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**COMPLEXITY OF WOMEN VETERANS'  
IDENTITY:  
*WHO ARE THEY & HOW ARE THEY DOING?***

A woman in a military uniform, wearing a grey cap and a grey jacket, is saluting with her right hand. She is looking slightly to the right of the camera with a neutral expression.

**Women Veterans:**  
*Who are they and how are they doing?*

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# Setting the stage

- Who are they?
  - Basic demographics by cohort
- How and why does military service affects civilian work life?
  - Employment, earnings, also educational attainment
  - Mechanisms generating outcomes
    - Employer attitudes, decisions & behaviors
    - Public meanings of military service
    - Veterans' attitudes, decisions & behaviors

# Today's Focus

## ***Differences between women veterans***

And non-serving women peers, across cohorts

## ***Are women veterans unique?***

Labor force participation, Unemployment,  
Earnings, & College enrollment

## ***Are employers discriminating against women veterans in hiring?***

Resume audit study

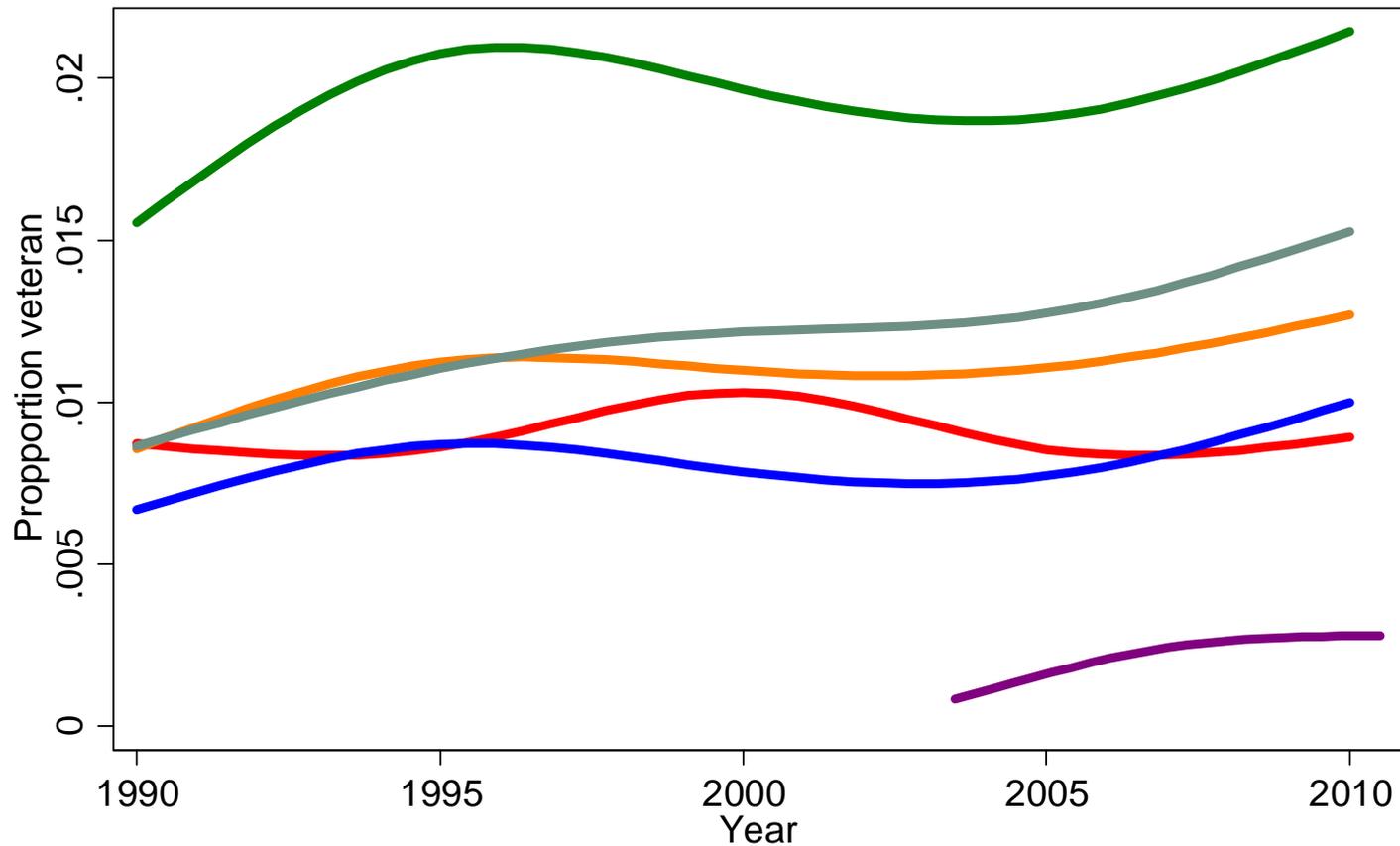
# Demographic Data

- Current Population Survey
  - Charts: March data, 1988-2012 pooled
  - Regression: MORG, 2005-2012 pooled
  - National data source for labor force statistics, includes veteran status, wages (not just HH income), college enrollment (at older ages)
    - Lots it doesn't capture!!!
  - Pooling years allows for subgroup analyses
    - Gender, race/ethnicity, education



Highest rates of military service are found among the WWII cohort, followed by the AVF cohort who saw the sharpest rise in % female in the armed forces.

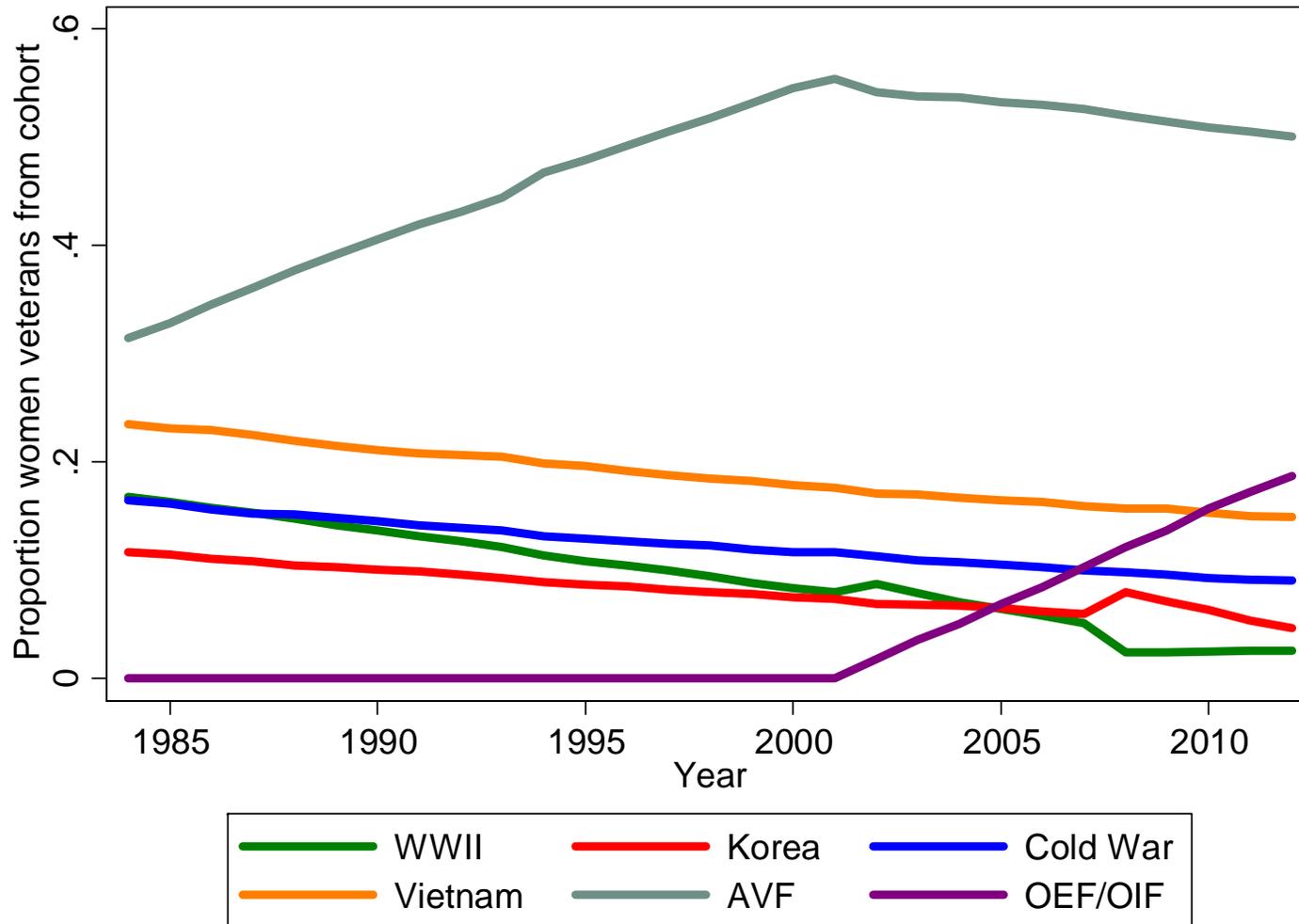
# Highest proportion veteran among women from WWII, AVF and Vietnam cohorts.



Among women veterans, most are from the AVF, OEF/OIF cohort

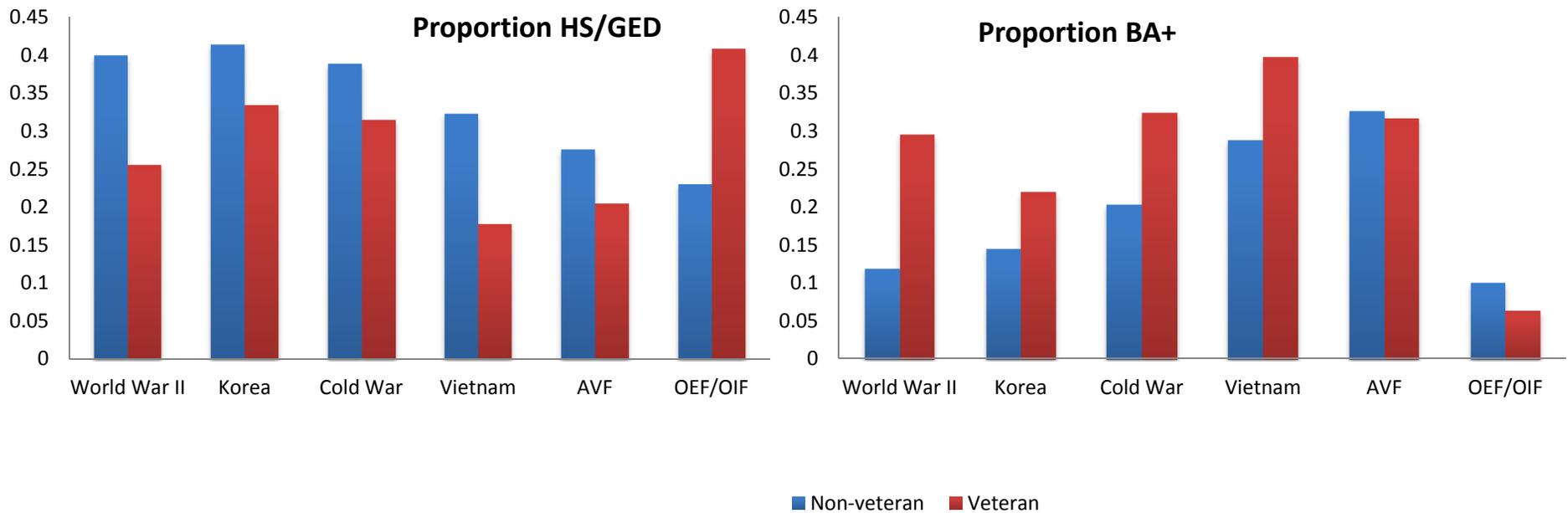


Today, most women veterans are from AVF, OEF/OIF, and Vietnam cohorts.



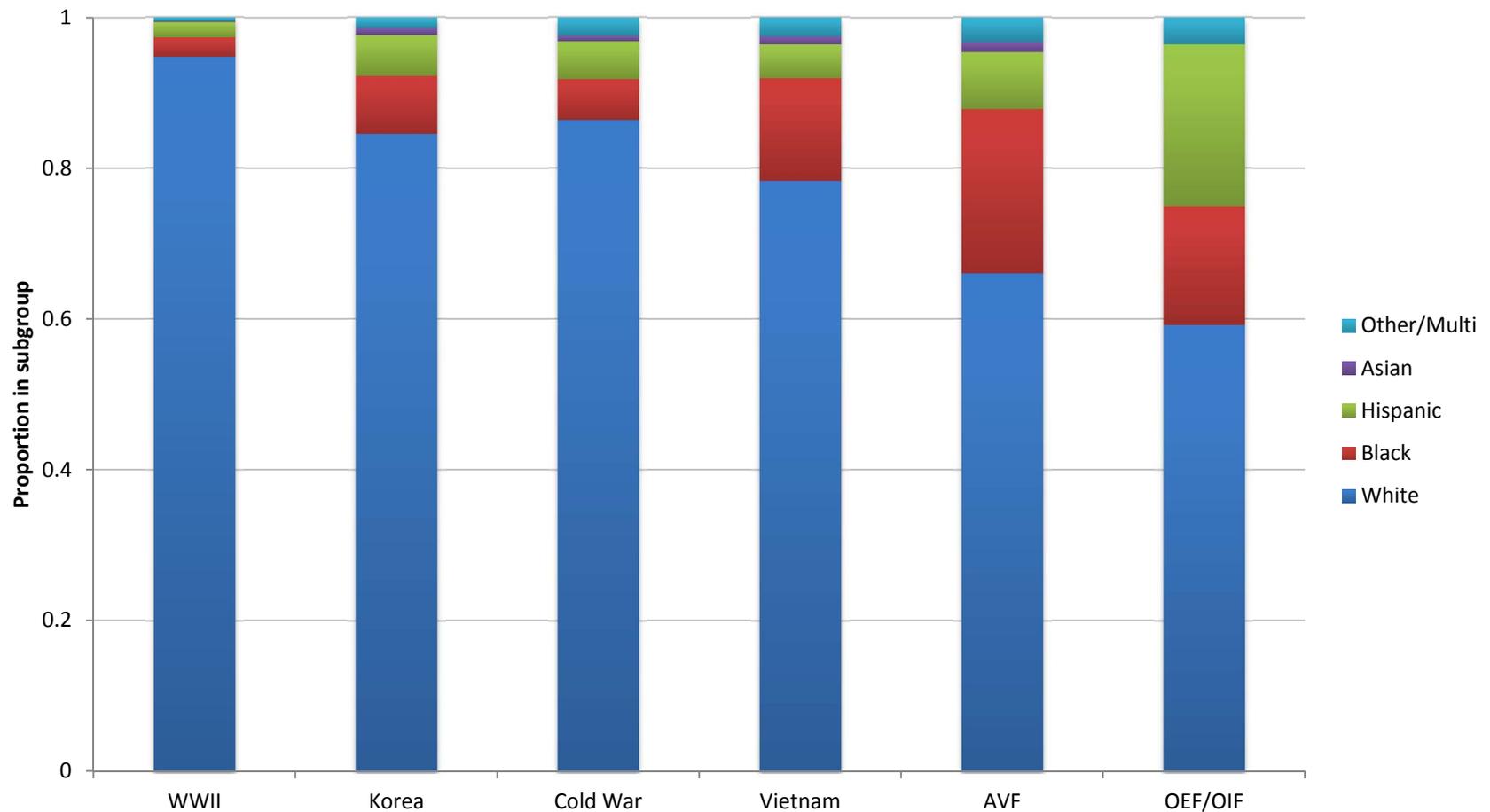
# Veterans educational advantage varies by cohort :

## After Vietnam, veterans less likely to have BA+ than civilian peers



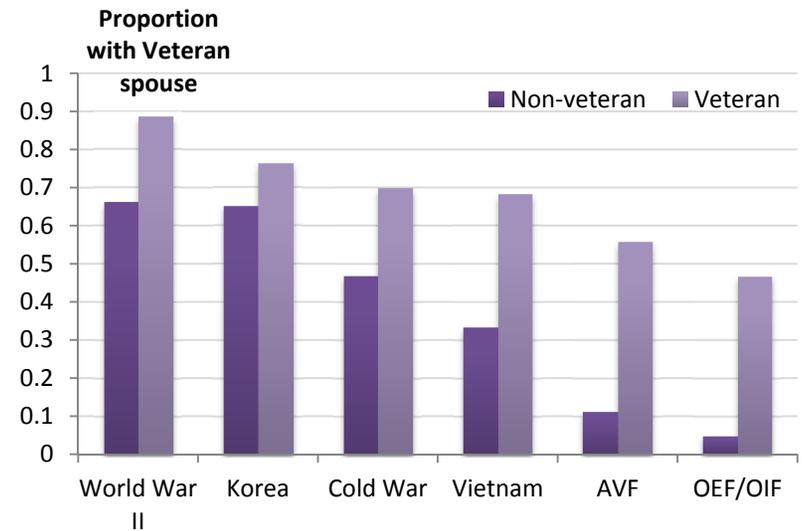
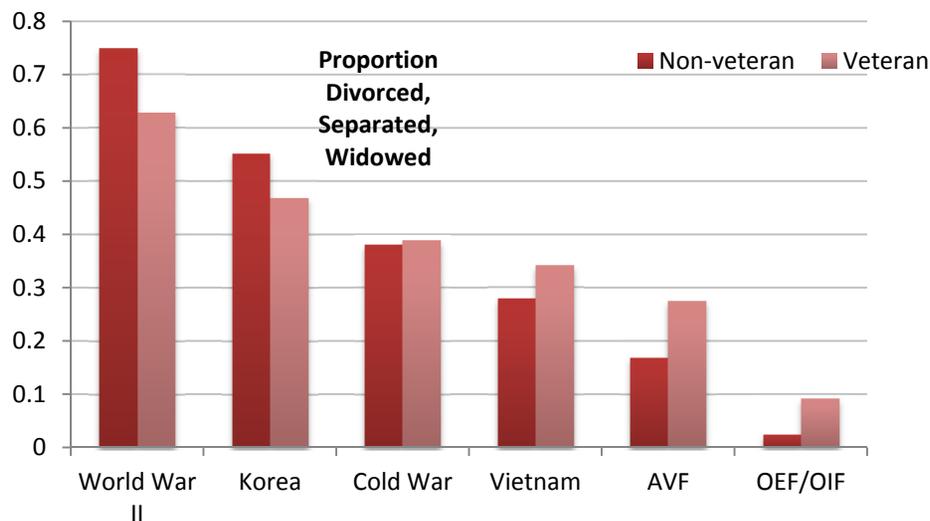
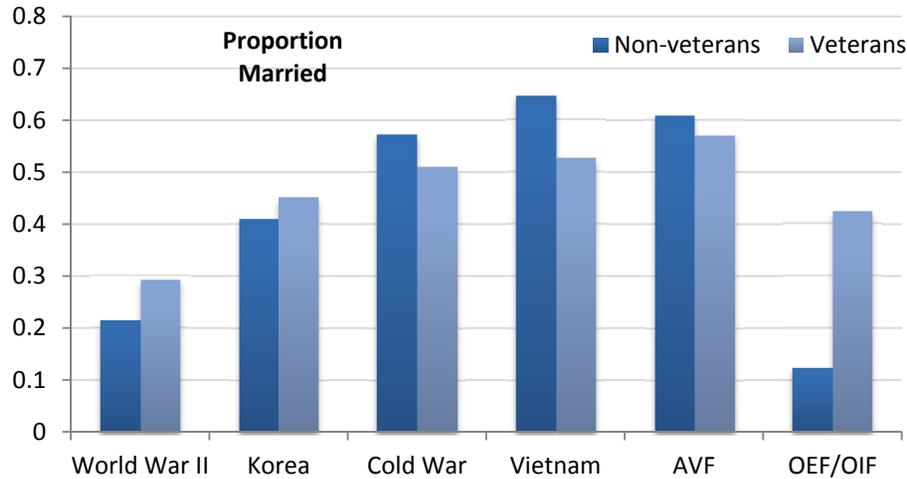
How will the post 9/11 GI Bill alter this emerging pattern?

# Women veterans have become racially and ethnically diverse, with Hispanics the predominant minority group among OEF/OIF veterans

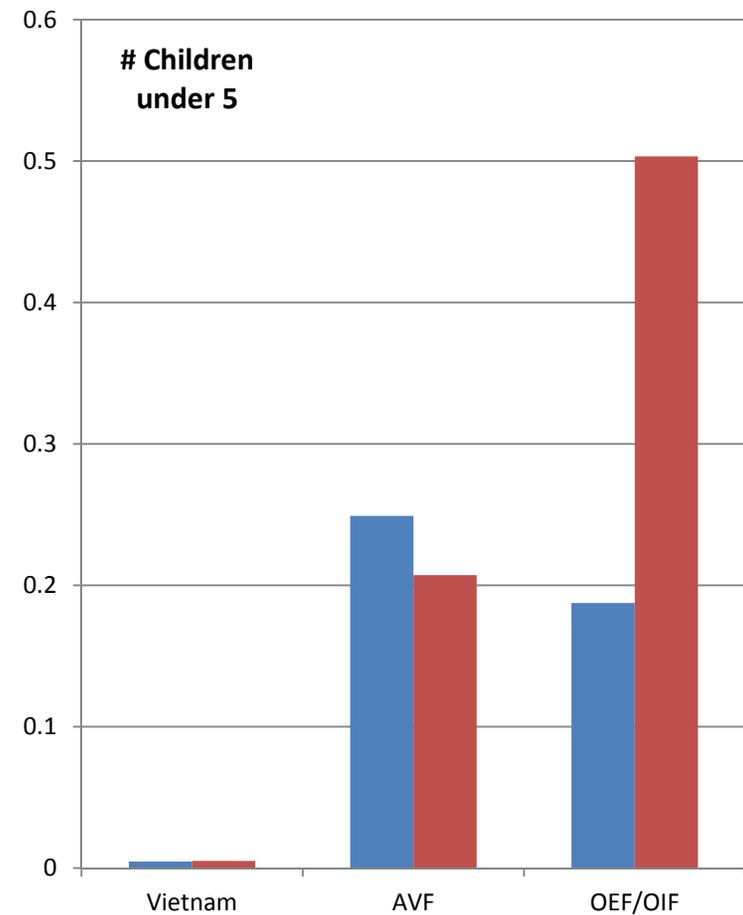
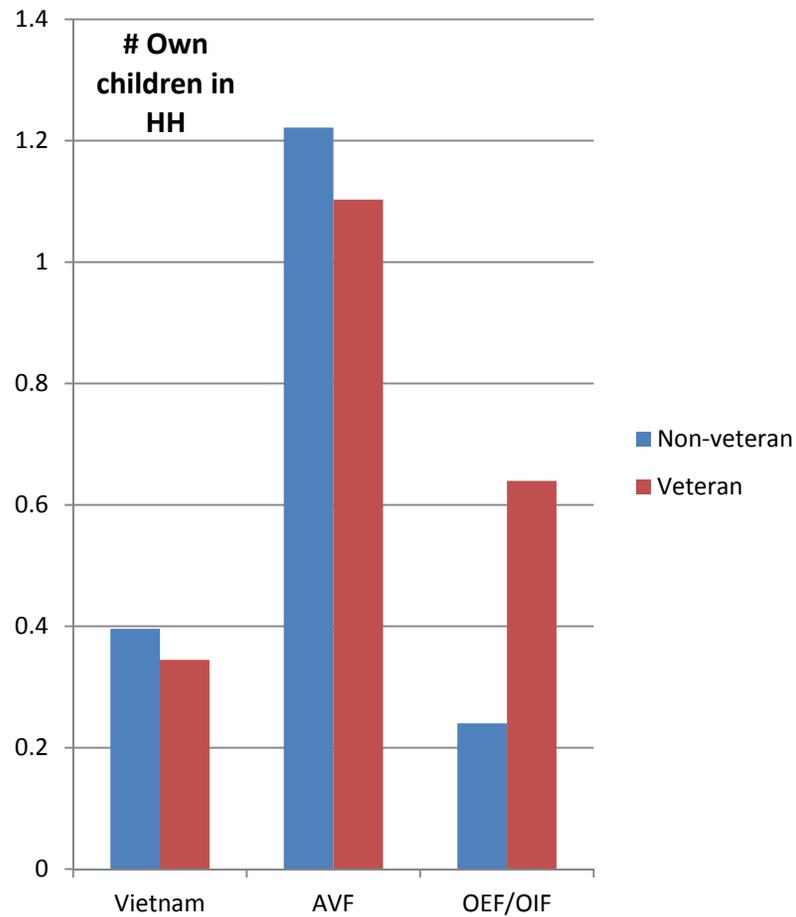


# OEF/OIF veteran more likely to be married and divorced than civilian peers

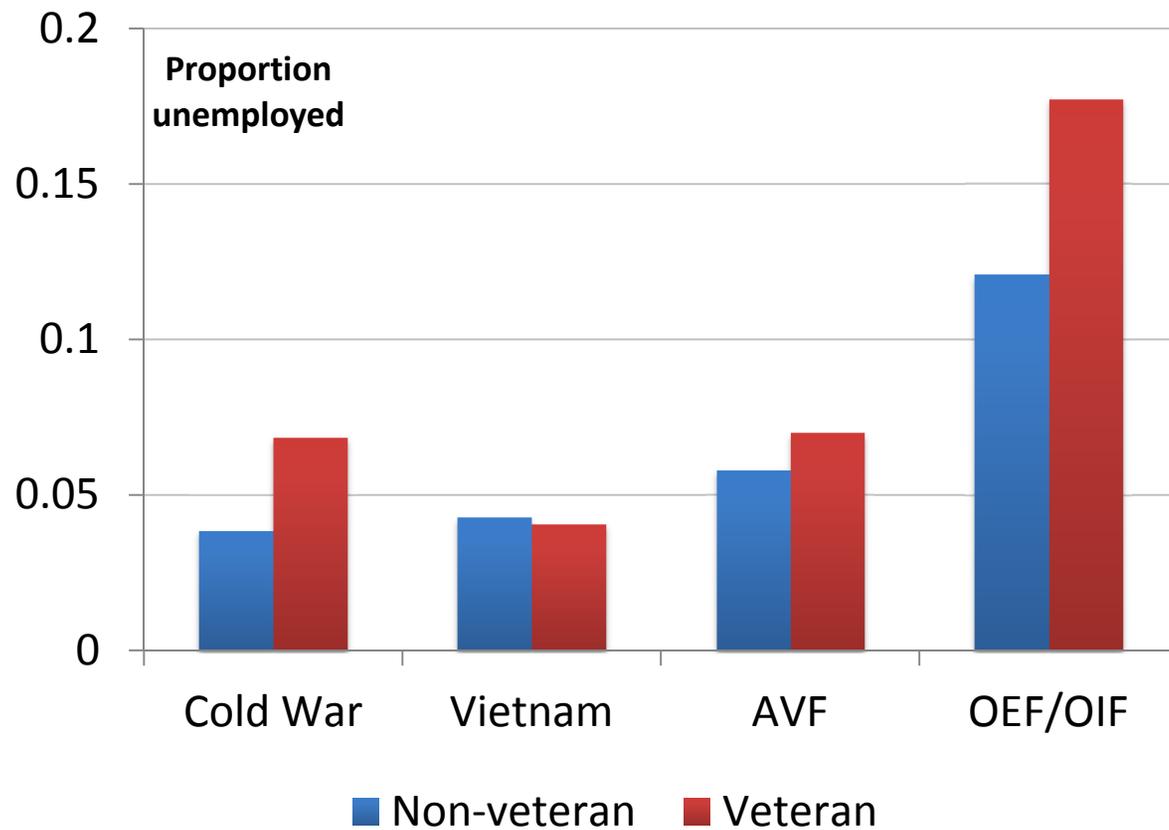
## 50% of them are married to another veteran



# OEF/OIF women have greater childrearing responsibilities than their peers



# OEF/OIF women veterans experience higher unemployment than their civilian peers



Women veterans have higher personal  
income than their civilian peers

# WHY?

Is there something unique about  
women veterans' unemployment  
compared with male counterparts?

# Methods

- No-frills multiple regression

Kleykamp, Meredith. 2013. "Unemployment, Earnings and Enrollment among Post 9/11 Veterans." *Social Science Research* 42(3):836-51.

	Unemployment	Earnings	Enrollment
<b>Model</b>	Logistic regression	GLM: log link, gamma family	Logistic regression
<b>Controls</b>	<b>Group A:</b> {Veteran post 9/11, Age, Age <sup>2</sup> , sex, race, education, marital status, urban/rural, child <5 at home}	<b>Group A</b> & Industry, occupation, sector	Group A
<b>Interactions</b>	Sex, race, education	Sex, race, education	Sex, race, education

# Controlling for demographics, all veterans experience ~50-65% higher odds of unemployment than non-veterans

## Odds of Unemployment

	Additive	Interaction Veteran*Sex	Interaction Veteran*Race	Interaction Veteran*Education
Veteran: Served since 9/11	<b>1.58***</b>	1.50***	1.65***	1.53***
Veteran 9/11×Female		1.38*		
Veteran 9/11×Black			0.62*	
Veteran 9/11×Hispanic			1.43	
Veteran 9/11×Other			0.94	
Veteran 9/11×LHS				1.09
Veteran 9/11×Some College				1.14
Veteran 9/11×BA+				0.71
N	296,513	296,513	296,513	296,513

legend: \* p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\* p<.001

Reference is: Non-veteran, never married, HS/GED, white, rural, no children <5

# The veteran unemployment “penalty” is ~38% higher among female veterans (compared to male veterans)

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# The veteran unemployment “penalty” is ~38% lower among black veterans (compared to white veterans)

## Odds of Unemployment

	Additive	Interaction Veteran*Sex	Interaction Veteran*Race	Interaction Veteran*Education
Veteran: Served since 9/11	1.58***	1.50***	1.65***	1.53***
Veteran 9/11×Female		1.38*		
Veteran 9/11×Black			0.62*	
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Reference is: Non-veteran, never married, HS/GED, white, rural, no children <6

# Veterans earn ~5-10% higher wages than non-veterans, but no “extra” effect among women veterans

Hourly or hourly-equivalent wages (in ln scale)

	Additive	Interaction Veteran*Sex	Interaction Veteran*Race	Interaction Veteran*Education
Veteran: Served since 9/11/01	<b>0.06***</b>	0.07***	0.05***	0.1***
Veteran Since 9/11×Female		1.06		
Veteran 9/11×Black			0.03	
Veteran 9/11×Hispanic			0.06	
Veteran 9/11×Other			0.04	
Veteran 9/11×LHS				0.11
Veteran 9/11×Some College				-0.05*
Veteran 9/11×BA+				-0.10***
N	168,803	168,803	168,803	168,803

legend: \* p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\* p<.001

Reference is: Non-veteran, never married, HS/GED, white, rural, manufacturing, managerial, public sector, no children <6

# The veteran earnings “premium” is ~5-10% lower among highly educated veterans (compared to HS graduate veterans)

Hourly or hourly-equivalent wages (in ln scale)

	Additive	Interaction Veteran*Sex	Interaction Veteran*Race	Interaction Veteran*Education
Veteran: Served since 9/11/01	0.06***	0.07***	0.05***	0.1***
Veteran Since 9/11×Female		1.06		
Veteran 9/11×Black			0.03	
Veteran 9/11×Hispanic			0.06	
Veteran 9/11×Other			0.04	
Veteran 9/11×LHS				0.11
Veteran 9/11×Some College				-0.05*
Veteran 9/11×BA+				-0.10***
N	168,803	168,803	168,803	168,803

legend: \* p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\* p<.001

Reference is: Non-veteran, never married, HS/GED, white, rural, manufacturing, managerial, public sector, no children <6

# Veterans experience 2 times higher odds of being enrolled in college than non-veterans, no difference by sex

## Odds of Enrollment in 2- or 4-year college

	Additive	Interaction Veteran*Sex	Interaction Veteran*Race	Interaction Veteran*Education
Veteran: Served since 9/11/01	<b>2.21***</b>	2.18***	2.85***	2.29
Veteran 9/11×Female		1.06		
Veteran 9/11×Black			0.71	
Veteran 9/11×Hispanic			0.39	
Veteran 9/11×Other			0.34	
Veteran 9/11×Some College				0.77
Veteran 9/11×BA+				1.77
N	101,097	101,097	101,097	101,097

legend: \* p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\* p<.001

Reference: Non-veterans, never married, HS/GED, white, no children, <

# Conclusion and Challenges

- Veteran unemployment “penalty” is worse among women veterans compared with male veterans.
- Not fully explained by different compositional characteristics (age, education, family, rural/urban)
- Nationally representative data have little information on mechanisms
  - Without a WHY, policy may be inefficient/ineffective
  - Difficult for researchers to get at these mechanisms, especially among subgroups
    - Qualitative approaches, but difficulty identifying sampling frame without DoD/VA cooperation

# What to do?

- Mechanisms generating veteran labor forces outcomes
  - Employer attitudes, decisions & behaviors
  - Public meanings of military service
  - Veterans' attitudes, decisions & behaviors

**ARE EMPLOYERS DISCRIMINATING  
AGAINST WOMEN VETERANS IN HIRING?**

# Theoretical explanations

## Selection

### “Capital” perspectives

- Human
- Social
- Cultural
- Bridging environment: these changes most beneficial for disadvantaged groups

### Signalling/screening hypothesis:

- Signal as information shortcut
  - Signal that screening criteria met or exceeded, selectivity
  - Signal meaning may vary across employers, industries, markets

# Opportunity for innovation

## Methodological concerns

- Reliance on observational/survey data
  - Validity and availability of measures
  - Sample sizes
  - Selection bias in studying veterans
  - Untested mechanisms

## Conceptual concerns

- Employers as key gatekeepers
- Need to focus study on “allocators” to understand outcomes

# Basic Correspondence Audit Design

- Send matched sets of resumes in response to advertised positions (each matched unit is called a 'team').
- Convey characteristics of interest “on paper” (e.g. military experience, race, gender)
- Measure employer response as callback/e-mail for interview
- Run over several month period (depends on power calculations ex-ante)

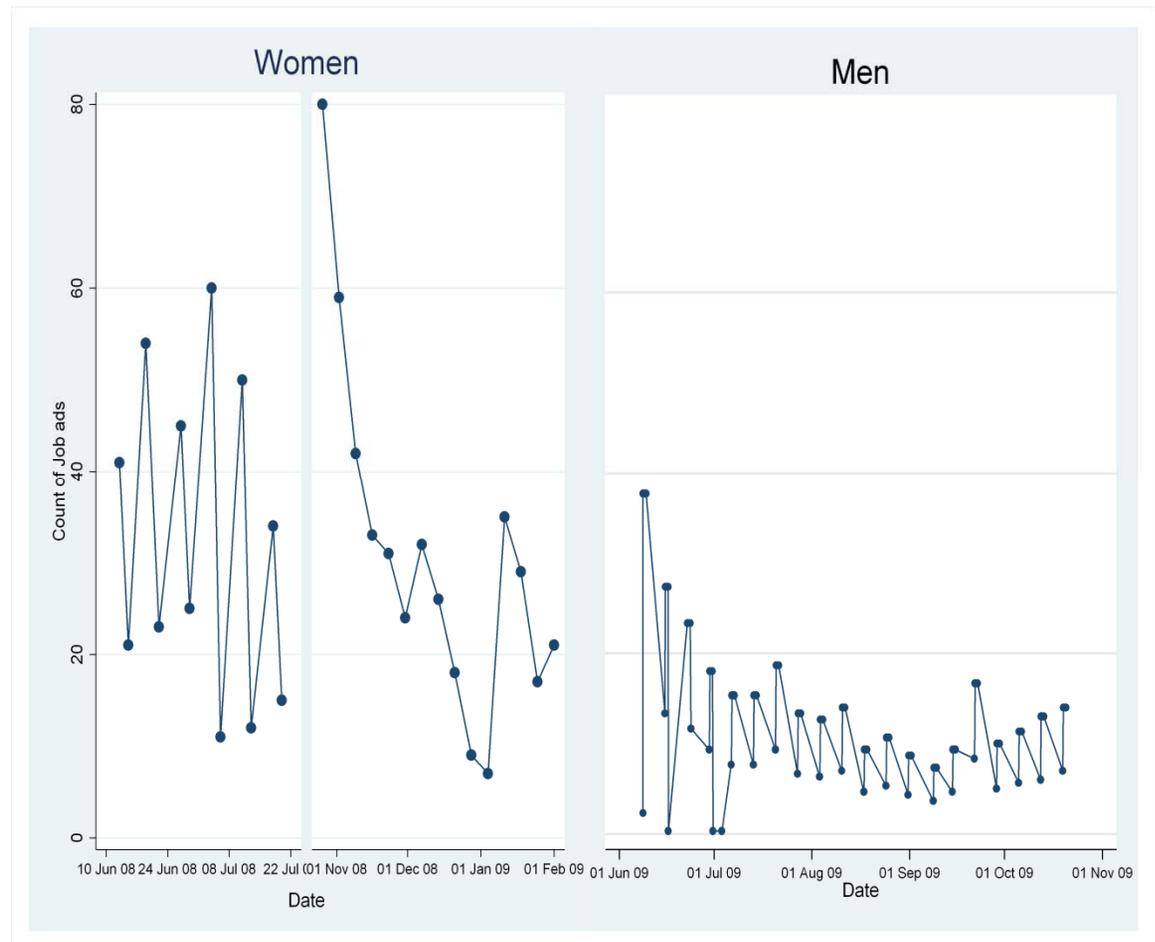
# Kansas City: A large-scale study of hiring

Sample: all entry level jobs accepting faxed resumes advertised in the KC Star online and in print.

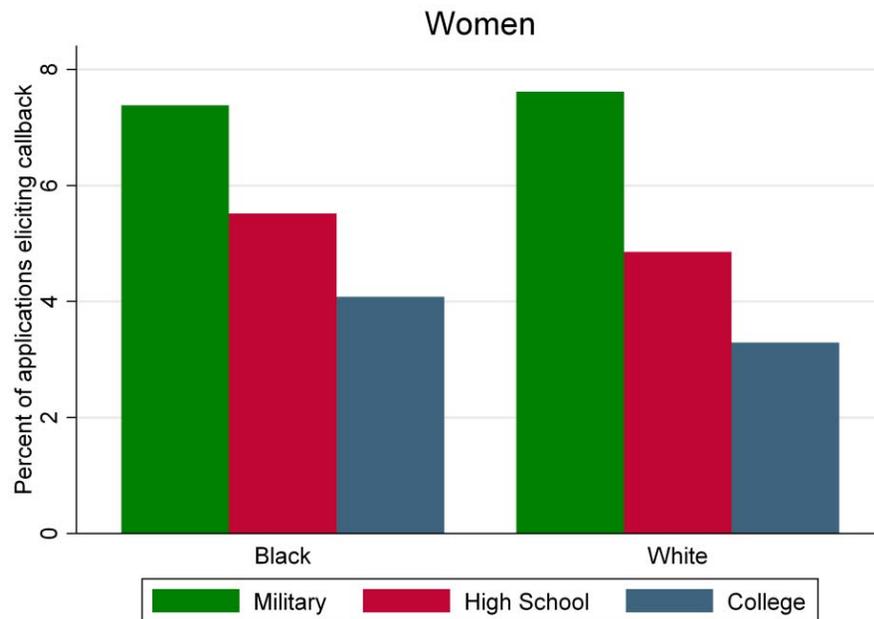
Team	Race	Military Treatment	Civilian Control 1	Civilian Control 2	# tests
<b>Women</b>					
1	White	Clerk HS	Clerk HS	Clerk BA	305
2	Black	Clerk HS	Clerk HS	Clerk BA	294
<b>Men</b>					
3	White	Clerk HS	Clerk HS	Clerk BA	216
4	Black	Clerk HS	Clerk HS	Clerk BA	227

# Context: Job Market Decline

- Clear evidence of declining job market
- Market conditions delayed study timeline



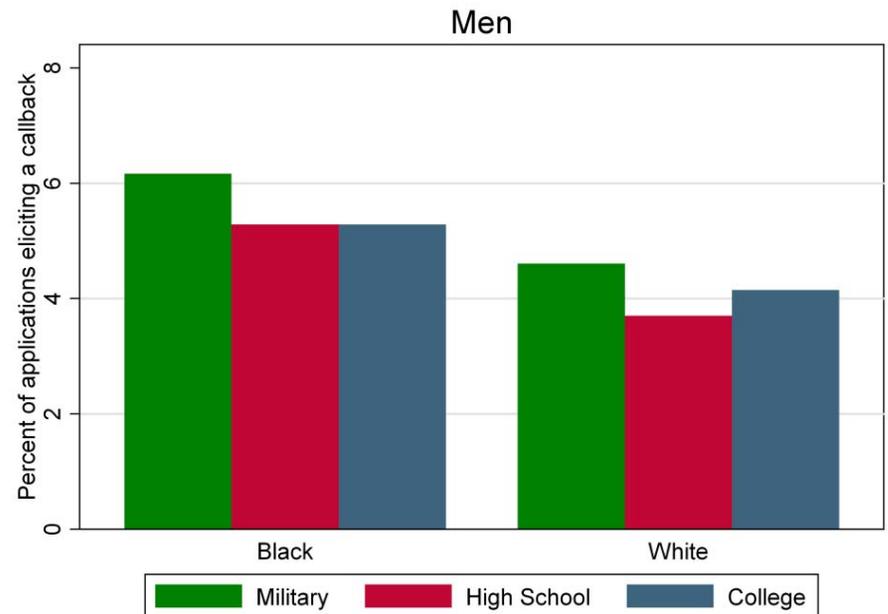
# Callbacks: Female Veteran Advantage



- White and black FEMALE veterans preferred by employers
- Military-BA contrast significant,  $p < 0.05$
- Military-HS contrast marginal sig.,  $p < 0:10$  for white women

# Callbacks: Male Veterans Treated Equally

- White and black MALE veterans may be preferred by employers
- But not statistically significant
- Lower callback rates for men than women, but men tested during worse job market



# Summary of findings

- Female veterans clearly preferred over civilian equals
- Male veterans face no clear hiring disadvantage or advantage
- No race differentials in treatment of veterans (no “bridging”)

# Skills Matter

Experiment suggests discrimination is NOT a primary reason for high veteran unemployment, conditional on having transferrable skills.

Job search is a process of matching:

- Job seekers play an important role in their own search.
- Are women doing something differently here?
- Ensure women veterans have good job search skills!

# Thank you!

# Questions?

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