 2003). Access at: https://dc.uwm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1042&context=cgd_pubs; and Levine, *The State of Black Milwaukee*.

1990 (see Chart 14 below). The Black female prime-age employment rate also risen to 73.3%, which now ranks 36th among the 50 largest metropolitan areas.

- Deficits in educational attainment remain an important element of disadvantage for Milwaukee’s African American community. Yet here too there has been recent progress: a nearly 10% growth in the percentage of Blacks with a college degree or higher between 2017-2022, and a 6% increase in the fraction of Milwaukee African Americans with a high school degree or higher during that period. In fact, the percentage increase in Blacks holding at least high school credentials in Milwaukee was the highest among Black communities in the 50 metros between 2017-2022.¹⁵

Table 3 illustrates, with even more context, how Milwaukee’s African American community stacks up against the other large metropolitan areas. This table shows, for each component indicator, Milwaukee’s status and rank compared to the “best-performing” metro, the “10th best” metro, the median metro (25th ranked), and the worst ranked metro. The table gives a sense of the gap between Black Milwaukee’s outcomes on these variables and those of “top performing” and poor-outcome metropolitan areas. As the table illustrates, the distance between Milwaukee and “top metros” for African Americans is considerable. Some examples:

- African American median household income in Milwaukee was \$37,182 in 2022 (ranked last on the *Index*). That is less than half the cost-of-living adjusted figure for top-ranked San Jose (\$77,820), and almost 50% less than the Black median household income in Dallas (\$54,025), the metro area in the middle of the distribution (25th).
- Milwaukee’s 7.1 % increase in real Black household income between 2017-22 was welcome, but it was less than one-quarter of the percentage increase in top-ranked Providence.
- The fraction of Milwaukee African Americans living in concentrated poverty neighborhoods – census tracts in which 30% or more of the residents are poor—is almost three times the share living in such neighborhoods in 25th ranked Miami, and a massive 53-times higher than top ranked San Jose. Milwaukee ranks last among the 50 metros on this important indicator, which represents a combination of high poverty and high segregation.
- Milwaukee ranks 41st on African American “deaths of despair,” a rate that is 4.5-times higher than in top-ranked Orlando, and almost 50% higher than in 25th ranked Seattle. (On the other hand, Milwaukee’s rate was just one-third the rate in worst-ranked San Francisco).

¹⁵ That increase was somewhat misleading, coming from a lower base than most other metro areas on this indicator (thus giving Milwaukee more room for growth); consequently, Milwaukee only rose to 43rd in rank on the measure of % of high school graduates.

**Table 3:
Black Milwaukee Ranks and Performance Compared to Metros at Selected
Ranking Thresholds on the Composite Index of Well-Being**

Indicator	Value	Rank
Employment Rate, Young Adult Males (ages 20-24)		
Milwaukee	49.6%	45
Denver	85.9%	1
Oklahoma City	67.5%	10
San Jose	60.4%	25
Los Angeles	47.4%	49
Employment Rate, Prime Age Males (ages 25-54)		
Milwaukee	67.6%	43
Austin	84.7%	1
San Antonio	79.6%	10
Columbus	75.9%	25
Riverside	65.5%	50
Employment Rate, Young Adult Females (ages 20-24)		
Milwaukee	52.9%	49
Hartford	84.0%	1
Tampa	71.4%	10
Seattle	66.0%	25
Riverside	52.4%	49
Employment Rate, Prime Age Females (ages 25-54)		
Milwaukee	70.8%	42
Hartford	85.4%	1
Charlotte	79.2%	10
Orlando	75.3%	25
Detroit	67.8%	50
Black-WNH Pct Pt Racial Gap in Employment Rate: Prime Age Males		
Milwaukee	22.9	50
San Antonio	5.5	1
Orlando	8.3	10
Virginia Beach	11.5	25
Milwaukee	22.9	50
Black-WNH Pct Pt Racial Gap in Employment Rate: Prime Age Females		
Milwaukee	11.8	47
Virginia Beach	-7.3	1
Atlanta	-0.13	10
Kansas City	4.0	25
Minneapolis	13.2	50
Disconnected Youth (% not in school/not working)		
Milwaukee	22.5%	48
San Jose	5.3%	1
Denver	13.4%	10
Buffalo	15.8%	25
Las Vegas	26.8%	50

Table 3 (continued)

Indicator	Value	Rank
Black Median Household Income (cost of living adjusted)		
Milwaukee	\$37,182	50
San Jose	\$77,820	1
Phoenix	\$57,296	10
Dallas	\$54,025	25
Milwaukee	\$37,182	50
% Change in Black Median Household Income (inflation-adjusted): 2017-2022		
Milwaukee	+7.1%	36
Providence	+30.4%	1
Phoenix	+16.5%	10
Cleveland	+9.4%	25
Salt Lake City	-7.4%	50
Black Median Household Income as Percentage of White (Non-Hispanic) Median		
Milwaukee	43.5%	50
Riverside	77.0%	1
Miami	64.4%	10
Baltimore	58.4%	25
Milwaukee	43.5%	50
Affluent (\$100k+) Income HHs as Fraction of All Black Households		
Milwaukee	13.4%	50
San Jose	40.2%	1
San Francisco	29.1%	10
Nashville	25.0%	25
Milwaukee	13.4%	50
% change in % of Black \$100k+ HHs, inflation adjusted: 2010-2022		
Milwaukee	+1.7%	45
Austin	+45.4%	1
Providence	+31.5%	10
Houston	+15.6%	25
Las Vegas	-15.1%	50
Poverty Rate		
Milwaukee	30.1%	50
Washington, D.C.	11.7%	1
Seattle	16.6%	10
Nashville	19.1%	25
Milwaukee	30.1%	50
Percentage Living in Extreme Poverty		
Milwaukee	13.1%	47
Washington, D.C.	6.0%	1
Orlando	7.6%	10
Denver	9.3%	25
Pittsburgh	14.8%	50
Children's Poverty Rate		
Milwaukee	38.8%	48
San Jose	10.7%	1
Charlotte	22.0%	10
Richmond	26.7%	25
Pittsburgh	41.5%	50

Table 3 (continued)

Indicator	Value	Rank
Percentage Living in Concentrated Poverty Neighborhoods		
Milwaukee	37.4%	50
San Jose	0.7%	1
Washington D.C.	5.6%	10
Miami	13.2%	25
Buffalo	38.7%	50
Ratio of Black Poverty Rate to WNH Poverty Rate		
Milwaukee	4.5 to 1	50
Riverside	1.9 to 1	1
Los Angeles	2.2 to 1	10
New Orleans	2.6 to 1	25
Milwaukee	4.5 to 1	50
Ratio of Black Concentrated Poverty Rate to WNH Concentrated Poverty Rate		
Milwaukee	13.4 to 1	49
Salt Lake City	1.6 to 1	1
Orlando	3.5 to 1	10
Los Angeles	5.8 to 1	25
Chicago	19.4 to 1	50
% of Black pop ages 25+ with a high school degree/equivalent or higher		
Milwaukee	86.4%	43
Austin	92.7%	1
San Francisco	91.5%	10
Tampa	89.4%	25
Minneapolis	83.0%	50
% growth in % of Black pop (25+) with high school degree or higher: 2017-2022		
Milwaukee	5.6%	1
Milwaukee	+5.6%	1
Nashville	+3.5%	10
Atlanta	+2.6%	25
Orlando	+0.5%	50
Ratio of WNH high school grad rate to Black hs grad rate, 25+ population		
Milwaukee	1.11 to 1	48
Oklahoma City	1.03 to 1	1
Nashville	1.04 to 1	10
Detroit	1.06 to 1	25
Minneapolis	1.17 to 1	50
% of Black pop ages 25+ with bachelor's degree or higher		
Milwaukee	15.2%	50
San Jose	41.6%	1
Dallas	30.7%	10
Chicago	25.1%	25
Milwaukee	15.2%	50
% growth in % of Black pop (25+) with bachelor's degree or higher: 2017-2022		
Milwaukee	+9.8%	46
Portland	+27.0%	1
Phoenix	+20.9%	10
Philadelphia	+17.2%	25
Salt Lake City	-11.6%	50

Table 3 (continued)

Indicator	Value	Rank
Ratio of WNH bach degree rate to Black bach degree rate, 25+ population		
Milwaukee	2.9 to 1	50
Riverside	1.2 to 1	1
San Jose	1.5 to 1	10
Raleigh	1.7 to 1	25
Milwaukee	2.9 to 1	50
Black-owned employer firms per 1,000 working age Black population		
Milwaukee	4.97	23
Los Angeles	11.26	1
Orlando	7.47	10
Houston	4.84	25
Tampa	2.16	44
Employment in Black-owned firms per 1,000 working age Black population		
Milwaukee	41.39	24
Portland	136.26	1
Cincinnati	54.35	10
Chicago	40.75	25
Tampa	15.21	44
Employees per Black-owned employer firm		
Milwaukee	8.32	20
Minneapolis	16.60	1
Virginia Beach	11.01	10
Los Angeles	7.55	25
Miami	4.84	45
Index of Black rep in private-sector senior executive posts (parity = 100)		
Milwaukee	17.7	45
Portland	56.0	1
Las Vegas	33.9	10
Nashville	22.7	25
Birmingham	13.9	50
Black-WNH Segregation Rate (index of dissimilarity)		
Milwaukee	75.1	50
Salt Lake City	34.6	1
San Antonio	44.0	10
Louisville	51.6	25
Milwaukee	75.1	50
% Change in Black-WNH Segregation Index: 2010-2020		
Milwaukee	-5.7%	28
Portland	-14.4%	1
San Jose	-8.6%	10
Pittsburgh	-5.9%	25
Las Vegas	+4.2%	50
Black-WNH Jail Incarceration Ratio/Disparity		
Milwaukee	9.7 to 1	41
San Antonio	1.5 to 1	1
Jacksonville	2.9 to 1	10
Kansas City	4.7 to 1	25
Chicago	17.1 to 1	47

Table 3 (continued)

Indicator	Value	Rank
Percentage of Black Households Receiving Food Stamps/SNAP		
Milwaukee	40.0%	50
San Jose	9.2%	1
Atlanta	18.2%	10
New York	23.1%	25
Milwaukee	40.0%	50
% of Black Children (under 18) without health insurance coverage		
Milwaukee	3.2%	14
San Jose	0%	1
Washington, D.C.	2.7%	10
Philadelphia	3.7%	25
Phoenix	13.6%	50
% of Black Adults (ages 19-64) without health insurance coverage		
Milwaukee	9.6%	22
San Jose	4.1%	1
Philadelphia	7.3%	10
Seattle	10.2%	25
Salt Lake City	23.4%	50
% Decline in Black Adults without health insurance coverage: 2010-2022		
Milwaukee	-58.7%	22
San Jose	-77.1%	1
Richmond	-68.6%	10
Washington, D.C.	-55.2%	25
San Antonio	-12.8%	50
Mortality rate from diseases of the circulatory system (per 100,00 population)		
Milwaukee	276.0	25
Salt Lake City	102.1	1
Hartford	205.6	10
Milwaukee	276.0	25
San Francisco	470.1	50
Deaths of Despair (suicide, alcohol, drug abuse). Per 100,000 population		
Milwaukee	85.2	41
Orlando	24.2	1
Houston	37.9	10
Seattle	58.9	25
San Francisco	254.1	50
Deaths from Homicide/Fatal Assaults (per 100,000 population)		
Milwaukee	51.6	39
San Jose	8.1	1
Boston	18.0	10
Portland	33.8	25
St. Louis	98.0	50
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 births)		
Milwaukee	14.4	46
San Francisco	5.4	1
San Diego	8.3	10
Denver	10.2	25
Detroit	14.9	49

Table 3 (continued)

Indicator	Value	Rank
Low Birthweight Babies (% of births)		
Milwaukee	16.6%	49
Seattle	9.1%	1
Los Angeles	11.8%	10
Nashville	13.8%	25
St. Louis	17.1%	50
% Births to Teen Mothers		
Milwaukee	9.6%	49
San Jose	2.0%	1
Virginia Beach	4.6%	10
Washington, D.C.	6.1%	25
Memphis	9.8%	50
Homeownership Rate		
Milwaukee	27.5%	49
Birmingham	52.0%	1
Raleigh	46.2%	10
St. Louis	41.3%	25
Salt Lake City	22.7%	50
WNH-Black Percentage Point Gap in Homeownership Rates		
Milwaukee	42.3	48
Washington, D.C.	20.2	1
New Orleans	27.1	10
Memphis	31.2	25
Salt Lake City	49.8	50
Racial Disparities in Mortgage Lending Denials (Black-Overall Ratio of Denials)		
Milwaukee	2.05 to 1	47
Salt Lake City	1.03 to 1	1
Dallas	1.41 to 1	10
Memphis	1.61 to 1	25
San Francisco	2.30 to 1	50

- Although the percentage of Milwaukee African Americans with both high school and college degrees grew between 2017-22, the gap in educational attainment between Milwaukee and top performing metropolitan areas remains large. The share of Blacks in Milwaukee holding a bachelor’s degree or higher is just a little over one-third that of top ranked San Jose, only half the rate in 10th ranked Dallas, and only 60% as high as 25th ranked Chicago. The lag in the percentage of high school (or higher) degree holders in Black Milwaukee compared to elsewhere is much less pronounced than the college degree disparity: only six percentage points separated the Milwaukee rate (86.4% in 2022) from top ranked Austin’s rate (92.6%). Nevertheless, as we’ve noted, Milwaukee still ranked in the bottom ten (43rd) of metro areas on this indicator.

In sum, Tables 1-3 and Charts 1-8 illustrate the steep climb ahead if Milwaukee is to reach the AALAM goal of becoming a “top ten city for African Americans.” The “top line” number on the composite index is daunting: Milwaukee remains, as it was on the 2020 *Index*, firmly entrenched as the lowest-ranked metropolis among the nation’s 50 largest metropolitan areas in African American well-being. Charts 2-8 make clear that in the major categories that comprise the index –employment, income and poverty, healthcare, business leadership, educational attainment, and racial disparities—Milwaukee struggles across the board. Table 3 illustrates how much worse conditions are in Black Milwaukee compared to metropolitan areas ranked in the top ten or even the middle-of-the-pack of the rankings, on almost all the 44 indicators we analyzed for this study.

Although we cannot gloss over the reality of where Milwaukee currently stands in African American well-being, there are some encouraging data in this report. Over the past five years, in Black Milwaukee, real median household income has gone up, poverty has slightly declined, a higher percentage of prime working-age men and women are employed, and a higher fraction of adults hold high school and college degrees. These gains have not been sufficiently dramatic to transform the place of Milwaukee in the national hierarchy of African American well-being, but they do offer the possibility that “green shoots” are presaging improvements in the years ahead.

Conclusion

The *Index of African American Well-Being* is a valuable tool to compare conditions in Black communities across the nation. The 2024 *Index* has enabled us to benchmark where Black Milwaukee stands among the nation’s 50 largest metropolitan areas, to identify metro areas like Austin, San Jose, Phoenix, Seattle, and Atlanta, where, in relative terms, the African American community is thriving, and to pinpoint places like Chicago, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and, yes, Milwaukee, where conditions resemble a seemingly never-ending stealth depression. Drilling down into each component of the index has revealed the extent to which conditions in Black Milwaukee continue to trail behind the other large metropolitan areas, and whether much progress has been made in closing those gaps. To repeat the main takeaway from this report: on most indicators, despite some modest signs of improvement in Milwaukee, there is massive gap separating Black Milwaukee from Black Austin (ranked 1st on the *Index*), Black Portland (ranked 10th), or middle-of-the-pack Los Angeles (ranked 25th). Indeed, on most indicators, Black

Milwaukee is in far worse shape than Black Philadelphia, which ranks 40th on the index – a bottom-ten metropolitan area.

The *Index* is a snapshot of where a community stands at a particular time. These first two editions of the *Index of African American Well-Being* convey some sense of the community’s recent trendlines, but an even longer time series is vital for fuller context on the state of Black Milwaukee: past, present, and (perhaps) an inkling of the future. This final section of the report, by way of conclusion, presents a series of revealing charts on trends in Black Milwaukee over the past decades, on several key indicators. In some ways, these charts provide a concise visual history of the decade-after-decade social and economic challenges that have been faced by Milwaukee’s African American community: the surge in poverty and joblessness in the 1980s, some modest gains in the 1990s, and then another wave of community distress through the Great Recession and its aftermath. But the charts also show, within this overall context of truncated opportunity, modest, albeit painfully slow improvements, especially over the past decade. If the *Index* provides us with a “snapshot” of community well-being, these concluding charts offer us a “movie” of how conditions are evolving in Black Milwaukee. Here are the key takeaways:

- Median household income has plummeted for Milwaukee’s Black community since the late 1970s, dropping by almost 30 percent between 1979-2017 (adjusted for inflation). But as we reported, for the first time since the 1990s, Black household income has risen in recent years, by seven percent between 2017-2022. (Chart 9).
- Racial income inequality in Milwaukee has widened significantly since the late 1970s, with ratio of Black to WNH median household income falling steadily (except for the 1990s) to just 42 percent of WNH income by 2017. (Chart 10). That percentage rose by a statistically insignificant amount between 2017-2022.
- Milwaukee’s worst-in-the-nation Black poverty rate surged in the 1980s, peaking at 41 percent at the end of the decade. It improved markedly as community income rose in the 1990s but has stagnated in the low 30% range ever since. (Chart 11). The percentage of Blacks living in concentrated poverty neighborhoods, however, did decline sharply over the past decade, perhaps attributable to the small decrease in Black-WNH segregation that occurred in during this period (Charts 12 and 19). Nonetheless, Milwaukee remains the most segregated large metro area in the nation, an ongoing impediment to Black economic opportunity in the region.

- The rate of Black homeownership in Milwaukee, the second lowest in the nation on the *Index*, has been relatively low for the past fifty years, never exceeding 34 percent, and dropping sharply after the subprime crash of the Great Recession. (Chart 13). This remains a serious problem in Milwaukee, with implications for neighborhood stability and revitalization, as well as the racial wealth gap in the region.
- The collapse of the labor market for prime working-age Black males in Milwaukee has been well-documented over the years.¹⁶ Between 1970 and 2010, the region’s percentage of prime-age Black males who were employed fell from 85 to 59 percent. But as Chart 14 shows, that rate has steadily risen over the past decade, although Black Milwaukee remains in the bottom-ten on this indicator.¹⁷
- Although the rate of “disconnected” Black youth –ages 16-24, neither in school nor employed—has declined over the past thirty years, at 22 percent in 2020, the rate remains far too high (and 48th worst among the 50 largest metro areas).¹⁸
- The top reaches of Milwaukee’s private sector economic decision-making have been, and remain, largely *terra incognita* for African Americans. Chart 16 shows that the index of Black representation as executives or senior managers in Milwaukee private industry has barely budged since 2007. African Americans hold a share of such positions at only one-sixth their weight in the overall Milwaukee workforce.
- Educational attainment in Black Milwaukee, as this report has documented, continues to trail behind African American communities in the nation’s largest metros (ranking last, for example, in the percentage of adults holding a bachelor’s degree). But as Charts 17 and 18 show, that should not obscure the gains of the past three decades. The percentage of Black Milwaukeeans over age 25 holding a high school degree/equivalent or higher increased by 20 percentage points between 1990-2022, standing now at 86.4 percent (the Milwaukee WNH rate is 96.4 percent). The percentage of Milwaukee African Americans holding college or advanced degrees increased by two-thirds between 1990-2022, although the rate

¹⁶ See among others, Marc V. Levine, *Race and Male Employment in the Wake of the Great Recession: Black Male Employment Rates in Milwaukee and the Nation’s Largest Metro Areas: 2010* (Milwaukee: UWMCED, 2012).

¹⁷ We have preliminary evidence that the rate has continued to rise in the 2020s: the one-year American Community Survey estimate in 2022 pegged the Black prime-age employment rate in Milwaukee at 75%, over seven points higher than the 2021-22 “pooled” data we created for this study. Although the one-year estimates have too large an error margin to be statistically reliable, the data are, at the least, potentially encouraging.

¹⁸ The news is also potentially encouraging here as well: a) the rate has come down from 2010; and b) the 2020 five-year estimate includes data drawn during the pandemic year when unemployment and school dropouts soared (and data collection was impeded and flawed as well). It is highly likely that the rate has fallen markedly since then.

(15.2 percent) not only lags the Black rate in all large metros but is barely one-third of the WNH rate in Milwaukee (43.4 percent). This is clearly an area where progress has been halting, at best.

- Black Milwaukee’s poor health outcomes compared to elsewhere has been documented in this report: on the subindex of health indicators, Black Milwaukee ranked 44th, and would have been lower but for relatively high rankings on measures of health insurance coverage (see Chart 3 above). Charts 20 and 21 show trends in Black Milwaukee over the past twenty years on two important indicators of community health. Black infant mortality rates have come down somewhat over the past 15 years, but Milwaukee’s rate remains among the bottom-five of the nation’s 50 largest metros, and almost *five* times the rate for Milwaukee’s WNH population. The mortality rate from what have been dubbed “deaths of despair” among Milwaukee African Americans –mortality by suicide or from drug and alcohol abuse—has almost tripled over the past 20 years, with the biggest surge coming in the wake of the coronavirus pandemic, when the rate doubled between 2017-2021. The dislocations from the pandemic, piled on to the decades-long social and economic distress in Black Milwaukee documented in this report, have added another dimension to the challenges of expanding opportunity and improving the well-being of African Americans in Milwaukee.

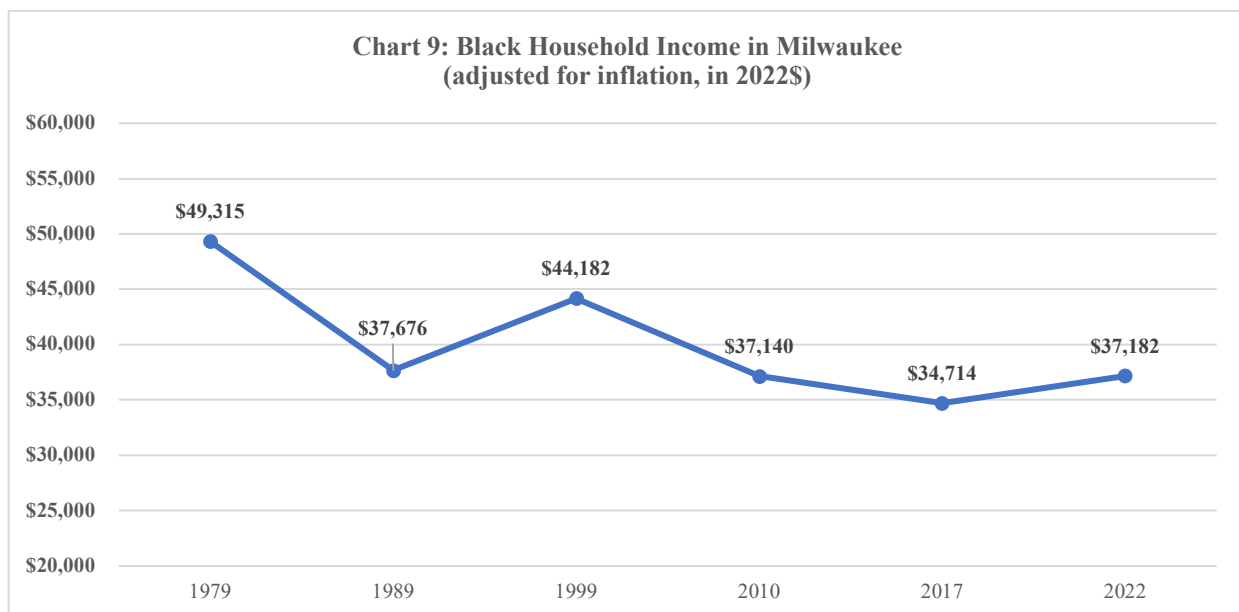


Chart 10: Black HH Income as a Percentage of WNH Household Income in Milwaukee

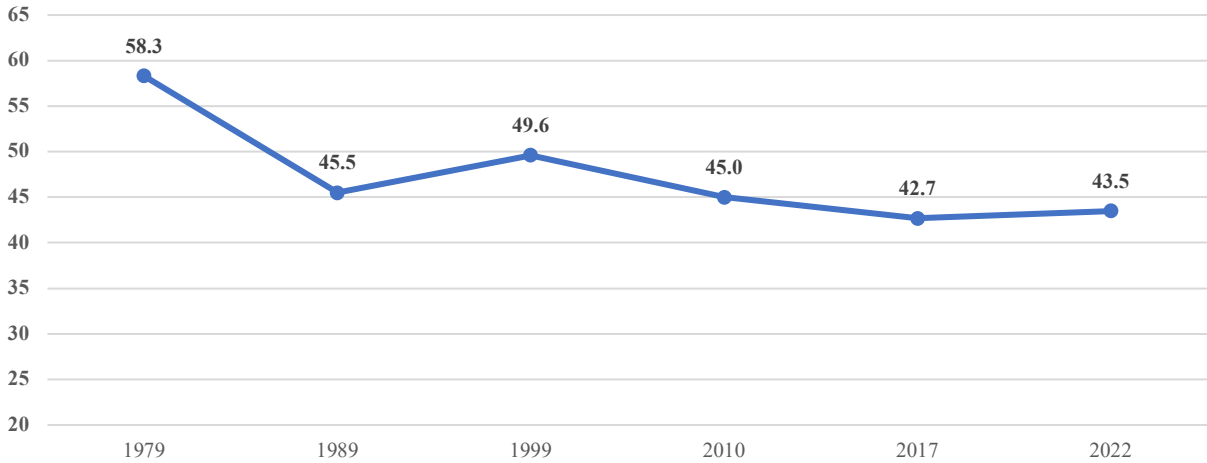


Chart 11: Milwaukee Black Poverty Rate: 1969-2022

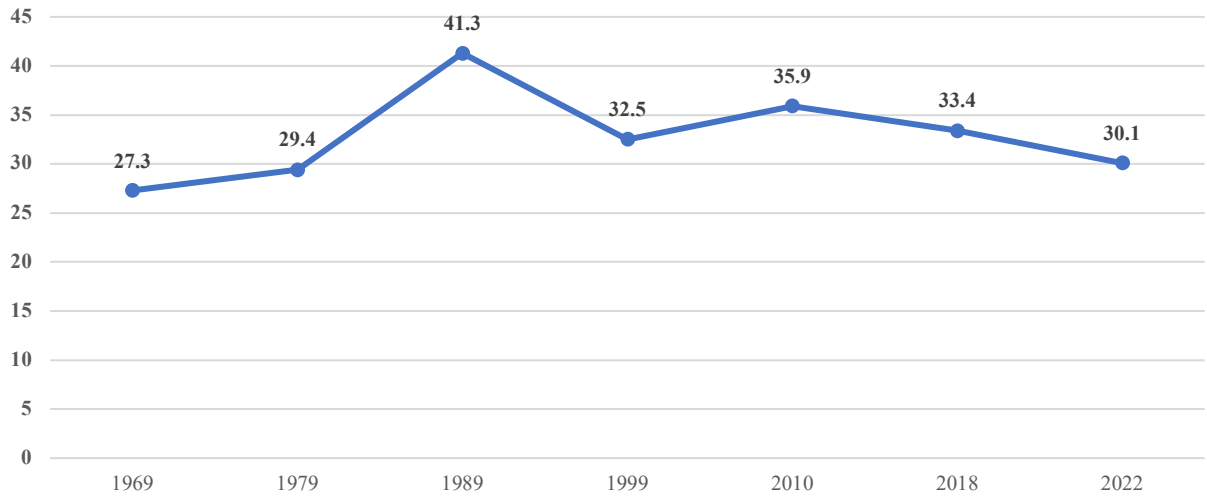
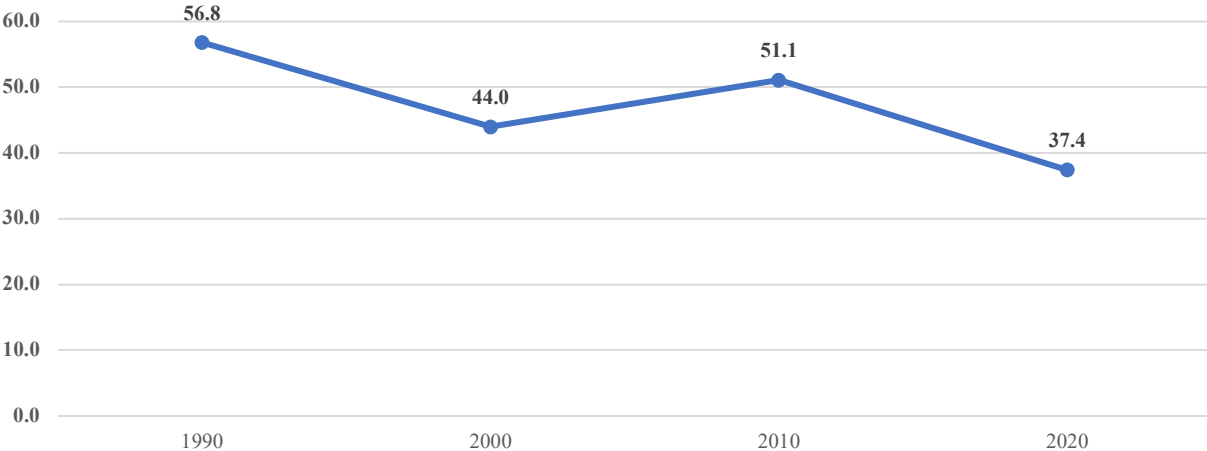


Chart 12: Percentage of Milwaukee Blacks Living in Concentrated Poverty Neighborhoods



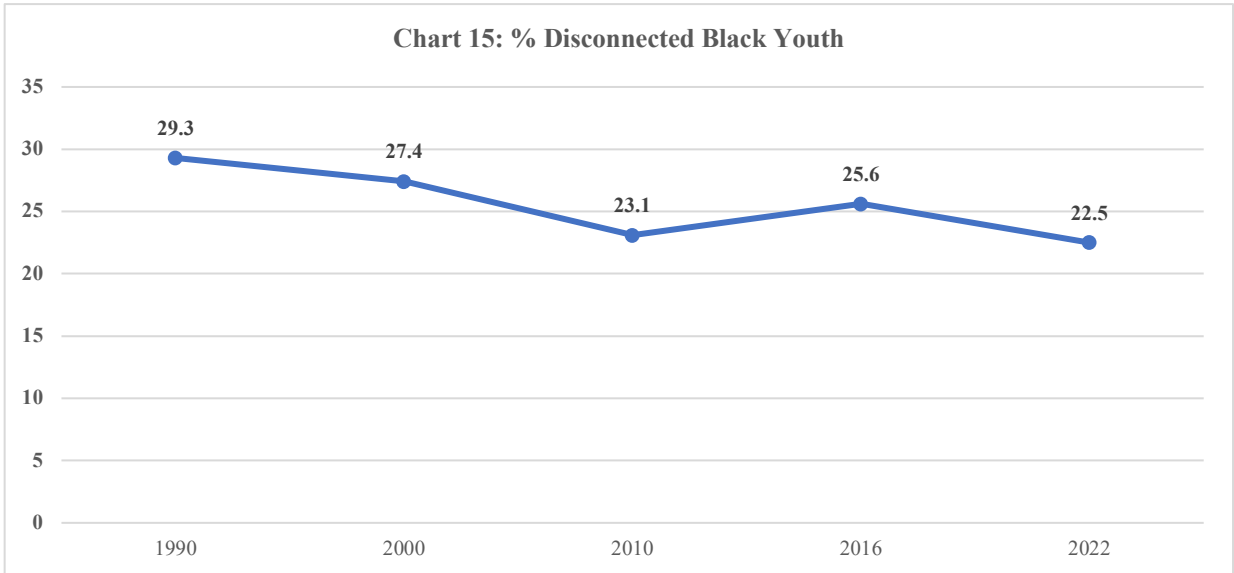
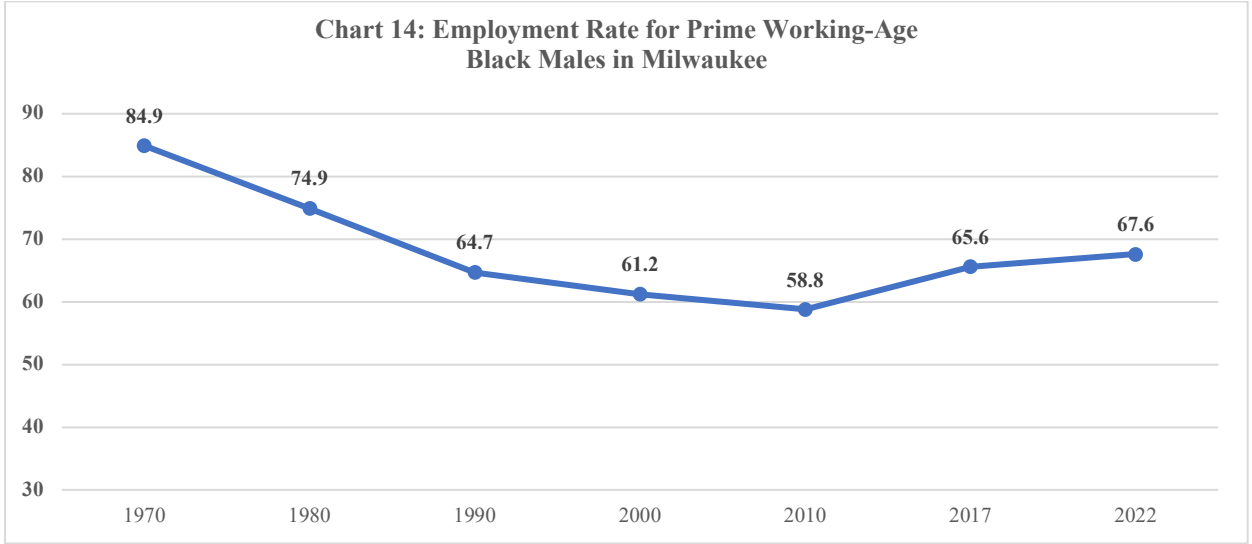
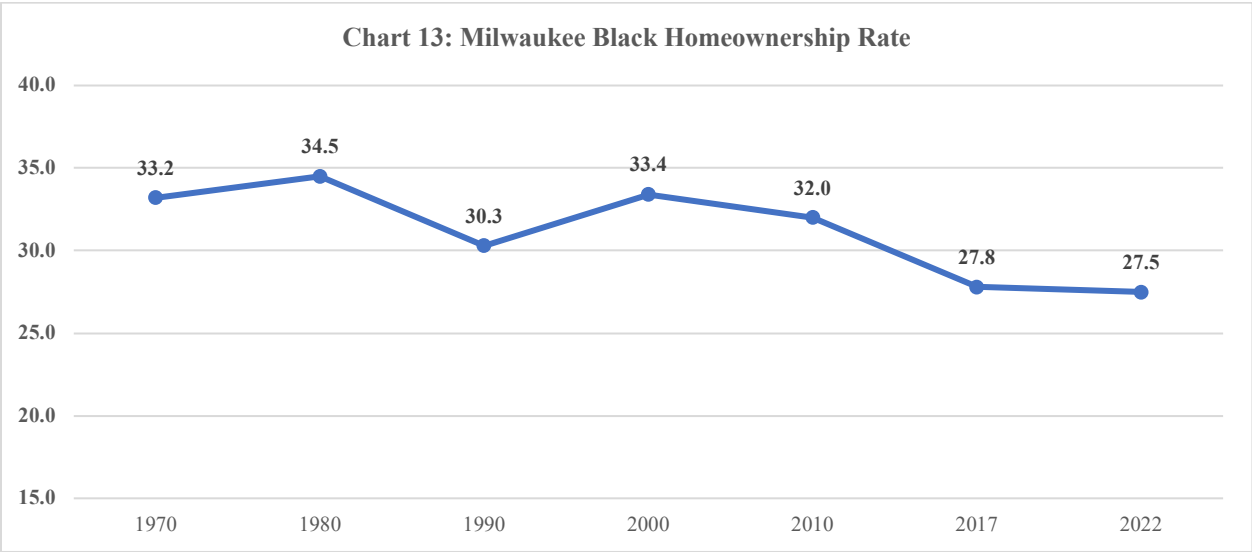


Chart 16: Index of Black Representation as Executives or Senior Officials/Managers in Milwaukee Private Industry (proportionality = 100)

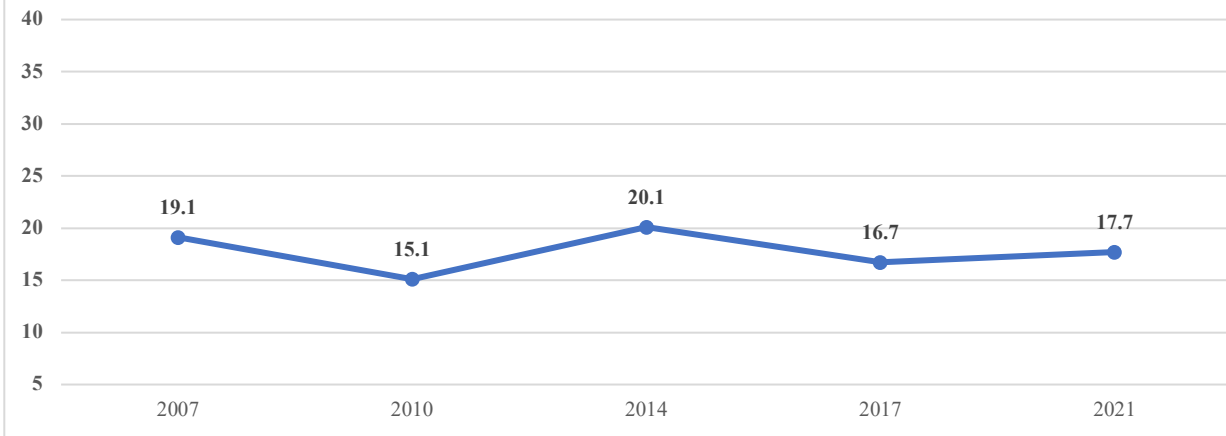


Chart 17: Percentage of Milwaukee Blacks, Ages 25+, Holding a High School Degree/Equivalent or Higher

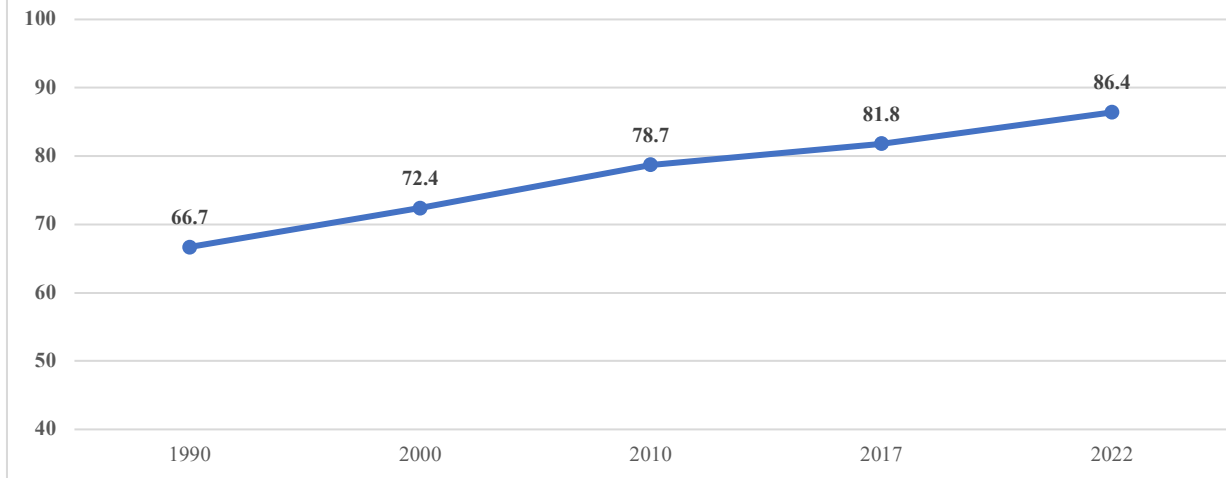


Chart 18: Percentage of Milwaukee Blacks, Ages 25+, Holding a Bachelor's degree or Higher

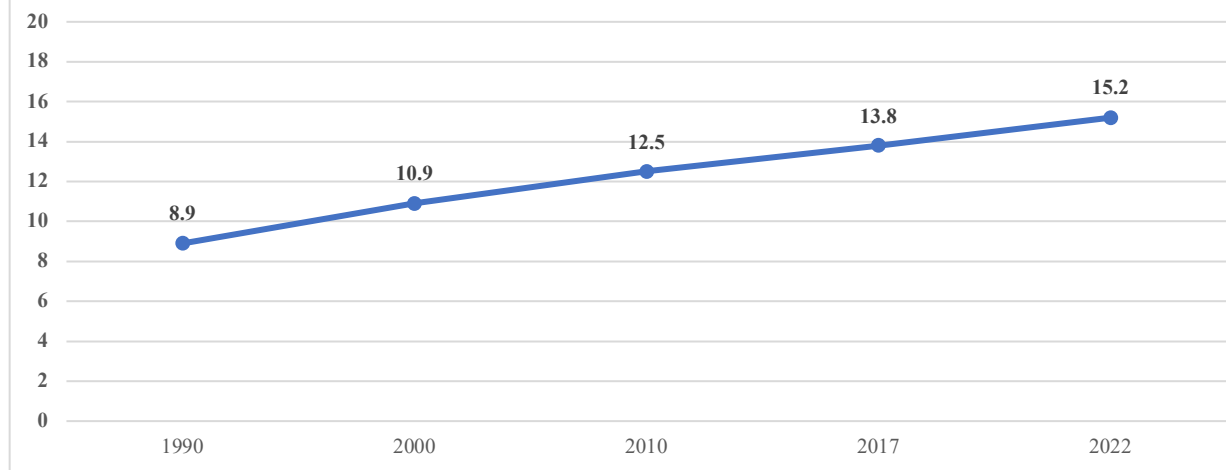
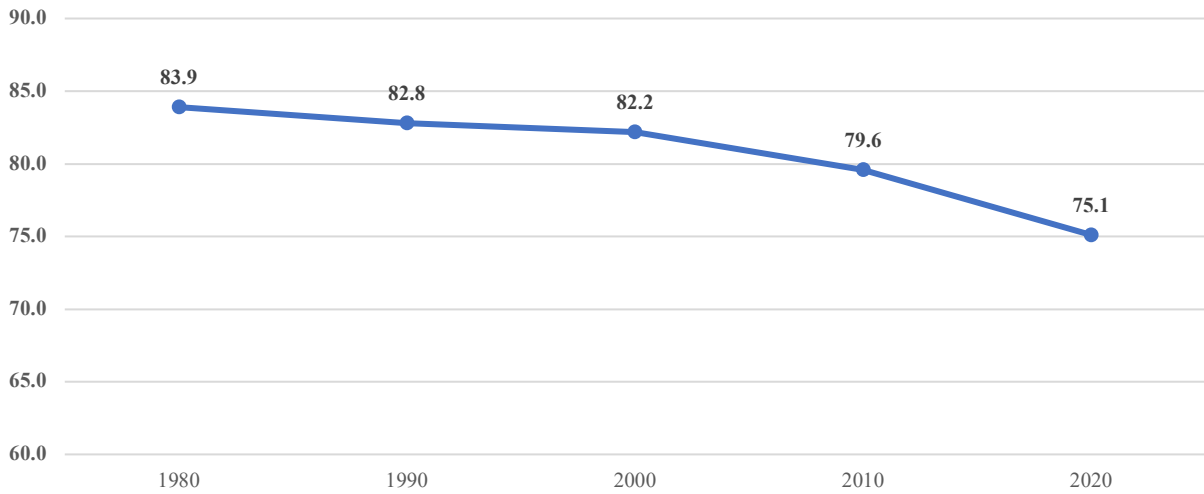
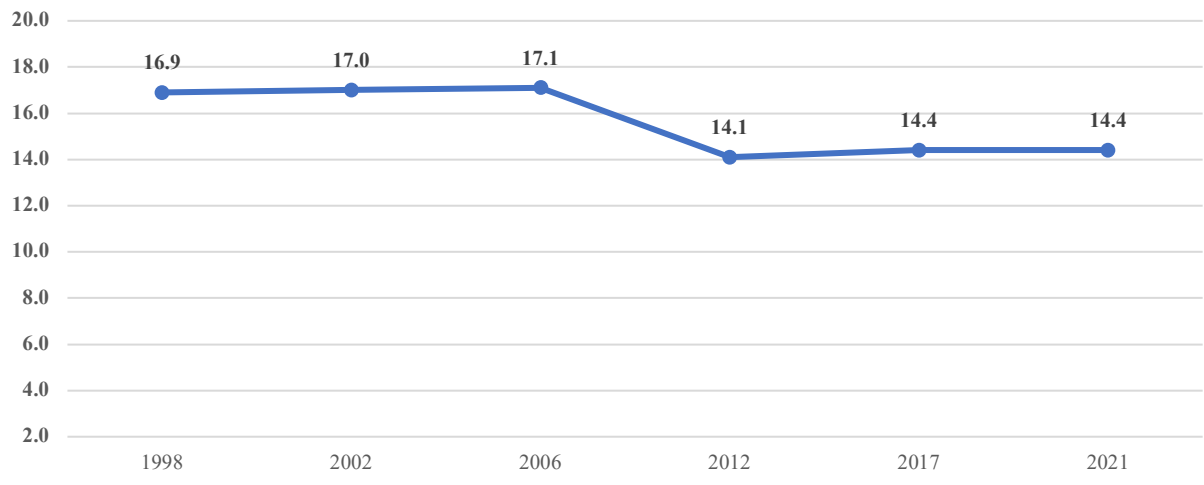


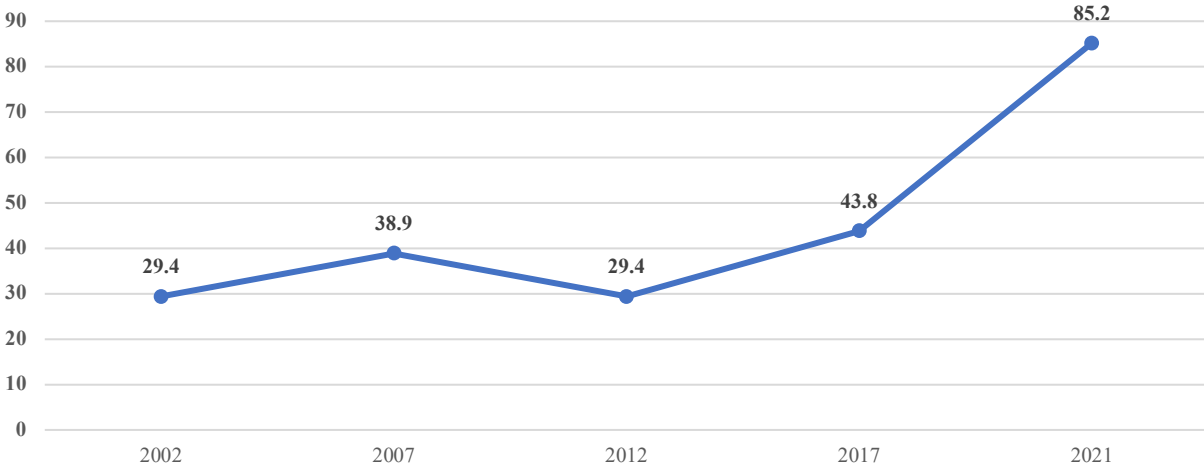
Chart 19: Black-WNH Segregation Index in Milwaukee



**Chart 20: Black Infant Mortality Rate in Milwaukee: 1998-2021
Per 1,000 births**



**Chart 21: Black Rate of "Deaths of Despair" in Milwaukee: 2002-2021
Per 100,000 population**



Appendix A: The Components of the Composite Index

Listed below are the components of the 2024 *Index of African American Well-Being*: the indicators we used to calculate the composite index (and the sources from which the data were compiled). There are now 44 indicators in the index, 14 more than the previous index. Moreover, some indicators –such as those regarding intergenerational mobility and prison incarceration-- have been dropped from the index as they have not been updated and the data are now over ten years old. Here’s what’s new: 1) Several new measures of Black-WNH disparities and inequality; 2) Additional measures of recent growth (or decline) on selected variables, to better home in on trendlines; and 3) The addition of several indicators on educational attainment and business participation, which were not included in the original version of the *Index* as we were testing them as independent (“driver”) variables of the composite index. But since this report does not include a “drivers” analysis, it makes sense now to include these variables as components of the *Index*, as they surely are key indicators of community well-being.

Except where noted, all the data are reported at the metropolitan area level.

- 1. Male Employment Rates, Prime Working-Age** (percentage of (percentage of African American males, ages 25-54, who are employed). This is sometimes called the “Employment-Population” ratio and is generally considered by economists to be a better indicator of overall labor market conditions than the traditional and highly flawed official unemployment rate. All employment data in this report are from 2021-22, pooled two-year samples from the U.S. Census Bureau’s American Community Survey. (The pooling creates a larger sample that lowers the margin of error in the survey. In the previous version of the Index, we used pooled three-year samples; however, because of the limitations on Census bureau data collection during the first year of the Covid pandemic, 2020 ACS employment data were not reported).
- 2. Male Employment Rates, Young Adults** (percentage of African American males, ages 20-24, who are employed).
- 3. Female Employment Rates, Prime Working-Age** (percentage of African American females, ages 25-54, who are employed).
- 4. Female Employment Rates, Young Adults** (percentage of African American females, ages 20-24, who are employed).
- 5. Black-White Non-Hispanic (WNH) Disparity in Prime-Age Male Employment Rates** (measured by percentage point gap in the two rates).

6. **Black-White Non-Hispanic (WNH) Disparity in Prime-Age Female Employment Rates** (measured by percentage point gap in the two rates).
7. **Disconnected Youth Rates** (percentage of African Americans between the ages of 16-24, not employed and not in school). The data reported here were derived from the IPUMS database of the American Community Survey (ACS), the 2016-20 five-year pooled sample, collected in the National Equity Atlas assembled by PolicyLink and the USC-Dornsife Equity Research Institute.
8. **Black Median Household Income**, adjusted for cost-of-living differences among metropolitan areas. For example: the cost of living in San Francisco is over 26 percent higher than in Milwaukee, and in metros such as New York, San Diego, and Seattle the cost of living is over 20 percent higher than Milwaukee's. All told, 35 of the nation's 50 largest metros exhibit higher costs of living than does Milwaukee, so we adjusted income levels to reflect that a dollar goes a bit further in Milwaukee than in most metros. Thus, for example, actual Black median household income in Washington, D.C. in 2022 was \$89,233; when we adjust for cost-of-living differences and norm to Milwaukee purchasing power, we reduce that figure to \$76,444 (relative to Milwaukee). Conversely, in metros where the cost of living is lower than Milwaukee, the household income figure is normed upward. The income data were drawn from 2018-2022, American Community Survey five-year pooled sample. The cost-of-living adjustments were calculated using the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis' metropolitan area regional price parities data series (RPP).
9. **Change in Real Black Household Income** (percentage change in Black household income between 2017-2022, adjusted for inflation). Data drawn from 2013-17 and 2018-22 ACS five-year pooled data; inflation-adjustment from the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis' Historical Annual Inflation Calculator.
10. **Racial Income Inequality** (African American household income as a percentage of WNH household income). 2018-22 ACS data.
11. **Size of Affluent Black Community** (percentage of all African American households in metro areas with annual household income above \$100,000, adjusted for metropolitan area cost-of-living differences). For example, according to the RPP data, an annual income of \$100,000 in Milwaukee would have equivalent purchasing power to \$127,000 in San Francisco or \$122,000 in Seattle. Using the BEA's RPP data series, we have adjusted this measure to reflect cost-of-living variation. The income figures are from 2018-22 ACS data.

- 12. Percentage Change in the % of Black Households with income over \$100,000, between 2010-2022**, adjusted for inflation and cost-of-living differences. Income data from the 2006-10 and 2018-22 ACS five-year data.
- 13. Poverty Rates** (percentage of African Americans with income below the official poverty level). 2018-22 ACS data.
- 14. Extreme Poverty Rates** (percentage of African Americans with household income below 50 percent of the official poverty rate). ACS 2018-22 data.
- 15. Children Poverty Rate** (percentage of African Americans 18 years old and younger living in households with income below the official poverty line). ACS 2018-22 data.
- 16. Blacks Living in Concentrated Poverty Neighborhoods** (percentage of metro area African Americans living in neighborhoods in which 30% or more of all residents are poor). Calculated from 2016-20, five-year pooled ACS data, and drawn from the National Equity Atlas data base. [Note: this measure of concentrated poverty differs from the one used in the 2020 Index of African American well-being; in that study, we used the 40% threshold for identifying concentrated poverty neighborhoods].
- 17. Racial Disparities in Poverty** (calculated as the ratio of the Black poverty rate to the WNH poverty rate). ACS 2018-22 data.
- 18. Racial Disparities in Concentrated Poverty** (calculated as the ratio of the % of the Black population living in concentrated poverty neighborhoods to the % of WNH population living in such neighborhoods). ACS 2016-20 data, calculated by the National Equity Atlas.
- 19. High School Degree Holders** (the percentage of Black population, 25 years and older, holding a high school degree/equivalent or higher). ACS 2018-22 data.
- 20. Growth in High School Degree Holders** (percentage growth in the share of African Americans over age 25 holding a high school degree or higher, 2017-2022). ACS 2013-17 and 2018-22 data.
- 21. Racial Disparities in High School Degree Holders** (calculated as ratio of % of WNH population, 25 and older, holding high school degree/equivalent to % of Black population with that level of educational attainment). ACS 2018-22 data.
- 22. Bachelor's Degree Holders** (the percentage of African Americans, 25 years and older, holding a bachelor's degree or higher). ACS 2018-22.
- 23. Growth in Bachelor's Degree Holders** (percentage growth in the share of African Americans over age 25 holding a bachelor's degree or higher), 2017-2022). ACS 2013-17 and 2018-22 data.

- 24. Racial Disparities in Bachelor’s Degree Holders** (calculated as ratio of % of WNH population, 25 and older, holding a bachelor’s degree or higher to % of Black population with that level of educational attainment). ACS 2018-22 data.
- 25. Business Ownership I:** The number of Black-owned employer firms in the metro area, adjusted for the size of the Black working age population. Black-owned employer firms per 1,000 Black working age population. [Note: this measure of business ownership differs from past studies that included sole proprietorships with no employees]. Data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Annual Business Survey*, 2021. [Note: data for several metropolitan areas was not available, suppressed for reasons of data confidentiality].
- 26. Business Ownership II:** Total employment in Black-owned employer firms, adjusted per 1,000 Black working age population. *Annual Business Survey*, 2021.
- 27. Business Ownership III:** Employment per Black-owned employer firm. *Annual Business Survey*, 2021
- 28. Black Representation as Executives or Senior Officials in Private Industry.** Calculated as an “index of representation” or “index of participation,” which measures the degree to which a group is employed in a particular occupation at a percentage greater than, equal to, or less than, their share of total employment. The index is on a scale from 0-100, where 100 would represent a kind of parity whereby Blacks (or any group) would be found in proportion to their presence in the overall workforce. Data from the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry (EEO-1)*, 2021.
- 29. Black-WNH Residential Segregation** (measured by the index of dissimilarity, a standard sociological indicator that gauges the degree to which racial groups are concentrated in certain neighborhoods in a city or metropolitan area. A value above 60 on the index is considered “very high” segregation; 40-60 is “moderate segregation”). Data from the Brown University “Diversity and Disparities” database.
- 30. Trends in Black-WNH Segregation** (calculated as the percentage change in segregation index between 2010 and 2020). Data from the Brown University “Diversity and Disparities” database.
- 31. Racial Disparities in Incarceration** (measured by jail incarceration per 100,000 population, calculated as ratio of Black rate to WNH rate). Data for the central counties of metropolitan areas (e.g. Milwaukee County for metropolitan Milwaukee; Cuyahoga County for Cleveland, and so forth). [Note: this data differs from the prison incarceration indicator that was used in the previous version of the *Index*; that database has not been updated since the last edition of

the *Index* was released]. Data from the Vera Institute database on incarceration rates, 2021. [Note: 2021 data not available for three of the metro areas in this study].

32. **Homeownership Rates** (calculated as owner-occupied percentage Black householders). ACS 2018-2022 data.
33. **Racial Gap in Homeownership** (calculated as percentage point gap in Black and WNH homeownership rates). ACS 2018-2022 data.
34. **Racial Disparities in Mortgage Lending** (calculated as ratio of Black mortgage denial rate to overall denial rate). Data from Lending Tree analysis of 2022 Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) data.
35. **Food Stamps/SNAP recipients** (percentage of African American households receiving Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program support). ACS 2018-2022 data.
36. **Adult Health Insurance Coverage** (percentage of African American adults, ages 19-64, without health insurance coverage). ACS 2022 data.
37. **Trends in Adult Health Insurance Coverage** (percentage decline in the fraction of African American adults without health insurance between 2010-2022). ACS data 2010 and 2022.
38. **Children's Health Insurance Coverage** (percentage of African American children 18 and under without health insurance coverage). ACS 2022 data.
39. **Mortality rate from Circulatory diseases**. Per 100,000 African American population. 2018-2021 pooled data. Calculated from CDC WONDER database. Data is for central counties of metropolitan areas.
40. **Infant mortality rate for African Americans**. (Death rate per 1,000 births). Calculated from the CDC WONDER database of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. 2018-2021 pooled data. Data is for central counties of metropolitan areas.
41. **Rate of births of teenage mothers** (percentage of African American births to mothers under 19 years). 2016-2022 pooled data. CDC WONDER database. Data is for central counties of metropolitan areas.
42. **Low birth-weight babies** (percentage of African American births to babies weighing less than 2,500 grams). 2016-2022 pooled data. CDC WONDER database. Data is for central counties of metropolitan areas.
43. **Death by Homicide or Fatal Assault** (rate of African American deaths per 100,000 Black population). 2018-2021 pooled data. CDC WONDER database. Data is for central counties of metropolitan areas.

44. “Deaths of Despair” (rate of African American deaths per 100,000, by drug or alcohol abuse or overdoses, or by suicide). 2018-21 pooled data (2011-2021 pooled data for suicide rate). CDC WONDER database. Data is for central counties of metropolitan areas.

Appendix B: Component Variables of the Subsector Indexes

Employment Index

- Male Employment Rate, Prime Working-Age (ages 25-54)
- Male Employment Rate, Young Adults (ages 20-24)
- Female Employment Rate, Prime Working-Age (ages 25-54)
- Female Employment Rate, Young Adults (ages 20-24)
- Disconnected Youth Rate (% between ages 16-24, not employed and not in school)
- Percentage point gap in Black-WNH employment rates, prime-age males
- Percentage point gap in Black-WNH employment rates, prime-age females

Healthcare and Public Health Index

- % Births to teen mothers
- Infant mortality rate
- % of low birth-weight babies
- Mortality rate from circulatory diseases
- Death by Homicide/Fatal Assaults
- Deaths of Despair (suicide and alcohol/drug abuse)
- Children's health insurance coverage
- Adult health insurance coverage
- % improvement in adult health insurance coverage

Income and Poverty Index

- Poverty Rate
- Children's Poverty Rate
- Extreme Poverty Rate
- Concentrated Poverty Rate
- Black-WNH Poverty rate ratio
- Black-WNH concentrated poverty rate ratio
- Cost-of-living adjusted (RPP) Black median household income.
- % change in real Black median household income
- Black household income as % of WNH
- Black HHs with annual income above \$100,000 as % of all Black HHs (RPP adjusted)
- % change in the share of Black \$100,000 HHs (2010-2022, inflation-adjusted)

Educational Attainment Index

- % adults over 25 with high school degree or higher
- % growth of adults with high school degree or higher, 2017-22
- WNH-Black ratio of high school graduates
- % of adults over 25 with a bachelor's degree or higher
- % growth of adults with a bachelor's degree or higher, 2017-22
- WNH-Black ratio of college graduates

- Disconnected youth rate

Business Participation Index

- Black-owned employer firms per 1,000 working-age Black population in metro
- Employment in Black-owned employer firms per 1,000 working-age population in metro
- Employees per Black-owned employer firm
- Black representation as executives and senior officials in private industry

Disparities Index

- Black-WNH gap in homeownership rates
- Black-WNH poverty ratio
- Black-WNH concentrated poverty ratio
- Black median household income as a % of WNH
- WNH-Black high school graduate ratio
- WNH-Black college graduate ratio
- Black representation as executives and senior officials in private industry
- Black-WNH jail incarceration ratio
- Racial disparities in mortgage lending denials
- Percentage point gap in Black-WNH employment rates, prime-age males
- Percentage point gap in Black-WNH employment rates, prime-age females

Index of Rates of Change on Selected Indicators

- % improvement in health insurance coverage, 2010-2022
- % change in real Black median household income, 2017-2022
- % change in fraction of Black \$100,000 HHs (inflation adjusted, 2010-22)
- % growth in share of Black adults with high school degrees or higher
- % growth in share of Black adults with college degrees or higher
- Percentage point change in the Black-WNH segregation index, 2010-2020

Appendix C: A Note on Methods, Data, and Sources

In assembling the 2024 *Index of African American Well-Being*, we included data from several sources: chiefly, the U.S. Bureau of the Census’ *American Community Survey* (ACS); the census bureau’s *Annual Business Survey*; the Vera Institute’s database on jail incarceration in counties; the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission’s annual tabulation of *Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry*; the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis’ data series on metropolitan area regional price parities; the Center for Disease Control’s CDC WONDER database on health outcomes and trends in counties across the nation; and the databases of the USC-PolicyLink National Equity Atlas and the Brown University, “Diversity and Disparities” project, which draw mainly on census bureau data.

The bulk of our data, on employment, income, poverty, homeownership, and educational attainment comes from the ACS. In interpreting the results in this report, readers should be aware of certain limitations in the ACS data. The ACS data are estimates, based on annual samples – not a full enumeration, like, for example, the decennial census count of the population. These samples contain error margins – in some cases, for certain geographies or subpopulations, quite significant error margins, which render distinctions between reported results for groups or metro areas statistically problematic.¹⁹ For researchers on trends in subnational geographies (cities or metropolitan areas), the generally accepted approach to this problem is to use ACS “pooled” data: five-year samples that pool annual surveys over a five-year period, to create a bigger sample size with commensurately lower margins of error. So, for example, this study, in reporting “2022 data,” is based on five-year ACS estimates from 2018-2022. When we make comparisons to “2017” data, that’s really a five-year sample of data collected annually from 2013-17.

There are two caveats to be aware of in our use of 2018-22 ACS. One relates to the pandemic: for obvious reasons, the ACS survey in 2020 was significantly disrupted, with a deleterious impact on “data quality.”²⁰ It’s unclear how much the 2020 problems affect the entire 2018-22 pooled sample, but we should keep them in mind. For certain variables, such as employment rates, the absence of reliable 2020 data meant that we could only pool 2021-22 annual data to derive our estimates, which raised the margins of error.²¹

The second caveat relates to the problems with “overlapping” ACS five-year samples. The ACS discourages comparing estimates in overlapping five-year periods (e.g. comparing 2017-2021 data and 2018-2022 data), as much of the data in each estimate are the same.²² For all our “change over time” indicators, we were able to avoid that problem, as we compared 2013-17 five-year estimates with 2018-22 five-year estimates. But, for the *Index* as a whole, to release an update this year required some overlap: the previous version of the *Index* relied largely on 2014-18 estimates, so there is an overlap year (2018) in our use of the 2018-22 estimates. This means that 1/5 of the data in the two series is identical, muffling somewhat shifts between the two series. This is a limited but real potential distortion in the data underpinning the *Index*, especially on top of the problems with the 2020 ACS data, one that readers should keep in mind in assessing changes between the 2020 and 2024 versions of the index. Considering

¹⁹ For example, employment estimates for Salt Lake City’s African American community were missing for certain age cohorts, and several indicators, such as changes in household income, changes in college graduates, and homeownership rates, had anomalous estimates that should be taken with a large grain of salt.

²⁰ See U.S. Bureau of the Census, “Pandemic Impact on 2020 American Community Survey 1-Year Data.” <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/blogs/random-samplings/2021/10/pandemic-impact-on-2020-acs-1-year-data.html>

²¹ See again the case of Salt Lake City.

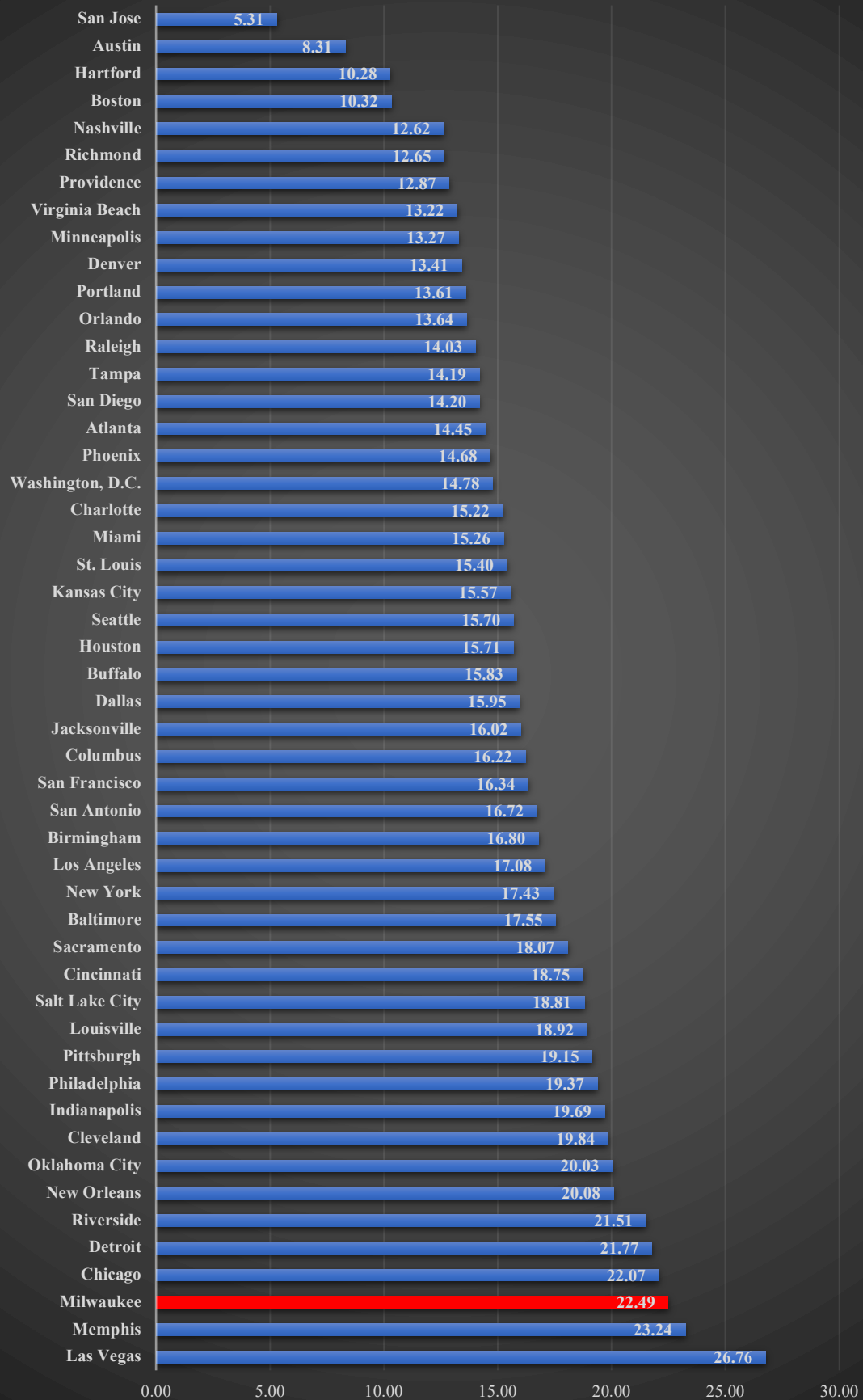
²² U.S. Bureau of the Census, “Period Estimates in the American Community Survey.” <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/blogs/random-samplings/2022/03/period-estimates-american-community-survey.html>

these issues with the ACS data, we caution against reading too much into small shifts, one way or another, in rankings on the two indexes –especially since the 2024 index contains an expanded set of indicators from the earlier versions. On the other hand, the addition of new variables to the index enhances our confidence that any distortions in one or two of the indicators will be counteracted as “noise” by the “signal” generated by an enlarged pool of data.

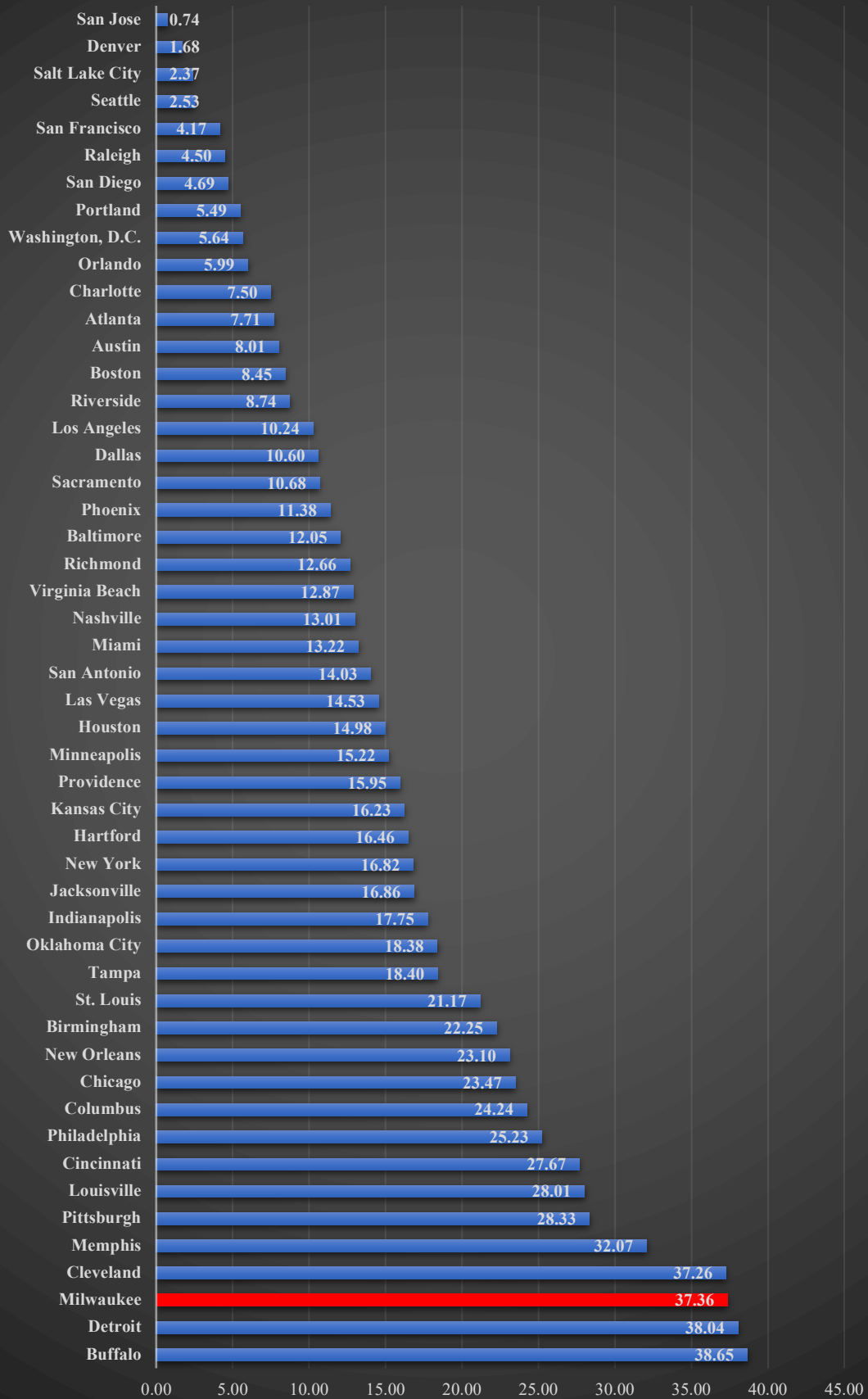
Readers should also be aware that for a few variables, in the ABS business ownership data and in the Vera Institute incarceration data, there are some metro areas or counties for which data are suppressed or omitted, for reasons of confidentiality or reliability. Black business ownership data for Baltimore, Columbus, Denver, Jacksonville, Nashville, and San Jose, for example, were suppressed in the census survey. Incarceration data was missing for the central counties of Hartford, Providence, and Washington, D.C. In these instances, we simply omitted those missing cells from the index; as a result, for example, the lowest ranked metro on business ownership received a score of “44” for that variable as opposed to the usual “50” that would have been allocated (and, for the metros with missing data, the variable was omitted in calculating their overall index score). We don’t believe that these very few and minor adjustments distorted the index in any meaningful way.

Appendix E:
Metro Area Rankings and Data for Each Indicator on
The 2024 *Index of African America Well-Being*

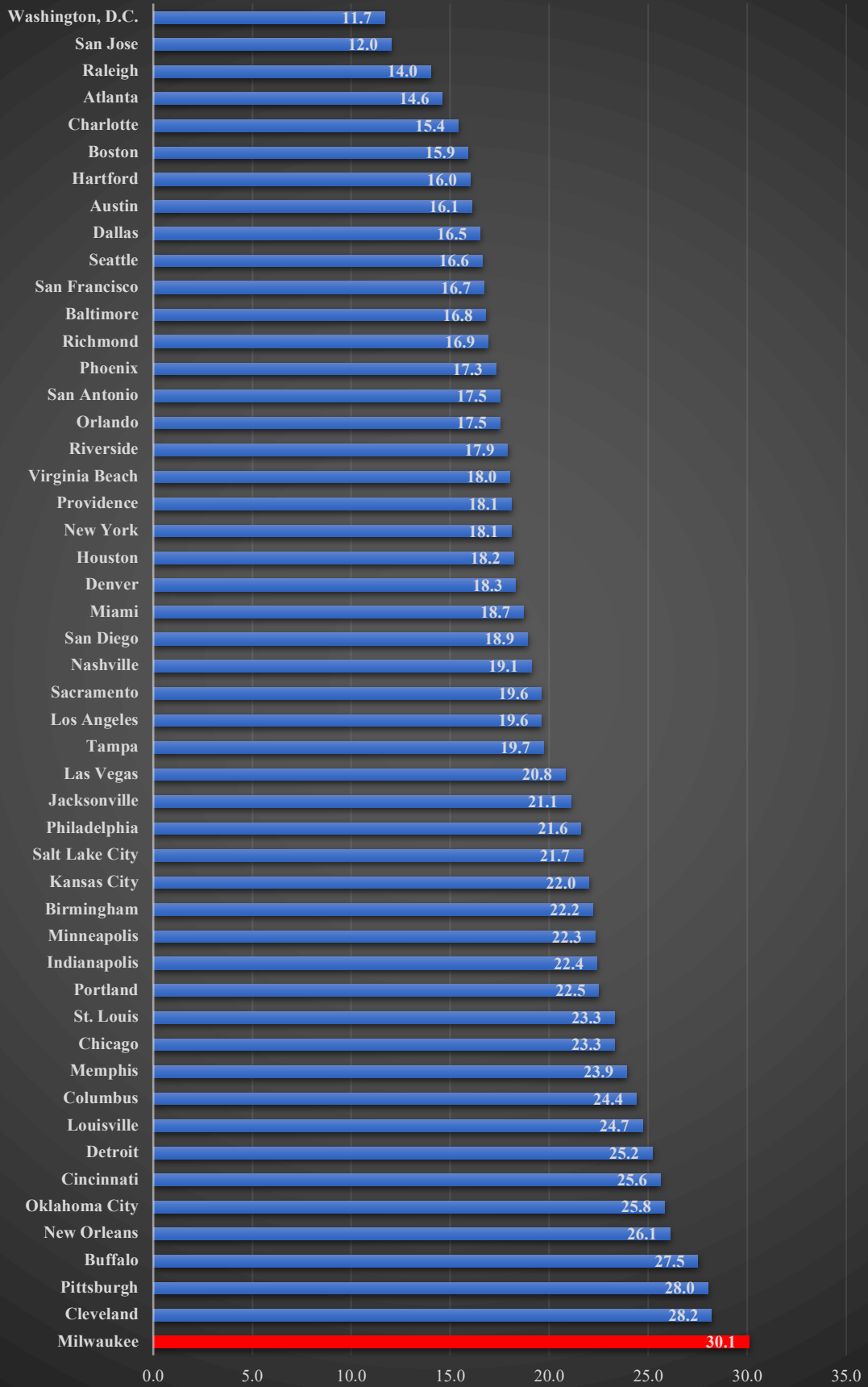
Percentage of Disconnected Youth



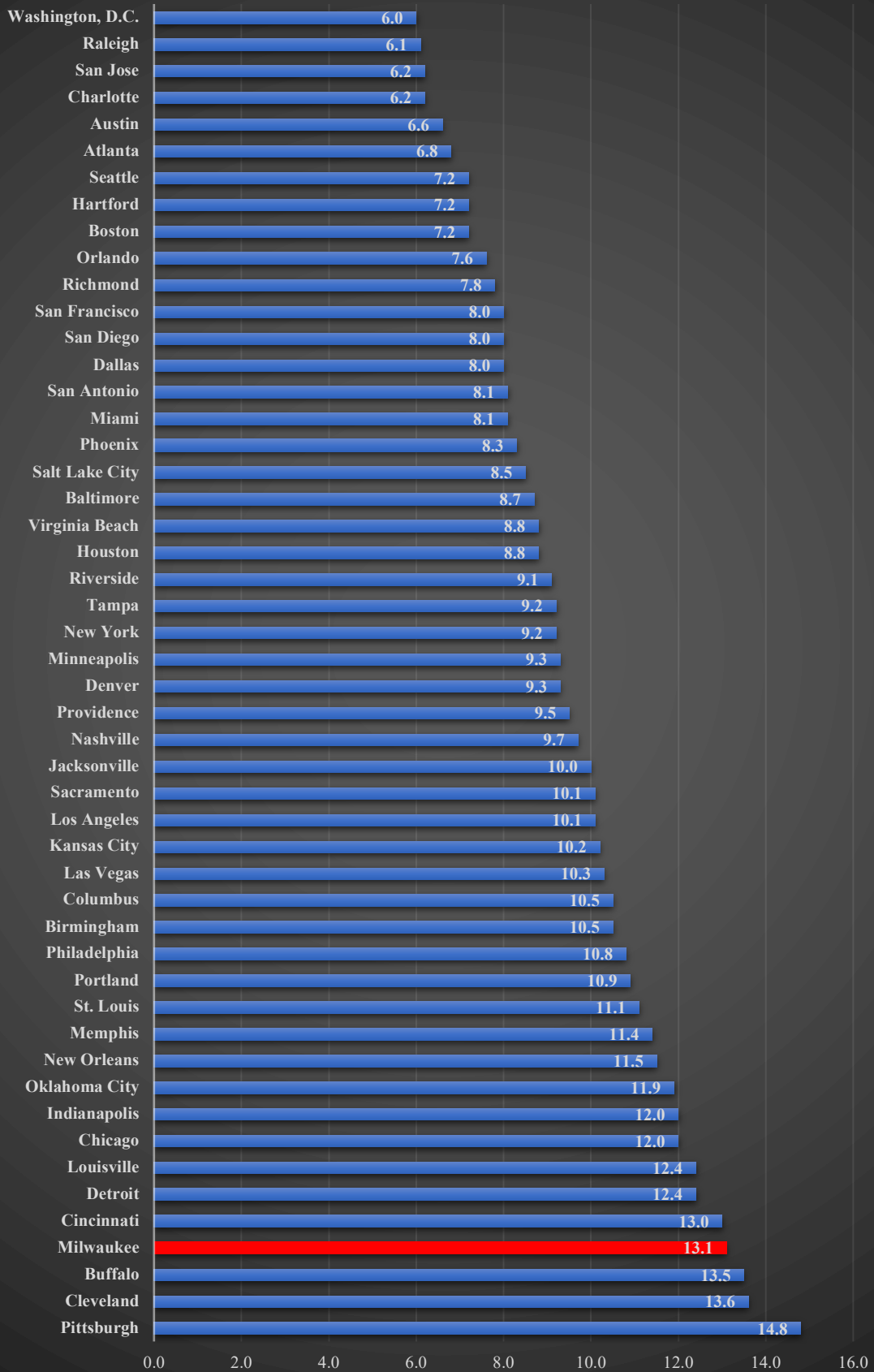
Percentage of Black Population Living in Concentrated Poverty Neighborhoods



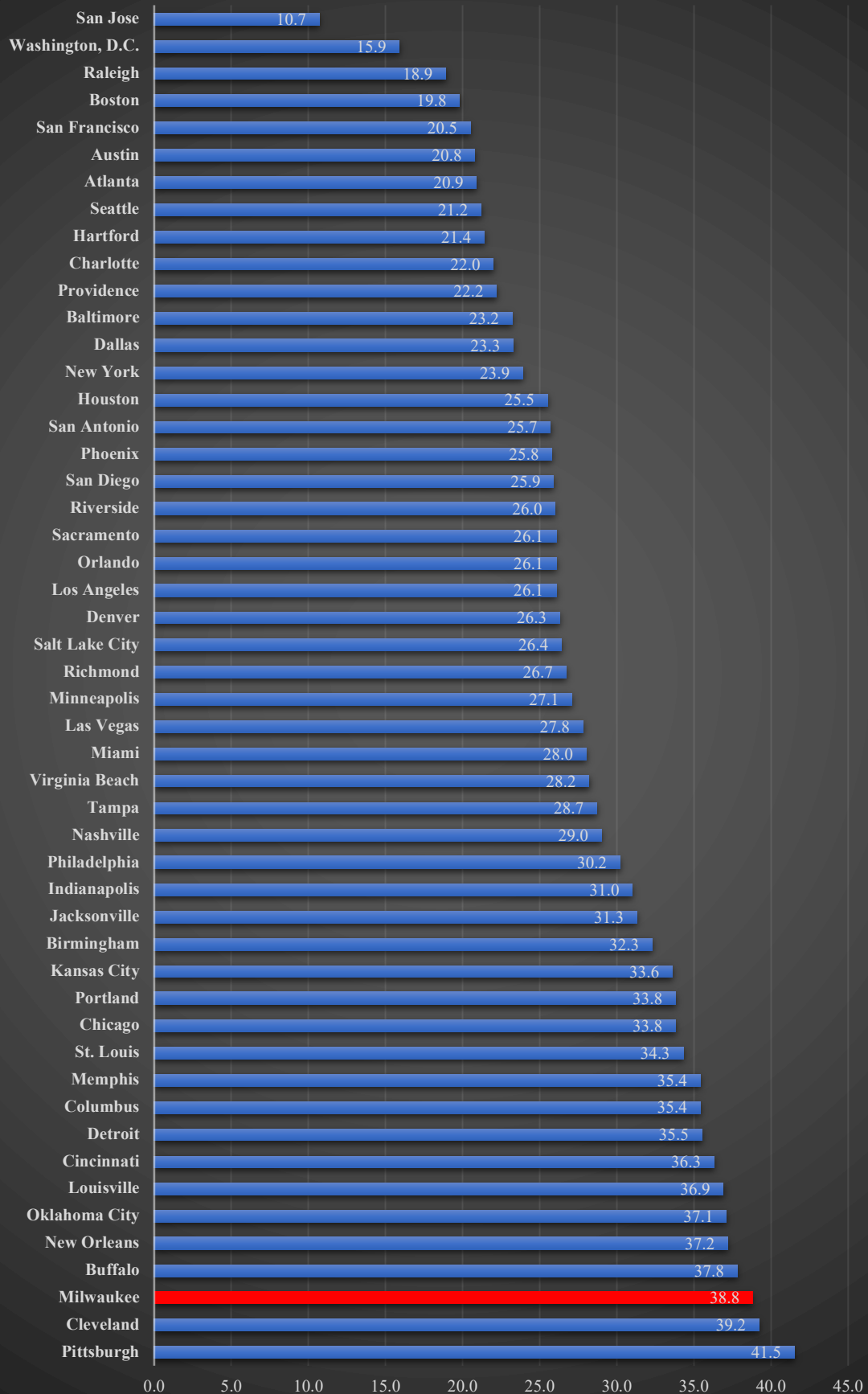
Black Poverty Rates



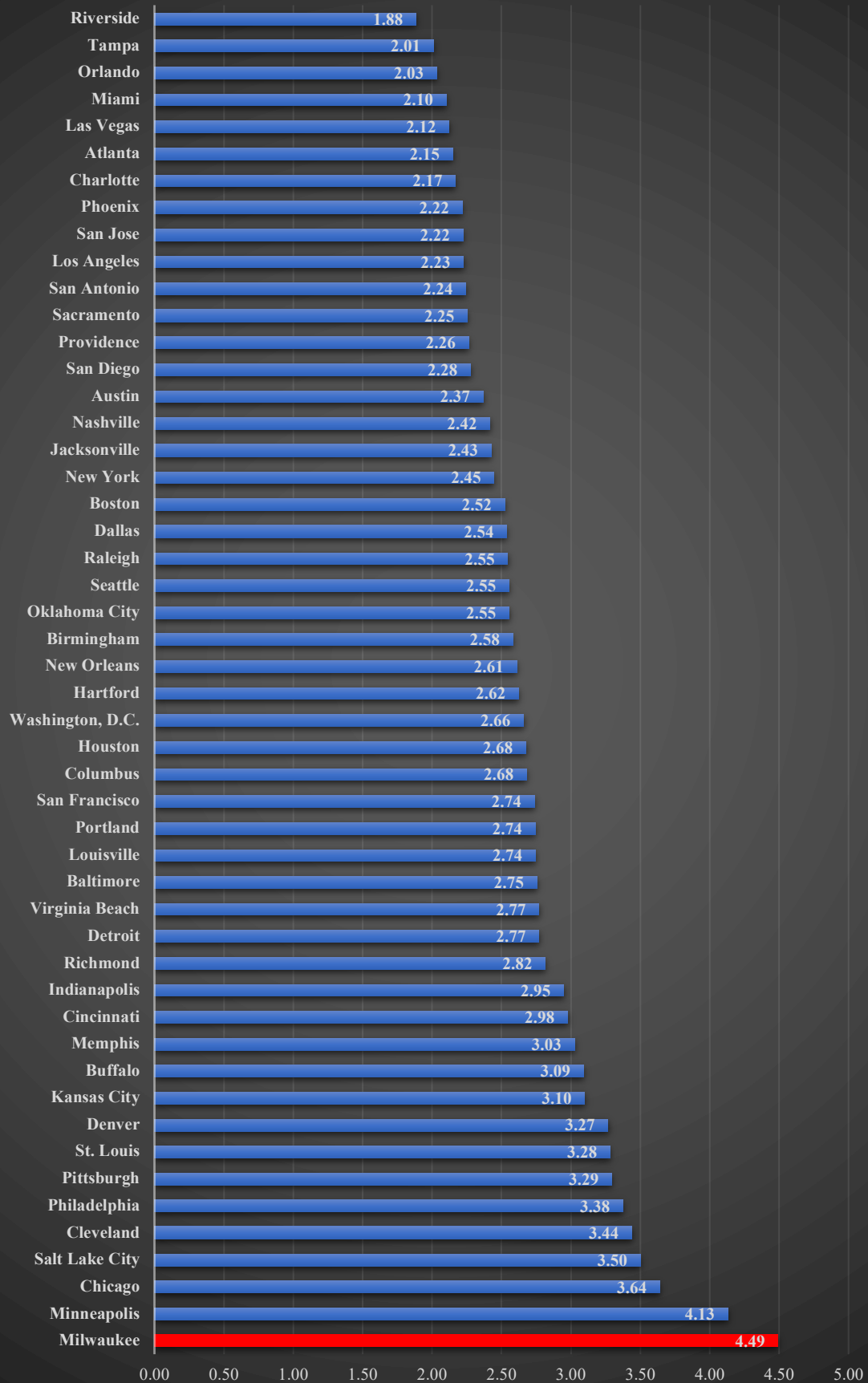
Percentage of African Americans Living in Extreme Poverty



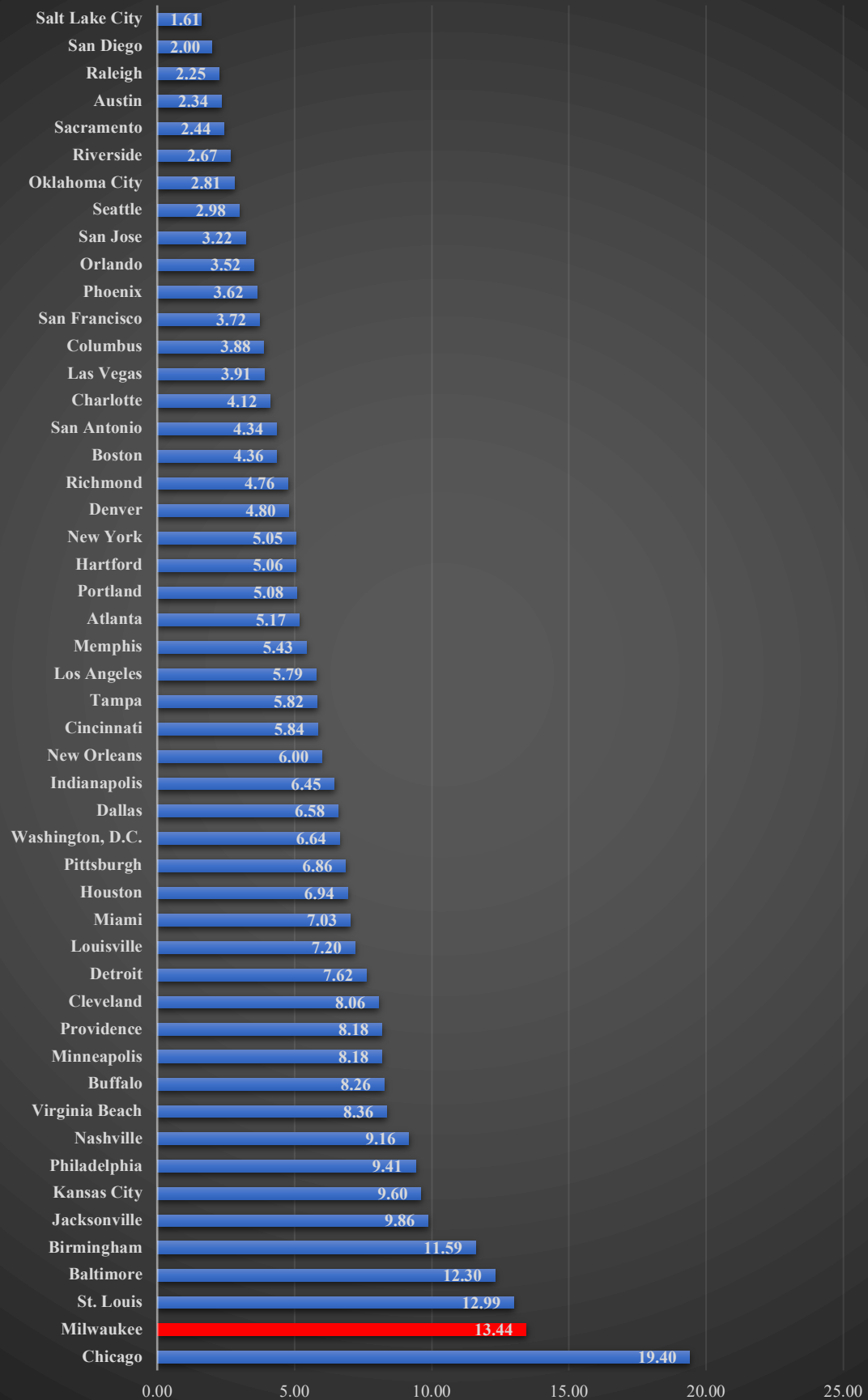
Poverty Rate for Black Children



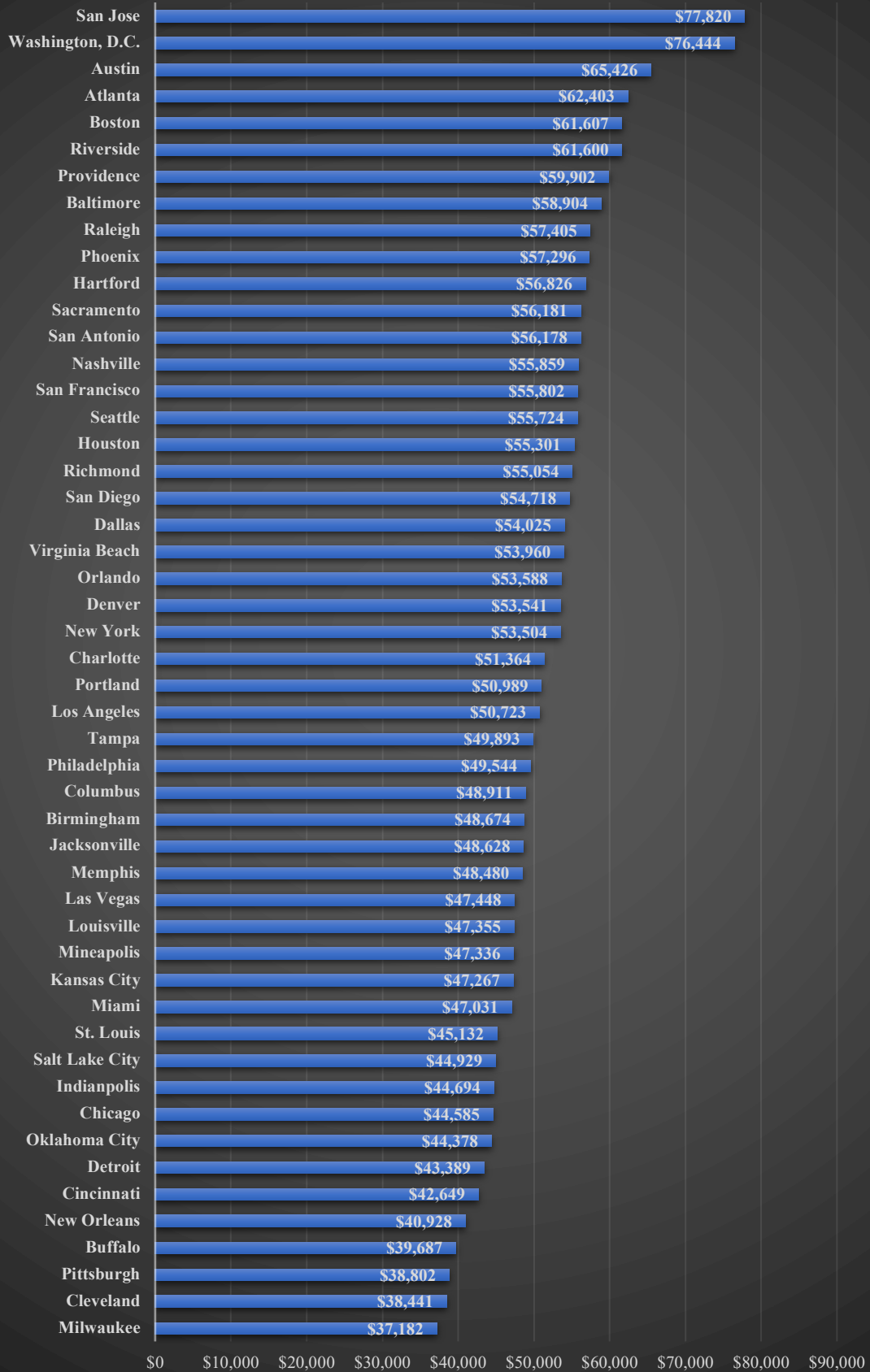
Ratio of Black to WNH Poverty Rates



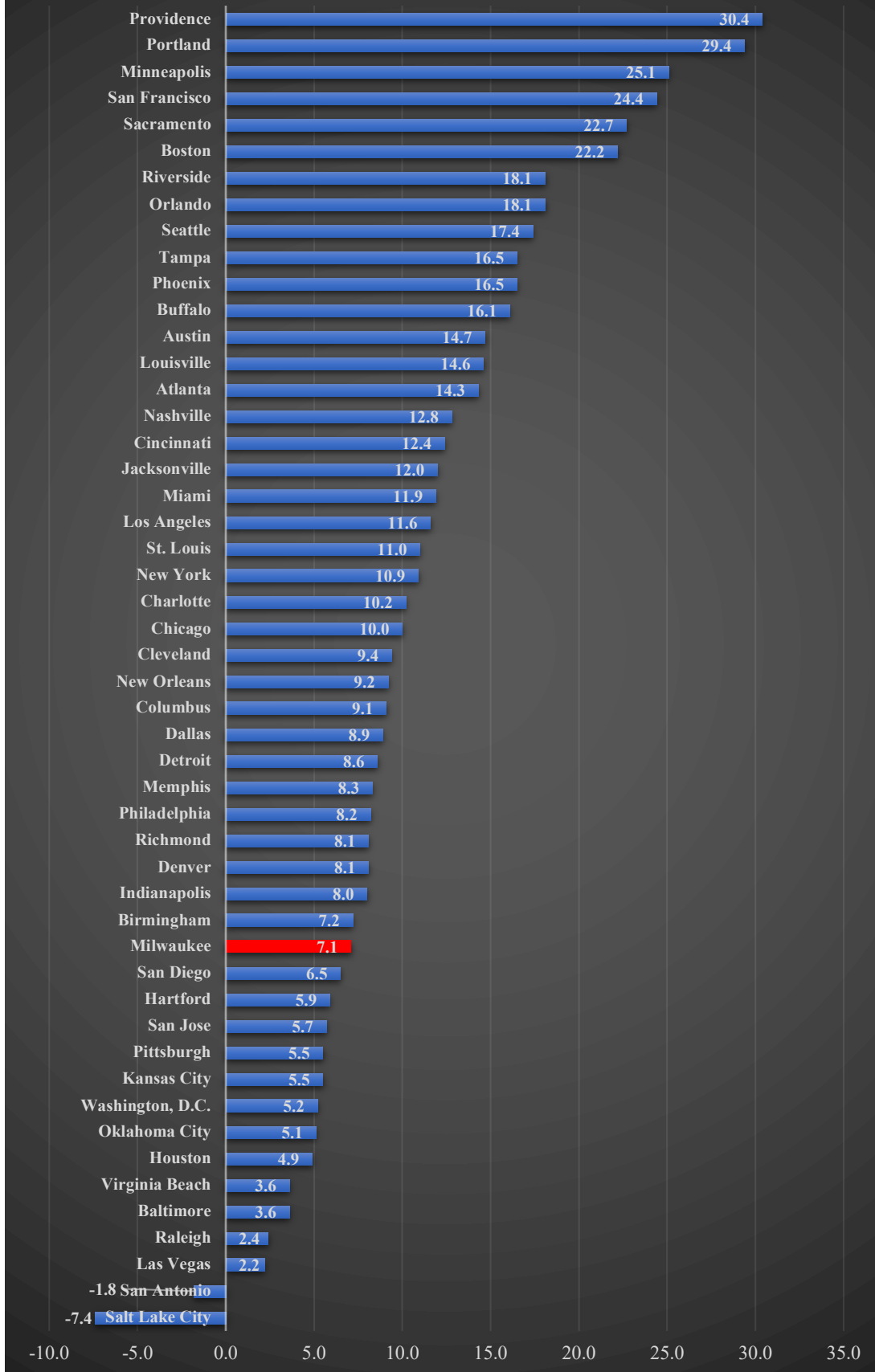
Ratio of Black to WNH Concentrated Poverty Rate



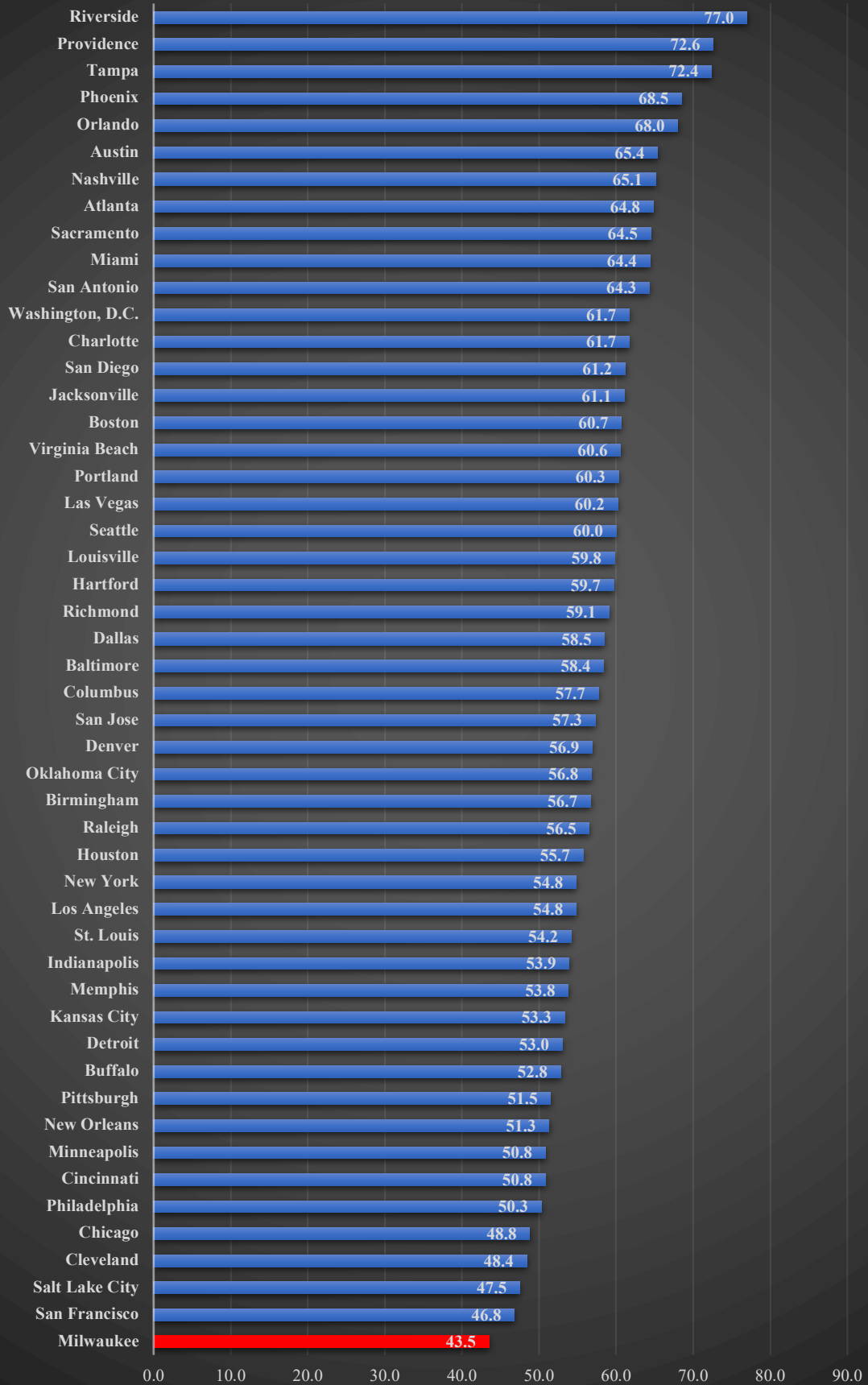
Black Median Household Income Adjusted for Metro Area Cost-of-Living Differences



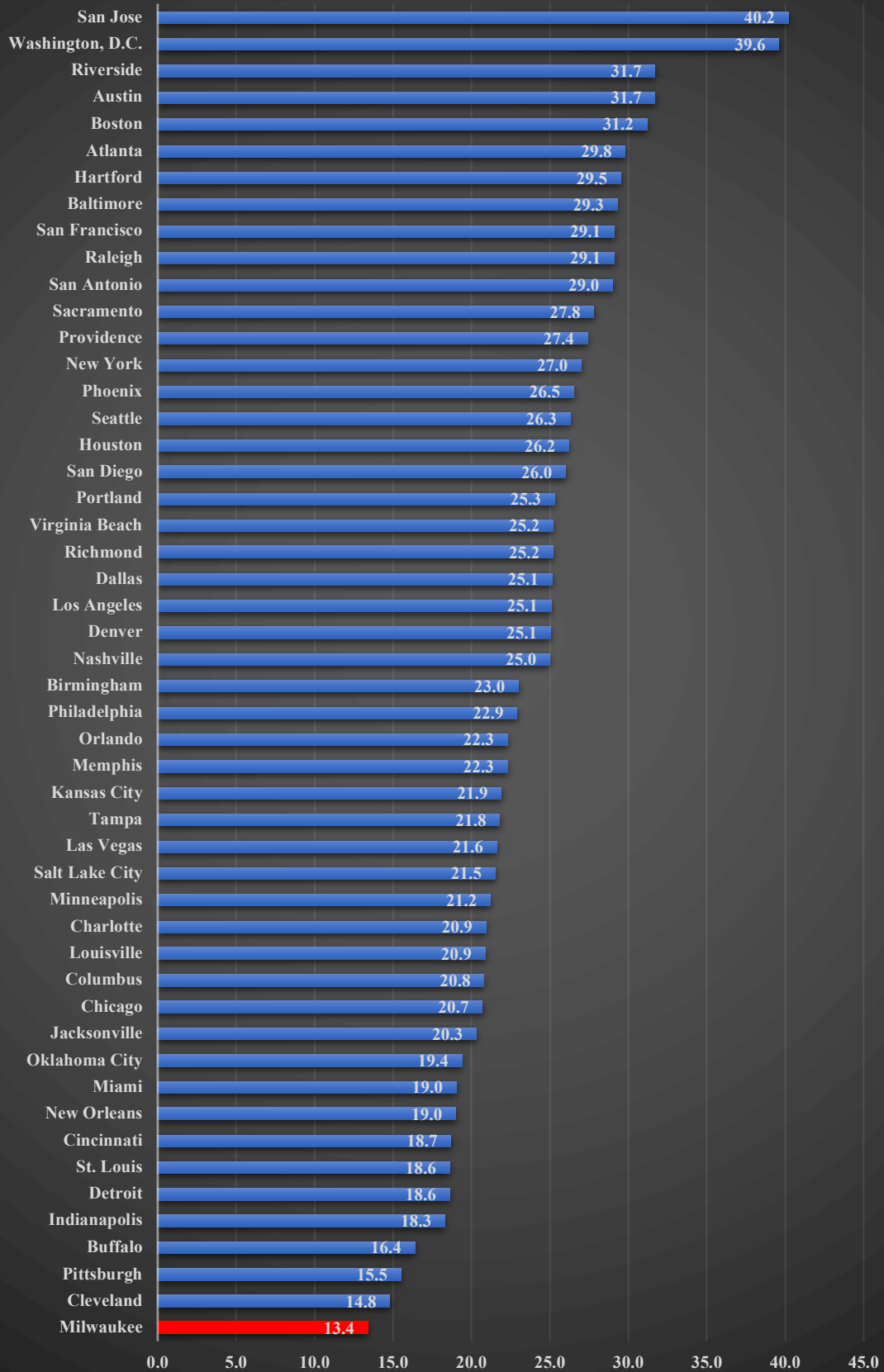
Percentage Change in Real Black Median Household Income: 2017-22



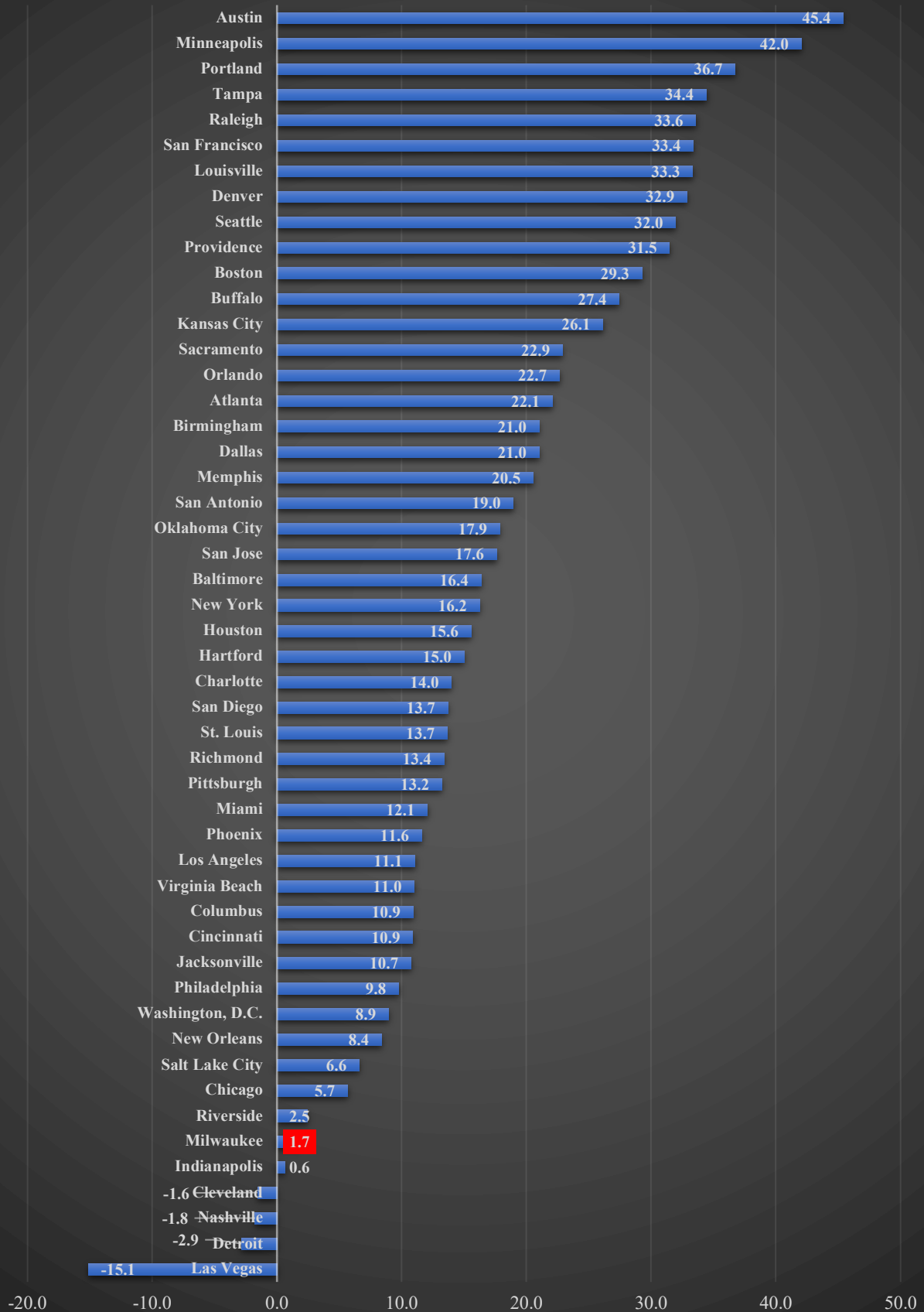
Black HH Income as % of WNH Income



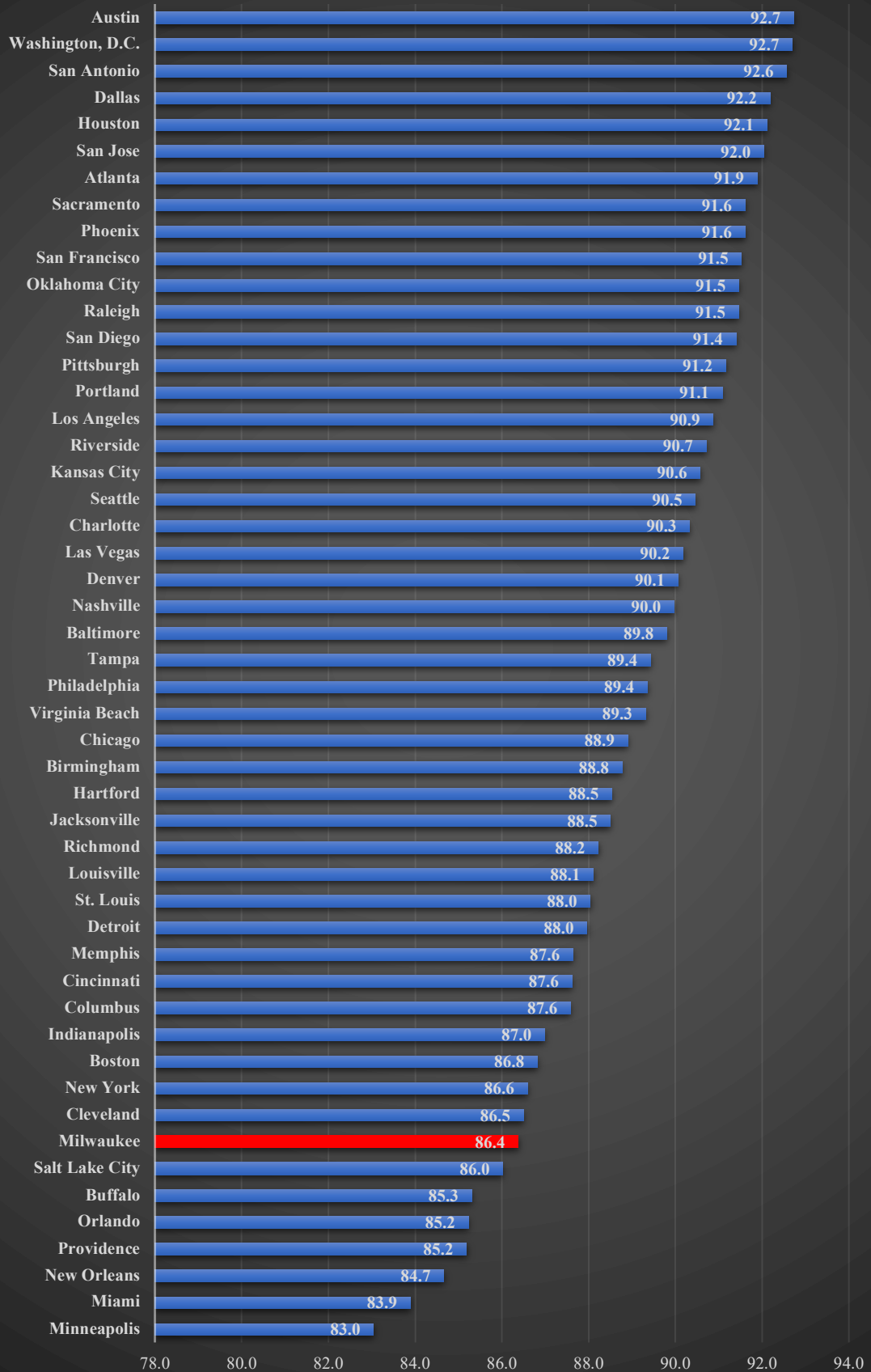
Share of Black Households with Annual Income over \$100,000
RPP-adjusted for cost-of-living differences



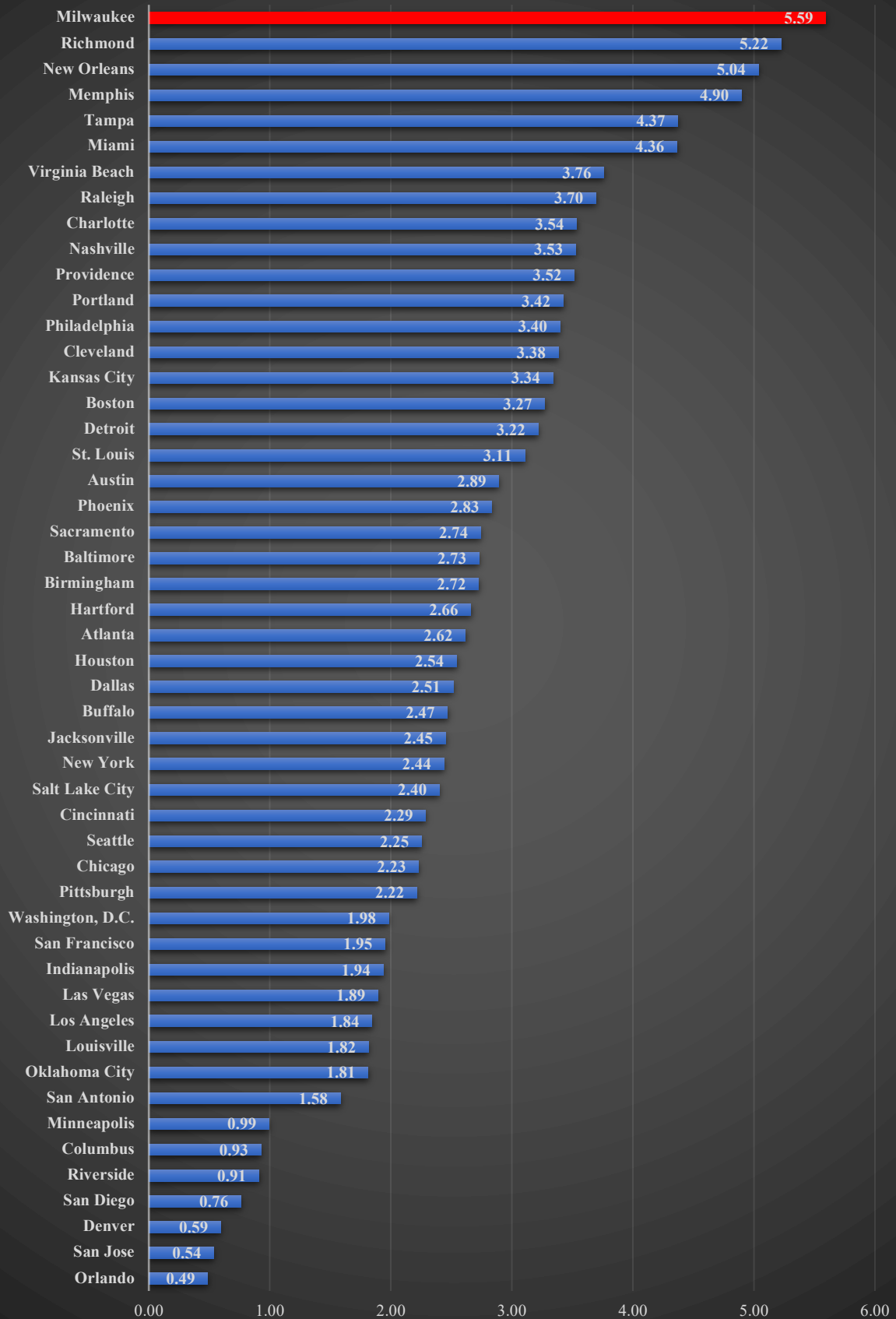
Percentage Change in Share of Black HHs with Annual Income over \$100,000: 2010-2022
in real 2022 dollars



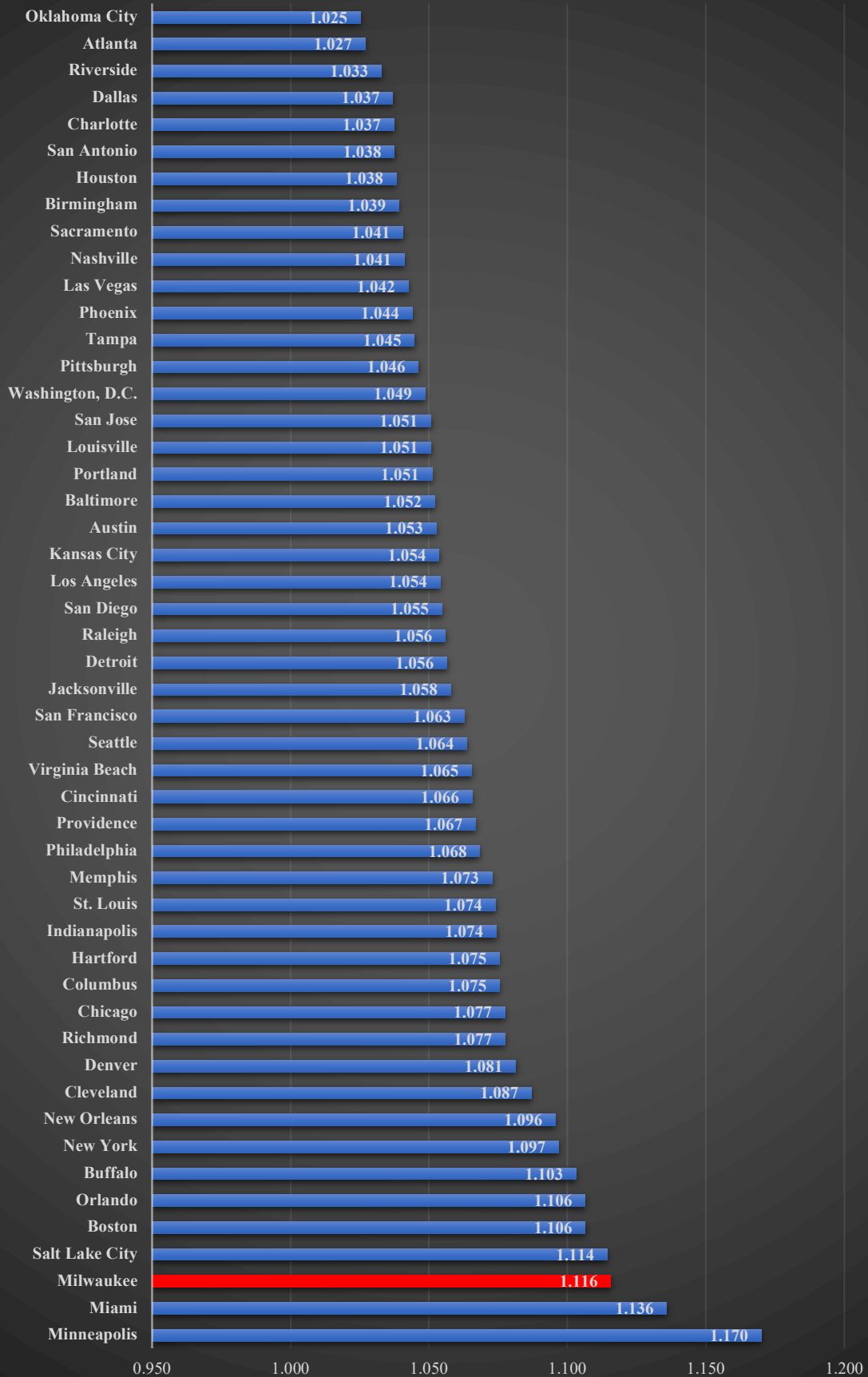
Percentage of Blacks Over 25 Years Old Holding High School Degree/Equivalent or Higher



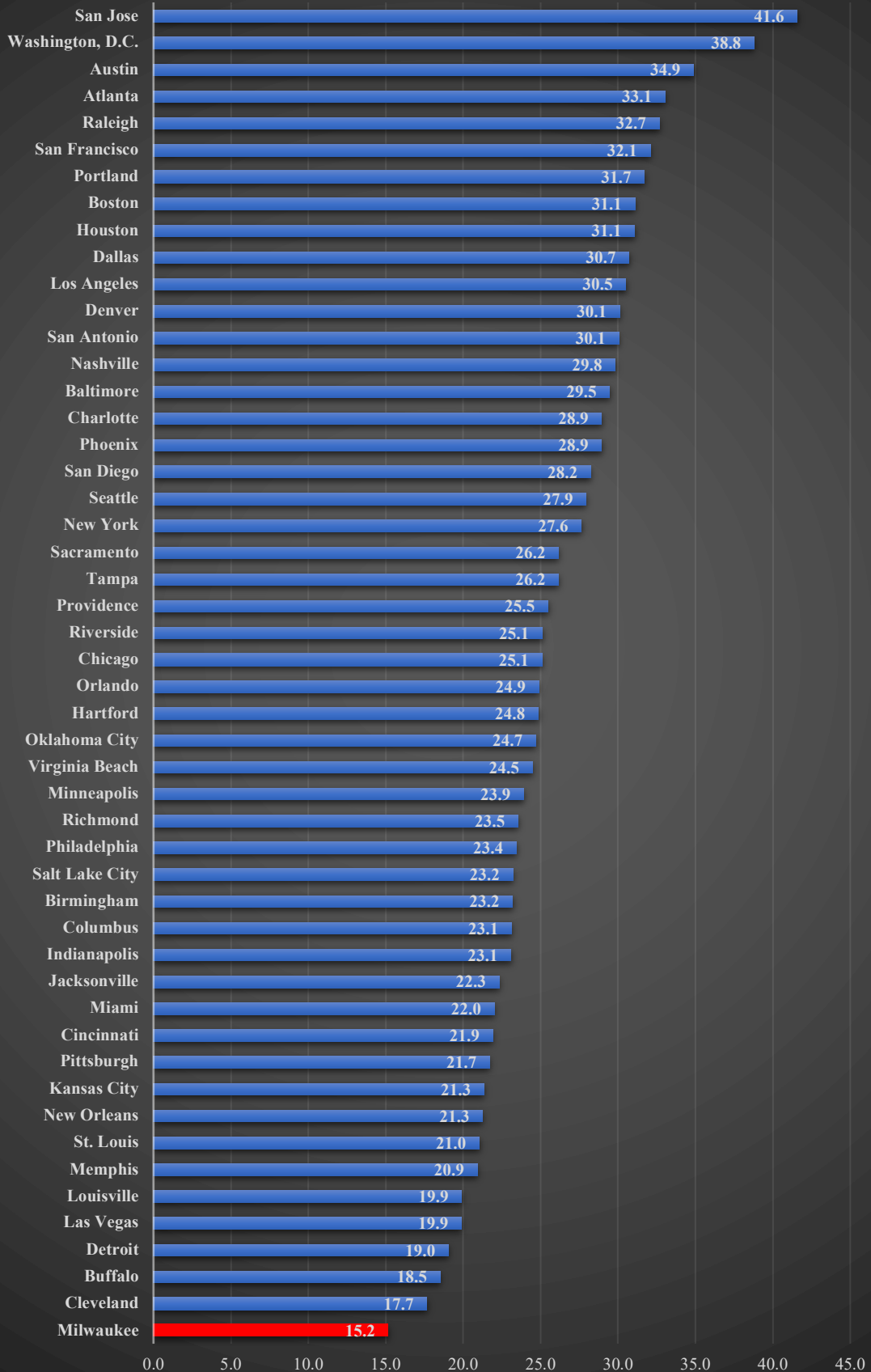
Percentage Growth in the Share of Blacks Holding High School Degree or Higher: 2017-2022



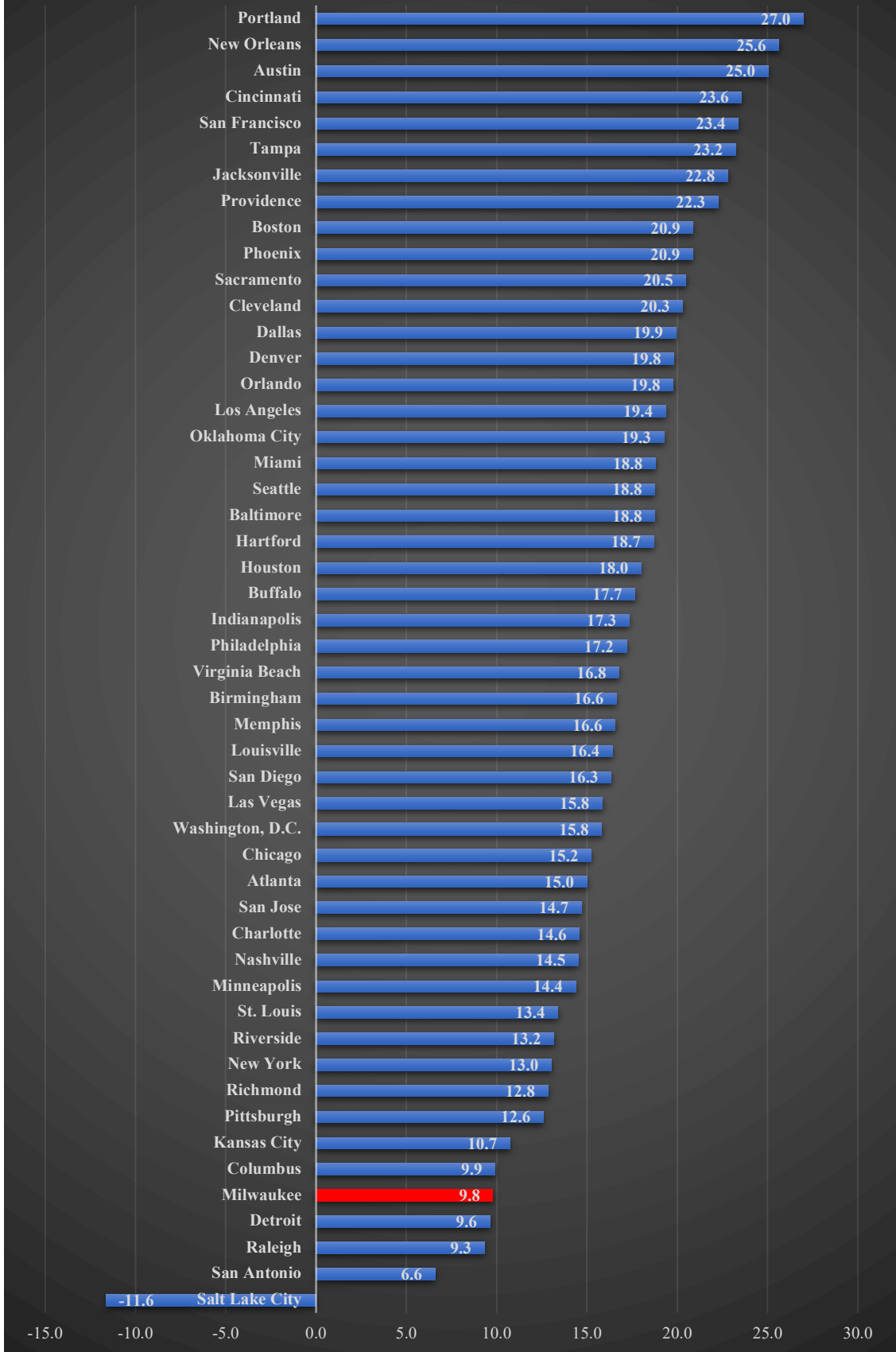
Ratio of WNH to Black HS Graduate Rate



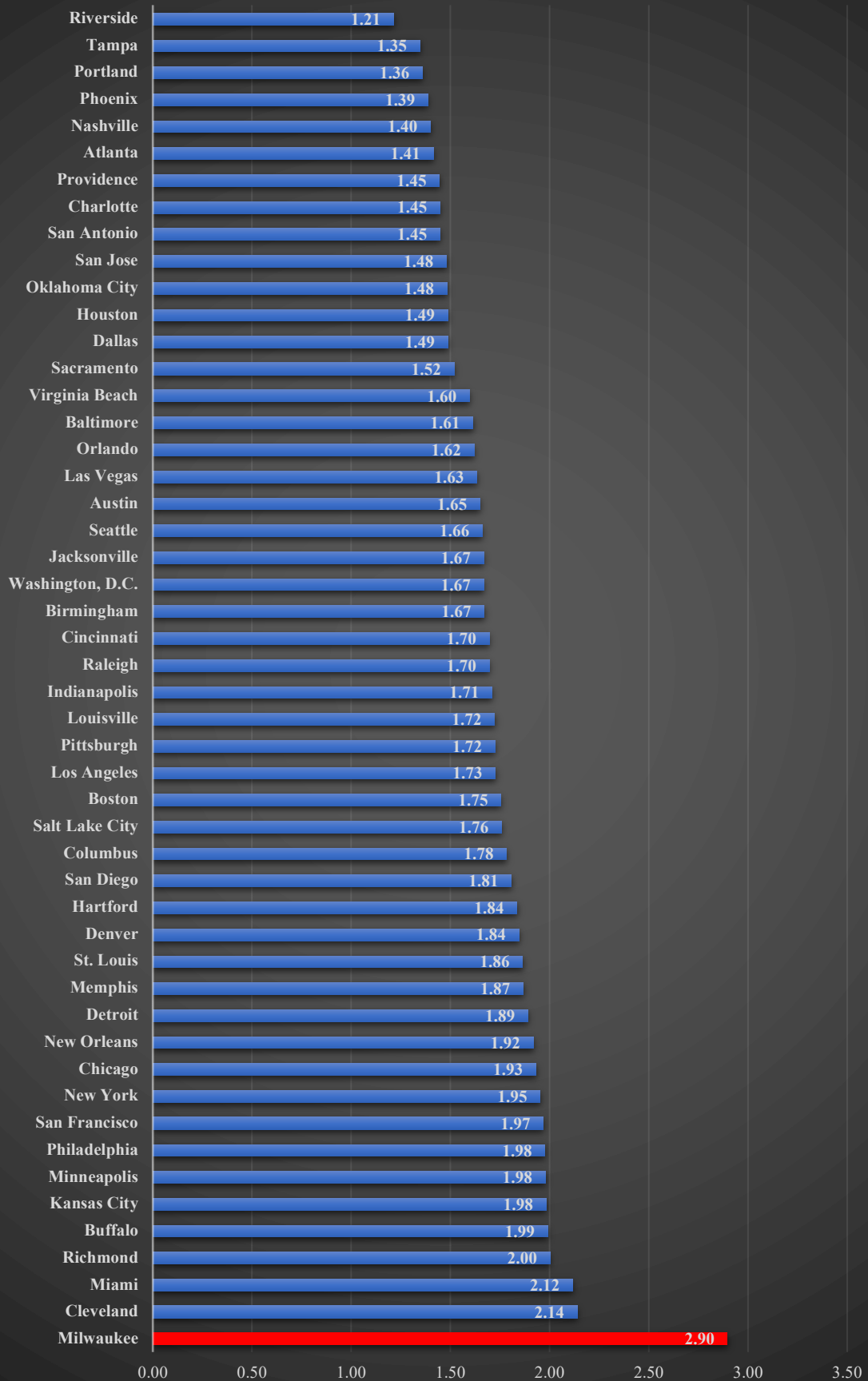
Percentage of Blacks Over 25 Years Holding a Bachelor's Degree or Higher



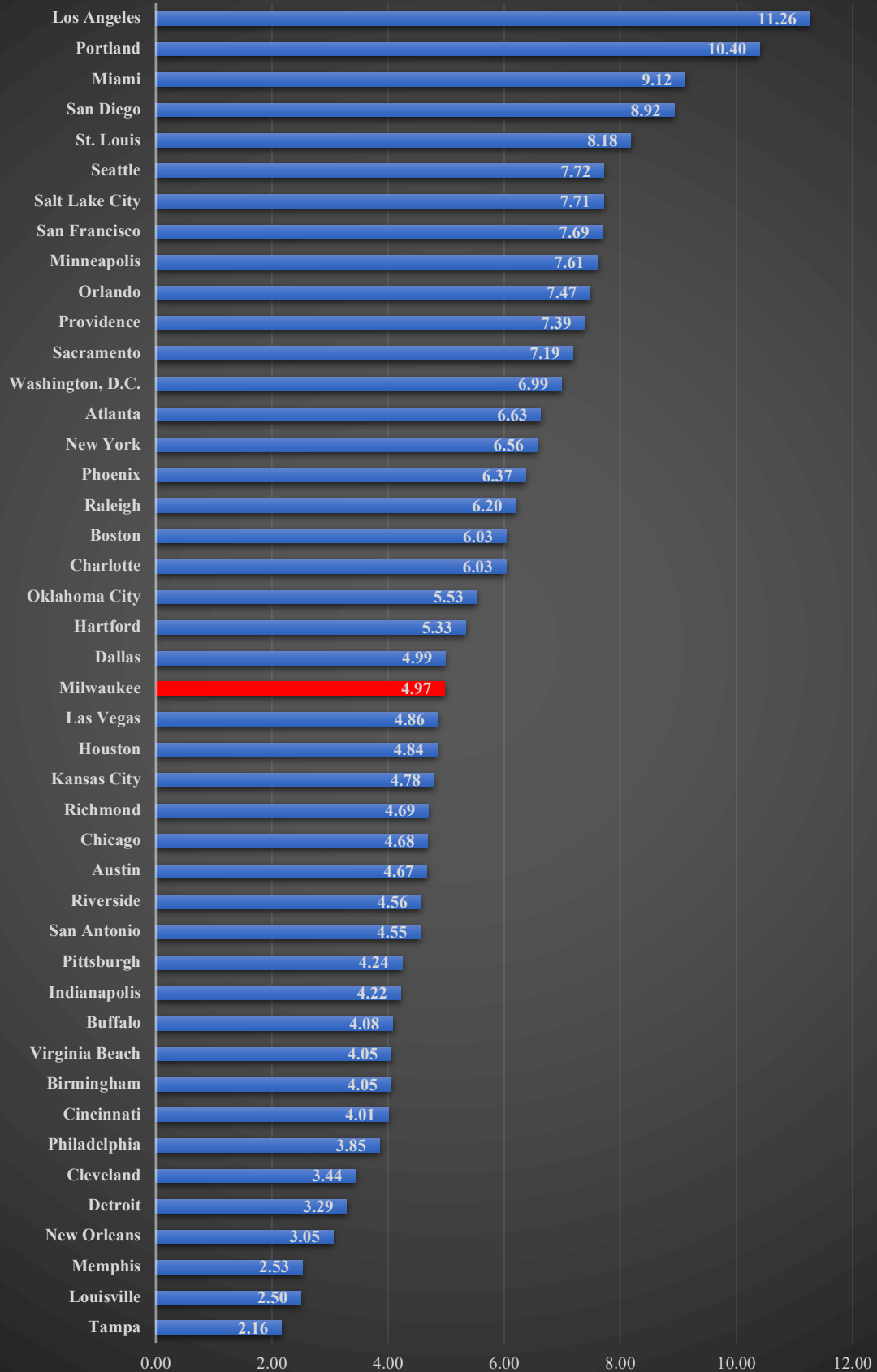
Percentage Change in Fraction of Blacks Over 25 Holding a College Degree or Higher: 2017-2022



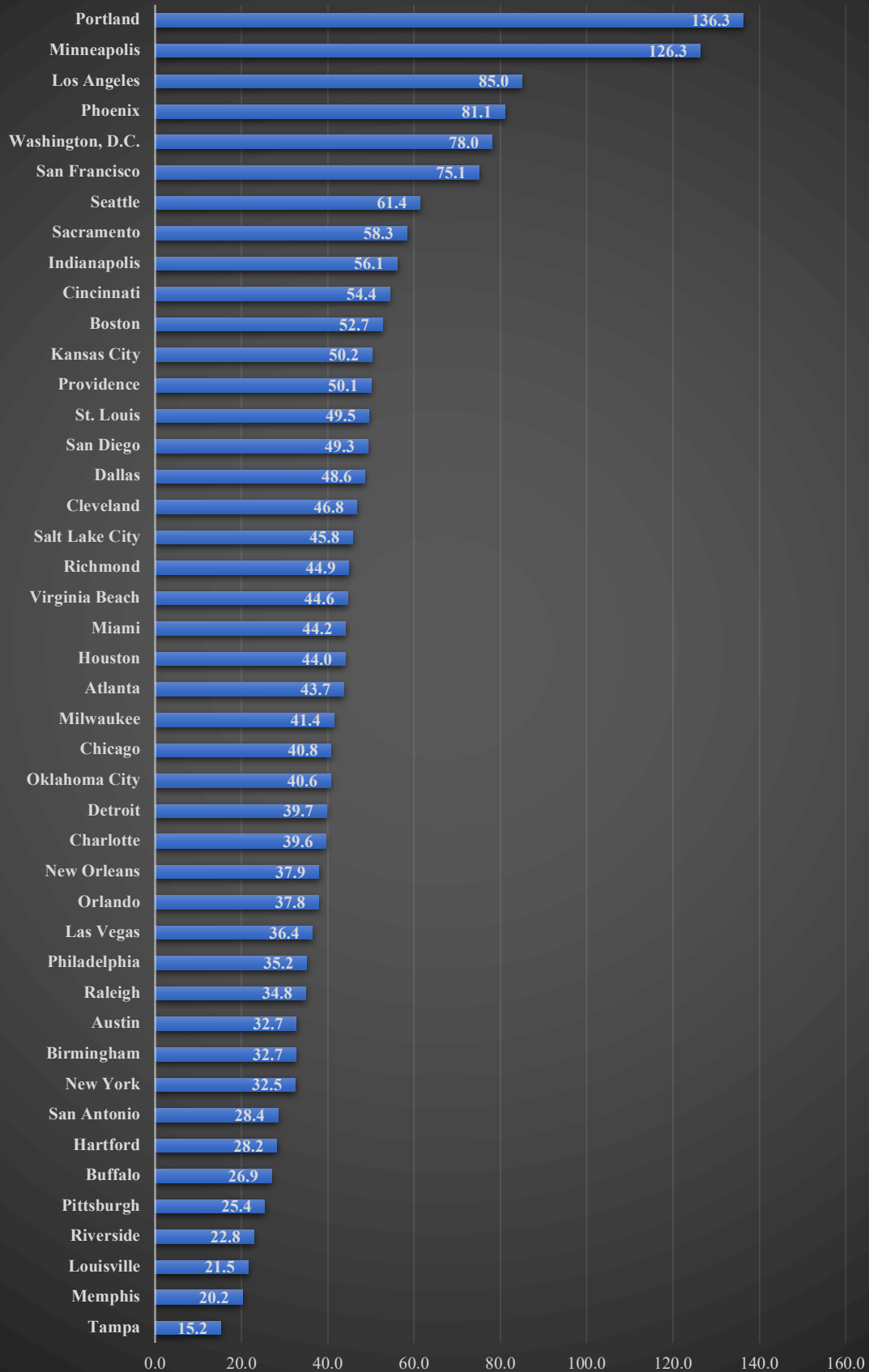
Ratio of WNH to Black College Graduate Rate



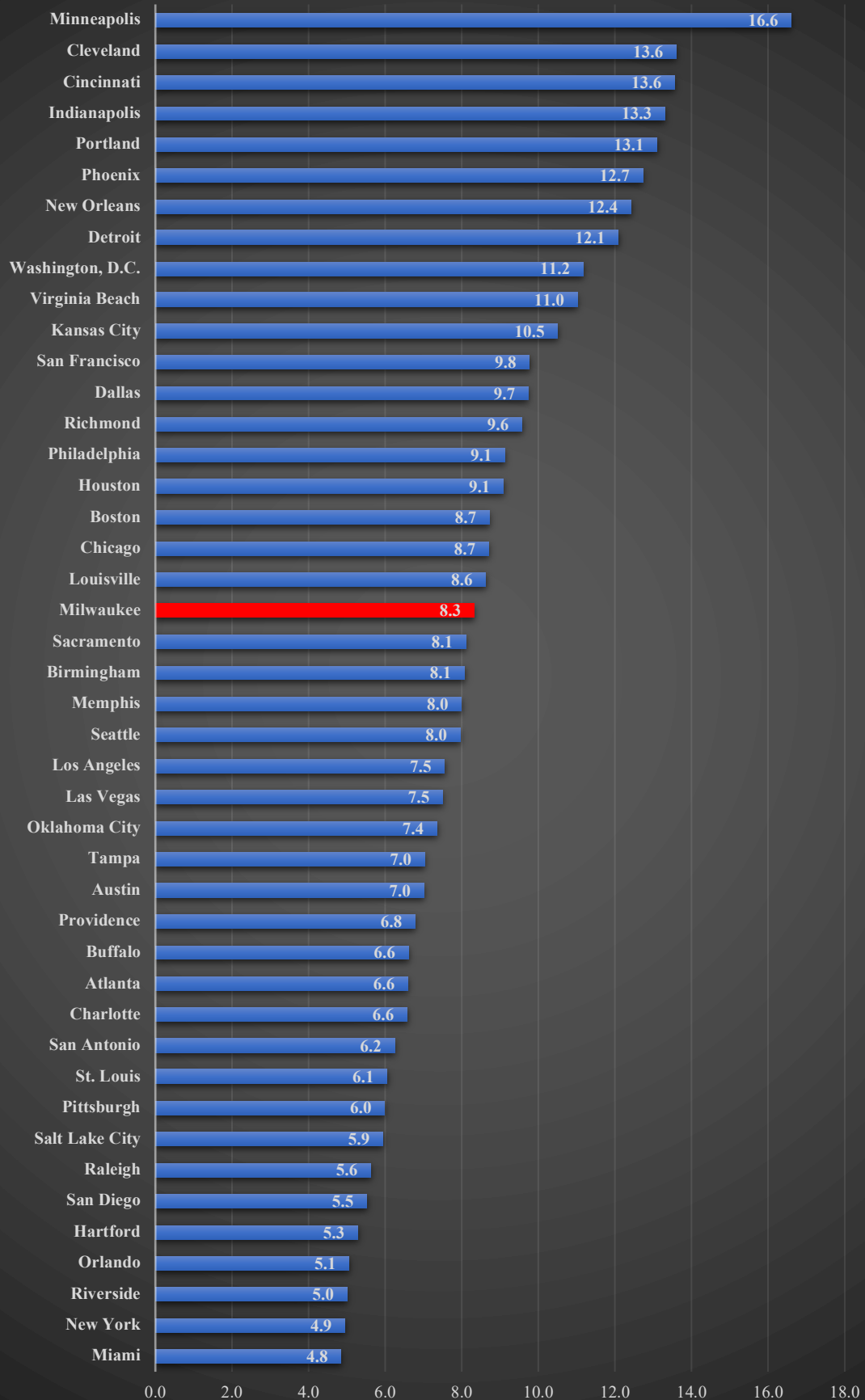
Black-owned employer firms per 1000 Black working-age population



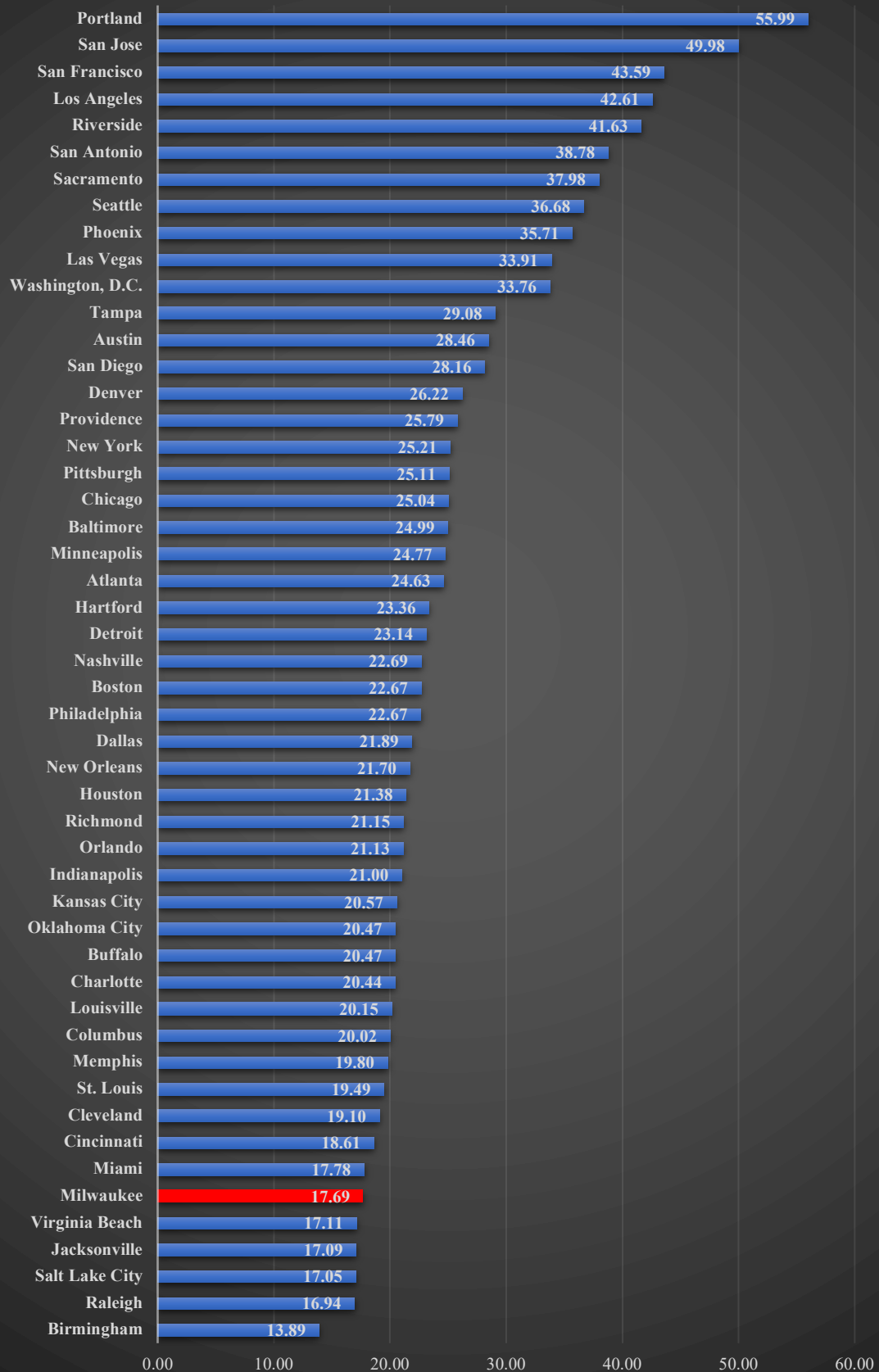
Employment in Black-owned firms per 1000 working age Black population



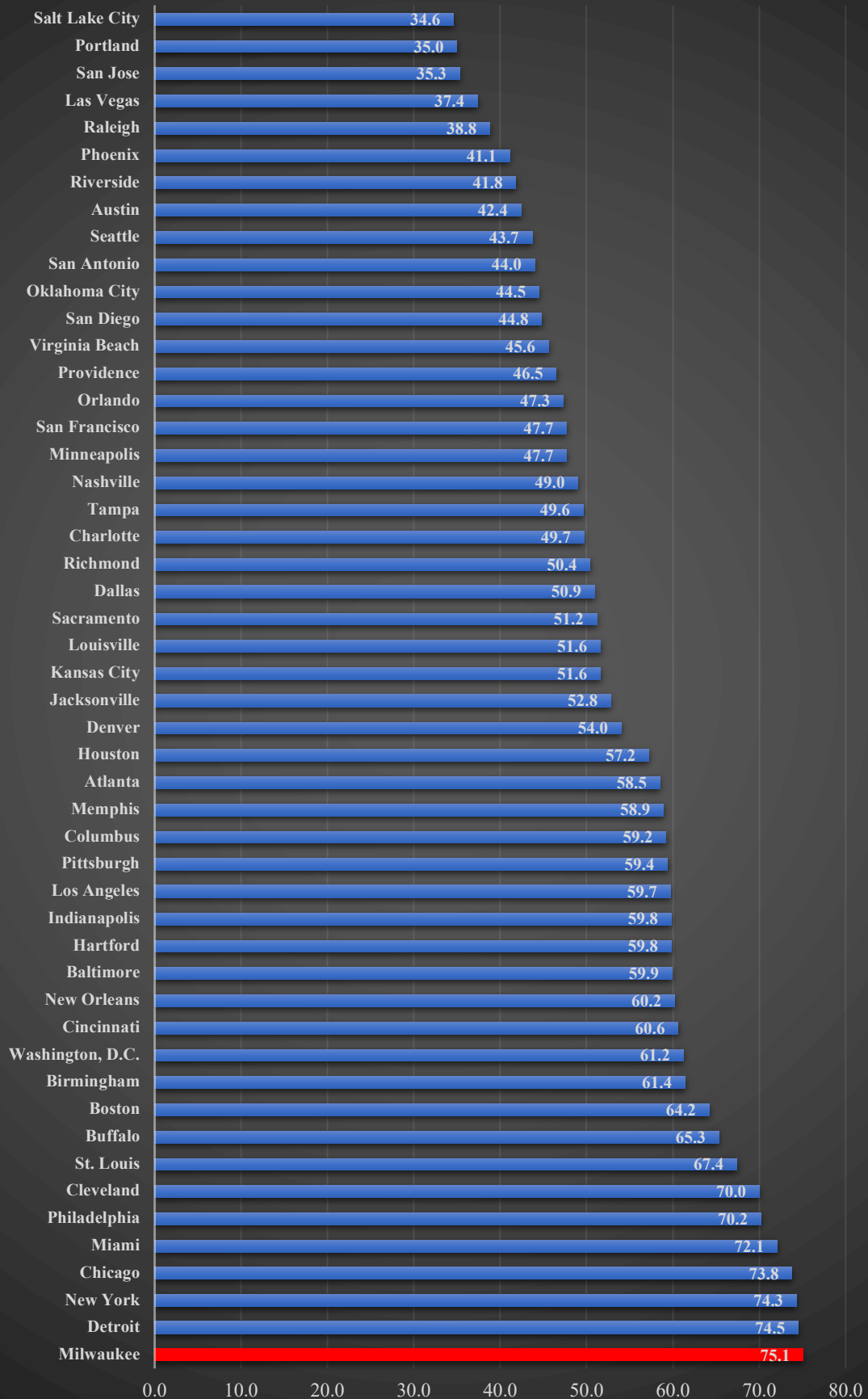
Employees per Black-owned firm



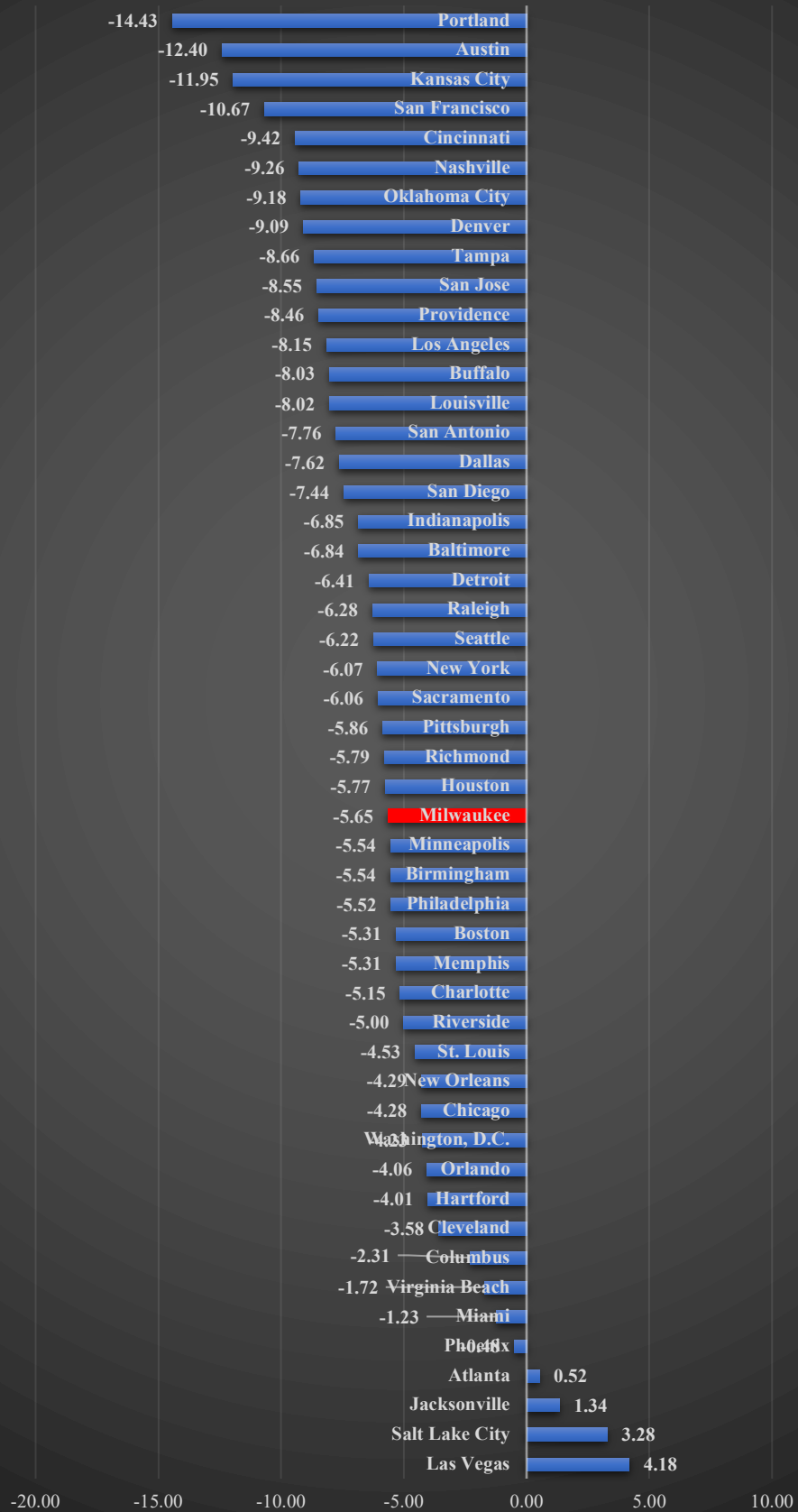
Index of Black Representation in Executive and Senior Management Positions (proportionality= 100)



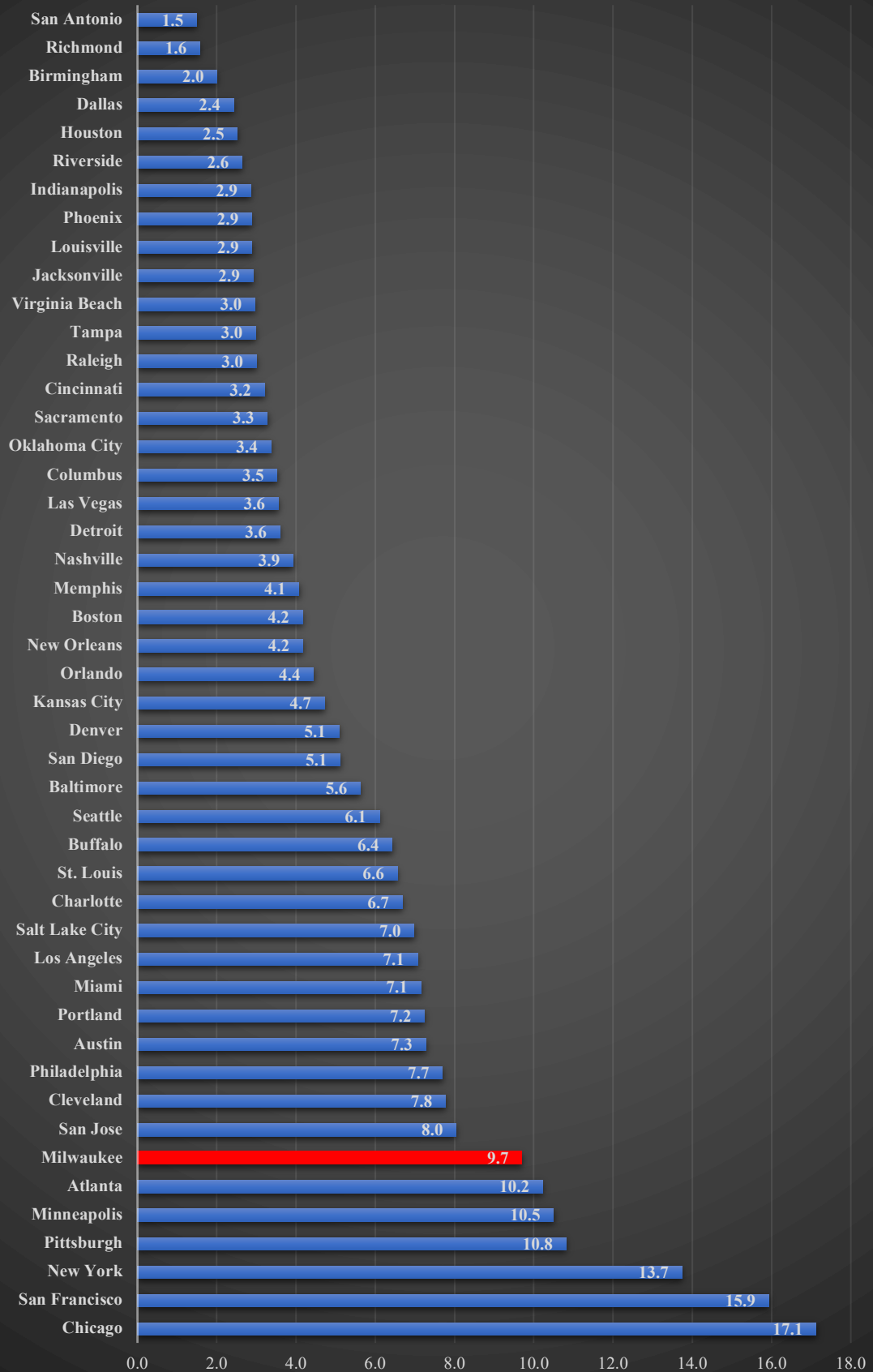
Black-WNH Segregation Index



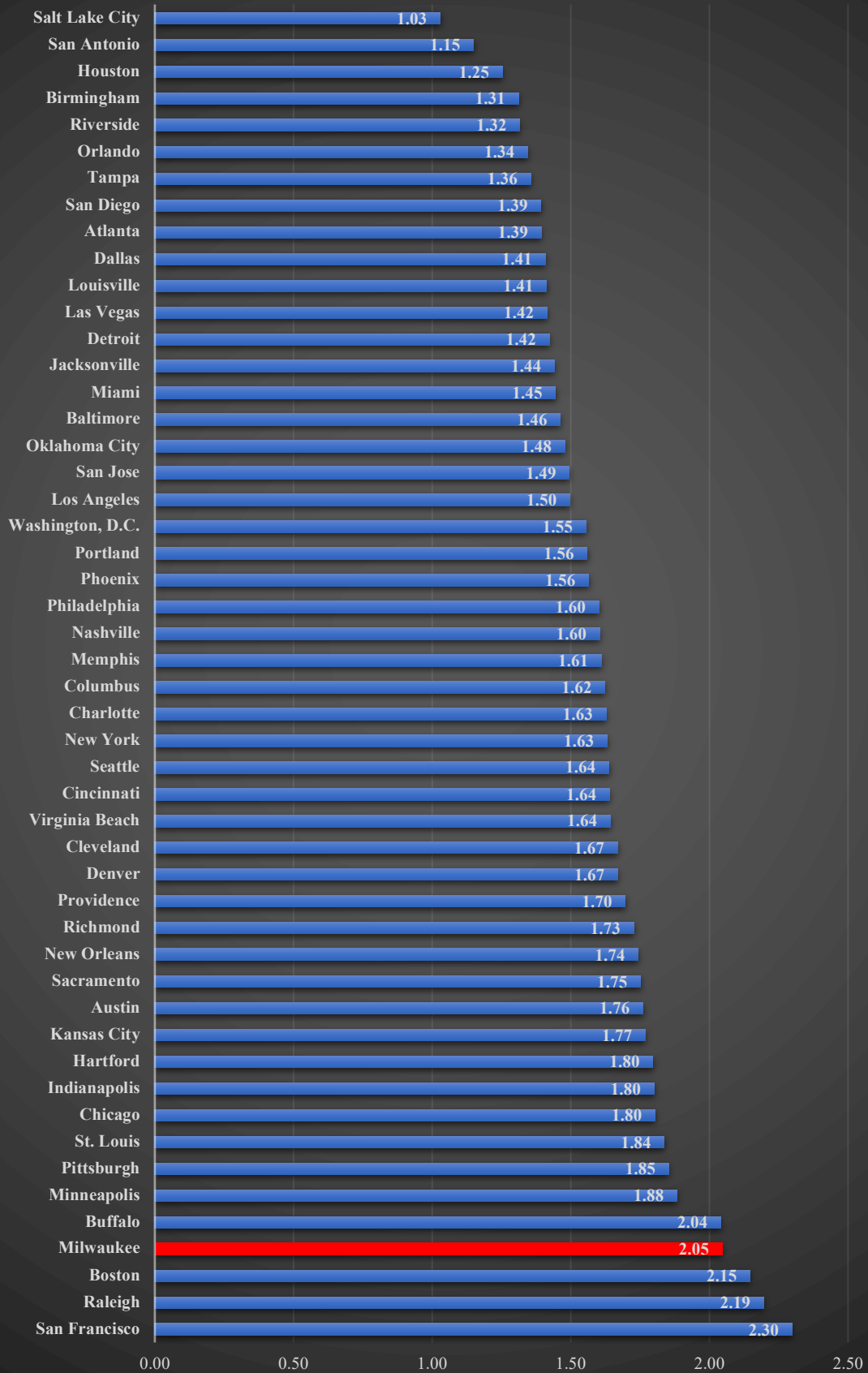
Percentage Decline in Black-WNH Segregation Index: 2010-2020



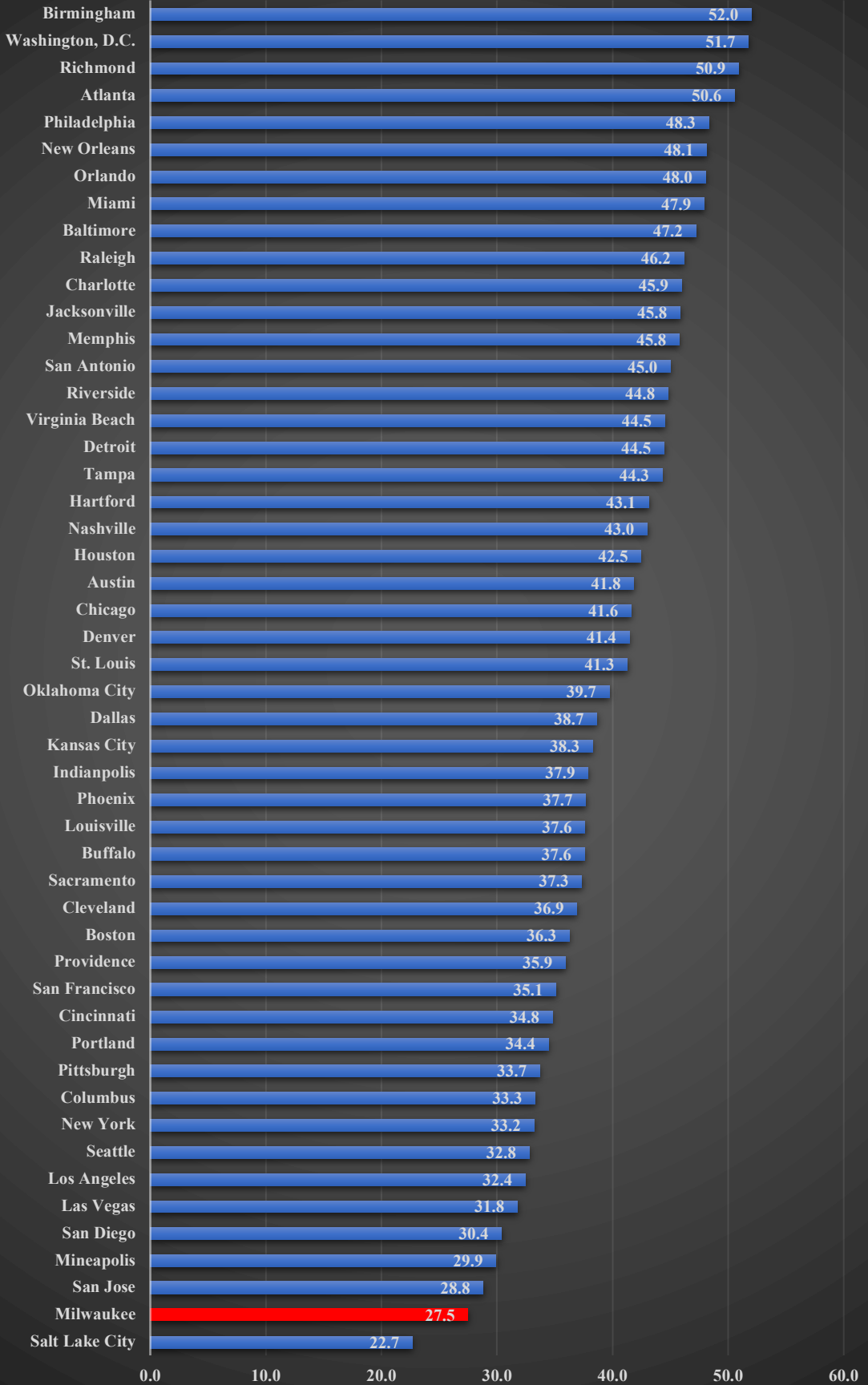
Disparities in Jail Incarceration Ratio of Black to WNH Incarceration Rates



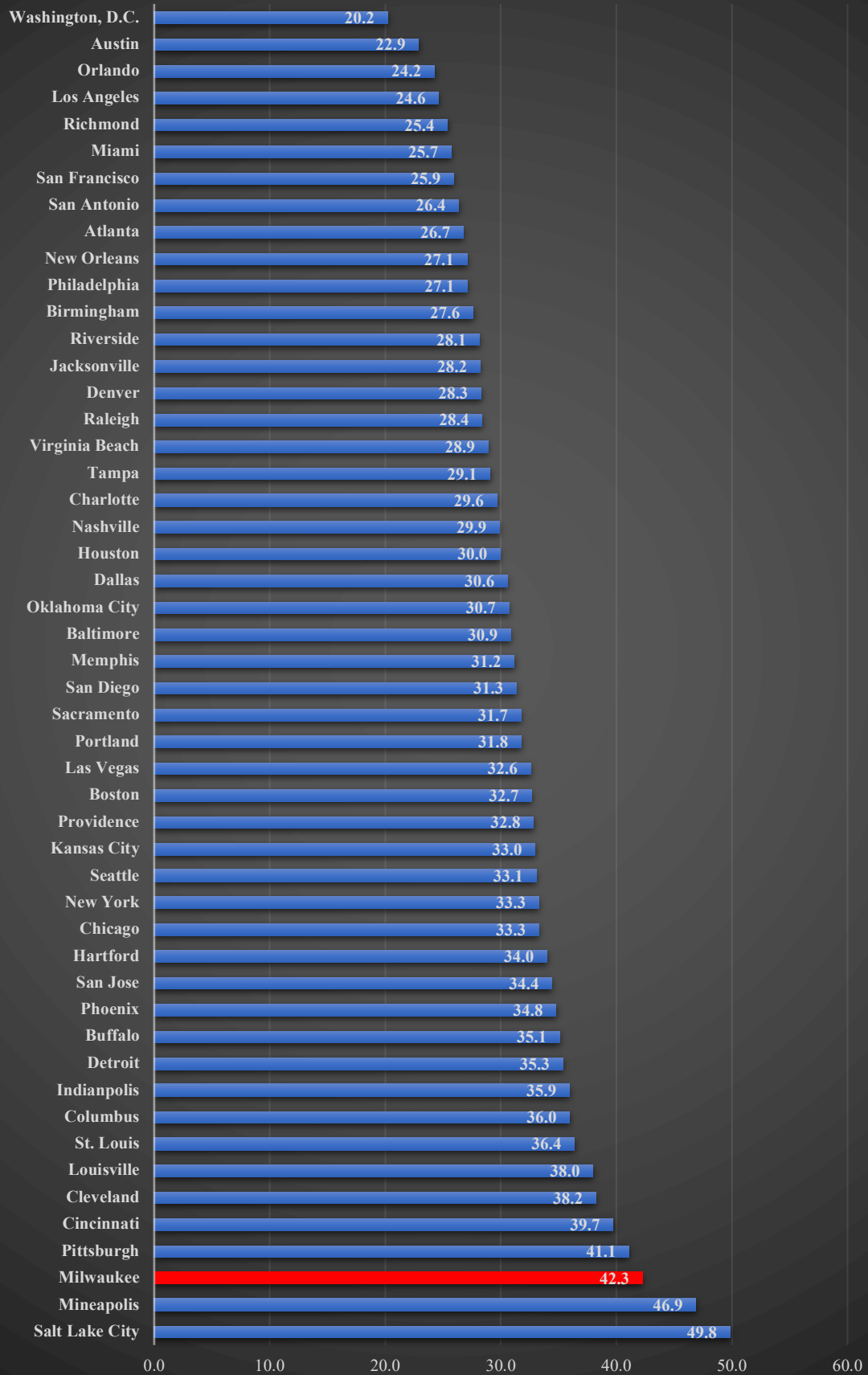
Racial Disparity in Mortgage Lending Denials Ratio of Black Denial Rate to Overall Rate



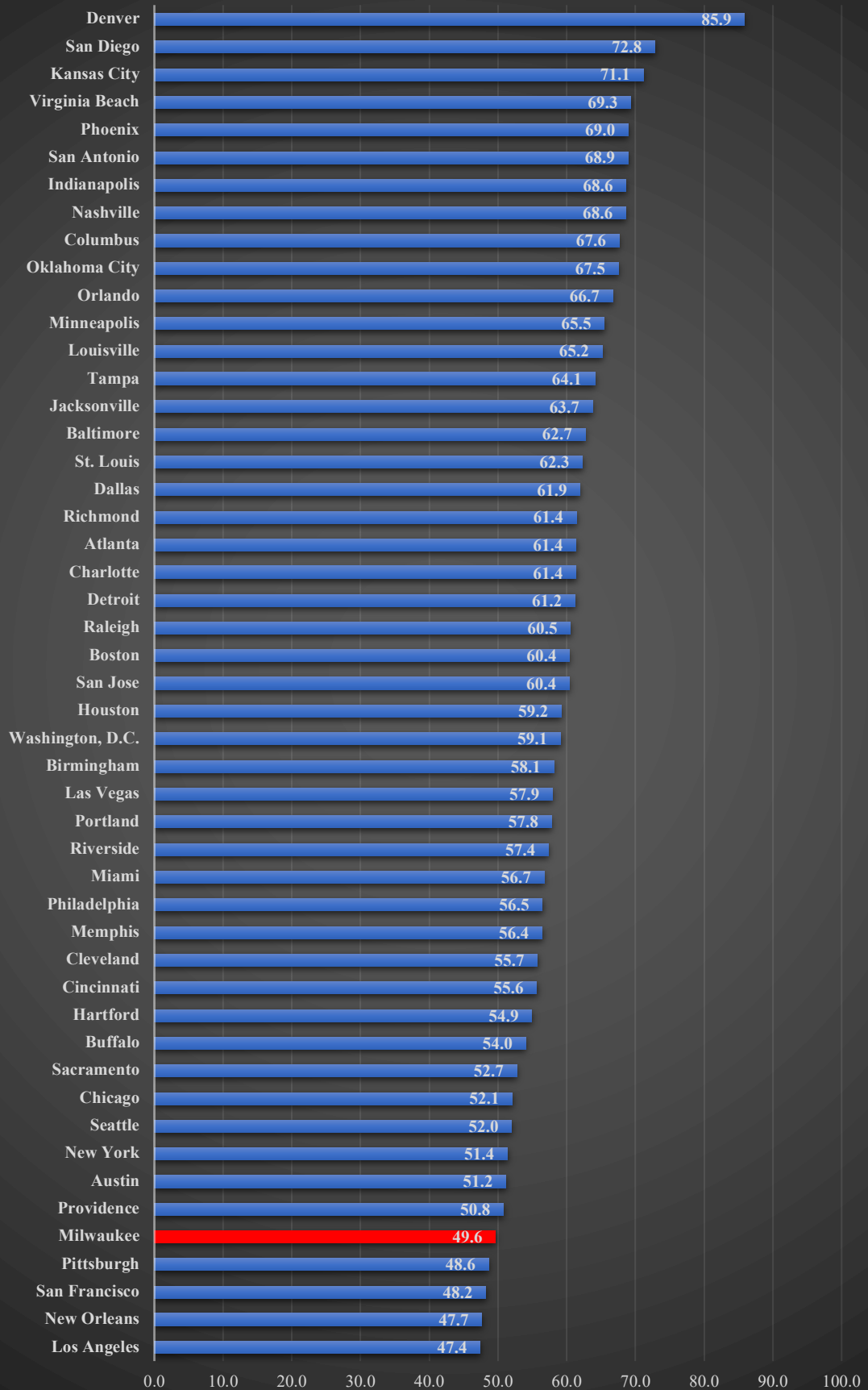
Black Homeownership Rate



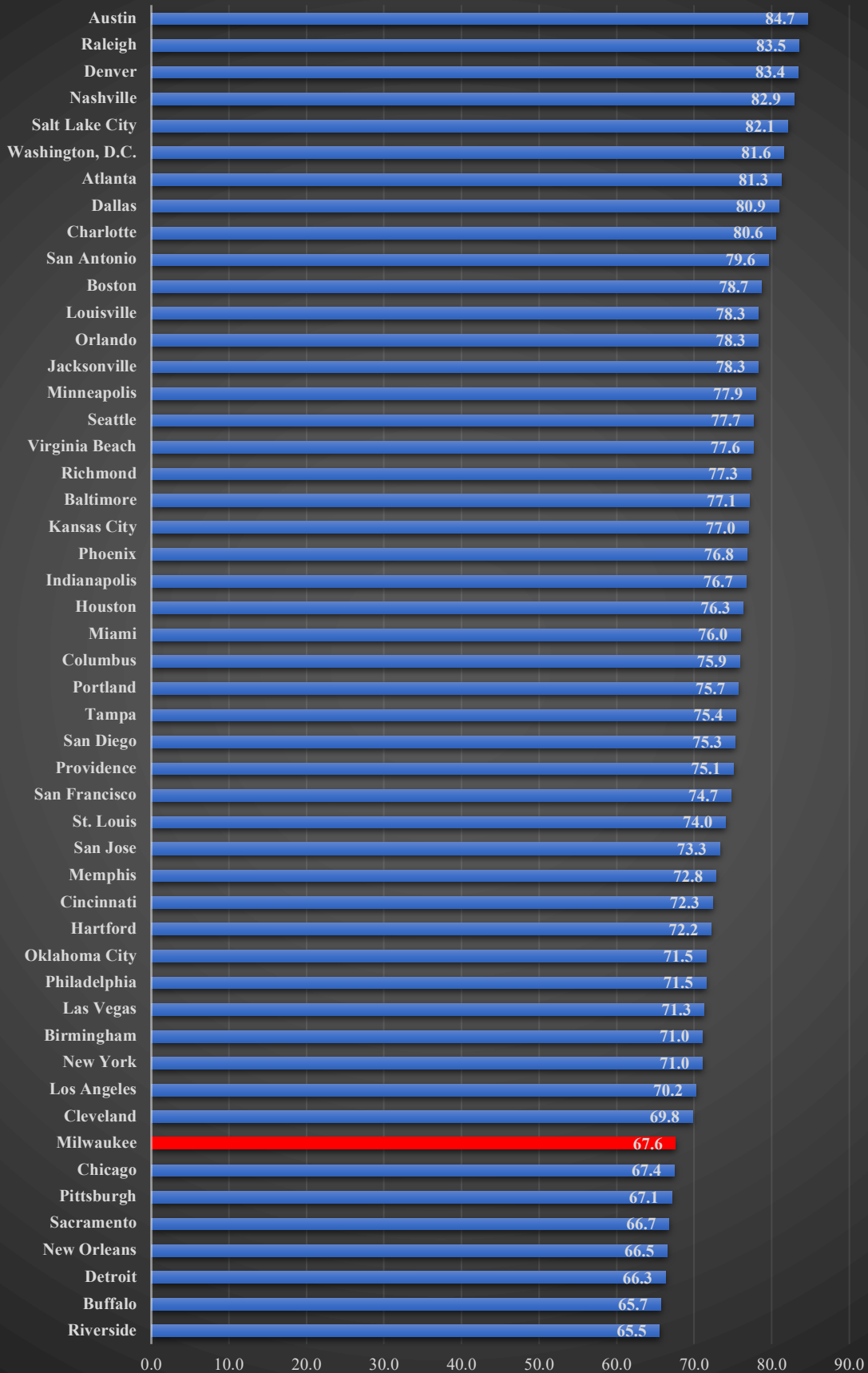
Black-WNH Percentage Point Gap in Homeownership Rates



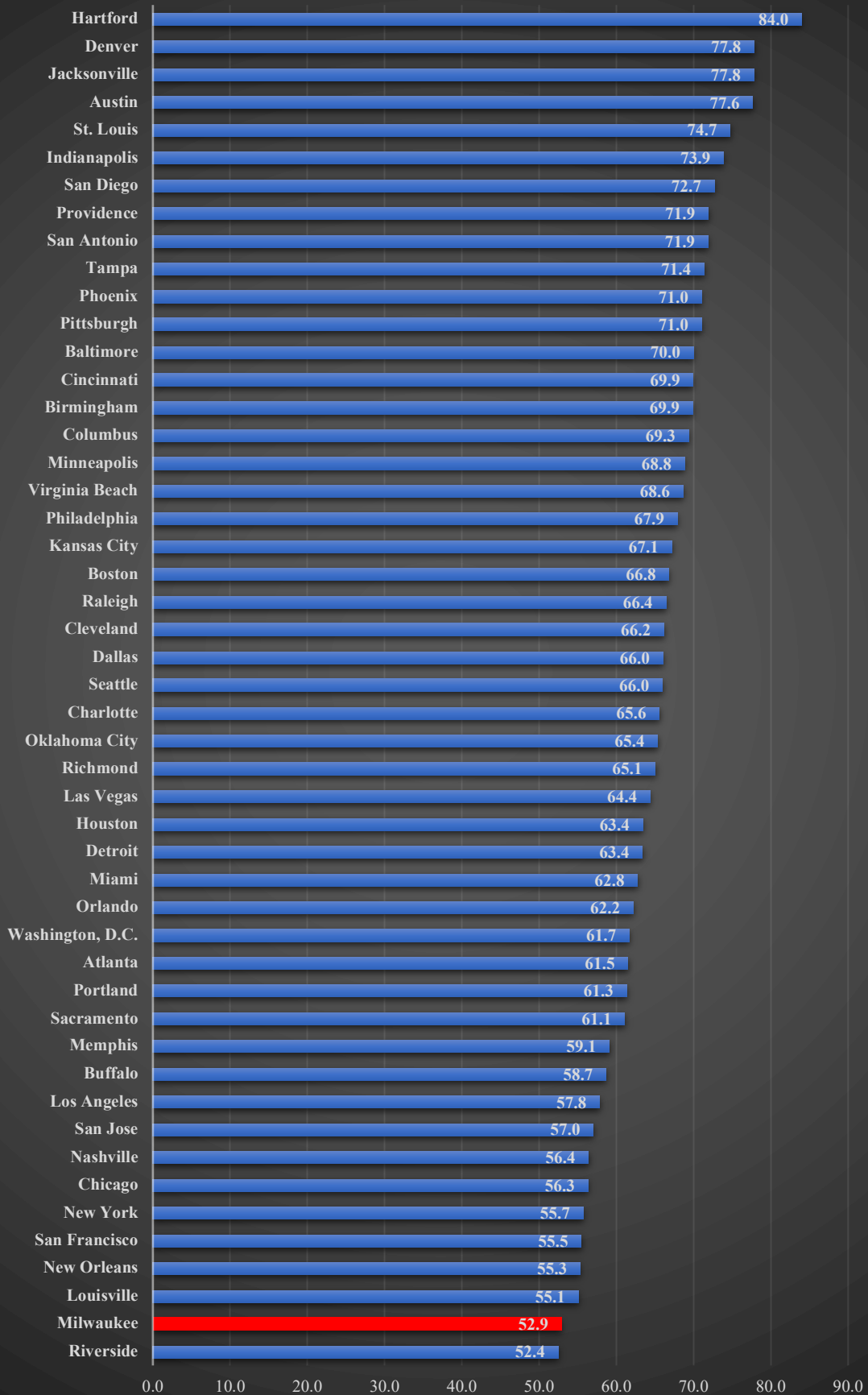
Employment Rate: Black Males, ages 20-24



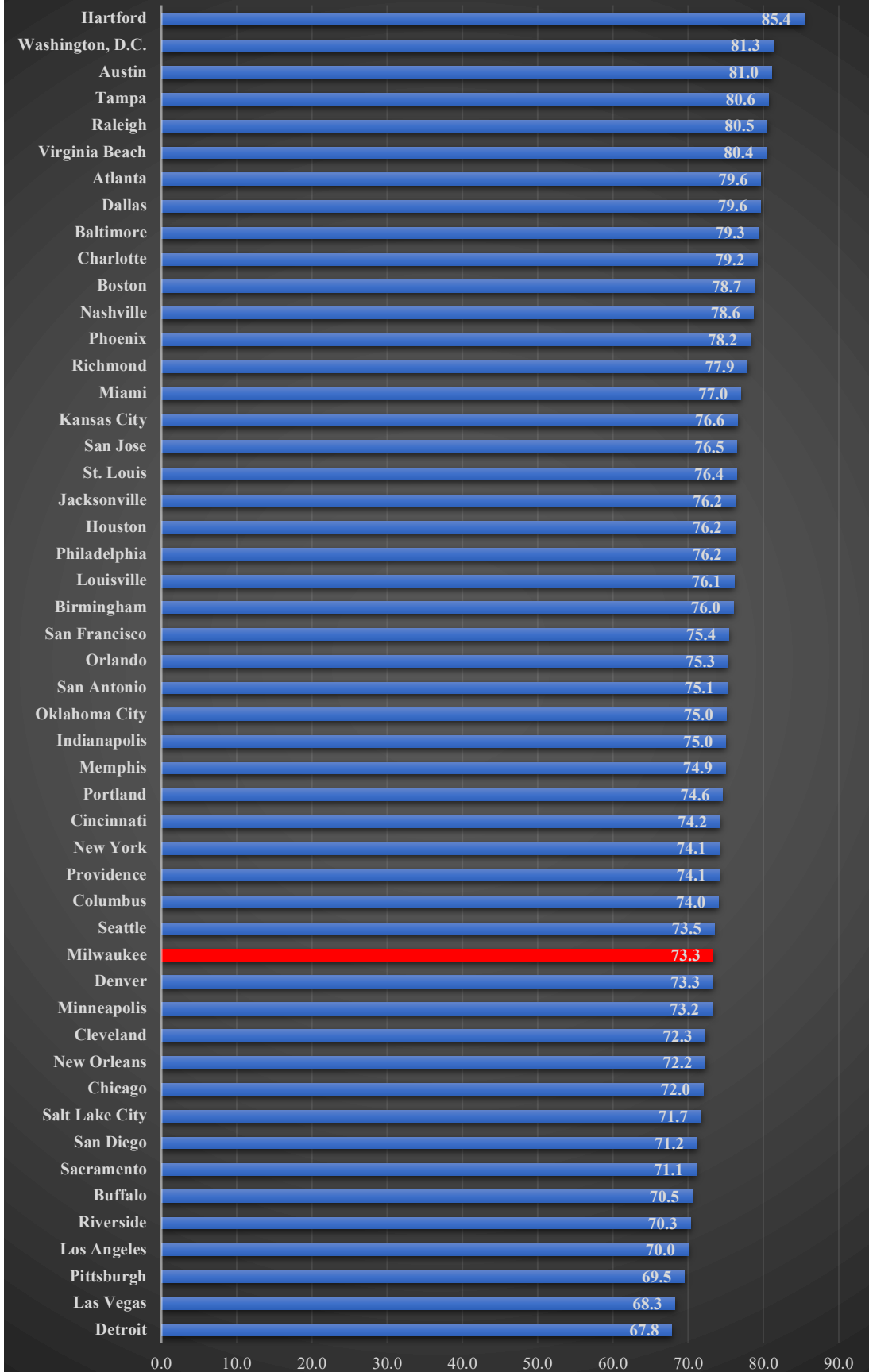
Employment Rate: Black Males, Ages 25-54



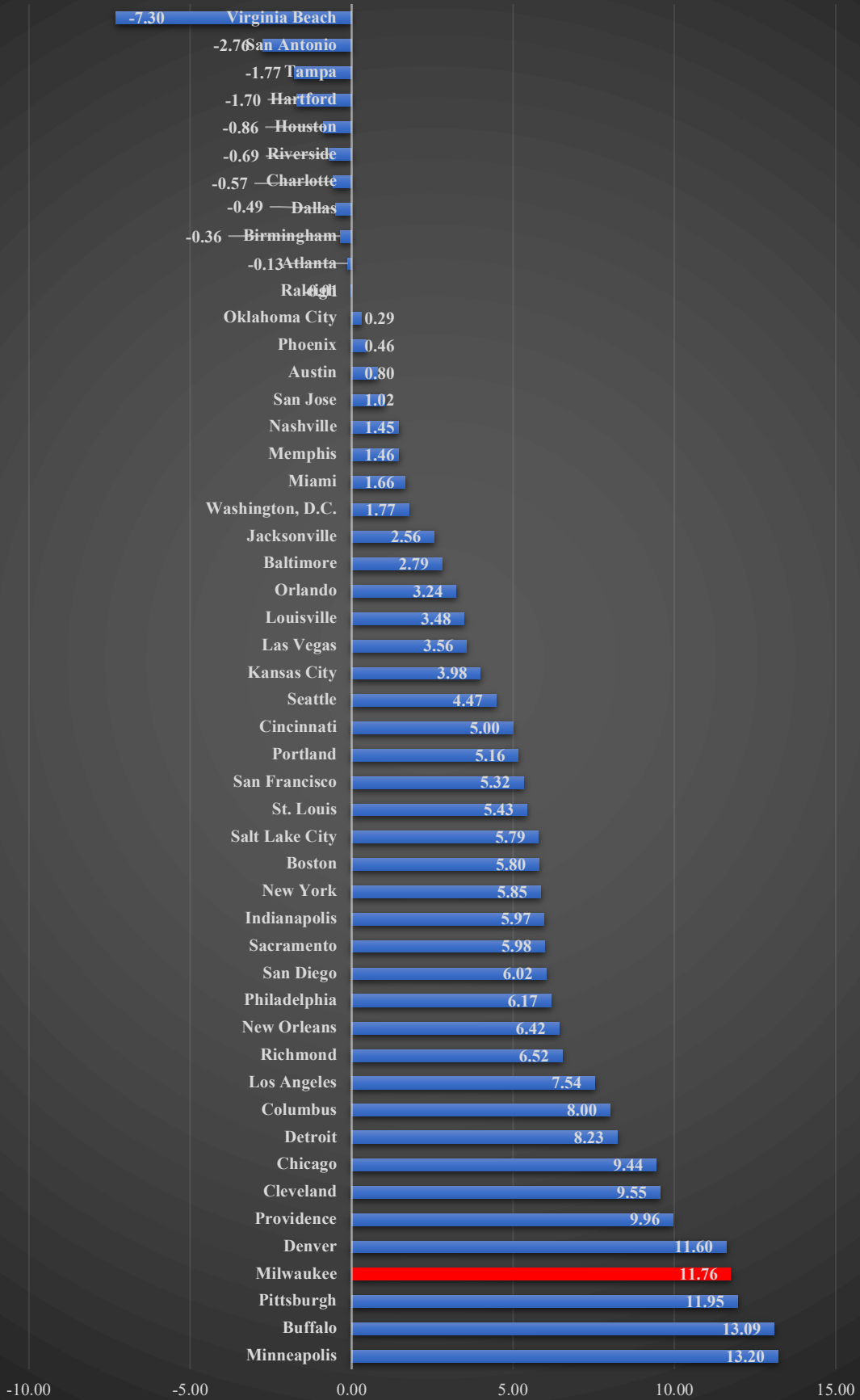
Employment Rate: Black Females, Ages 20-24



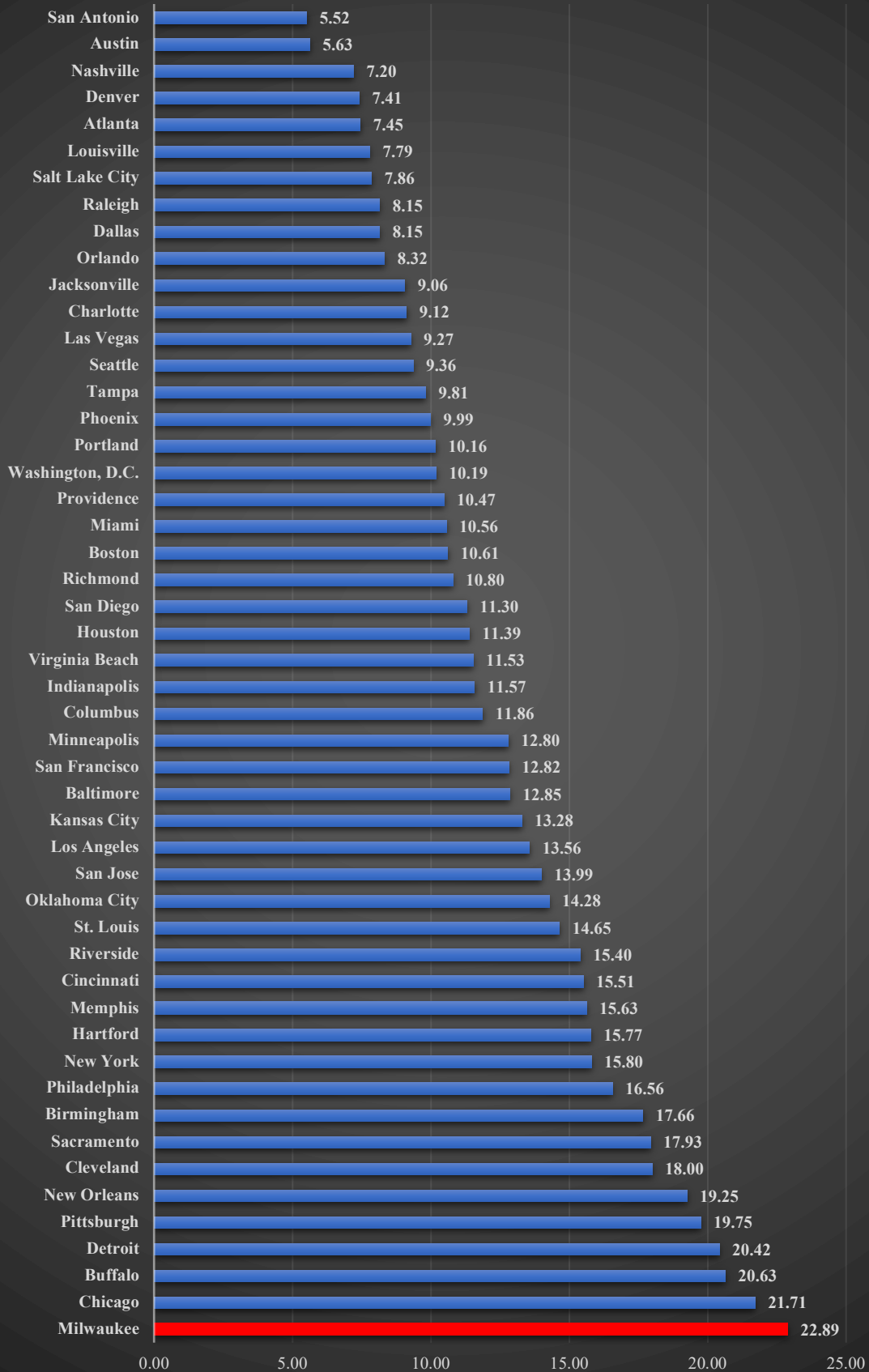
Employment Rate: Black Females, Ages 25-54



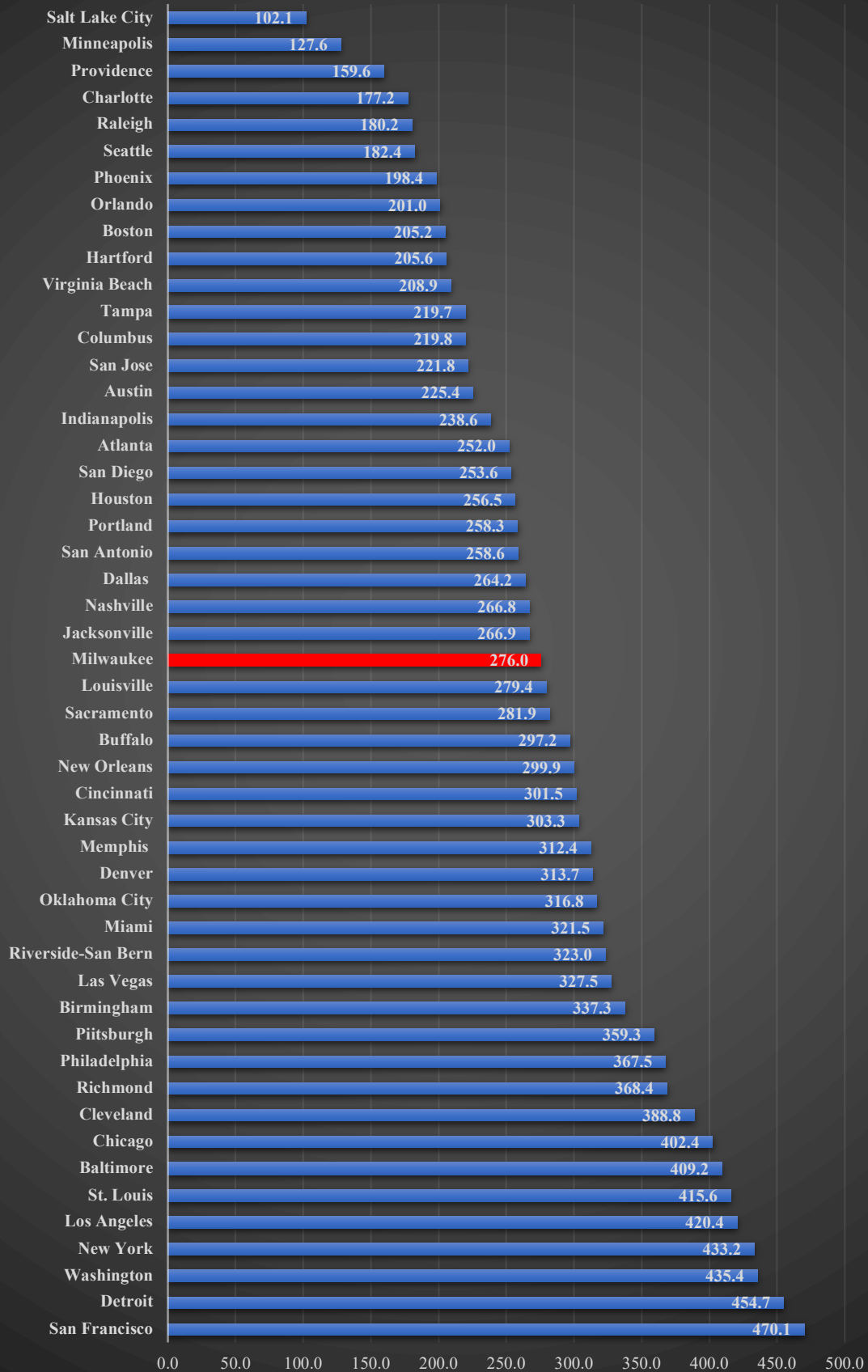
Percentage Point Gap in WNH-Black Female Employment Rates: Ages 25-54



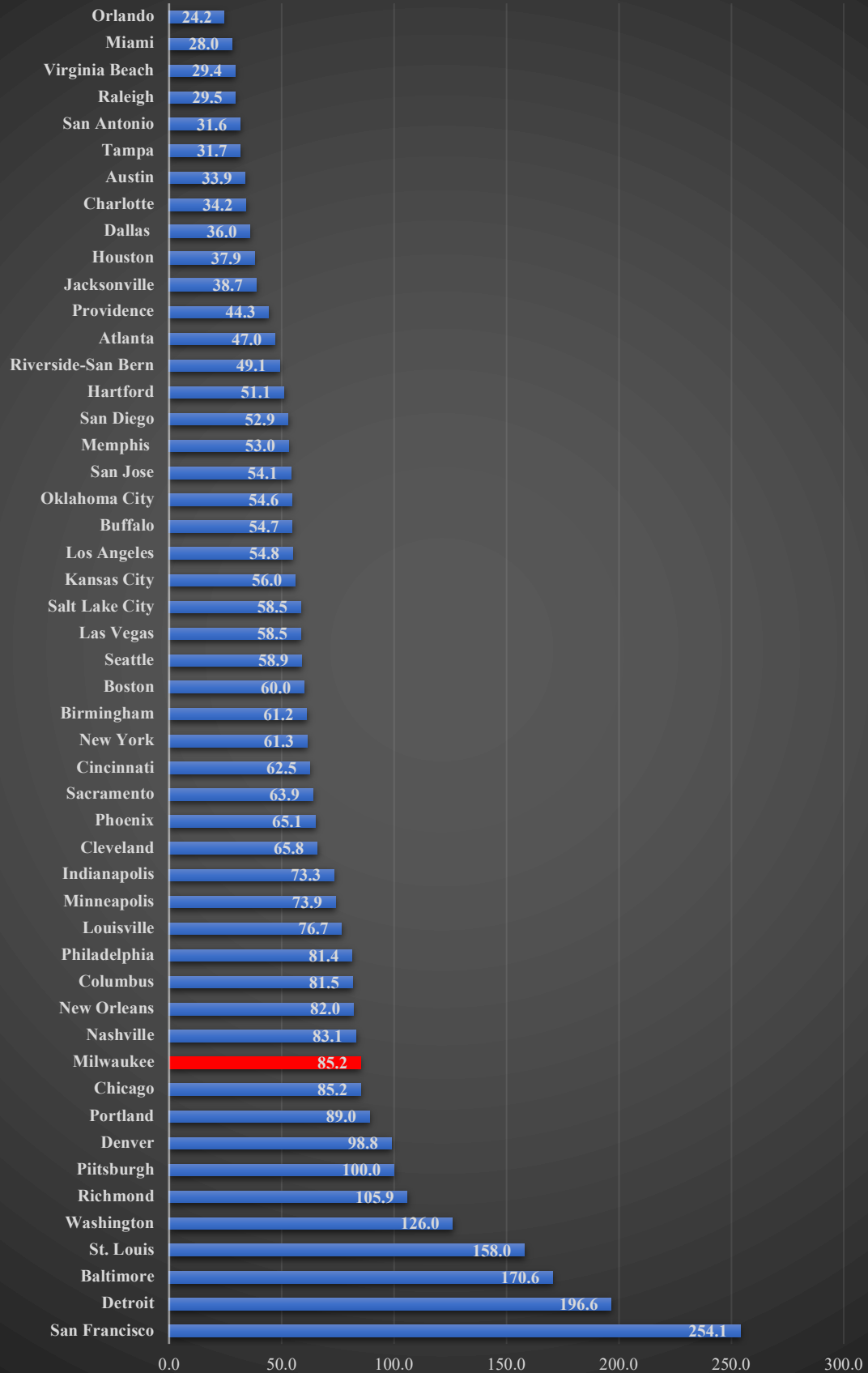
Percentage Point Gap in WNH-Black Male Employment Rates: Ages 25-54



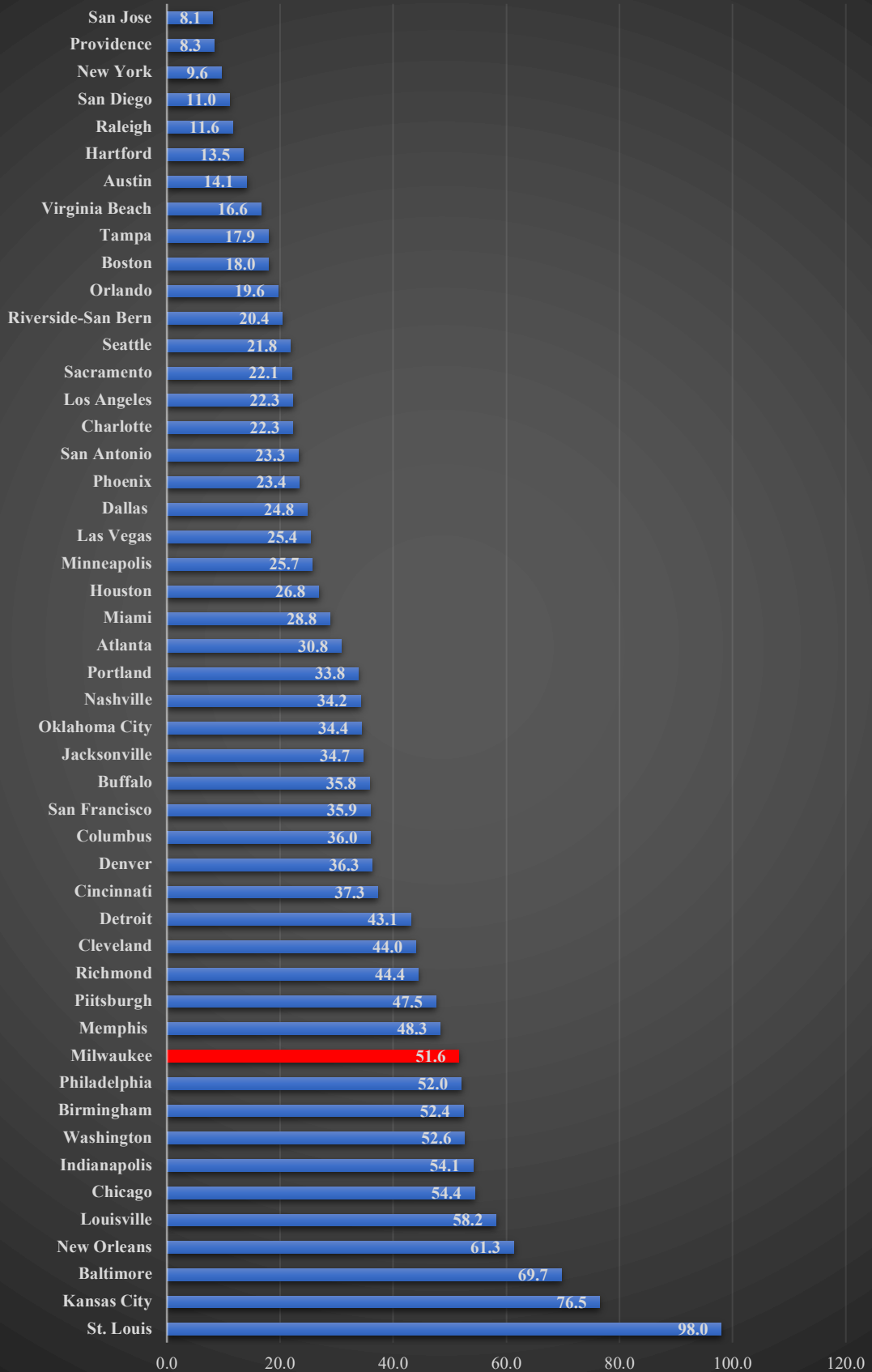
Black Mortality Rate from Circulatory Diseases Per 100,000 Population



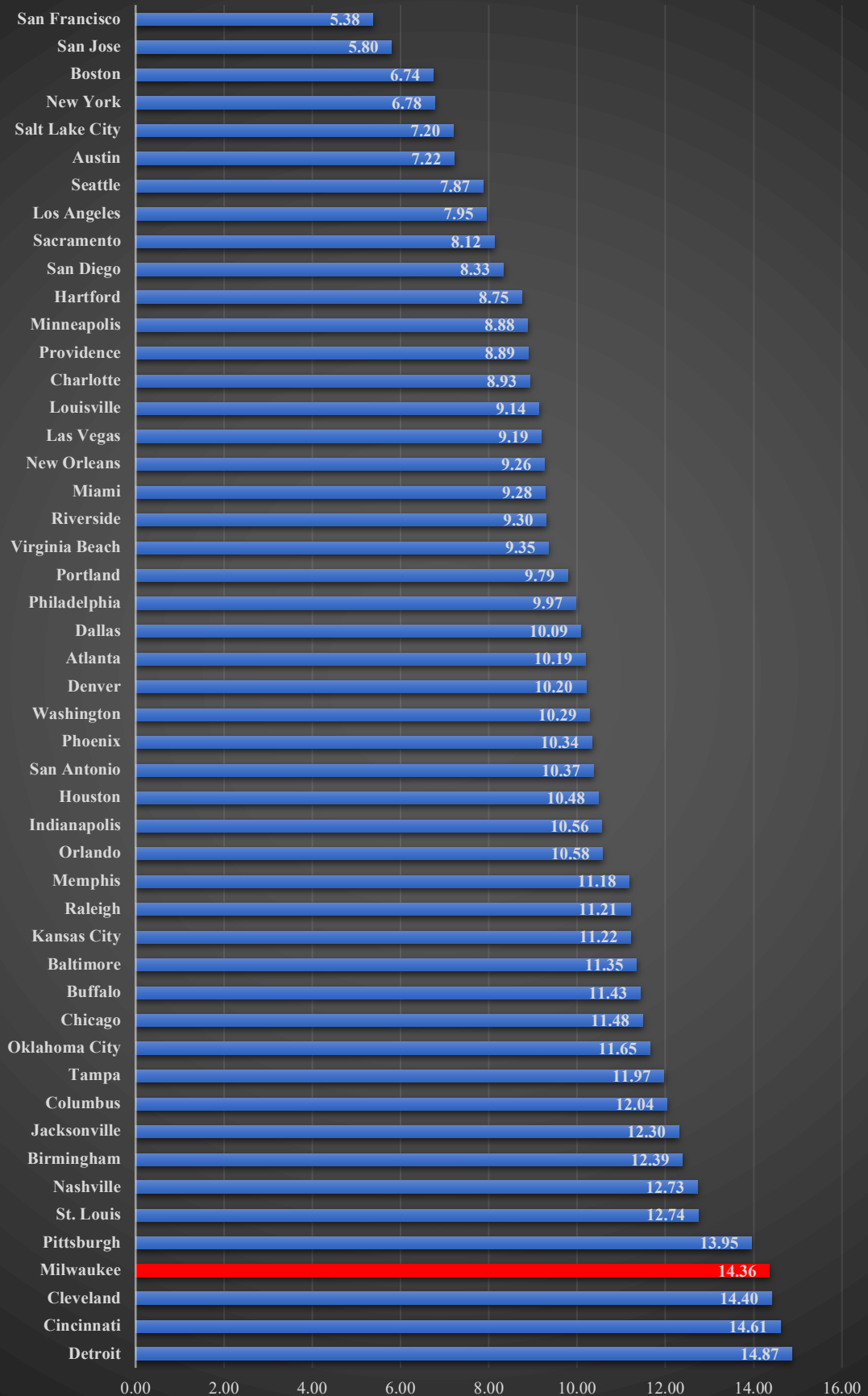
Mortality Rate from "Deaths of Despair" per 100,000 population



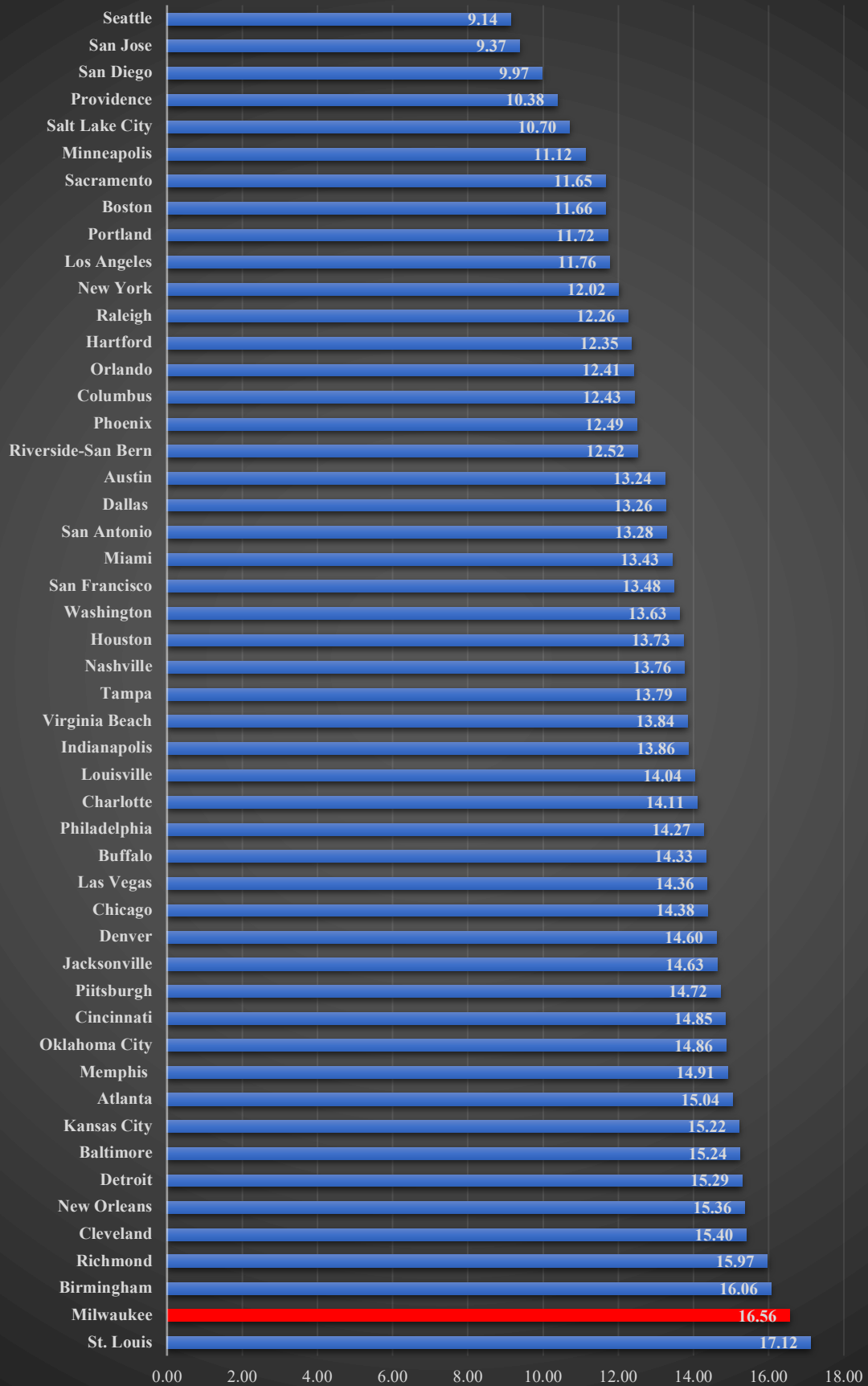
Mortality Rate from Homicides/Fatal Assaults per 100,000 population



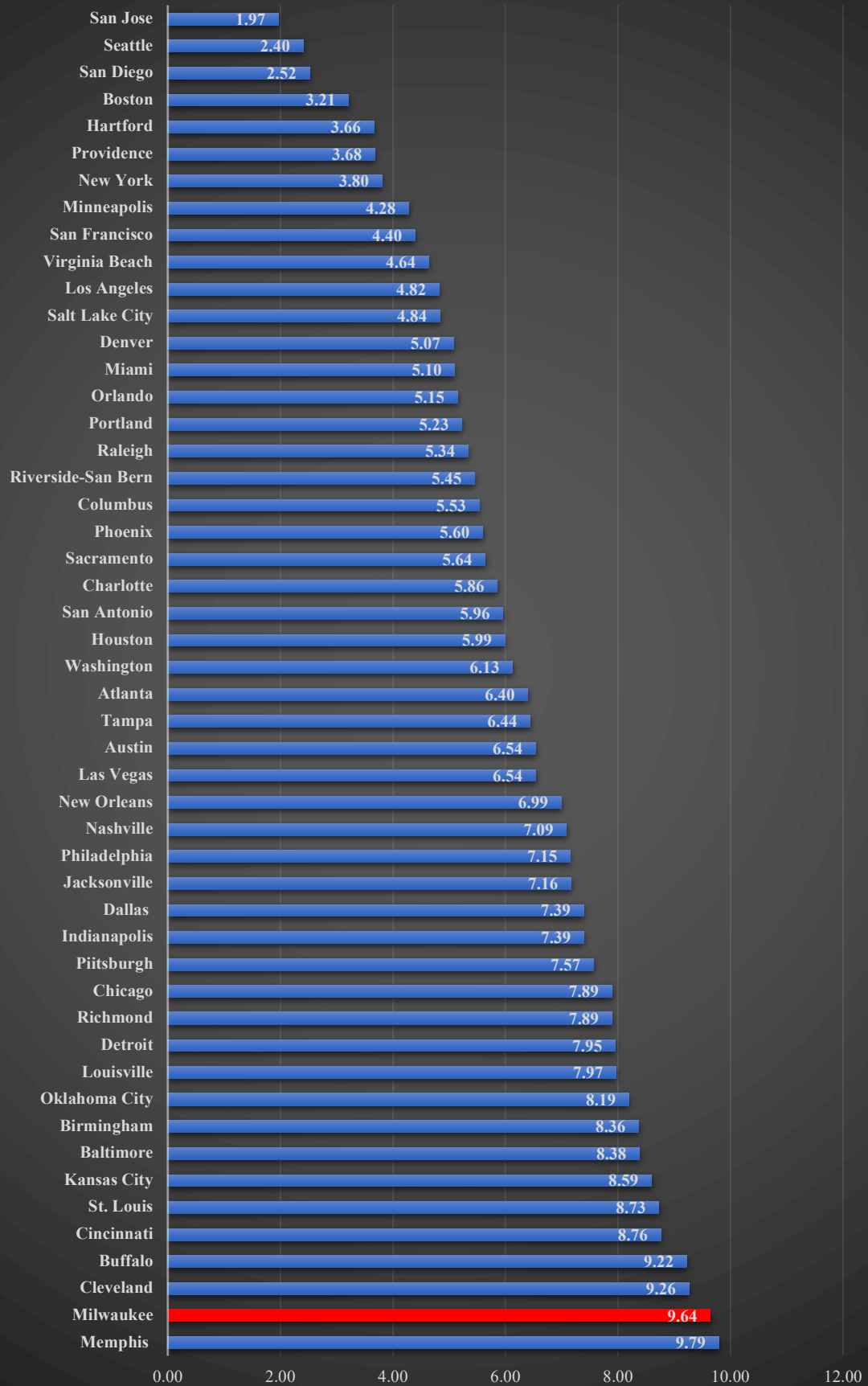
Black Infant Mortality Rate per 1,000 births



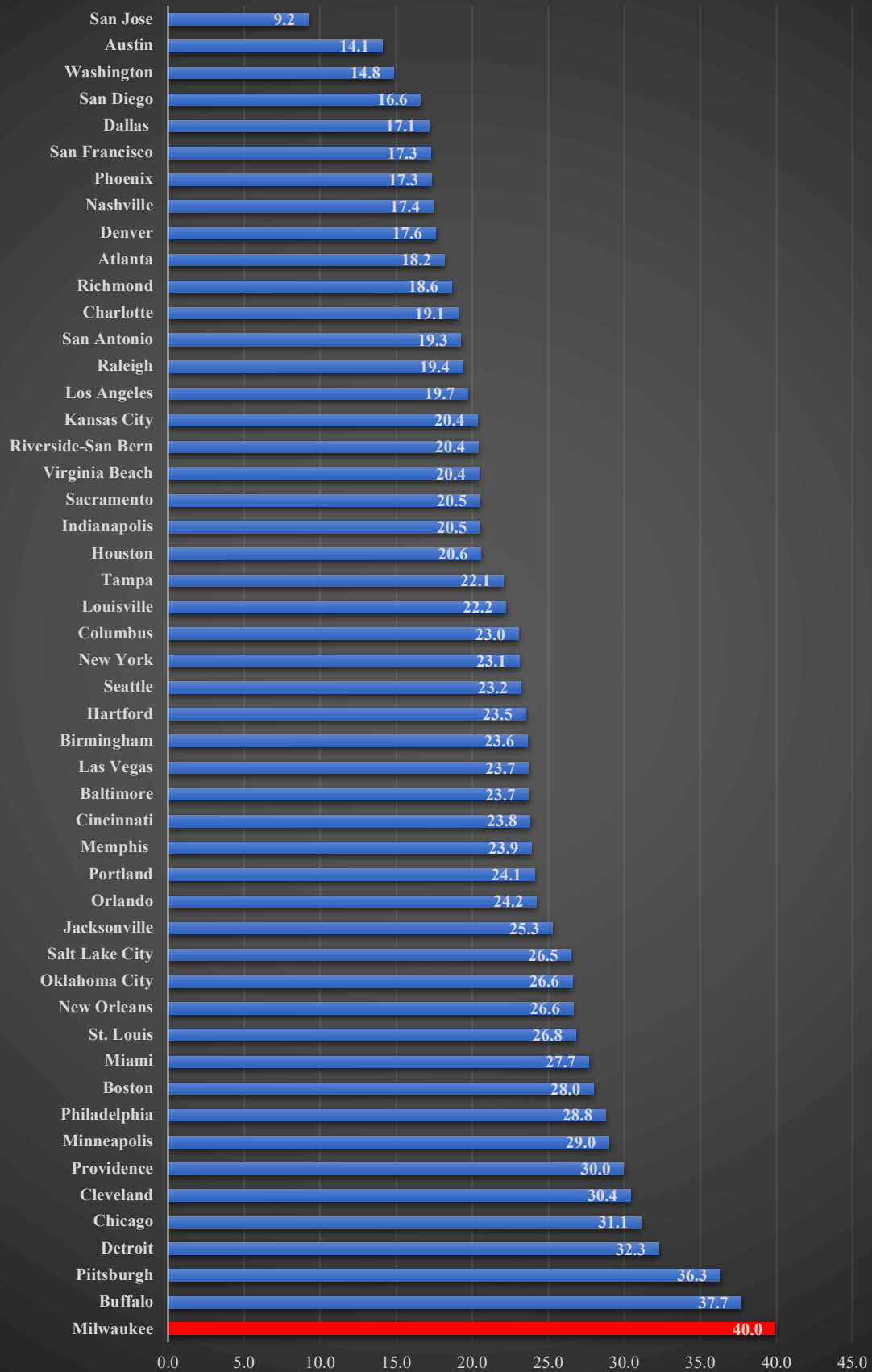
Black Low Birth-Weight Babies as % of All Black Births



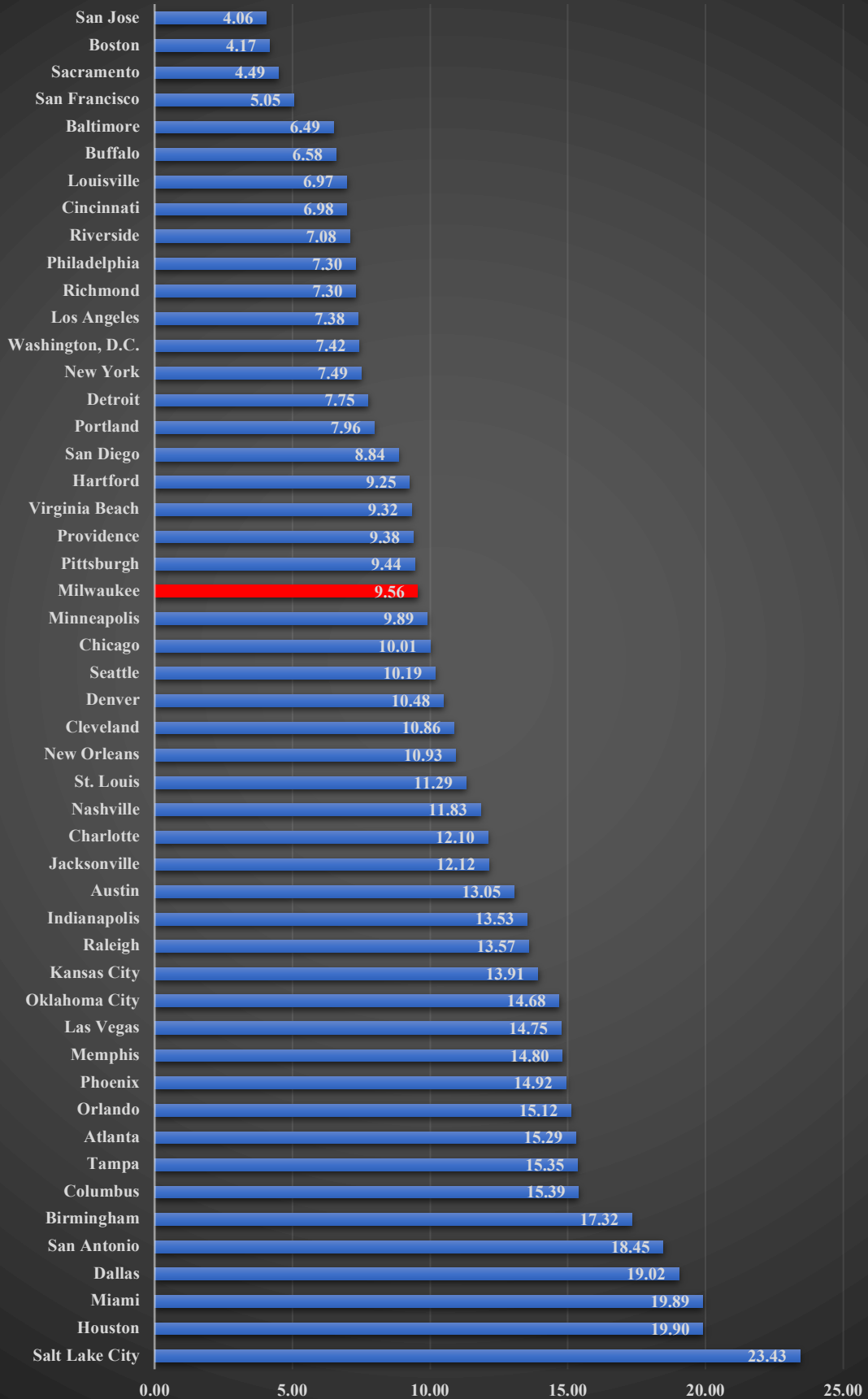
Percentage of Black Births to Teen Mothers



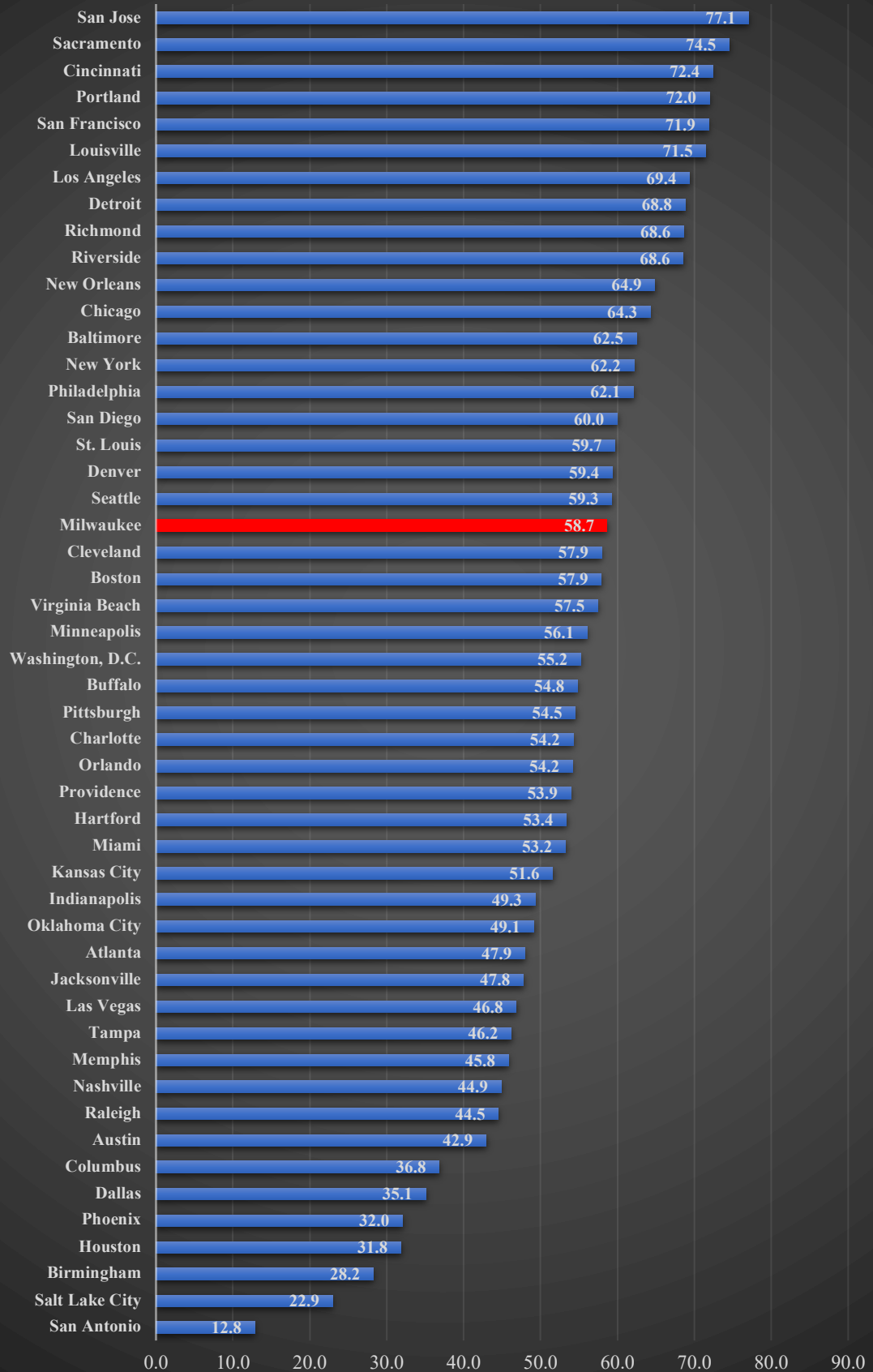
Percentage of African American Households Receiving Food Stamps



Percentage of Black Adults (Ages 19-64) Without Health Insurance Coverage



Percentage Decline in the % of Blacks Without Health Insurance Coverage: 2010-2022



% of Black Children Without Health Insurance Coverage: 2022

