The Wisconsin Institute for Law & Liberty

Fencing Out Opportunity

Occupational Licensing in the Badger State

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Fencing Out Opportunity: Executive Summary

America has always been rooted in the idea of economic freedom. As Americans, we believe that hard work and determination will reap rewards. We tell our children, rich or poor, that with the right attitude they can grow up to be anything they want in this world. What we don't tell our children, and we often fail to consider, is that government will often erect barriers to opportunity. Through complex rules and regulations, opportunity shrinks.

This report details the dramatic growth in occupational licensing in Wisconsin and how it serves to fence out opportunity for thousands of workers. As a "government permission slip" to work, occupational licensing is arguably one of the most substantial barriers to opportunity in America today. While some credentialing serves to protect public health and safety, much is rank protectionism – a device to "fence in" those who already have permission to work and "fence out" those who do not.

According to some estimates, between 25% and 30% of American workers require a license to do their job. In Wisconsin, hundreds of professions and hundreds of thousands of workers are required to jump through costly government mandated hoops to earn the right to work. Licenses are required for massage therapists, cosmetologists and barbers, dance therapists, contractors, and even sign language interpreters. This growth of licensing, particularly among professions with little public health or safety value, caused economist Adam Smith to label occupational licensing "a conspiracy against the public" to raise prices and restrain competition.[1]

Sadly Wisconsin is no exception to this problem. With investigative research and a new statistical study, this report explores the growth of licensing in Wisconsin, its costs to the economy, and what policymakers can do to fix it. Our findings include:

1. The State of Wisconsin requires hundreds of different government credentials for hundreds of thousands of Wisconsinites who simply want to work. They range from pharmacists, dentists, and physicians to auctioneers, dance therapists, interior designers, and sign language interpreters just to name a few. Wisconsin also places burdensome requirements on many low and moderate income jobs like barbers, cosmetologists, and manicurists.

2. The problem is getting worse. The number of traditionally licensed credential holders at the Department of Safety and Professional Services (and the former Department of Regulation and Licensing) has grown from 275,000 in 1996 to 370,000 in 2016 – a 34% increase in the last 20 years. Also, from 1996 to 2016, the number of license types has grown from 90 to 166 – an 84% increase in the last 20 years.

3. This growth in both licenses and licensees in Wisconsin has far outpaced the growth in population, labor force, and employment in Wisconsin.

4. A "back of the envelope" formula estimates that licensing under the jurisdiction of the Department of Safety and Public Services (DSPS) results in 31,634 fewer jobs and approximately $1.93 billion per year in consumer costs.

5. Reforming occupational licensing is a bipartisan issue. Advocates for reform include conservatives who favor a free market and progressives concerned about the poor, the Obama Administration and the Koch Brothers, as well as Democrat and Republican legislators and governors around the country – and Wisconsin.

6. Other states, including those in the Midwest, have proposed big, bold reforms such as deregulation of various professions and the creation of review commissions to evaluate the necessity of various licenses and regulations. With all of this reform momentum, Wisconsin is threatened with being left behind.

Understanding the growth and costs of occupational licensing in the Badger State ought to provide an impetus for reform. With these statistics in mind, policymakers should consider occupational license reform, and its impact on work and opportunity, a chief priority.

I. INTRODUCTION

What is Occupational Licensing?

Occupational licensing should be thought of as a "government permission slip" to work in certain professions. In order to acquire a license, or a lesser government credential like certification or registration, an individual will often have to complete a minimum level of education, experience, and training, along with the payment of a fee.[2] The scope of occupational licensing in both the United States and Wisconsin has grown exponentially, regulating more workers and professions than ever before. What began as perhaps a noble effort to protect the public is now often a vehicle for trade associations to lobby legislators and examining boards to make it harder for people to enter a regulated trade or profession.

Why Do Governments License?

Occupational licensing by the government is said to serve three stated purposes. It can generate revenue for the government, protect the public's safety, and raise the standards for a regulated profession. Sometimes it does this. But licensing increasingly serves a fourth, and often understated, purpose: protecting members of a profession from competition and hiking prices for consumers. When new licenses are created, they are often accompanied by a grandfather clause that provides the government permission slip for those already practicing a newly regulated trade. Thus, it 'fences in' those already in a profession and creates new hurdles for those trying to enter it in the future.

Whatever the actual intent, those seeking licensure typically couch their arguments in the language of public health and safety, often in an effort to scare the public. One of the more outrageous examples occurred at a 2011 hearing in Florida on whether to delicense interior designers. Testimony from a licensed practitioner warned that 88,000 people per year could die as a result of delicensure[3], arguing that choosing the wrong type of fabric for chairs and mattresses in medical facilities could result in the spread of infectious disease. While this is a laughable example, nearly every group and association arguing for licensure suggests the public is currently in danger and needs to be protected – even when no tangible threats can be identified. And by the way, interior designers are regulated in Wisconsin.

Does Licensing Improve Quality?

Proponents of licensing say it will increase the quality of goods and services. But what does the research show? According to a 2015 White House policy paper done by the Obama Administration on occupational licensing, a review of 12 academic studies revealed little empirical evidence that licensing is associated with quality. Just 2 of the 12 studies found a connection between licensing and increased quality of goods and services. The overwhelming evidence in the other 10 studies found no effect on quality with stricter licensing for teachers, dentists, florists, real estate brokers, and lab technicians.

How Does Occupational Licensing Affect Workers?

Nationwide, it is estimated that more than 25% of workers, or 1 in 4, require some kind of license or credential to work. By comparison, in 1950 just 5% of workers, or 1 in 20, required a license to work.[4] What is more is that licensing varies from state to state, and even from city to city. While one state may require a license for work in a certain profession, others may opt for a lesser regulation like a certification or registration. Then, some states may not require any government credentials at all for the very same professions. In addition, the education and training requirements can also vary widely from state to state, as well as the patchwork of fees, continuing education requirements, and the state and local bureaucracy that hampers many workers from entering certain licensed professions.

Take for example, massage therapists. It's a middle-income job ($18.29 per hour) with flexible hours (half of all massage therapists work part-time) that is expected see a 22% increase in jobs in the years leading up to 2024, much higher than the national average of 7%.[5] But a comparison of massage therapist requirements in Wisconsin to neighboring states Minnesota and Michigan reveals the arbitrary nature of occupational licensing.

STATE	LICENSE	TRAINING HOURS	INITIAL FEES	CONTINUING EDUCATION
Wisconsin	Yes	600	$75.00	24 hours every 2 years
Minnesota	No	None	None	None
Michigan	Yes	500	$95.95	18 hours every 3 years

Both Wisconsin and Michigan require massage therapists to acquire a state license while Minnesota is one of just five states that do not. But Michigan and Wisconsin have different requirements. Michigan is less stringent and requires 100 fewer training hours, 6 fewer continuing education hours, and licensees renew their license every three years instead of every two. But are there any documented differences in the quality of massage therapists in Wisconsin compared to Michigan? And is Minnesota some kind of 'wild west' where anyone can be a massage therapists and the public is in constant danger? Probably not. Instead, it's the same job with three different standards.

Is Occupational Licensing About Protecting Health and Public Safety?

Arguments for licensing are almost always made in terms of health and public safety. Whether it is doctors and dentists or barbers and interior designers, proponents of licensing suggest government barriers to entry are necessary to keep the public safe. But is that true? For certain professions, perhaps. But in many cases, the number of required training hours can far exceed common sense. See how the following professions in Wisconsin require far more training hours than emergency medical technicians.

Profession	Required Training Hours
Basic EMT	180
Manicurist	300
Massage Therapist	600
Barber	1,000
Cosmetologist	1,550

If licensing was about health and safety only, wouldn't you expect this table to be inverted?

The Cost of Occupational Licensing in Wisconsin

Occupational licensing isn't just inconvenient or, in some cases, unreasonable. It carries a real cost to the economy. Because licensing restricts the labor supply for certain professions, it results in higher prices for consumers by creating a wage premium. For universally licensed professions, wage premiums can be as high as 10% to 15% over those who work in jobs with similar education and skills.[6] For occupations licensed in some states but not others, the wage premium is around 5% to 8%.

Determining the precise cost of occupational licensing is difficult. Each state's licensing laws burden the economy and consumers in its own unique way. Dr. Morris Kleiner, a labor economist at the University of Minnesota, created – in his words – a "back of the envelope" formula to estimate the cost of licensing. In a widely cited 2011 Brookings Institute report, Dr. Kleiner estimated that licensing in the United States results in 2.85 million lost jobs and an annual consumer cost of $203 billion. Dr. Kleiner explained how he acquired his numbers:

"A basic examination of the national costs of licensing could be developed as follows, yielding these numbers: Suppose that the entire 15 percent wage premium for licensing mentioned in the text is from market power (as opposed to greater productivity from enhanced human capital), and further assume that labor supply is perfectly elastic and the labor demand elasticity is 0.5 (Hamermesh 1993). The calculation is that approximately 38 million licensed workers in the United States in 2010 (about 29 percent of the eligible workforce) multiplied by the .15 wage premium multiplied by the elasticity of 0.5 results in a loss of 2.85 million jobs. Furthermore, the average annual earnings of $41,000 / 1.15 = $35,652 if there is no wage premium for licensing. Therefore, $41,000 – $35,652 = $5,348 is the economic rent for a licensed worker. Consequently, licensing results in an annual cost to consumers of $5,348 x 38 million which is approximately $203 billion."

Using Dr. Kleiner's basic formula, we were able to get a rough estimate of how occupational licensing impacts Wisconsin. Using only the individual licenses regulated by the Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services, we found that licensing could cost consumers approximately $1.93 billion per year and result in 31,634 fewer jobs. For a full explanation of how these numbers were calculated, see Appendix II for Methodology. While further calculations are needed, this "back of the envelope" estimate makes tangible the cost of licensing to workers and consumers in the Badger State.

II. LICENSING IN THE BADGER STATE

The Growth of Licensing

In the late 1800s, governments began regulating and licensing various occupations with the purpose of protecting public health, welfare, and the safety of citizens. The United States Supreme Court affirmed the police power of states to regulate certain professions in *Dent v. West Virginia*, a unanimous 1889 decision that upheld physician licensing requirements.

What followed *Dent v. West Virginia* was a steady pace of occupational licensing at the state level.

In Wisconsin, 14 occupations – among them dentists, teachers, veterinarians, and pharmacists – were brought under regulation between Wisconsin's statehood in 1848 and 1900, according to the non-partisan Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau.[7] Then the floodgates opened. In the 20th Century, hundreds of occupations came under state control. From cosmetologists and bait dealers, to chiropractors and funeral directors, the Wisconsin state legislature approved dozens of new licenses each decade, with more than 40 enacted in the 1930's during the Great Depression.[8]

What began as an effort to professionalize the standards for teachers, dentists, physicians, and pharmacists morphed into a system where by the 1990's, the state legislature was approving new regulations and credentials for interior designers, athletic trainers, security guards, auctioneers, massage therapists, and geologists.

The Last 20 Years: Licensing in Wisconsin from 1996 to 2016

In the spring of 1996, Republican Governor Tommy Thompson signed AB 419, a bill to create a state registration for interior designers. According to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, it was the 93rd profession credentialed in the state of Wisconsin, and Gov. Thompson hoped it was the last. "I'm telling you right now. Send me any more of these fence-me-in laws, and they're dead," said Thompson following the bill signing.[9] "We've got enough fence-me-in legislation to last a lifetime."[10]

Unfortunately, despite former Gov. Thompson's wishes, since 1996 both the number of license holders and the occupations regulated by state agencies have steadily grown. Hundreds of thousands of Wisconsin workers are required to obtain a state license from more than half dozen state agencies in order to work.[11] Some licenses are for individuals, others for companies, and some for facilities, sites, or equipment.

For the purposes of this report, a focus will be applied to the regulated professions overseen by the Department of Safety and Professional Services (DSPS). A department created in Governor Scott Walker's 2011-12 state budget, DSPS combined jurisdiction over the regulated professions housed in the former Department of Regulation and Licensing (R&L) with the regulated trades professions overseen by the former Department of Commerce.

In order to measure the growth in specific licenses and licensees that best fit the description of the type of occupational licensing in need of reform, DSPS is the best state agency to examine. The occupations previously regulated by R&L will be referred to in this paper as traditionally licensed professions. A full list is included in Appendix III, but the traditionally licensed professions include physicians, dentists, and pharmacists, cosmetologists, manicurists, massage therapists, auctioneers, and interior designers. The trades professions previously regulated by the former Department of Commerce will be referred to as the regulated trades. Also listed in Appendix III, the regulated trades include welders, electricians, plumbers, dwelling contractors, and other skilled work related to construction and maintenance.

1937: Wisconsin Licenses Painters and Watchmakers

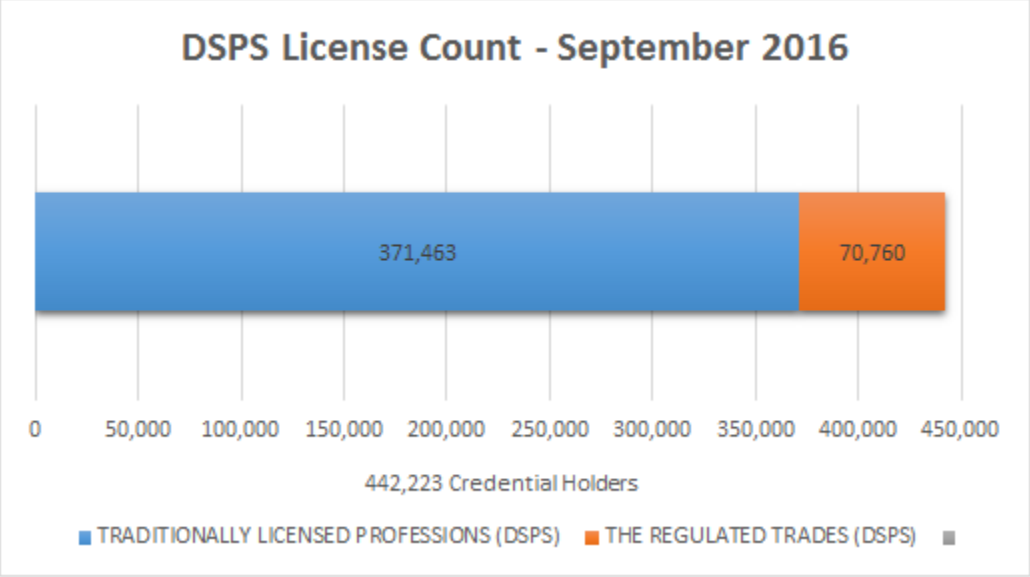
In 1937, Wisconsin created licenses for both watchmaking and painters. Those seeking a license to practice watchmaking – someone who repairs and replaces watches – had to demonstrate their knowledge and skills to a five-member examining board before earning the right to practice. Likewise, Wisconsin moved from a voluntary license for painters to a mandatory one in the same year. According to a Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library report, "practically all commercial painting and decorating in Wisconsin" came under state control.

Fortunately, neither license lasted.

In 1941, after just 4 years as law, the Wisconsin State Supreme Court declared the compulsory painter's license unconstitutional just days after the state legislature repealed it. It took until 1979 for the watchmaker's license to be repealed by the state legislature.

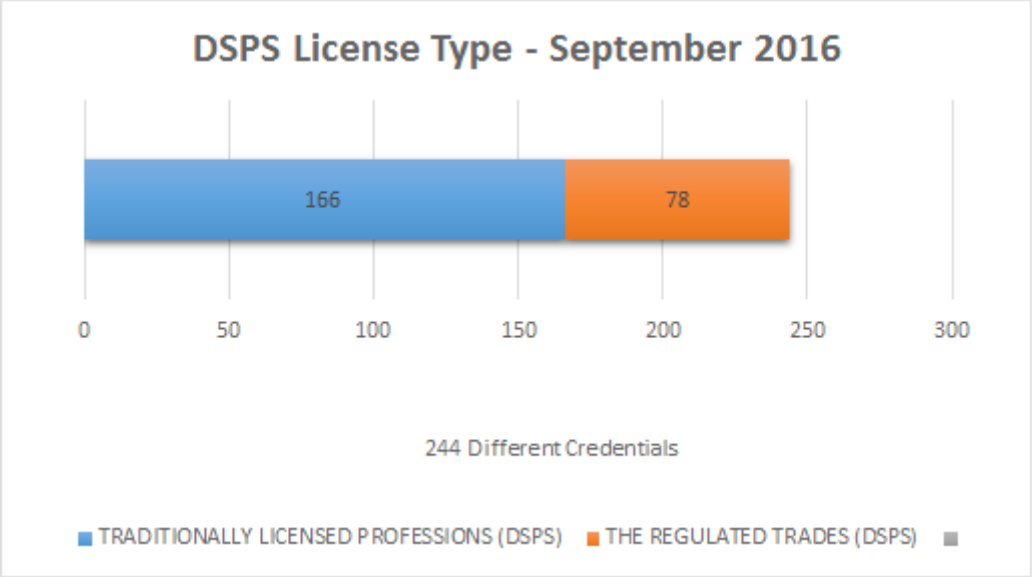
Sadly, the elimination of the watchmaking and painter licenses are outliers. Once on the books, occupational licenses often stay put.

In total, DSPS currently regulates more than 440,000 credential holders in Wisconsin. Just over 370,000 active licenses and credentials cover the traditionally regulated professions – 313,965 of which are held by Wisconsinites. Another 56,824 active licenses are held by individuals or firms out-of-state. In addition, the regulated trades add another 70,760 active credential holders.



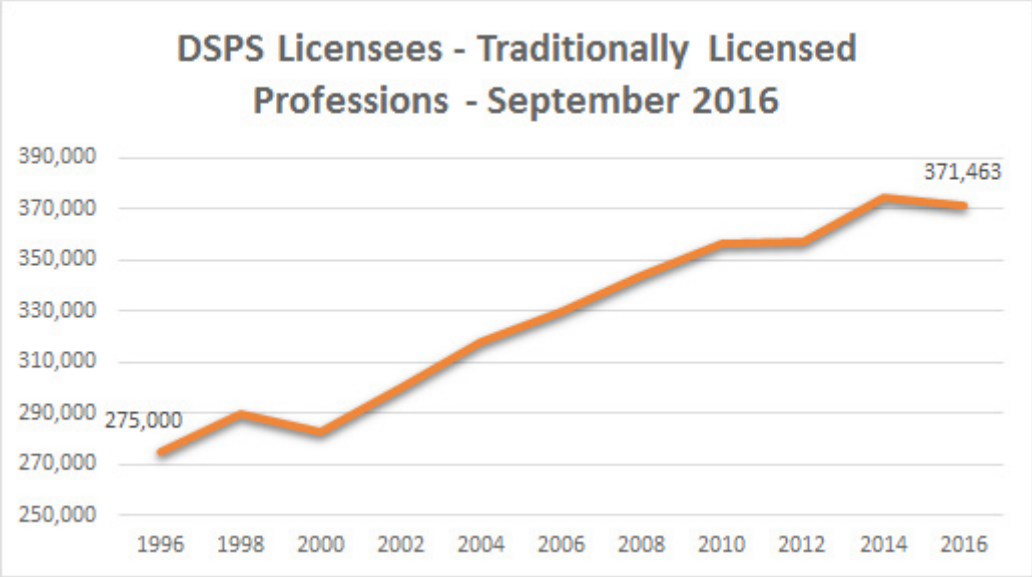
(Source: Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services[12])

The more than 440,000 Wisconsin credential holders fall under 244 different credential types. A credential can be a license, or a lesser form of regulation like state registration or certification. DSPS regulates 166 credential types among the traditionally regulated professions. 39 of these belong to firms and 127 cover individuals. The regulated trades add another 78 credentials types.



(Source: Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services[13])

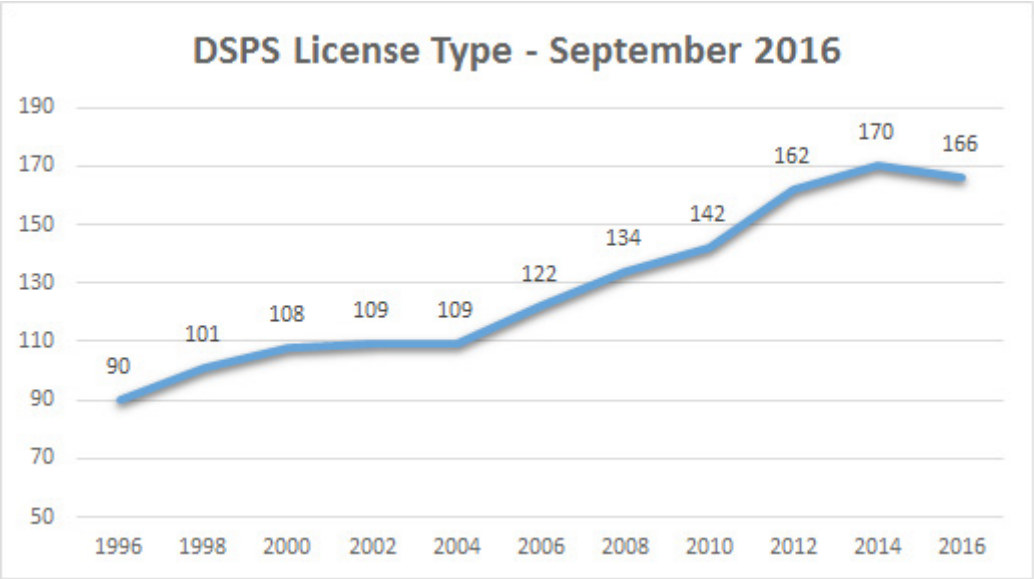
To provide a 20 year picture of the growth of occupational licensing in Wisconsin, we merged data from the former Department of Regulation and Licensing (R&L) with the most recent data from DSPS. This served to capture the growth of credential holders and credential types among the traditionally regulated professions. While the picture of growth is overwhelmingly clear, the state legislature has switched jurisdiction for some credentials from R&L/DSPS to other agencies, and vice versa. This can give the appearance of a decline in the data, though it only highlights the fluid nature of licensing. For instance, the roughly 5,000 veterinarians and veterinary technicians licensed in Wisconsin were regulated by R&L/DSPS until 2015 when the state budget moved them to the Wisconsin Department of Agriculture, Trade, and Consumer Protection (DATCP). This singlehandedly explains the decline from 2014 to 2016. Nevertheless, the 20 year picture reveals that the number of Wisconsin credential holders has grown from 275,000 in 1996 to 371,463 in 2016 – a 34% increase.



(Source: Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services, Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau, and State of Wisconsin Blue Book[14])

The growth in credential holders has, unsurprisingly, been bolstered by the growth in credentials. Among the traditionally licensed professions under the jurisdiction of R&L/DSPS the number of regulated credentials have increased from 90 in 1996 to 166 in 2016. Again, it should be noted that a recent downturn in credential types doesn't indicate delicensure, but a simple movement of jurisdiction from R&L/

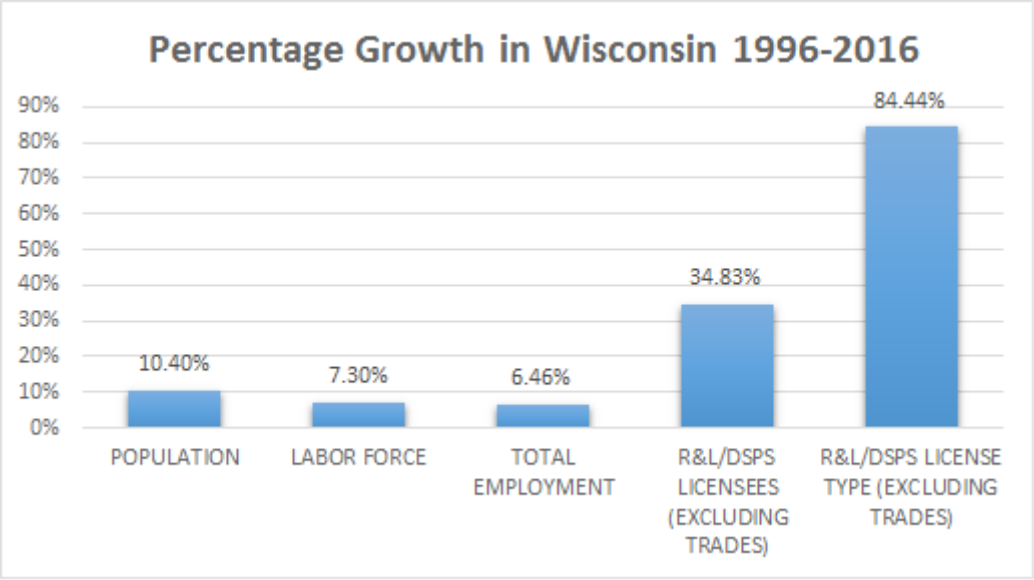
DSPS to another state agency.



(Source: Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services, Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau, and State of Wisconsin Blue Book[15])

In just the last decade, the Wisconsin state legislature has voted to add almost 20 new credential types to the jurisdiction of R&L/DSPS. These include radiographers, X-ray operators, landscape architects, behavior analysts, sign language interpreters, chiropractic radiological technician, chiropractic technician, anesthesiology assistants, and at least nine new licenses related to mixed martial arts. In addition, efforts were rebuffed to license locksmiths and move dieticians from a certification to a full license.

This growth among R&L/DSPS credential holders in the traditionally licensed professions, as well as the growth of regulated credentials, has far outpaced the growth in population,[16] labor force,[17] and employment.[18]



III. REFORMING OCCUPATIONAL LICENSING

A Consensus for Reform

Occupational licensing is increasingly understood, by advocates on both the left and the right, to be a barrier to opportunity for thousands of workers. Among free market advocates, the Cato Institute, Goldwater Institute, and Institute for Justice (IJ) have led the way with extensive research on the burdens of occupational licensure. IJ issued a groundbreaking 2012 report titled "License to Work." It examined licensure for 110 low and middle-income occupations in all 50 states, revealing the enormous discrepancies from state to state in terms of licensing, training requirements, and fees. IJ, a public interest law firm in addition to a think tank, has also raised awareness around the

country to onerous regulations and requirements for African hairbraiders, vendors, and interior designers. They have challenged these regulations in court with some successes.[19]

Among progressives, the Brookings Institute and President Obama's Council on Economic Advisors have highlighted occupational licensing as a barrier to economic growth. The Obama Administration issued a white paper in 2015 that argued that the current occupational licensing regime often results in "substantial costs" that "raise the price of goods and services, restrict employment opportunities, and make it more difficult for workers to take their skills across State lines."[20] The report recommended policymakers review licensing requirements to limit them to legitimate public health and safety concerns, apply a cost-benefit assessment for various licensing regulations, and create more uniformity and reciprocity to prevent any hindrance to mobility.

State Licensing Reforms at a Glance

As a result of bipartisan interest, there has been a steady pace of occupational licensing reform in red, blue, and purple states. Recent reforms have generally fallen into two different categories.

The first approach is to examine each license under state control and simply try to eliminate those that serve no state interest, have little impact on health and safety, and only serve to fence out opportunity. Some examples include:

STATE	YEAR	REFORM
MICHIGAN	2014	Gov. Rick Snyder's (R) Office of Regulatory Reinvention commissioned a study in 2012 that recommended 18 occupations for delicensure. In 2014, 7 of the 18 licenses were eliminated including auctioneers, dieticians, and interior designers – all currently regulated in Wisconsin.
RHODE ISLAND	2015	Gov. Gina Raimondo (D) eliminated 27 licenses in the state's 2015-16 state budget. Some of the licenses eliminated included auctioneers, athletic trainers, music therapist, and various apprentice and instructor licenses for barbers, electrologists, manicurists, cosmetologists, and estheticians.
ARIZONA	2016	Gov. Doug Doucy (R) signed a law that eliminated licensing for citrus packers, assayers, yoga teacher instructors, and non-commercial motor vehicle driving instructors.

The second, and most common, approach to occupational licensing has been a variety of different reforms meant to ease their burden or review their necessity – without immediately eliminating the license. Consider the following examples:

STATE	YEAR	REFORM
INDIANA	2014	Gov. Mike Pence (R) signed into law a pilot program for a voluntary state registry where individuals can earn the title "State Certified" if they complete a certification process by an accredited organization. This solves two problems by providing valuable information to consumers but allowing the licensing of certain occupations to be voluntary.
TEXAS	2015	Gov. Greg Abbott (R) signed a bill that eliminated a $200 annual licensing fee for various regulated profession. More than 600,000 professionals were impacted by this reform.
NEBRASKA	2016	Gov. Pete Ricketts (R) signed a law that exempts hairbraiders from cosmetology license requirements.
TENNESSEE	2016	Gov. Bill Haslam (R) signed the Right to Earn a Living Act, requiring state agencies to limit licensing requirements to only those that affect public health and safety. Additionally, the bill allows any citizen to request a state agency modify or change a licensing regulation with a required response within 90 days.
MARYLAND	2016	Gov. Larry Hogan (R) signed into law a Drybar Blowout License Bill that created a 350 hour limited cosmetology license for blow-dry only salons. Under previous law, blow-dry only salons were subject to full cosmetology license requirements of 1,500 hours.

ILLINOIS	2016	Gov. Bruce Rauner (R) signed a bipartisan law that prohibits the Illinois Department of Finance and Professional Regulation from barring ex-offenders from working in certain fields unless their crimes are directly related to the profession.
GEORGIA	2016	A criminal justice reform package signed by Gov. Nathan Deal (R) requires state agencies to only consider related convictions for ex-offenders when determining whether to award a state license.
IOWA	2016	The state budget signed by Gov. Terry Branstad (R) exempts hairbraiders from cosmetology license requirements.
DELAWARE	2016	Gov. Jack Markell (D) issued an executive order to organize the Delaware Professional License Review Committee to examine state licenses with an eye towards elimination or reform.

How Wisconsin Could Tackle Occupational Licensing Reform

While reformers in red, blue, and purple states have begun to take up occupational licensing reform, the Badger State has only nibbled around the edge. Since 2011, the legislature has approved some modest, mostly bipartisan reforms, but only one state license has been delicensed. In fact, credentials continue to pile up capturing more and more professions and shrinking opportunity for more and more workers.

With hundreds of thousands of workers already affected by licensing, and even more stuck on the outside looking in, it's time for Wisconsin to embrace bold reform. Here's how:

Change the State's Philosophy on Licensing

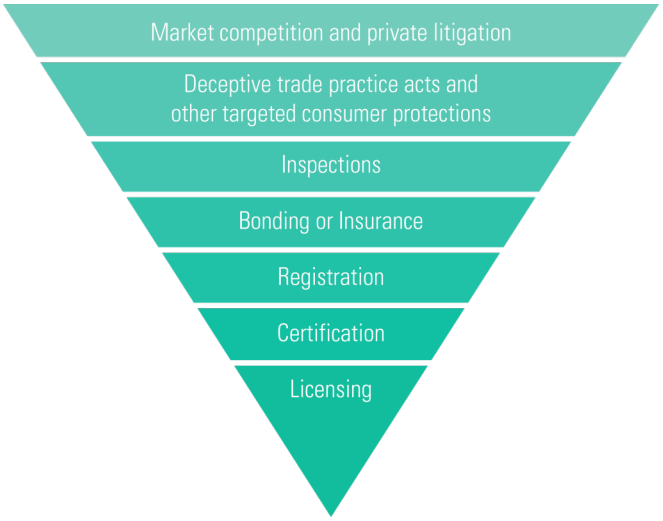
The Institute for Justice (IJ) has developed model legislation that state legislatures can adopt that would make it the focus of state policy to alleviate the burdens of licensing and regulation to the greatest extent possible.[21] IJ's model policy statement (and depicted in the triangle below) reads in part, "[w]here the State finds it is necessary to displace competition, it will use the least restrictive regulation to protect consumers from present, significant and substantiated harms that threaten public health and safety." In order to guide policymakers on the various options to consider when determining "the least restrictive regulation," IJ has developed an inverted pyramid to offer a menu of options, from least restrictive to most restrictive, that lawmakers can consider when deciding on matters of occupational regulation.

In practice, lawmakers considering a proposed occupational regulation would not simply start with consideration of the most restrictive form of regulation, state licensing, but would start the debate at the top and work their way through the menu of options to determine which level is most appropriate and least restrictive.

The intended result is fewer restrictive licenses, greater opportunity, and a market open to competition, not free from it.

Self-Certification Registration

Pioneered by Indiana, self-certification registration is an innovative reform that seeks to enhance market information without hindering opportunity. For an occupation that is currently not licensed, Indiana will create a state-run registry that will bestow the title "state certified" on an individual if they complete certification through a private organization accredited by the state. The title "state certified" will serve as information to the market about the types of qualifications an individual possesses. However, it will not be required in order to practice. The intended result is informed customers, greater opportunity, and lower prices.



The pilot program in Indiana, authorized in 2014, formally launched recently in Fall 2016 at the Indiana Professional Licensing Agency. It will recognize the certifications of up to five private organizations, starting with homebuilders and remodelers certified by the Indiana Builders Association, and maintain a state database of those who have earned the "state certified" title. The pilot program expires in Spring 2018.

Wisconsin could consider a self-certification registration model, like Indiana's, or improve upon it by moving various state licenses to a self-certification model. For instance, the Sign Language Interpreter license in Wisconsin already requires applicants to pass an education program in interpretation and receive their certification from the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID) or the National Association for the Deaf (NAD),

national membership associations that offer their own certifications. Under a self-certification model, Wisconsin could eliminate the license, the license fees, and the Sign Language Interpreter Council and simply maintain a state registry of those who have earned their certification through RID or NAD.

Sunrise Review

Both sunrise and sunset reviews are formal reviews, typically undertaken by the state agency responsible for occupational licensing, that examine the merits of occupational regulations.

A sunrise review creates a process whereby the state agency responsible for occupational regulations must conduct a formal study of a proposed license and presents their recommendations to the state legislature.

For example, in Colorado, when the legislature proposes regulating a previously unregulated occupation, the Department of Regulatory Agencies will conduct a formal study of the proposed license and submit their recommendations to the Colorado General Assembly.

In compliance with Colorado's Sunrise Act, the sunrise review evaluates proposed occupational regulation on the following criteria:[22]

- Whether the unregulated practice of the occupation or profession clearly harms or endangers the health, safety or welfare of the public, and whether the potential for harm is easily recognizable and not remote or dependent on tenuous argument;
- Whether the public needs, and can be reasonably expected to benefit from, an assurance of initial and continuing professional or occupational competence;
- Whether the public can be adequately protected by other means in a more cost-effective manner; and
- Whether the imposition of any disqualifications on applicants for licensure, certification, relicensure, or recertification based on criminal history serves public safety or commercial or consumer protection interests.

Recent Wisconsin Reforms to Licensing

Wisconsin has not completely avoided occupational licensing reform. But the steps taken have been rather modest. Below are some reforms enacted since 2011.

Law	Reform
Act 190 (2012)	Created a new Barbers license separate from a cosmetology license. For barbers, this resulted in 800 fewer required training hours.
Act 114 (2013)	Created some flexibility where individuals can take a professional licensure exam prior to completion of their postsecondary education.
Act 356 (2013)	Dropped the required number of training hours from 1,800 to 1,550 for a cosmetology license. This put Wisconsin more in line with neighboring states.
Act 65 (2015)	Prevents local municipalities from creating new local licenses. It also abolished any local license for photographers.
Act 258 (2016)	Eliminated the state license for Timeshare Salesperson. Phases out at the end of 2016.

Ultimately, it is up to the Colorado General Assembly to determine whether a new occupational regulation is approved. But the sunrise review provides valuable information for legislators and the public.

Sunrise reviews in Colorado, Arizona, Vermont, and Washington have recommended against licensing interior designers,[23] art therapists,[24] music therapists,[25] dieticians,[26] landscape architects,[27] massage therapists,[28] behavior analysts,[29] and many others for lack of evidence that state regulation would protect public health and safety. In nearly every case, the legislature followed the recommendation of the sunrise review and did not approve regulating the occupation.

Currently, 13 states have a sunrise review. Wisconsin does not have a formal sunrise review, although the legislature will often ask DSPS to perform this function when considering a new occupational regulation.

Sunset Review

A sunset review is similar to sunrise review, but occurs once an occupational regulation is already on the books. A sunset law will require the legislature to periodically reauthorize various licenses and boards. During this process, the agency responsible for state licensing will offer their recommendations to policymakers. Without an affirmative reauthorization from the legislature, a license or board would expire. In theory, this process gives lawmakers an opportunity to revisit the rationale and requirements for various occupational regulations.

Currently, 21 states have active sunset review laws, and 10 states have instituted both sunset and sunrise processes.[30] As a tool to eliminate the burdens of occupational licenses, a Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) study of sunset reviews found the process was often

ineffective. This was due in large part to "the lobbying power and legislative influence that many licensed groups possess through their licensing boards or their professional associations."[31]

In most cases, the BLS found an institutional bias towards keeping the status quo of the license. Often, the state agency responsible for licensing will almost never recommend delicensure.[32] And in the cases that sunset reviews did recommend delicensure, the legislature in places like Hawaii, Colorado, and Maryland, simply chose to ignore the recommendations to delicense barbers, manicurists, bail bonds persons, foresters, and interior designers. [33]

Perhaps Texas has found a way to improve the sunset review process. In 2013, a law was passed to give the Texas Sunset Advisory Commission new criteria for consideration during the review process for occupational licensing. This new criteria will require the review commission to evaluate the following:[34]

1. Whether the occupational licensing program serves a meaningful, defined public interest and provides the least restrictive form of regulation that will adequately protect the public interest
2. The extent to which the regulatory objective of the occupational licensing program may be achieved through market forces, private or industry certification and accreditation programs, or enforcement of other law
3. The extent to which licensing criteria, if applicable, ensure that applicants have occupational skill sets or competencies that correlate with a public interest and the impact that those criteria have on applicants, particularly those with moderate or low incomes, seeking to enter the occupation
4. The impact of the regulation, including the extent to which the program stimulates or restricts competition and affects consumer choice and the cost of services. The Texas statute also creates a sunrise process for proposed new licensing of occupations, with criteria similar to those just stated.

This new criteria could result in more recommendations for delicensure and deregulation. But, as always with sunset and sunrise reviews, it will be up to the legislature to act on those recommendations in the face of intense lobbying pressure.

Local Licenses

It's bad enough that state licensing is out of control. But municipalities in Wisconsin have also gotten in on the licensing game, requiring government permission slips to work in certain occupations. Here are just a few examples:

License	Municipality
Secondhand Dealer	Milwaukee, Madison, Green Bay, Appleton, Waukesha, Appleton, La Crosse, Racine, Kenosha, Eau Claire
Ice Cream Peddler	Milwaukee
Taxicab Driver	Milwaukee, Kenosha, Eau Claire, Madison, Wisconsin Dells
Ticket Scalper	Green Bay
Beekeeper	Milwaukee, Madison, Fond du Lac, Eau Claire, Kenosha, Green Bay
Chicken Keeper	Milwaukee, Madison, Kenosha, Green Bay, Fond du Lac, Wauwatosa
Christmas Tree Seller	Appleton, Racine, Kenosha, Brookfield
Pawnbroker	Milwaukee, Madison, Green Bay, Appleton, Waukesha, La Crosse, Racine, Kenosha, Eau Claire

In 2015, State Rep. Dale Kooyenga authored a bill that prevents municipalities from creating any new licenses. It eventually passed both chambers and was signed into law.

Elimination of Certain State Licenses

Putting in place processes that tilt the balance of occupational regulation away from state licensing and towards lesser forms of regulation and greater opportunity is important for Wisconsin going forward. But given Wisconsin's growth in licensing and its on-going cost to the economy, a case could be made that the legislature should consider eliminating certain licenses. The following occupational licenses in DSPS have no strong state interest or relationship to public health and safety .

LICENSED BY WISCONSIN	OTHER STATES
AUCTIONEER	Deregulated in Michigan in 2014 after a formal review found, "few registrants and a lack of clear consumer protection."
BARTENDER	Regulated by the Wisconsin Department of Revenue, Wisconsin is one of just a handful of states that require bartenders to pay for a training course and license.

DIETICIAN CERTIFICATION	Deregulated in Michigan after a formal review found, "The regulation of dieticians and nutritionists does not provide a clear public health and safety benefit."
LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT	Michigan recommended the deregulation of landscape architects because others, like landscape gardeners and landscape designers, were doing all the duties of landscape architects without using the title. The result of regulation has had no impact on public health or safety.
PRIVATE DETECTIVE	7 states do not have a state license for private detectives.
PRIVATE SECURITY PERSON	15 states, including neighboring states Michigan and Minnesota, do not have an individual license for security guards.
SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETER	Not licensed in many states including Minnesota.
WISCONSIN REGISTERED INTERIOR DESIGNER	When approved in 1995, the Department of Regulation and Licensing said there was no state interest in regulating interior designers. This remains true today.

IV. CONCLUSION

Since 1950, the number of Americans who require a license or credential to work has grown from 1 in 20 to close to 1 in 4. Far from only regulating professions to ensure public health and safety, government at all levels have been lobbied by various trade associations and industries to create licensing regimes and increase regulation. The result is higher prices for consumers, fewer opportunities for workers and entrepreneurs, and no discernable increase in quality.

Wisconsin is no exception. In the Badger State, the licensing system increasingly captures more professions and more workers. A single state agency, the Department of Safety and Professional Services (DSPS), regulates more than 440,000 licensees. In just two decades time, since Governor Thompson's plea for no more licensing laws, the number of traditional license holders at R&L/DSPS has grown by 34% as the legislature has added 76 new credentials. The result is an estimated 31,000 fewer jobs and a $1.93 billion annual price tag for consumers in the Badger State.,

While recent years have shown some bipartisan appetite for licensure reform, this report shows that much more work is needed in order to reverse the tide of licensing growth. Wisconsin policymakers have a menu of options that they can undertake immediately to prioritize opportunity for all workers in Wisconsin, including:

- A reorientation of state policy that guides policymakers towards the "least restrictive regulation,"
- Voluntary self-certification to provide consumers with valuable information without hindering opportunity,
- The development of a formal sunrise and sunset review process to ensure state licenses are properly scrutinized, and
- The elimination of unreasonable state licenses that the state finds serve little interest in protecting public health or safety and have been de-regulated elsewhere.

With reform, Wisconsin can proudly claim it is open for economic freedom and opportunity, not just open for business.

Appendix I: Glossary

The following definitions are from the January 2015 Legislative Fiscal Bureau informational paper titled "Regulation of Professional Occupations by the Department of Safety and Professional Services."[35]

Certificates - Certificates are similar to licenses. While applicants for a certificate may be required to take an exam, certificates generally serve to provide special recognition to individuals who have met predetermined qualifications for a profession, such as certification by a national professional association. Only certificate credential holders may describe themselves as certified.

Credentials – A credential is any type of government issued permission to work in a regulated profession. This includes licenses, certificates, registration, and permits. Credentials are issued by the Department of Safety and Professional Services, examining boards, and professional councils.

Licenses – Licenses are the most restrictive types of credentials. Qualification requirements usually include an examination, specialized education, and often specific work experience. Licensure restricts both the use of the regulated title and the scope of practice so that it becomes illegal for unlicensed individuals or firms to use the title or practice that profession.

Permits - Permits are another form of credential issued by DSPS. However, because permits are used both as a training credential, as in the case of hearing instrument specialists, or as a primary credential, as with private security persons, permits do not easily fit on the continuum of credential types.

Registration - Registration is generally the least restrictive form of credentialing. In its most simple form, registration requires an individual to file his or her name and address with DSPS, or the appropriate regulatory body, and pay the registration fee. Registration may also be accompanied with a restriction on the use of the title "registered" professional.

Appendix II: Methodology for the Economic Impact of Licensing

In 2011, Dr. Morris Kleiner, a professor of public affairs that the University of Minnesota's Humphrey School of Public Affairs, created a standard economic model to provide a rudimentary cost of occupational licensing in terms of cost to consumers and lost jobs. Dr. Kleiner has written that it is "not possible to precisely estimate the effects of substantially reducing occupational licensing at the present time," but "both theory and the available evidence suggest that such a reduction could translate into significantly higher employment, better job matches and improved customer satisfaction."[36] Using what Dr. Kleiner calls a "back of the envelope" calculation, he was able to estimate that nationwide licensing results in 2.8 million fewer jobs and a $203 billion annual cost to consumers. The methodology was explained in the third footnote of Dr. Kleiner's 2011 Brookings Institute report, "Reforming Occupational Licensing Policies."[37]

> A basic examination of the national costs of licensing could be developed as follows, yielding these numbers: Suppose that the entire 15 percent wage premium for licensing mentioned in the text is from market power (as opposed to greater productivity from enhanced human capital), and further assume that labor supply is perfectly elastic and the labor demand elasticity is 0.5 (Hamermesh 1993). The calculation is that approximately 38 million licensed workers in the United States in 2010 (about 29 percent of the eligible workforce) multiplied by the .15 wage premium multiplied by the elasticity of 0.5 results in a loss of 2.85 million jobs. Furthermore, the average annual earnings of $41,000 / 1.15 = $35,652 if there is no wage premium for licensing. Therefore, $41,000 – $35,652 = $5,348 is the economic rent for a licensed worker. Consequently, licensing results in an annual cost to consumers of $5,348 x 38 million which is approximately $203 billion.

Applying Dr. Kleiner's methodology and scaling it for Wisconsin suggests occupational licensing in the professions regulated by the Department of Safety and Professional Services results in 31,634 fewer jobs and an annual cost to consumers of $1.93 billion.[38]

- Individual Active Credential Holders Regulated by DSPS : 421,792
- Annual Median Wage in Wisconsin: $35,110 (May 2015 State Occupational Employment and Wage Estimates, Bureau of Labor Statistics)
    - 421,792 active credential holders X 0.15 wage premium X 0.5 labor demand elasticity = 31,634 lost jobs annually
    - Annual Median Income of $35,110 / 1.15 if there is no wage premium = $30,530 if there is no wage premium
    - $35,110 - $30,530 = $4,580 is the economic rent for a licensed worker.
    - 421,792 credential holders X $4,580 in economic rent = $1.93 billion annual cost to Wisconsin consumers.

Appendix III: License Counts in Wisconsin

Traditionally Licensed Professions, September 15, 2016

Department of Safety and Professional Services

Total Count: 371,463

OCCUPATION	TOTAL ACTIVE CREDENTIAL HOLDERS
ACCOUNTING FIRM	597
ACUPUNCTURIST	581
ADMINISTRATIVE MEDICINE AND SURGERY	2
ADMINISTRATIVE MEDICINE AND SURGERY	0
ADVANCED PRACTICE NURSE PRESCRIBER	5,979
ADVANCED PRACTICE SOCIAL WORKER	3,336
AESTHETICIAN	2,167
AESTHETICS ESTABLISHMENT	471
AESTHETICS INSTRUCTOR	49
AGENT FOR BURIAL AGREEMENTS	823
AMATEUR BOXING CLUB	0
ANESTHESIOLOGIST ASSISTANT	83
ARCHITECT	4,215
ARCHITECTURAL OR ENGINEERING CORP - CERTIFICATE OF AUTHORIZATION	1,470
ART THERAPIST	76
ATHLETE AGENT	32
ATHLETIC TRAINER	1,075
AUCTION COMPANY	158
AUCTIONEER	739
AUDIOLOGY	398
BARBER	271
BARBER APPRENTICE	61
BARBERING ESTABLISHMENT	345
BARBERING INSTRUCTOR	5
BARBERING MANAGER	568
BEHAVIOR ANALYST	143
BOXING CONTESTANT	93
BOXING JUDGE	3
BOXING REFEREE	1
CEMETERY ASSOCIATION	96
CEMETERY AUTHORITY – LICENSED	114
CEMETERY AUTHORITY – REGISTERED	46
CEMETERY AUTHORITY-RELIGIOUS	405
CEMETERY PRENEED SELLER	153
CEMETERY SALESPERSON	142
CEMETERY WAREHOUSE	0
CERTIFIED DIETICIAN	1,969
CERTIFIED GENERAL APPRAISER	806
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT	14,197

CERTIFIED RESIDENTIAL APPRAISER	899
CHIROPRACTIC	2,392
CHIROPRACTIC RADIOLOGICAL TECHNICIAN	356
CHIROPRACTIC TECHNICIAN	1,369
CLINICAL SUBSTANCE ABUSE COUNSELOR	1,595
CLINICAL SUPERVISOR-IN-TRAINING	162
COSMETOLOGY APPRENTICE	302
COSMETOLOGY ESTABLISHMENT	7,860
COSMETOLOGY INSTRUCTOR	803
COSMETOLOGY MANAGER	15,055
COSMETOLOGY PRACTITIONER	17,232
CREMATORY AUTHORITY	114
DANCE THERAPIST	8
DENTAL HYGIENE	5,536
DENTISTRY	4,491
DESIGNER OF ENGINEERING SYSTEMS	964
ELECTROLOGIST	173
ELECTROLOGY ESTABLISHMENT	93
ELECTROLOGY INSTRUCTOR	5
ENGINEER IN TRAINING	1,771
FIREARMS CERTIFIER	110
FUNERAL DIRECTOR	1,269
FUNERAL DIRECTOR APPRENTICE	187
FUNERAL DIRECTOR EMBALMING ONLY	0
FUNERAL DIRECTOR EXCLUDING EMBALMING	0
FUNERAL DIRECTOR IN GOOD STANDING	0
FUNERAL ESTABLISHMENT	554
GEOLOGY FIRM	43
HEARING INSTRUMENT SPECIALIST	292
HOME INSPECTOR	898
HOME MEDICAL OXYGEN PROVIDER	158
HYDROLOGY FIRM	5
INDEPENDENT CLINICAL SUPERVISOR	280
INDEPENDENT SOCIAL WORKER	304
INTERMEDIATE CLINICAL SUPERVISOR	211
JUVENILE MARTIAL ARTS INSTRUCTOR	35
LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT	355
LICENSED APPRAISER	266
LICENSED CLINICAL SOCIAL WORKER	3,753
LICENSED MARRIAGE AND FAMILY THERAPIST	688
LICENSED MIDWIFE	128
LICENSED PRACTICAL NURSE	15,593
LICENSED PROFESSIONAL COUNSELOR	3,728
LICENSED RADIOGRAPHER	5,805
LIMITED X-RAY MACHINE OPERATOR PERMIT	47

MANICURING ESTABLISHMENT	1,092
MANICURING INSTRUCTOR	42
MANICURIST	3,529
MANUFACTURER	89
MARRIAGE AND FAMILY THERAPIST TRAINING CERTIFICATE	0
MARRIAGE AND FAMILY THERAPIST TRAINING LICENSE	301
MASSAGE THERAPIST OR BODYWORK THERAPIST	5,446
MASSAGE THERAPIST OR BODYWORKER	0
MASSAGE THERAPIST OR BODYWORKER	0
MATCHMAKER	6
MEDICINE AND SURGERY	24,466
MEDICINE AND SURGERY	1,836
MIXED MARTIAL ARTS AMATEUR CONTESTANT	131
MIXED MARTIAL ARTS JUDGE	7
MIXED MARTIAL ARTS PROFESSIONAL CLUB	0
MIXED MARTIAL ARTS PROFESSIONAL CONTESTANT	81
MIXED MARTIAL ARTS REFEREE	5
MUSIC THERAPIST	65
NURSE-MIDWIFE	218
NURSING HOME ADMINISTRATOR	874
OCCUPATIONAL THERAPIST	3,849
OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY ASSISTANT	1,495
OPTOMETRY	1,115
PEDDLER	45
PERFUSIONIST	132
PHARMACIST	8,286
PHARMACY	1,292
PHARMACY	1,018
PHYSICAL THERAPIST ASSISTANT	2,188
PHYSICAL THERAPIST	6,067
PHYSICIAN ASSISTANT	2,641
PODIATRIC MEDICINE AND SURGERY	401
PREVENTION SPECIALIST	38
PREVENTION SPECIALIST-IN-TRAINING	56
PRIVATE DETECTIVE	810
PRIVATE DETECTIVE AGENCY	583
PRIVATE PRACTICE OF SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGY	38
PRIVATE SECURITY PERSON	5,656
PROFESSIONAL BOXING CLUB	0
PROFESSIONAL BOXING CONTEST	20
PROFESSIONAL BOXING PROMOTER	5
PROFESSIONAL COUNSELOR TRAINING CERTIFICATE	0
PROFESSIONAL COUNSELOR TRAINING LICENSE	1,747
PROFESSIONAL ENGINEER	14,556
PROFESSIONAL GEOLOGIST	682

PROFESSIONAL HYDROLOGIST	101
PROFESSIONAL LAND SURVEYOR	1,199
PROFESSIONAL MIXED MARTIAL ARTS CONTEST	4
PROFESSIONAL MIXED MARTIAL ARTS PROMOTER	5
PROFESSIONAL SOIL SCIENTIST	91
PSYCHOLOGIST	1,803
REAL ESTATE BROKER	10,432
REAL ESTATE BUSINESS ENTITY	2,912
REAL ESTATE SALESPERSON	13,073
REGISTERED NURSE	95,117
REGISTERED SANITARIAN	332
RESIDENT EDUCATIONAL LICENSE	978
RESPIRATORY CARE PRACTITIONER	2,874
RINGSIDE PHYSICIAN	4
SCHOOL OF AESTHETICS	5
SCHOOL OF COSMETOLOGY	33
SCHOOL OF ELECTROLOGY	3
SCHOOL OF MANICURING	11
SECOND	216
SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETER	305
SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETER - RESTRICTED	70
SOCIAL WORKER	5,947
SOCIAL WORKER TRAINING CERTIFICATE	383
SOIL SCIENCE FIRM	9
SPECIAL LICENSES	2
SPECIAL PERMITS	183
SPEECH-LANGUAGE PATHOLOGY	2,300
SUBSTANCE ABUSE COUNSELOR	682
SUBSTANCE ABUSE COUNSELOR-IN-TRAINING	1,274
TANNING FACILITIES	779
TATTOO AND BODY PIERCER	674
TATTOO AND BODY PIERCING ESTABLISHMENT	n/a
TEMPORARY EDUCATION TRAINING PERMIT	1
TIMEKEEPER	3
TIMESHARE SALESPERESON (phasing out in 2016)	306
TRANSPORTATION NETWORK COMPANIES	2
WHOLESALE DISTRIBUTOR OF PRESCRIPTION DRUGS	650
WISCONSIN REGISTERED INTERIOR DESIGNER	218

Regulated Trades, June 14, 2016

Department of Safety and Professional Services

Total Count: 70,760

OCCUPATION	TOTAL ACTIVE CREDENTIAL HOLDERS
Automatic Fire Sprinkler Contractor	106
Automatic Fire Sprinkler Contractor-Maintenance	31
Automatic Fire Sprinkler Fitter-Maintenance	198
Automatic Fire Sprinkler System Apprentice	119
Automatic Fire Sprinkler System Tester	117
Automatic Fire Sprinkler Tester Learner	11
Boiler-Pressure Vessel Inspector	165
Class 1 Blaster	51
Class 2 Blaster	115
Class 3 Blaster	28
Class 4 Blaster	5
Class 5 Blaster	170
Class 6 Blaster	96
Class 7 Blaster	18
Commercial Building Inspector	648
Commercial Electrical Inspector	769
Commercial Plumbing Inspector	449
Cross Connection Control Tester	1,874
Dwelling Contractor	10,167
Dwelling Contractor Qualifier	10,541
Dwelling Contractor Restricted	14
Electrical Contractor	2,915
Electrician Apprentice	1,121
Elevator Apprentice	186
Elevator Apprentice-Restricted	1
Elevator Contractor	54
Elevator Helper	115
Elevator Inspector	47
Elevator Mechanic	647
Elevator Mechanic Temporary	3
Elevator Mechanic-Restricted	16
Fire Detection, Prevention & Suppression Inspector	167
Fireworks Manufacturer	16
HVAC Contractor	3,426
HVAC Qualifier	506
Industrial Electrician Apprentice	13
Industrial Journeyman Electrician	924
Journeyman Automatic Fire Sprinkler Fitter	690
Journeyman Electrician	6,139
Journeyman Plumber	2,576

Journeyman Plumber-Restricted Appliance	266
Journeyman Plumber-Restricted Service	230
Lift Helper	24
Lift Mechanic	19
Liquefied Gas Supplier	175
Liquefied Gas Supplier – Restricted	89
Manufactured Home Installer	152
Manufactured Home Manufacturer	15
Manufactured Homes Dealer	160
Manufactured Homes Sales Person	342
Master Electrician	5,608
Master Plumber	2,874
Master Plumber-Restricted Appliance	195
Master Plumber-Restricted Service	512
PECFA Consultant	13
PECFA Consulting Firm	1
Pipe Layer	662
Plumbing Apprentice	736
Plumbing Learner-Restricted Appliance	127
Plumbing Learner-Restricted Service	103
POWTS Inspector	444
POWTS Maintainer	639
Registered Electrician	2,050
Registered Master Electrician	512
Rental Weatherization Inspector	340
Residential Electrician Apprentice	8
Residential Journeyman Electrician	119
Residential Master Electrician	179
Soil Erosion Inspector	320
Soil Tester	809
UDC Inspection Agency	75
UDC-Construction Inspector	915
UDC-Electrical Inspector	691
UDC-HVAC Inspector	841
UDC-Plumbing Inspector	540
Utility Contractor	290
Weld Test Conductor	127
Welder	4,304

Appendix IV: Growth in Credential Holders and Credential Types

Acquiring precise figures for credential holders and credential types proved difficult, particularly given that the Department of Regulation and Licensing was folded into the new Department of Safety and Professional Services in 2011. Through an open records request with DSPS, we were able to acquire license counts for the month of January going back to 2005. The numbers before 2005 were acquired through various Legislative Fiscal Bureau reports that documented credential types and credential holders at the Department of Regulation and Licensing for a given year. For years where no Fiscal Bureau report could be found, the numbers were then found using the State of Wisconsin Blue Book.

Traditionally Licensed Credential Holders

YEAR	CREDENTIAL HOLDERS	SOURCE
1996	275,000	State of Wisconsin Blue Book 1995-1996
1998	290,000	Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau
2000	283,000	Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau
2002	300,000	Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau
2004	317,900	Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau
2006	329,775	Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services
2008	343,847	Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services
2010	356,151	Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services
2012	367,853	Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services
2014	373,799	Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services
2016	371,463	Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services

Traditionally Licensed Credential Types

YEAR	CREDENTIAL TYPES	SOURCE
1996	90	Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau
1998	101	Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau
2000	108	Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau
2002	109	State of Wisconsin Blue Book 2001-2002
2004	109	State of Wisconsin Blue Book 2003-2004
2006	122	Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services
2008	134	Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services
2010	142	Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services
2012	162	Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services
2014	170	Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services
2016	166	Wisconsin Department of Safety and Professional Services

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8. Ibid.,2
9. Flaherty, M. (1996, May 3). Thompson Fed Up With Tighter Job Regulations. Wisconsin State Journal.
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11. Occupational licenses fall under various jurisdictions. Most licenses in Wisconsin are regulated by the Department of Safety and Professional Services, the Department of Public Instruction, the Department of Agriculture, Trade, and Consumer Protection, the Department of Natural Resources, the Department of Financial Institutions, the Department of Revenue, and the Department of Health Services.
12. See Appendix IV
13. See Appendix IV
14. See Appendix IV
15. See Appendix IV
16. US Census Bureau population for 1996: 5.23 million. US Census Bureau population estimate for July 2015: 5.771,337
17. US Bureau of Labor Statistics Employment January 1996: 2,908,641. US Bureau of Labor Statistics Employment January 2016: 3,122,756
18. US Bureau of Labor Statistics Wisconsin Employment January 1996: 2,797,252. US Bureau of Labor Statistics Wisconsin Employment January 2016: 2,978,068
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32. Thornton and Timmons, 2015.

33. Thornton and Timmons, 2015.

34. Thornton and Timmons, 2015.

35. Mabrey, S. (2015). Regulation of Professional Occupations by the Department of Safety and Professional Services (p. 2-3) (Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau). Madison, WI: Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau. Retrieved June 28, 2016, from http://lrbdigital.legis.wisconsin.gov/cdm/singleitem/collection/p16831coll3/id/186/rec/5

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38. Dr. Kleiner approved of scaling this methodology for Wisconsin in an email correspondence in June 2016.