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Center for Latin American, Caribbean, and Latino Studies

New York's 9/11-Era Veterans: A Quantitative Study by Sex, Race, and Ethnicity 2007-2017

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LATINO DATA PROJECT



The Center for Latin American, Caribbean and Latino Studies is a research institute that works for the advancement of the study of Latin America, the Caribbean, and Latinos in the United States in the doctoral programs at the CUNY Graduate Center. One of its major priorities is to provide funding and research opportunities to Latino students at the Ph.D. level.

The Center established an interdisciplinary specialization in Latin American, Caribbean and Latino Studies in the Masters of Arts in Liberal Studies program.

The Latino Data Project was developed with the goal of making information available on the dynamically growing Latino population of the United States and especially New York City through the analysis of extant data available from a variety of sources such as the U.S. Census Bureau, the National Institute for Health, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and state and local-level data sources.

All Latino Data Project reports are available at <http://clacls.gc.cuny.edu>

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Executive Summary

Those who choose to serve in the armed forces often do so out of a powerful sense of civic duty. But for generations, military service has also been packaged by recruiters, veterans, and popular culture as a clear path to upward social mobility. This report explores the extent to which that aphorism has remained true for the New York metropolitan area's 9/11 era veterans over the last decade.¹

This study examines key socioeconomic and demographic trends among non-active duty veterans in the New York metropolitan area who served in the U.S. armed forces during the post-9/11 era. To achieve a richer understanding of the conditions former servicemen and servicewomen face as they transition into civilian life, this report looks at topics such as sex, race/ethnicity, age, employment status, income, poverty rates, and educational attainment between 2007 and 2017.²

Overall, the news is good. 9/11 era veterans in the New York metropolitan area performed well above their non-veteran counterparts in most socio-economic categories. The data indicate that between 2007 and 2017 employment, income, and educational attainment rates were consistently higher, and poverty rates consistently lower, than those of the metro area's general population. These trends held relatively firm during the financial crisis of 2008 *and* as the veteran population continued to grow into the 2010s.

In short, there is considerable evidence within this report to affirm that serving in the armed forces continues to have a direct correlation with greater socio-economic success. This correlation is particularly stark among Latinos and non-Hispanic blacks, where the variances between their non-veteran counterparts are prevalent in income, employment, poverty rates, and educational attainment.

Perhaps most striking among these findings is the rapid growth of the 9/11 era veteran population. Over the ten-year period studied here, the number of former servicemen and servicewomen in the New York metro area almost doubled while the general population grew at a much smaller rate.

Along race/ethnic lines, the composition of the veteran population became significantly more Latino over the ten-year period -- so much so that Latinos eventually eclipsed non-Hispanic blacks as the second largest race/ethnic group after non-Hispanic whites.

¹ "9/11 Veteran" is defined in this report as any civilian who served in the United States Armed Forces (Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard) from 2001 forward. Current reserve and active duty military personnel are not included in these data. "Service" includes active duty in these branches of the military for any length of time and at any place at home or abroad. Since the census, ACS, and PRCS data on veterans are based on self-reported responses, they differ from data from other sources, such as administrative records of the Department of Defense. Data in the IPUMS on veterans may also differ from Veterans Administration data on the benefits-eligible population, since factors determining eligibility for veterans' benefits differ from the rules for classifying veterans in the census, the ACS, and the PRCS.

² The metropolitan area includes New York City, Long Island, and the Mid and Lower Hudson Valley; the five largest cities in New Jersey: Newark, Jersey City, Paterson, Elizabeth, and Edison, and their vicinities; six cities in Connecticut: Bridgeport, New Haven, Stamford, Waterbury, Norwalk, and Danbury, and their vicinities. This report uses the American Community Survey PUMS (Public Use Microdata Series) data for all years released by the Census Bureau and reorganized for public use by the Minnesota Population Center, University of Minnesota, IPUMSusa, (<https://usa.ipums.org/usa/index.shtml>). See Public Use Microdata Series Steven Ruggles, J. Trent Alexander, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Matthew B. Schroeder, and Matthew Sobek. Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0 [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2017.

Sex ratios, perhaps unsurprisingly, trended more male than female, though women did comprise an increasingly larger share of the veteran population as the years went on. The proportion of males to females in 2017 was approximately 87:13, respectively.

The educational attainment numbers are particularly striking. While almost all of the veteran subgroups boast higher college attendance and graduation rates than the national average, the accomplishments of non-Hispanic blacks, Latinos, and most females in this category is *much* larger than their non-veteran counterparts. All three groups show considerably higher rates of educational attainment when compared to the general metro area population.

Regarding citizenship, the vast majority of 9/11 era veterans are citizens of the United States. However, citizenship rates among vets are in decline as the percentage of foreign-born veterans is steadily rising.

Complete and detailed data for non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic blacks, Asians, and Latinos are presented throughout the text. Special attention was given to patterns by sex in all of these groups. These data may be used as basic reference materials for researchers, journalists, students, and information seekers.

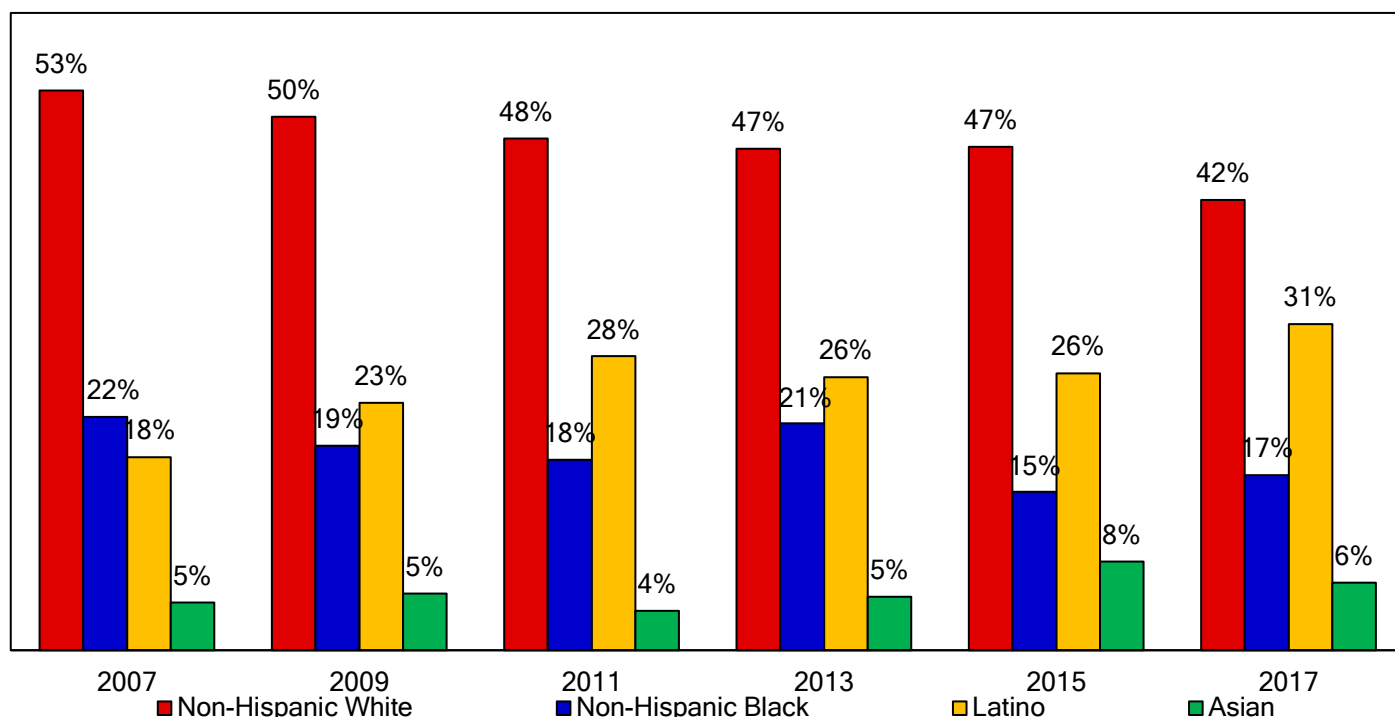
It is important to keep in mind that while the data here are valuable indicators when approaching trends concerning veterans in the United States, they do not answer certain causal questions. Readers interested in the causative factors behind these trends may benefit from the concluding section of this report, which offers possible avenues for future inquiry.

Population Demographics

Between 2007 and 2017, the total 9/11 veteran population of the New York metro area almost doubled from approximately 38,736 individuals to 73,313. This growth occurred steadily, with the largest increase occurring between 2015 and 2017.

Along lines of race/ethnicity, the most significant change over the ten-year period, was the growing proportion of Latinos among the veteran community and the decreasing proportions of non-Hispanic Whites and non-Hispanic blacks. (See figure 1). Non-Hispanic whites made up the largest group of 9/11 veterans in 2017, with 42% of the population, down from 53% in 2007. They were followed, in descending order, by Latinos at 31%—up from 18% in 2007; non-Hispanic blacks at 17%—down from 22% in 2007; and finally Asians at 6%—up from 5% in 2007.

Figure 1
9/11 Era Veteran Population in the New York Metro Area by Race/Ethnicity
2007-2017



Perhaps unsurprisingly, males make up a considerably higher percentage of New York's 9/11 veteran population than females. Over the ten-year period, the number of males increased from approximately 34,000 to 64,000, and the number of females from approximately 4,000 to 10,000. The race/ethnic composition of males mirrors that of the general 9/11 veteran population. However, among females

the percentage of non-Hispanic whites is much lower while the percentage of Asians, Latinos, non-Hispanic blacks is much higher than their male counterparts. (See figures 2 and 3).

Figure 2
Male 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the New York Metro Area by Race/Ethnicity, 2007-2017

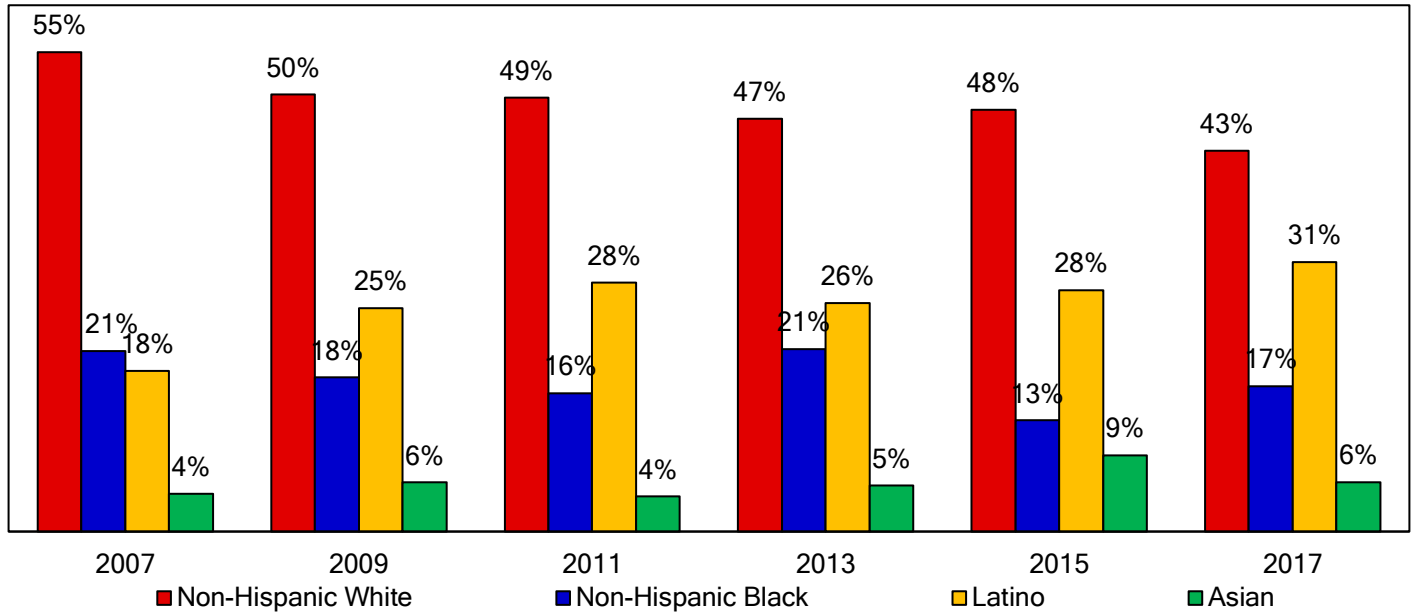
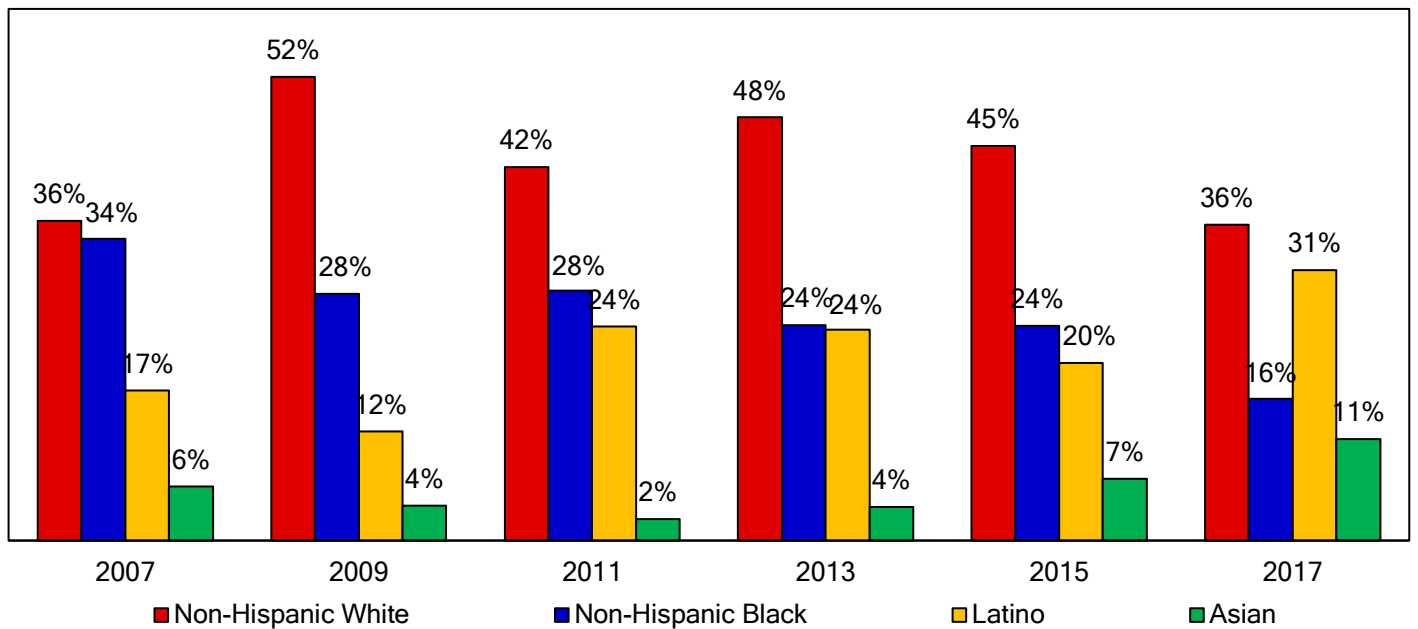


Figure 3
Female 9/11 Era Veteran Population in the New York Metro Area by Race/Ethnicity, 2007-2017



Sex ratios among the metro area's 9/11 era veterans were disproportionately male between 2007 and 2017, both generally and when examined by race/ethnicity. While there was a slight increase in the female proportion of the population over the decade—from 10% in 2007 to 13% in 2017—males have always comprised at least 85% of the metro area's veteran population.

Along race/ethnic lines the most notable exception to the general veteran population sex ratios are among Asians, who in 2017 presented an approximate 76:24 male to female ratio. (See table 1).

In this regard, despite seeing increased roles for women in the armed forces over the ten years, especially the shift into combat roles, this does not seem to have resulted in an increase of female service members. Perhaps these data will change in the future as more active duty females begin their transition back to civilian life.

Table 1
9/11 Era Veteran Population of the New York Metro Area Sex Ratios
2007-2017

	2007		2017	
	% Male	% Female	% Male	% Female
Non-Hispanic White	93%	7%	89%	11%
Non-Hispanic Black	84%	16%	87%	13%
Latino	90%	10%	87%	13%
Asian	86%	14%	76%	24%
Total	90%	10%	87%	13%

Age

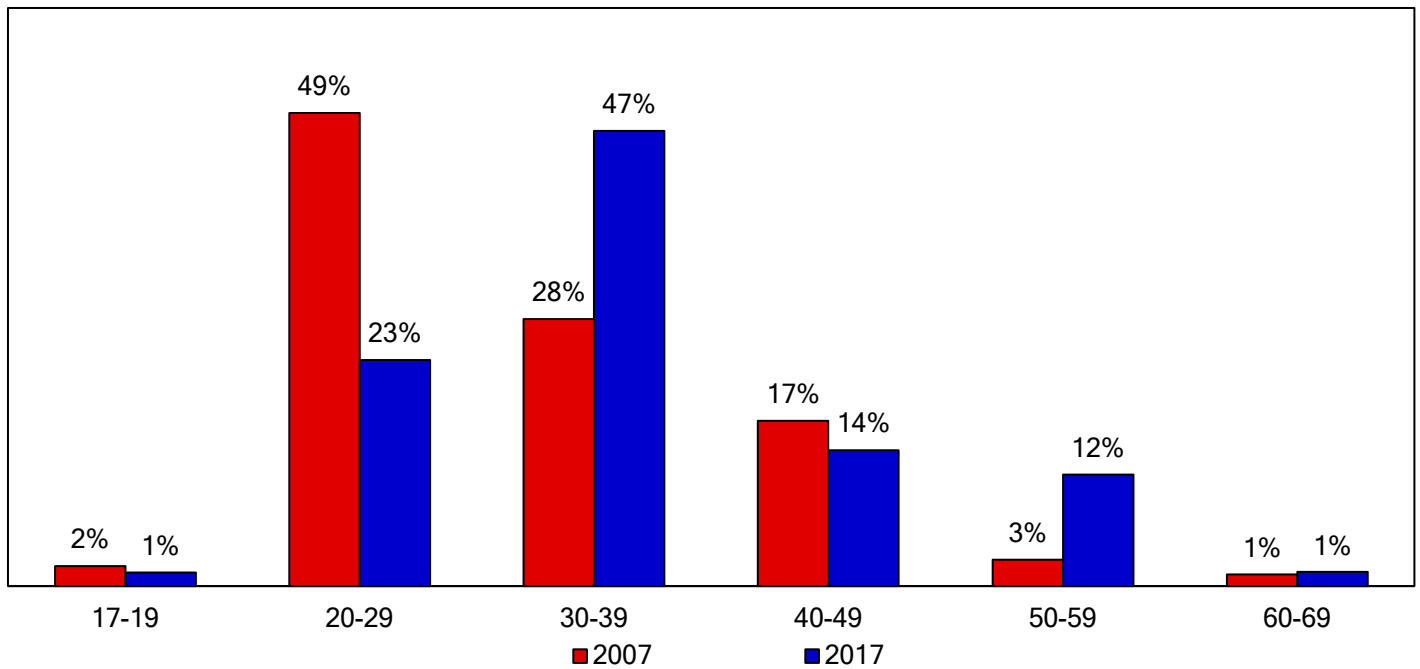
The median age of the New York metro area's 9/11 veterans increased slightly over the ten-year period from 29.5 years in 2007 to 35 years in 2017. (See table 2).

Table 2
Median Age for 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the New York Metro Area
2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Total Veteran Population	29.5	29	31	32	34	35

When broken down into narrower age categories, the data reveal that the largest portion of the metro area’s 9/11 era veterans were between 20 and 29 years of age in 2007; by 2017, the 30-39 age category was the most dominant. In 2007, 49% of 9/11 veterans were 20-29 years old—ten years later that number fell to 24%. Conversely, 28% of 9/11 era veterans were 30-39 years old in 2007 - whereas that age group made up 47% of the veteran population in 2017. (See figure 4). In short, the veteran population of the New York metropolitan area is getting older.

Figure 4
Age Structure of 9/11 Era Veteran Population in the New York Metro Area
2007-2017



Employment

Over the last decade, New York’s 9/11-era veterans experienced employment rates that were considerably higher than their non-veteran working age counterparts. With minor fluctuations, 75% of veterans indicated they were “employed” in 2007, and that number jumped to 77% in 2017. By comparison, the general metro area’s employment rate for working age adults was 70% in 2007 and 72% in 2017. (See tables 3 and 4).

Table 3
 Employment Status for Total New York Metro Area Population
 Aged 16-64 yrs by Sex, 2007-2017

	2007	2017
Male		
Employed	76%	76%
Unemployed	5%	5%
Not in the Labor Force	20%	20%
Female		
Employed	65%	68%
Unemployed	4%	4%
Not in the Labor Force	31%	28%
Total Population		
Employed	70%	72%
Unemployed	5%	4%
Not in the Labor Force	25%	24%

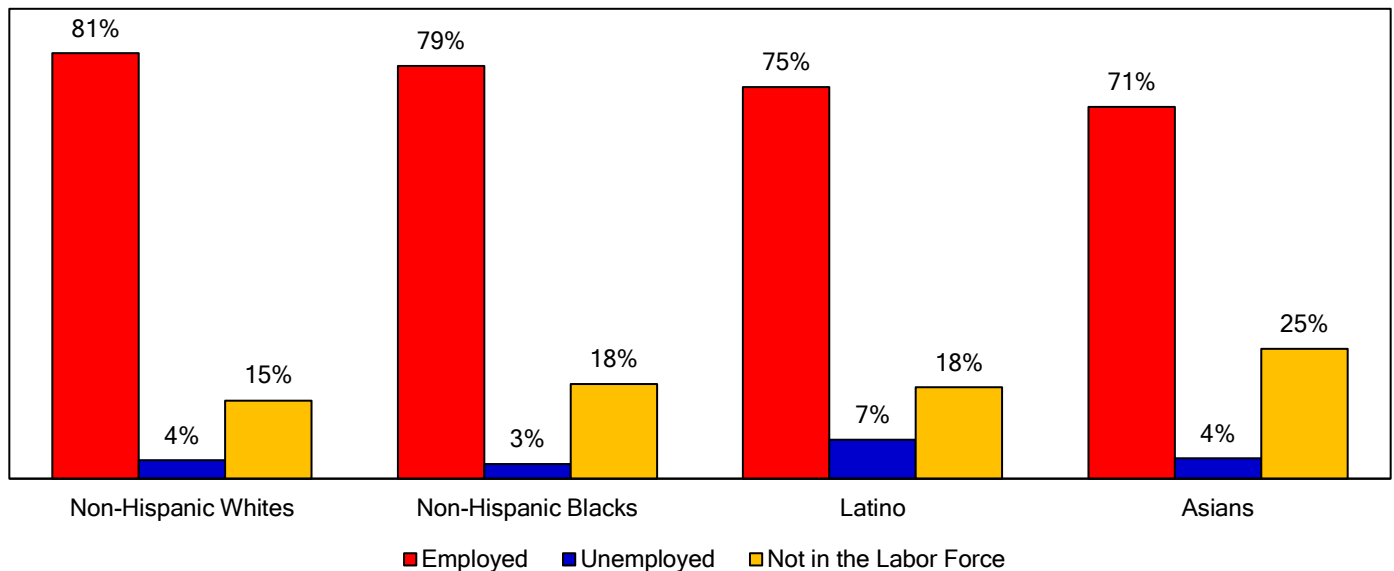
Table 4
 Employment Status for 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the
 New York Metro Area by Sex, 2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Male						
Employed	77%	69%	70%	71%	78%	80%
Unemployed	6%	13%	9%	9%	7%	5%
Not in the Labor Force	17%	18%	20%	20%	15%	15%
Female						
Employed	66%	83%	70%	67%	78%	64%
Unemployed	14%	6%	11%	8%	5%	4%
Not in the Labor Force	21%	11%	19%	25%	17%	31%
Total Population						
Employed	75%	72%	70%	70%	78%	78%
Unemployed	7%	12%	10%	9%	6%	5%
Not in the Labor Force	18%	17%	20%	21%	15%	18%

When examining differences by sex, female veterans have markedly lower employment rates than their male counterparts, and their employment numbers are slightly *lower* than the female metro area average – by 4 percentage points lower. Male veterans, however, have consistently enjoyed higher employment rates than the general male working age population over the ten-year period. (See table 4).

There are, of course, differences along lines of race/ethnicity. As of 2017, non-Hispanic white veterans have the highest rates of employment at 81%, followed closely by non-Hispanic blacks at 79%, Latinos at 75%, and Asians at 71%. (See figure 5 and tables 5-9).

Figure 5
Employment Status of 9/11 Era Veteran Population in the New York Metro Area by Race/Ethnicity, 2017



It is important to note that while there is a 10-percentage point variance between the highest and lowest groups, every race/ethnicity in the veteran population has employment numbers well above that of the New York metro area’s general population.

Also, while female vets in the metro area do have slightly lower employment numbers on a whole, non-Hispanic white females and non-Hispanic black females have higher employment numbers than their non-veteran counterparts. It is only Latinas and Asian females that present lower employment numbers than the general female population.

An examination of unemployment rates also illuminates an interesting trend. Despite strong employment numbers, the unemployment rate for the metro area’s 9/11-era veteran population was 5% in 2017—identical to the unemployment rate of the general population. Non-Hispanic white and

Asian vets had unemployment rates at 4%, while non-Hispanic black vets were at 3% and Latinos were at 7%. (See figure 6).

So why were employment rates noticeably higher for veterans, but unemployment rates not much lower?

The most likely answer is that the number of veterans who identify as “not in the labor force” was much lower than the general population of the New York metro area. Among non-veterans, 24% identified as “not in the labor force” in 2017, whereas among veterans that figure was approximately 18%.

Table 5
 Employment Status for 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the
 New York Metro Area. Non-Hispanic Whites by Sex, 2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Male						
Employed	77%	72%	74%	76%	85%	83%
Unemployed	4%	12%	9%	9%	5%	4%
Not in the Labor Force	18%	16%	17%	14%	10%	14%
Female						
Employed	68%	86%	80%	64%	77%	72%
Unemployed	11%	9%	5%	8%	3%	3%
Not in the Labor Force	21%	4%	14%	27%	20%	25%
Total Population						
Employed	77%	75%	75%	75%	84%	81%
Unemployed	5%	11%	8%	9%	4%	4%
Not in the Labor Force	19%	14%	16%	16%	12%	15%

Table 6
 Employment Status for 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the
 New York Metro Area. Non-Hispanic Blacks by Sex, 2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Male						
Employed	83%	76%	61%	73%	61%	81%
Unemployed	5%	9%	12%	7%	14%	3%
Not in the Labor Force	12%	15%	27%	20%	26%	16%
Female						
Employed	65%	90%	50%	47%	86%	69%
Unemployed	22%	4%	17%	15%	3%	0%
Not in the Labor Force	12%	6%	33%	38%	11%	31%
Total Population						
Employed	80%	79%	58%	69%	68%	79%
Unemployed	8%	8%	13%	8%	10%	3%
Not in the Labor Force	12%	13%	29%	23%	21%	18%

Table 7
 Employment Status for 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the
 New York Metro Area. Latinos by Sex, 2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Male						
Employed	73%	66%	67%	64%	77%	78%
Unemployed	11%	15%	10%	8%	7%	8%
Not in the Labor Force	16%	19%	23%	28%	16%	14%
Female						
Employed	9%	48%	78%	85%	76%	55%
Unemployed	5%	2%	14%	0%	5%	2%
Not in the Labor Force	13%	51%	8%	15%	19%	43%
Total Population						
Employed	15%	64%	69%	67%	77%	75%
Unemployed	27%	14%	11%	8%	7%	7%
Not in the Labor Force	152%	22%	21%	25%	16%	18%

Table 8
Employment Status for 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the
New York Metro Area. Asians by Sex, 2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Male						
Employed	54%	50%	64%	73%	66%	73%
Unemployed	0%	19%	8%	6%	4%	2%
Not in the Labor Force	46%	31%	28%	21%	30%	24%
Female						
Employed	47%	72%	85%	100%	72%	63%
Unemployed	40%	0%	15%	0%	7%	9%
Not in the Labor Force	14%	28%	0%	0%	21%	27%
Total Population						
Employed	53%	53%	67%	76%	67%	71%
Unemployed	6%	16%	8%	6%	4%	4%
Not in the Labor Force	41%	31%	25%	18%	29%	25%

Income

Between 2007 and 2017, median household income for New York's 9/11 era veterans increased across all races/ethnicities, with the exception of non-Hispanic blacks. This trend holds firm when adjusting for inflation to 2017 dollars. The median household income for all metro area veterans in 2007 was \$110,160 (adjusted to 2017 dollars) and \$119,500 in 2017. (See table 9).

When coupled with the increased employment rates discussed in the previous section, these data appear to be clear indicators that military service is a path to economic success that is, quite literally, above average.

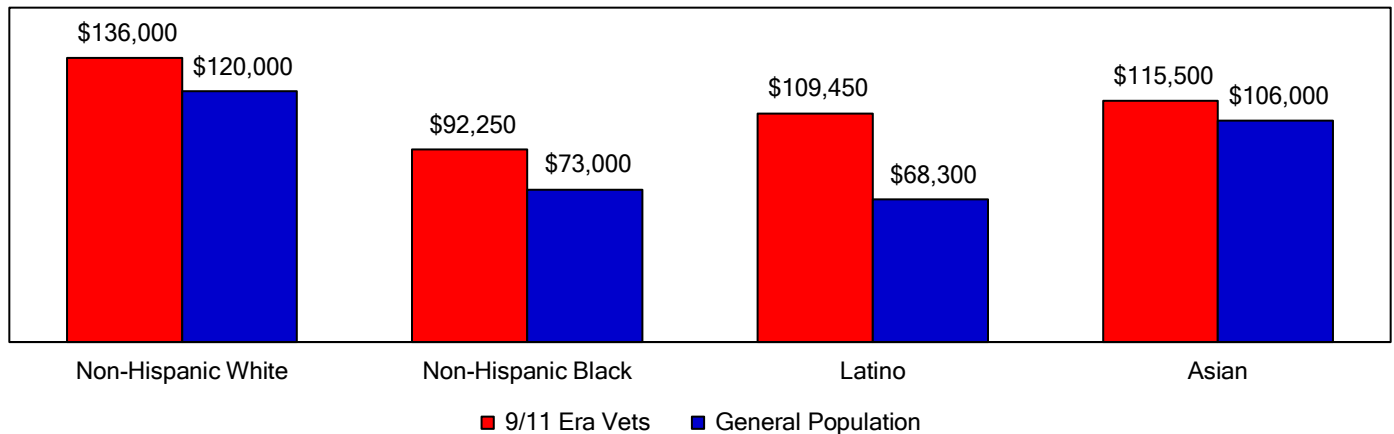
Table 9
 Median Household Income for 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the New York Metro Area
 (Adjusted for Inflation to 2017 Dollars) 2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Non-Hispanic White	127,800	121,900	109,120	106,260	126,636	136,000
Non-Hispanic Black	106,200	90,505	71,555	79,590	88,140	92,250
Latino	92,100	98,670	78,100	75,810	95,680	109,450
Asian	85,200	109,020	99,110	117,915	121,472	115,500
All 9/11 Era Vets	110,160	111,809	88,000	98,490	112,528	119,500

When broken down by race/ethnicity, non-Hispanic white veteran households had the highest median household income in 2017 at \$136,000, followed by Asians at \$115,500, then Latinos at \$109,450, and finally non-Hispanic blacks at \$92,250. All of these race/ethnic groups presented median household incomes higher than that of their respective non-veteran counterparts in the New York metro area. (See figure 6).

The greatest variance, by far, concerns Latinos. Among the 2017 veteran population, Latino median household income was approximately \$41,000 higher than their non-veteran counterparts in the metro area.

Figure 6
 Median Household Income of New York Metro Area Population Aged 17+
 9/11 Era Vets vs. General Population, 2017



In terms of sex differences, male veterans had consistently higher median household incomes than their female counterparts, but both sexes generally present figures higher than those of their non-veteran counterparts. The only exception to this trend were non-Hispanic white females, who made approximately \$10,000 less than the general female metro area population in 2017. The median household income for all male 9/11 era veterans was \$110,940 in 2007 (adjusted to 2017 dollars) and \$120,450 in 2017. The median household income for all female 9/11 era veterans was \$108,240 in 2007 (adjusted to 2017 dollars) and *decreased* slightly to \$104,500 in 2017 - but still well above the income levels of their female non-veteran counterparts in the metro area. (See tables 10 & 11).

Table 10
Median Household Income for Male 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the New York Metro Area by Race
(Adjusted for Inflation to 2017 Dollars) 2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Non-Hispanic White	124,698	125,419	110,000	113,400	127,920	140,000
Non-Hispanic Black	105,600	80,500	69,520	78,225	95,826	90,500
Latino	92,100	98,670	79,200	70,298	97,968	107,500
Asian	93,300	117,760	103,070	134,715	131,352	116,000
All 9/11 Era Vets	110,940	112,873	93,170	98,753	115,440	120,450

Table 11
Median Household Income for Female 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the New York Metro Area by Race
(Adjusted for Inflation to 2017 Dollars) 2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Non-Hispanic White	152,400	107,353	89,100	82,950	117,520	86,000
Non-Hispanic Black	117,120	114,097	79,200	105,000	77,480	108,900
Latino	111,000	108,100	61,325	103,488	85,384	113,400
Asian	52,800	95,393	55,000	94,133	101,920	104,500
All 9/11 Era Vets	108,240	110,228	79,200	93,503	93,392	104,500

When looking at sex and race/ethnicity simultaneously, non-Hispanic white females had the lowest median household income among all the veteran groups in 2017 at \$86,000. Nevertheless, non-Hispanic white veterans on a whole still had markedly higher median household incomes than their non-veteran counterparts (approximately \$16,000 higher as of 2017). Non-Hispanic white male veterans earned the most among all groups—their median household income was approximately \$140,000 in 2017. (See figures 7 and 8).

Figure 7
 Median Household Income of 9/11 Era Veteran Population in the New York Metro Area by Race/Ethnicity and Sex, 2007 (Adjusted for Inflation to 2017 Dollars)

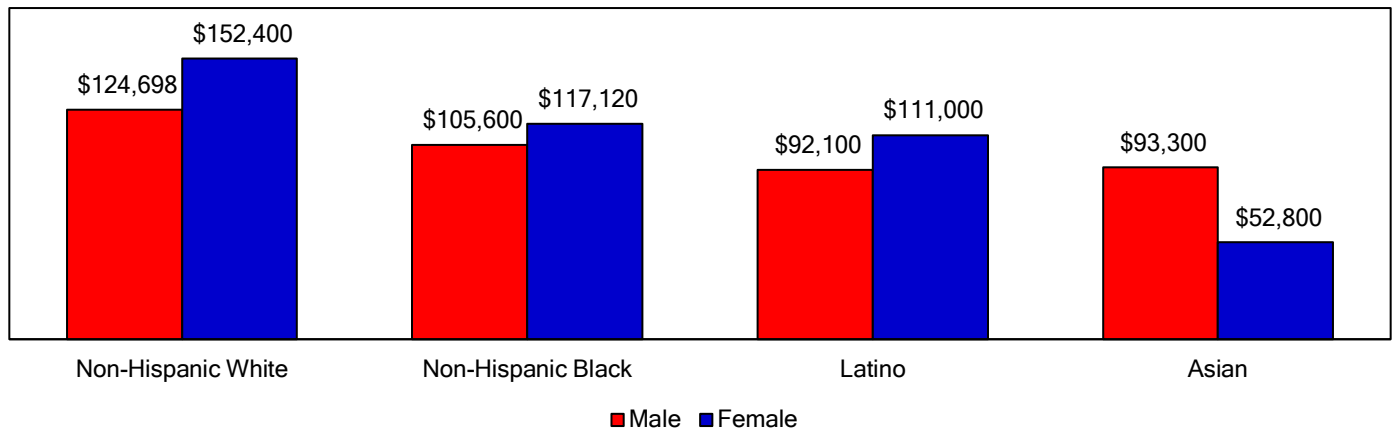
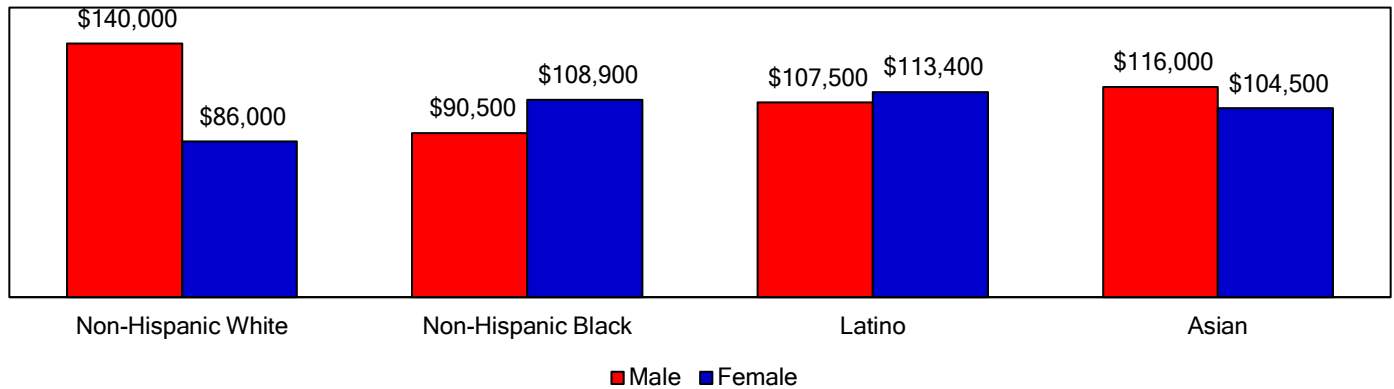


Figure 8
 Median Household Income of 9/11 Era Veteran Population in the New York Metro Area by Race/Ethnicity and Sex, 2017



Poverty

Poverty rates among the New York's metro area's 9/11 veterans remained steady at 8% between 2007 and 2017, well below that of the general metro area population adults aged 17 years and older. The poverty rate for the general population was 13% in 2007 and 12% in 2017. It is worth noting that the 2017 poverty rates among veterans were a percentage point higher than the 2015 rates (See table 12).

Table 12
Poverty Status for 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the New York Metro Area by Sex
2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Male						
In Poverty	7%	11%	11%	12%	7%	7%
Not In Poverty	93%	89%	89%	88%	93%	93%
Female						
In Poverty	15%	14%	14%	5%	8%	17%
Not In Poverty	85%	86%	86%	95%	92%	83%
Total Population						
In Poverty	8%	11%	12%	11%	7%	8%
Not In Poverty	92%	89%	88%	89%	93%	92%

When examined by sex, 9/11 era female veterans consistently experienced higher poverty rates than their male counterparts. The female-to-male poverty rates in this regard were 15% to 7% respectively in 2007, and 17% to 7% respectively in 2017. The veteran poverty gap, it seems, is widening along lines of sex. So much so, in fact, that by 2017, the poverty rates of female veterans surpassed that of their non-veteran counterparts by 2 percentage points for Americans aged 17+.

When examined by race/ethnicity, Asian veterans had the lowest poverty rates in 2017 at 5%. They were followed, in ascending order, by Latinos at 6%, non-Hispanic whites at 7%, and finally non-Hispanic blacks at 9%. All of these groups present poverty rates that were well below the 14% metro area average for adults aged 17 years or older. (See tables 13-16).

Table 13
Poverty Status for 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the New York Metro Area
Non-Hispanic Whites by Sex, 2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Male						
In Poverty	5%	11%	9%	8%	6%	7%
Not In Poverty	95%	89%	91%	92%	94%	93%
Female						
In Poverty	21%	7%	9%	2%	7%	16%
Not In Poverty	79%	93%	91%	98%	93%	84%
Total Population						
In Poverty	6%	11%	9%	7%	6%	8%
Not In Poverty	94%	89%	91%	93%	94%	92%

Table 14
Poverty Status for 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the New York Metro Area
Non-Hispanic Blacks by Sex, 2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Male						
In Poverty	8%	5%	15%	16%	11%	9%
Not In Poverty	92%	95%	85%	84%	89%	91%
Female						
In Poverty	16%	27%	17%	16%	11%	10%
Not In Poverty	84%	73%	83%	84%	89%	100%
Total Population						
In Poverty	9%	10%	15%	16%	11%	8%
Not In Poverty	91%	90%	85%	84%	89%	92%

Table 15
Poverty Status for 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the New York Metro Area
Latinos by Sex, 2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Male						
In Poverty	11%	15%	12%	15%	8%	6%
Not In Poverty	89%	85%	88%	85%	92%	94%
Female						
In Poverty	0%	22%	16%	3%	10%	27%
Not In Poverty	100%	78%	84%	97%	90%	73%
Total Population						
In Poverty	10%	15%	12%	13%	8%	9%
Not In Poverty	90%	85%	88%	87%	92%	91%

Table 16
Poverty Status for 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the New York Metro Area
Asians by Sex, 2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Male						
In Poverty	5%	11%	16%	12%	2%	5%
Not In Poverty	95%	89%	84%	88%	98%	95%
Female						
In Poverty	40%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%
Not In Poverty	60%	100%	100%	100%	100%	75%
Total Population						
In Poverty	10%	10%	14%	11%	2%	10%
Not In Poverty	90%	90%	86%	89%	98%	90%

When broken down by race/ethnicity *and* sex, Latina veterans experienced the highest rates of poverty in 2017 at 27%, followed by Asian females at 25%, and non-Hispanic white females at 16% – all above the metro area female average of 15%.

Most race/ethnic groups experienced a rise in poverty rates between 2009 and 2011, which is in line with the economic recession of that period. Yet, as of 2017, most poverty numbers for 9/11 era veterans had settled back to their approximate 2007 levels.

As of 2017, there remained a distinct poverty gap between males and females within all 9/11 era veteran race/ethnic groups living in the New York metropolitan area. Seven percent of non-Hispanic white male veterans were in poverty, compared to 16% of their female counterparts. Nine percent of non-Hispanic black male veterans were in poverty, compared to 10% of their female counterparts. This gap is most pronounced among Latino veterans, whose male and female populations experienced poverty rates of 6% and 27% respectively, and also among Asians, whose male and female populations experienced poverty rates of 5% and 9% respectively.

Educational Attainment

On the whole, educational attainment among New York's 9/11 era veterans was markedly higher between 2007 and 2017 than the general metro area population, aged 25 and older. All branches of the United States Armed Forces presently require recruits to have a high school diploma (or equivalency) prior to enlistment, so naturally the rate of high school non-completion is considerably higher among the general population aged 25 and over, than it is for 9/11 era veterans. There are occasional incidences where veterans will not have a high school degree or its equivalence, particularly if the veteran enlisted prior to the 1990s, but these incidences are quite rare (less than 2% of all veterans).

Regarding college participation rates, 76% of 9/11 era in the metro area veterans reported attending college for at least one term as of 2017, compared to 62% of the general population. Furthermore, 52% of 9/11 era veterans had an Associates, Bachelors, or higher as of 2017, compared to 47% of the general population aged 25 or older. (See table 17).

Table 17
Educational Attainment for 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the New York Metro Area
(Aged 25+) 2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Did Not Graduate High School	3%	1%	1%	2%	4%	2%
High School Graduate	21%	26%	22%	22%	13%	22%
Some College No Degree	34%	31%	34%	35%	30%	24%
Associates Degree	10%	8%	12%	13%	12%	12%
BA or Higher	32%	34%	31%	27%	40%	40%

Key differences in educational attainment between 9/11 era veterans and the general metro area population were noted when drawing comparisons by sex.

As of 2017, the number of female veterans aged 25 years and older with a four-year degree or higher was considerably higher than male veterans *and* the general female population. 44% of female 9/11 era veterans had a BA or higher in 2017, compared to 39% of male veterans and 40% on non-veteran females. (See table 18).

Table 18
Educational Attainment for 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the New York Metro Area
(Aged 25+) by Sex 2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Male						
Did Not Graduate High School	3%	1%	0%	2%	3%	2%
High School Graduate	22%	28%	25%	25%	15%	23%
Some College No Degree	35%	32%	35%	36%	30%	25%
Associates Degree	10%	8%	10%	12%	14%	11%
BA or Higher	30%	31%	30%	26%	38%	39%
Female						
Did Not Graduate High School	5%	2%	3%	2%	6%	4%
High School Graduate	18%	19%	9%	10%	9%	20%
Some College No Degree	22%	25%	33%	30%	30%	17%
Associates Degree	10%	8%	18%	23%	6%	15%
BA or Higher	44%	46%	37%	35%	49%	44%

The clearest links between military service and increased educational attainment present themselves when examining trends through the overlapping lenses of race/ethnicity and sex - especially among Latinos and non-Hispanic blacks.

Among non-Hispanic whites, the veteran and general population had college graduation rates (BA or higher) at 49% and 50% in 2017, respectively. However, 62% of non-Hispanic white female veterans had a BA or higher – twelve percentage points higher than all non-Hispanic white females in the metro area. (See figures 9 and 10).

Figure 9
 Non-Hispanic White Males with a BA of Higher in the New York Metro Area
 9/11 Era Vets vs General Population (Aged 25+) 2007-2017

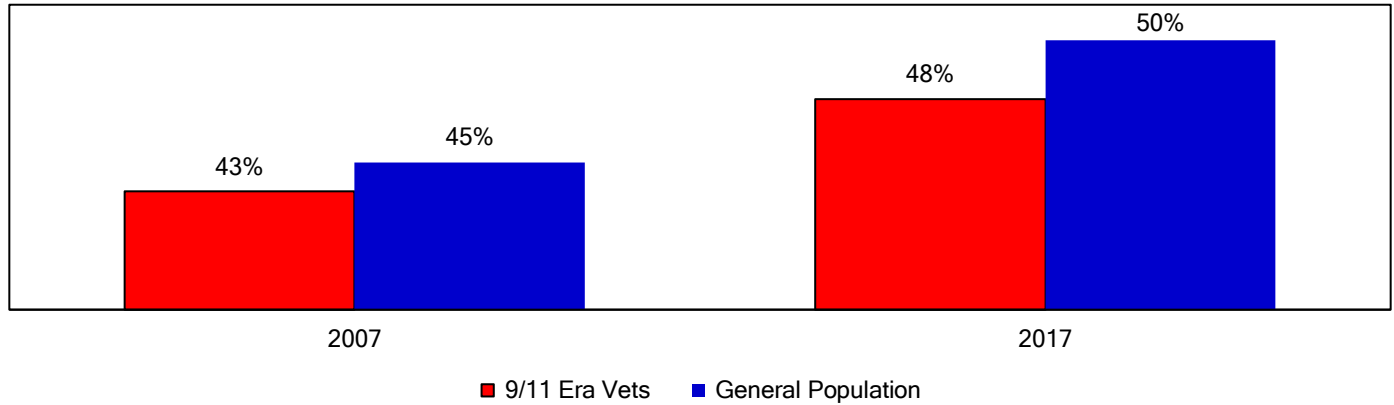
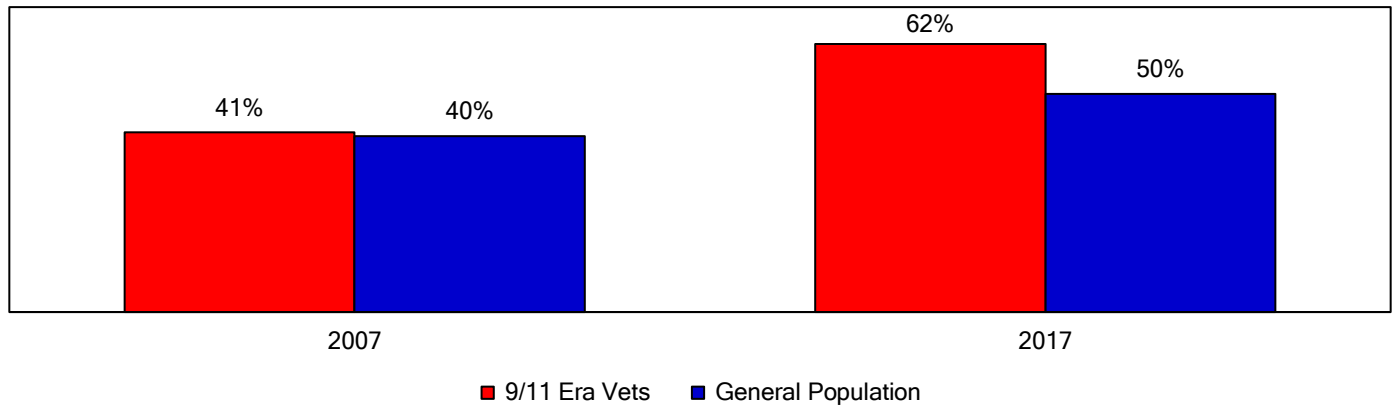


Figure 10
 Non-Hispanic White Females with a BA of Higher in the New York Metro Area
 9/11 Era Vets vs General Population (Aged 25+) 2007-2017



Within the non-Hispanic black community, 34% of 9/11 era veterans had a BA or higher as of 2017, compared to 26% of the general non-Hispanic black metro area population. Among males, 30% of veterans had at least a four-year degree, which was 6 percentage points higher than the general non-Hispanic black male population. Among females, 62% of veterans had at least a four-year degree, a striking 34 percentage points higher than the general non-Hispanic black female population. (See figures 11 and 12).

Figure 11
 Non-Hispanic Black Males with a BA of Higher in the New York Metro Area
 9/11 Era Vets vs General Population (Aged 25+) 2007-2017

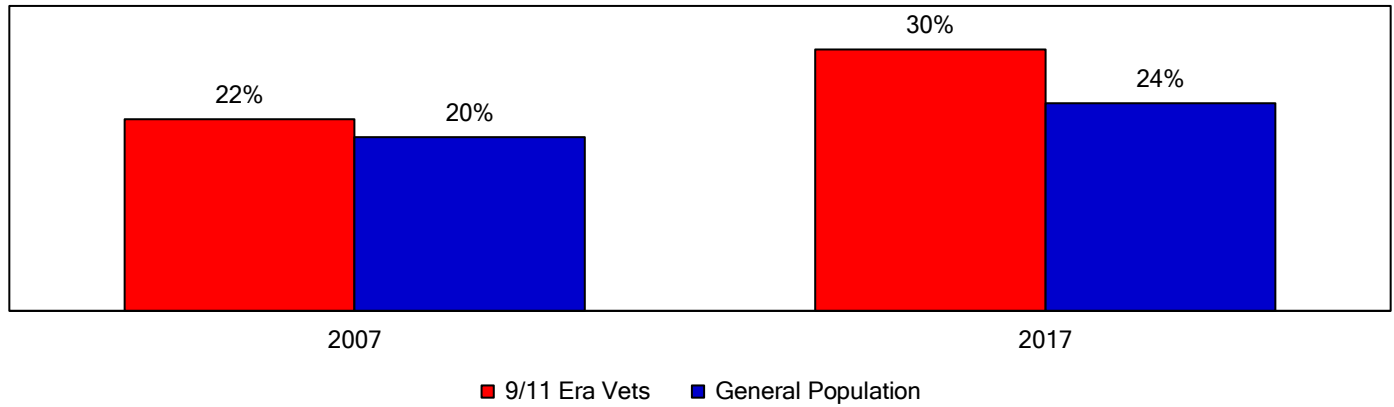
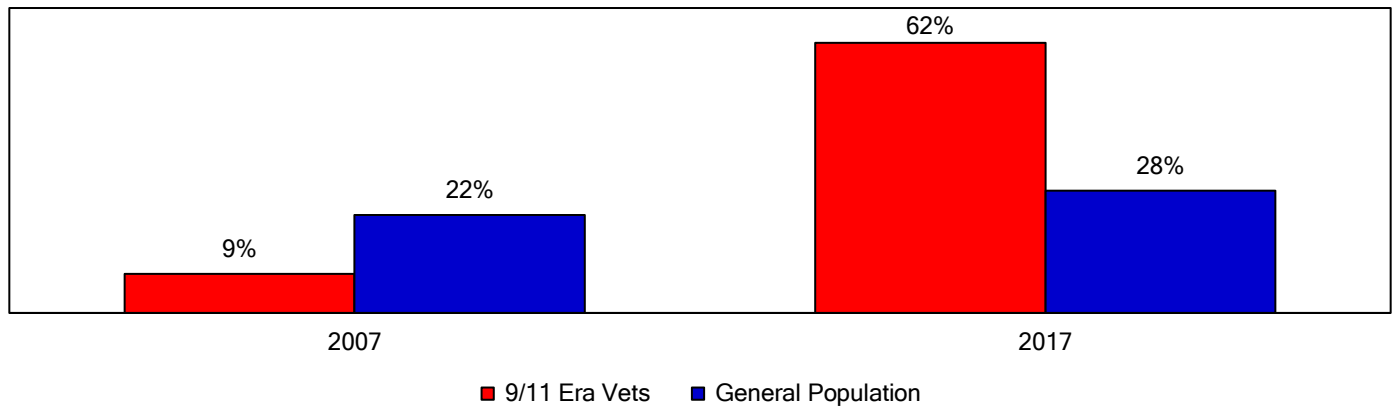


Figure 12
 Non-Hispanic Black Females with a BA of Higher in the New York Metro Area
 9/11 Era Vets vs General Population (Aged 25+) 2007-2017



Among Latinos, 29% of 9/11 era veterans had a BA or higher in 2017, compared to 19% of the metro area's general Latino population aged 25 and older. Among males, 29% of veterans had at least a four-year degree, 12 percentage points higher than the general Latino male population. Among females, 27% of veterans had at least a four-year degree, 5 percentage points higher than the general Latino female population. (See figures 13 and 14).

Figure 13
 Latino Males with a BA of Higher in the New York Metro Area
 9/11 Era Vets vs General Population (Aged 25+) 2007-2017

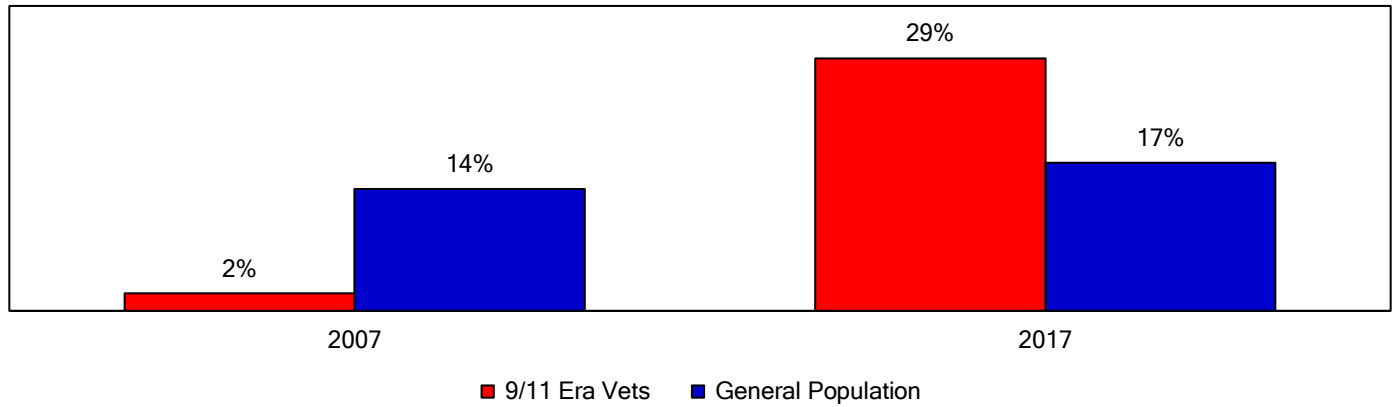
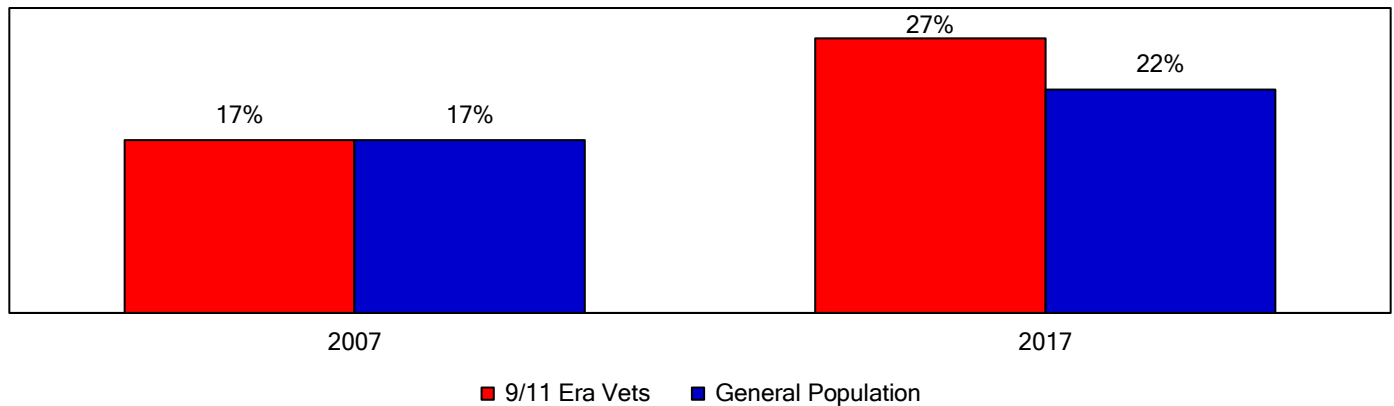


Figure 14
 Latino Females with a BA of Higher in the New York Metro Area
 9/11 Era Vets vs General Population (Aged 25+) 2007-2017



Asians are the only race/ethnic group where this trend of outperforming non-veterans is reversed, albeit slightly. Fifty-two percent of Asian 9/11 era veterans had a BA or higher in 2017, compared to 53% of the metro area's general Asian population. Among males, 57% of veterans have at least a four-year degree, 3 percentage points higher than the general Asian male population. Among females, 33% of veterans have at least a four-year degree, a 19-percentage point *decrease* when compared to their non-veteran counterparts. (See figures 15 and 16).

Figure 15
Asian Males with a BA of Higher in the New York Metro Area
9/11 Era Vets vs General Population (Aged 25+) 2007-2017

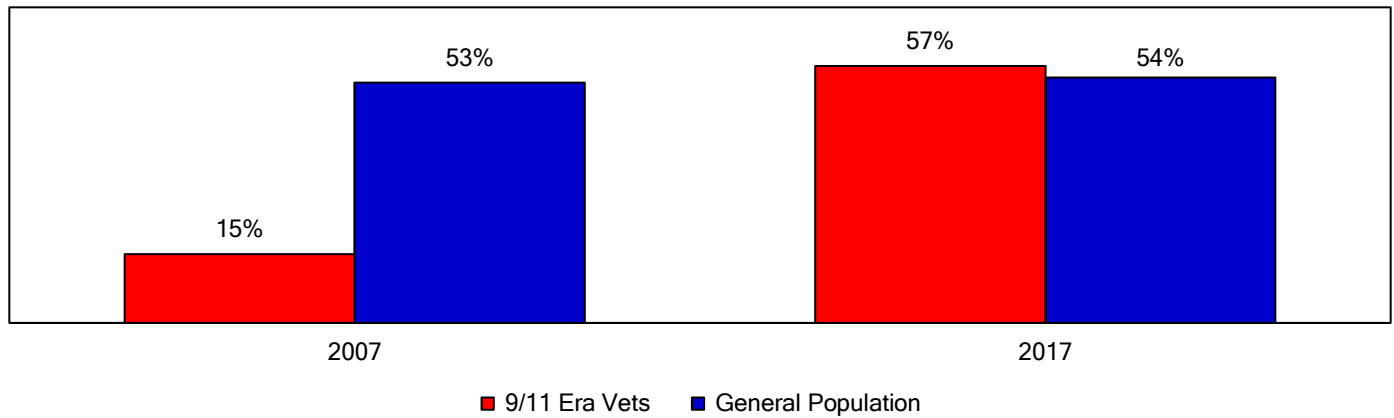
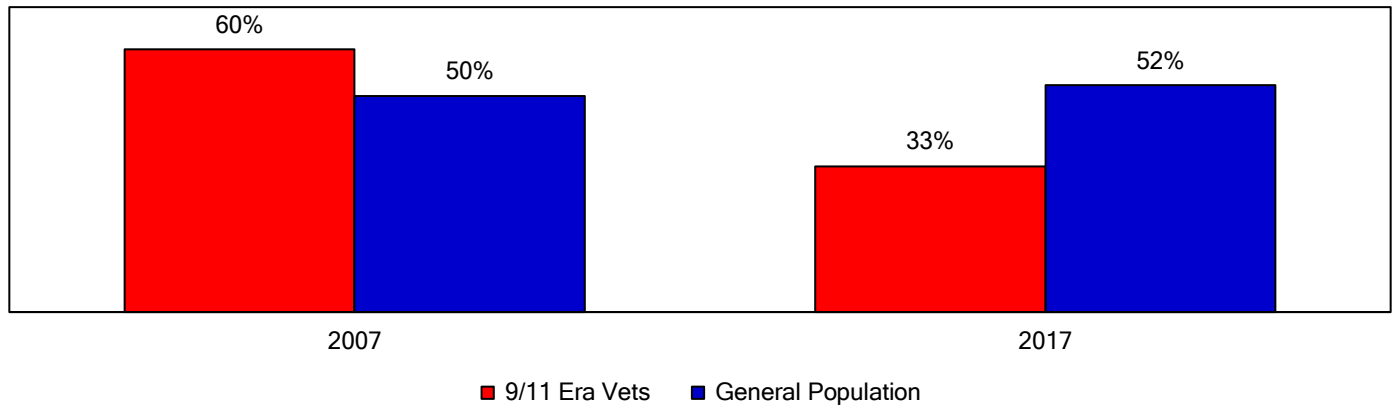


Figure 16
Asian Females with a BA of Higher in the New York Metro Area
9/11 Era Vets vs General Population (Aged 25+) 2007-2017



Citizenship Status

Although the overwhelming majority of the metro area's 9/11 era veterans are citizens of the United States, citizenship rates *decreased* between 2007 and 2017, while the percentage of foreign-born veterans *increased*.

The percentage of 9/11 era veterans who were citizens dipped from 85% in 2007 to 81% in 2017, and the percentage of foreign-born veterans rose from 20% to 25% over the same time period. (See tables 19 and 20).

There is no doubt that, legally speaking, military service provides individuals with a more rapid path to citizenship than traditional channels. However, these numbers also indicate that the United States' armed services are being increasingly populated by foreign-born individuals who have *not* yet been granted citizenship by the nation they served in wartime.

Table 19
Foreign and Domestic Born 9/11 Era Veteran Population of the New York Metro Area
2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Domestic Born	80%	85%	83%	80%	80%	75%
Foreign Born	20%	15%	17%	20%	20%	25%

Table 20
Citizenship Rates of Foreign Born 9/11 Era Veteran Population in the New York Metro Area
2007-2017

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Citizen	85%	94%	86%	81%	84%	80%
Not a Citizen	15%	6%	14%	19%	16%	20%

Concluding Remarks

There is indeed much evidence to affirm popular notions of a direct correlation between military service and increased socio-economic success.

Among the New York metropolitan area's 9/11 era veterans, income, employment, and educational attainment rates were consistently higher, and poverty rates lower, when compared to the general US population. Furthermore, those benefits were particularly pronounced among females and minorities.

CLACLS hopes the information presented here will motivate others to pursue further avenues of research on this topic. To this end, we have some suggestions.

First, the gender disparities in terms of poverty rates, especially among Latinos and Asians, are glaring and warrant further investigation. While poverty rates for 9/11 era veterans in general were noticeably lower than that of the general adult population, female poverty rates among 9/11 era

veterans increased to a point where they were *above* that of their non-veteran female counterparts. These figures are more perplexing when one considers that the trend does not carry over into employment or household income.

Second, stakeholders and advocacy groups may wish to investigate the persistence of income inequality along lines of sex and race/ethnicity for veterans once they enter the job market, especially as pay inequality does not factor into the rigid tier-based pay structure of the US armed forces.

Third, the fact that citizenship rates are declining while the percentage of foreign-born veterans is increasing warrants further examination. Are these veterans progressing through the slow process of becoming a citizen, or has the citizenship process grown more difficult over the last ten years, even for those who've served in their nation's armed forces during wartime?

Finally, it would be useful to have a better understanding of exactly what kinds of professional fields veterans gravitate to when returning to civilian life, and what college majors they prefer. Do these decisions vary across race/ethnicity and sex? Across those who enlisted and the officer corps?

Individuals who are particularly interested in veteran employment rates may wish to investigate the extent to which particular military occupations (a soldier's "MOS" or "billet") have higher incidences of job placement than others. The US Armed Forces offers a wide variety of occupations for soldiers, from technical posts to administrative positions, and it would be useful to know which occupations appear to be clearer paths to economic success upon returning to civilian life.

Organizations that provide outreach to minority groups, particularly Latinos and non-Hispanic blacks, may wish to familiarize themselves with the tangible benefits of military service, if offering career advice. Often, service in the armed forces can be viewed as a "dead end" path reserved for those with fewer options. But as this report suggests, it can also be packaged as a proven path to higher income, educational attainment, and quality of life - most especially for minority females.