Worth the Sacrifices of Hmong Soldiers: Hmong Uplifting Hmong Out of Poverty - A Mixed Method Study and Comparison of Hmong Communities in California, Minnesota and Wisconsin

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Abstract

This article provides an analysis of changes in Hmong American employment status, income, poverty and public assistance rates and educational attainment over time using 2016-2020 American Community Survey PUMS and 2020 Census data.

Keywords: Hmong American, income, employment status, educational attainment

Introduction

Hmong were a stateless people who have a unique culture and language. Throughout their history in Southeast Asia, they were known for migrating to different places due to war, slavery, ethnic persecution, and genocide (Faderman & Xiong, 1998). Hmong refugees migrated to the United States (US) and around the globe for nearly 50 years after the Secret War in Laos ended in 1975. Hmong means "free people" (Vang & Flores, 1999, p. 9), and the Hmong have strived to maintain their culture while assuming their new identity as US citizens and adjusting to

their new lives in the US. Hmong people are a close-knit community group who live in clans and believe in communalism versus individualism (P. Xiong, 2020).

When Hmong people arrived in the US in the 1970s, they experienced cultural shocks that they were not prepared for. For nearly 50 years and even to this day, the Hmong continue to encounter acculturation challenges (Yang, 2017). The Secret War left Hmong soldiers and families crippled emotionally, physically, and mentally. "The lifetime of trauma, grief, and loss from the Secret War will forever be imprinted on the souls of Hmong soldiers as they are the forgotten heroes, invisible US allies, and the walking dead that the US military has deemed unworthy of veteran's benefits" (P. Xiong, 2020, pp. 2-3). After resettling in the US, Hmong people lived in poverty and financially struggled while relying on public assistance to provide for the basic needs to support their families.

Our nation should justly recognize and honor the Hmong boys and men who fought fiercely alongside the US military during the Secret War. The findings of this study will educate readers and society, inform professionals to better understand and serve the Hmong community, to establish supportive and culturally sensitive curriculums that Hmong students can relate to in the classroom, to fill the cultural gaps, and to contribute to a deeper understanding of Hmong people's history and their sacrifices for all Americans (P. Xiong, 2020).

Background

Although they are an ancient culture, prior to 1954, the Hmong people did not have a written language. Hmong history was preserved and passed from generation to generation through oral history, storytelling, physical attributes (wedding ceremonies and funerals), and spiritual practices and rituals. Hmong people stand out from the rest of the Southeast Asian groups due to their strong blood ties to their clans, shared religion, culture, language, highly

developed artform of embroidery needle work, and history of being war-torn and persecuted (Faderman & Xiong, 1998).

As refugees coming to a new country for a better life, one of the underlying hopes for Hmong people was economic stability and success (Vang, 2013). The majority of the Hmong people did not have any formal education before arriving to the US; however, after arriving they have excelled in the educational system and workforce while pursuing the American dream.

Methods

Data Sources

The American Community Survey (ACS) 2016-2020 Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) and the 2020 United States (US) Census Population Data provided information regarding the Hmong people for this manuscript. The numbers illustrate vibrant communities across the US, and identify the largest populations of Hmong which are located in California, Minnesota and Wisconsin. When comparing the 2020 to the 2010 data, one can see the growth in families, economics, education, and assimilation. Data comparisons and a historical recognition of the sacrifices and contributions of the Secret War soldiers are provided. It was the brave men of the 1962-1975 Secret War in Laos that brought the stateless people of Southeast Asia to a permanent home in the US.

Participants

The datasets and variables analyzed for this study are from the ACS 2016-2020 PUMS and 2020 Census data. The participants are those who identified as having Hmong ancestry and also those who identified as Hmong by race, which totaled 245,466 individuals. The numbers in various analyses may slightly differ if language was also used as an identifying variable. In addition, the sample survey and census data may not be fully accurate or fall short due to missing

data related to language barriers, illiteracy, mistrust of the government agencies, unawareness of the benefits of the census data, and fear of reporting family members' information.

Research conducted by P. Xiong (2020) includes the voices and historical accounts of Hmong Secret War soldiers who live in California's Central Valley. The research provided historical and background information related to the sacrifices of the soldiers and the reality that their hopes came to fruition in their new life in the US, as presented in the economic, educational, language, and prosperity data reported in this manuscript.

Data Analysis

The variables and analyses presented in this manuscript consist of frequencies, percentages, and chi-squares. For some variables, the data are presented for one variable at a time, while for others, crosstabs are presented often by state. The chi-square analyses are not emphasized because they are all significant as the sample sizes are so large.

A qualitative research study conducted by P. Xiong (2020) was also analyzed to highlight the voices, hopes, and dreams of Hmong Secret War soldiers. Their wishes were to see Hmong people excel in education and become prosperous in the US. This manuscript will capture the trends of Hmong people's achievements since migrating to the US nearly 50 years ago, and how Hmong refugee children have repaid their parents for their sacrifices.

Results

According to the ACS 2016-2020 PUMS and the 2020 Census data, the three states that have the largest Hmong population are California, Minnesota, and Wisconsin (See Figure 1, Table 1). California is where most Hmong live (n = 99,709, 40.6%), followed by Minnesota (n = 89,241, 36.4%), and Wisconsin (n = 56,516, 23.0%). The number of Hmong males (n = 125,531, 51%) and Hmong females (n = 119,935, 49%) is fairly similar. The Hmong are a young group

according to demographics. The largest age group consisted of ages 21 to 30 (n = 59,266,

24.1%), according to the data most Hmong are 30 years old or younger (n = 159, 157, 64.8%).

The number of Hmong decreases as the values of the age categories increase. The Hmong in the

US are a newer minority population with most being 1.5, first, and second-generation

Americans.

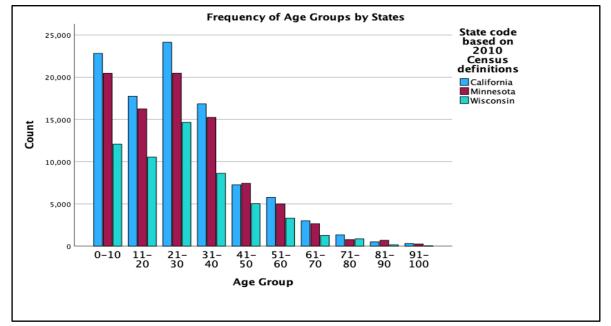


Figure 1: Frequency of Hmong Population by State and Age Group

Source: 2020 U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey PUMS, 2016-2020, weighted samples.

For the past four decades, California has ranked number one in having the highest Hmong population; however, the trends indicated that Minnesota has the fastest growing Hmong population since 1990 at 135% growth from 1990-2000 and 52.2% from 2000-2010, followed by Wisconsin at 99% growth from 1990-2000 and 39.5% from 2000-2010 (Y. Xiong, 2022). Hmong people often migrate to Minnesota for employment opportunities. Compared to California and Wisconsin, Minnesota is known for having a stronger workforce that has provided better economic opportunities for Hmong people in various age ranges from young adulthood to

older adults and for those who have little or no formal education and who encounter language barriers.

Employment Status

The overall employment status by state and gender illustrates that the majority of Hmong are civilian employees (n = 109,723, 65.8%) with employment being a little higher for males (68.0%) than for females (63.5%) (See Table 2). Of the three states, Minnesota had the highest employment status for both Hmong males and females combined (n = 41,829, 25.1%), followed by California (n = 40,121, 24.1%), and Wisconsin (n = 27,773, 16.7%). Although California is the largest state with the most Hmong people, the results indicated that California Hmong have the highest unemployment rate (n = 3,082, 1.8%) and not in the labor force rate (n = 23,799,14.3%) compared to Minnesota (n=2,500, 1.5% and n=16,061, 9.6%) and Wisconsin (n=16,061, 9.6%) and Wisconsin (n=16,060, 9.6%1,033, 0.6% and n = 10,219, 6.1%). Hmong females and males who are not in the labor force stand at 50,079 (30.0%) with 23,056 (27.1%) of those being males and 27,023 (33.1%) being females. The unemployment rate is higher for males (4.5%) than for females (3.4%), but both are low percentages compared to 13% in 2020 during the COVID-19 Pandemic (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2021). Although the data indicates that Hmong males have a higher unemployment rate than females, it is important to note that females in all three states had a higher number of individuals who are not in the labor force status compared to their male counterparts. In addition, a total of 347 (0.4%) males and nine (0.0%) females reported that they are employed in the military or armed forces.

Personal Income

In nearly five decades, the Hmong community appears to be achieving higher levels in education, professional careers, and economic wealth. In reviewing Hmong's income trends from 1990, 2000, and 2010, Hmong people are earning more economic independence throughout the US (See Table 3). According to the 2016-2020 ACS data on personal income for California, Minnesota, and Wisconsin Hmong, a few individuals have a negative income. There were 47 males and 12 females in this category. More Hmong females (15,020, 18.0%) reported not having any personal income than males (14,550, 16.6%). Additionally, more Hmong males (39.6%) are within the income range of \$30,001 to \$90,000 compared to females (33.7%). Hmong males also earned more in the income bracket of \$90,001 to \$150,000 (2.7%), compared to females (2.1%). However, males and females are almost equal at 0.5% each in the \$150,001 to \$300,000 bracket. When looking at the income range of \$300,000 or more, it is clear that there is a wealth gap between Hmong males and females, whereas 382 males' income exceeded \$300,000 and only 13 females are in this category. Another intriguing finding is that although Wisconsin is the smallest state with the least Hmong people compared to California and Minnesota, more Wisconsin Hmong males (232) indicated that they have earned over \$300,000 annually, followed by California (114), and Minnesota (36). On the other hand, 13 Minnesota Hmong females reportedly earned over \$300,000 whereas California and Wisconsin had no females in this income bracket. Interestingly in this dataset, several Hmong individuals reported that they have earned well over \$800,000 annually. As some Hmong people have achieved economic independence, the data continues to indicate wealth disparity and poverty within the Hmong community. This trend of men earning a higher wage than women on average is indicative of the US as a whole.

Trends in Poverty and Public Assistance

Poverty among the Hmong population has decreased overtime from 40% in 2000 to 25% in 2010, and 17% in 2020. According to the 2019 Pew Research Center Fact Sheet on the U.S. Hmong Population Living in Poverty, Hmong people are among the poorest and have the highest rate of poverty at 17% compared to all Asians (10%) and all Americans (13%) (Budiman, 2021). The 2016-2020 ACS data indicated that there are a total of 6,638 (3.9%) Hmong people on cash public assistance in all three states (See Table 4). The number of Hmong people receiving public assistance has continued to drastically drop from 67% in 1990 to 30% in 2000 to 12% in 2010 and 3.9% in 2020. Although 96.1% of Hmong reported that they do not receive any cash public assistance income, they may receive other government assistance or resources such as Medicaid or essential health insurance, and food benefits also known as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) due to having low or no income. The figures of who are not receiving cash aid are very similar for males (97.6%) and females (94.6%). As the dollar amount of public assistance increases through the different categories of \$1 to \$5,000, \$5,001 to \$10,000, and more than \$10,001, the number of Hmong who receive it decreases for both males (2.0%, (0.4%, 0.1%) and females (4.7%, 0.6%, 0.1%) respectively. When reviewing public assistance (See Table 4), it is assumed that many Hmong people who reported whether they received or did not receive a cash amount from public assistance are living in poverty due to being low income and eligible for government assistance. The results of California, Minnesota, and Wisconsin Hmong people who receive cash aid as part of cash public assistance are relatively low at 3.9% (6,638). This data indicated that more Hmong in California (3,094, 1.8%) receive some sort of cash public assistance compared to Minnesota (2,530, 1.5%) and Wisconsin (1,014, 1.4%).

Poverty also extends beyond those who are receiving cash public assistance. The 2023 Federal Poverty Guideline specifies that a single individual who earns less than \$14,580 is considered living below the poverty line; for a household with more than one person, add \$5,140 for every additional family member (California Department of Public Health, 2023). According to the 2023 Federal Poverty Guideline, an income of \$30,000 is only for a family or household of four. As an example, Table 3 illustrates that Hmong in California had the highest number of people (45,698, 26.7%) whose personal income is less than or equivalent to \$30,000, followed by Minnesota (34,309, 20.1%) and Wisconsin (22,941, 13.4%). This ongoing trend of poverty among Hmong Californians has existed for decades. Similarly, Pfeifer (2014) indicated that Hmong Californians did not appear to be as well off as Hmong Minnesotans or the entire US Hmong population. Unfortunately, the poverty trend continues to illustrate that more Hmong females earn less than males across all three states, meaning Hmong women remain poorer than men.

Furthermore, some Hmong people who are disabled, unable to work due to a medical condition, or age 67 or older receive Supplemental Security Income (SSI), which is generally for individuals who have little or no income. In terms of SSI (See Table 5), 93.9% of Hmong people reported that they do not receive any income (0). There are 7.1% of Hmong people who received SSI in the following income brackets: 1 to 5,000 (n = 1,106, 0.6%), 5,001 to 10,000 (n = 6,518, 3.8%), 10,001 to 20,000 (n = 2,799, 1.6%), and more than 20,001 (n = 87 (males only), 0.1%). It is essential to note that none of the Hmong females in all three states reported that their SSI incomes exceed 20,000. Across the three states, more Hmong females depend on SSI than males. Of all three states, more California Hmong (n = 4,961, 2.9%) receive SSI compared to the Hmong in Minnesota (n = 4,048, 2.4%) and Wisconsin (n = 1,501, 0.9%).

Trends on Educational Attainment

Despite the fact that Hmong males were the first to be exposed to higher education in the US, Hmong females eventually caught up to them by 2005. By 2005, after 35 years in the US, Hmong females earned 11.3% more bachelor's and 13.8% more master's degrees than Hmong males. By 2005, of the 2,489 Hmong college graduates, 55.6% were female and 44.4% were male; however, as of 2014, Hmong males continued to exceed Hmong females in earning doctoral degrees by 1% (Lee et al., 2016).

Although for this analysis there are roughly the same number of Hmong males (51.2%) as females (48.7%), there are some striking gender differences (See Table 6). More Hmong females (16.4%) completed no schooling at a young age compared to males (12.3%). More males received a high school diploma or GED (22.6%) and an associate's degree (6.7%) compared to females (16.8%, 6.2%). However, females completed bachelor's degrees (11.7%) and master's degrees (3.0%) at higher rates than males (9.2%, 1.8%) respectively. The trend from 2005 remains the same in 2020 where males earned slightly more doctoral degrees (0.3%) than females (0.2%). However, it is important to recognize that the gap between Hmong males and females earning doctoral degrees has decreased for females from 1% in 2005 to 0.1% in 2020.

In 2010, 13% of Hmong Americans earned a bachelor's degree; however, less than three of these individuals went on to earn a master's degree or higher (Y. Xiong, 2013). Between 2010 and 2020, the 2020 Census and 2016-2020 ACS dataset indicate that Hmong Americans' educational attainment of a bachelor's degree or higher has decreased from 13% in 2010 to 10.8% in 2020, and a master's degree has slightly decreased from 2.6% in 2010 to 2.4% in 2020. This recent dataset indicated that 600 (0.3%) Hmong Americans earned a doctoral degree. In

California, a total of 287 (0.1%), in Wisconsin a total of 196 (0.1%), and in Minnesota a total of 117 (0.1%). Both California and Wisconsin had more males (n CA = 153; n WI = 142) earning doctoral degrees than females (n CA = 134; n WI = 54). In Minnesota, more females (n = 72) earned doctoral degrees than males (n = 45). Interestingly, of the 346 Wisconsin Hmong males who graduated with a master's degree, 142 (41%) of them obtained a doctoral degree. It is assumed that the COVID-19 Pandemic may have negatively impacted and hindered Hmong college students' ability to obtain a bachelor's, master's, or doctoral degree in 2020.

Language and Cultural Maintenance

P. Xiong (2020) conducted research that gave voice to the Hmong Secret War heroes. Her research indicated, "The participants shared that their families were their main source of motivation to stay alive during the Secret War" (p. 55). She explained that Hmong families are close-knit, and their values, culture, and religious practices play a major role in their everyday lives. The Hmong soldiers who participated in her study "were extremely brave and selfless and had no regrets. They proudly, kindly, and honestly shared their stories. They sadly expressed they felt as though their lives ended in the war; however, they felt it was worth the fight, for all the Hmong people and Hmong children" (p. 69).

After the war and migrating to the US, the Hmong faced the challenge of becoming bilingual. According to the data, the percentages of Hmong who are bilingual are comparable over California, Minnesota and Wisconsin. The percentages of Hmong who do speak another language at home are nearly equal at 83.4% for females and 83.9% for males (See Table 7). Large percentages of Hmong live with either one or all of their parents and grandparents regardless of whether those parents and grandparents are native or foreign born. This

demonstrates the Hmong cultural practice of living together in large extended families that provide support systems for one another (See Table 8).

Moua (2018) stated that the connection between language and ethnic identity is important due to the interrelationship of language, identity, and cultural maintenance. Knowing the heritage language allows children and grandchildren to communicate with their elders, it also promotes understanding and is a conduit for transmitting cultural practices and customs. This is especially beneficial for communities such as the Hmong who have a fairly new written language. Maintaining and promoting the Hmong heritage language is important and has a positive role in the construction and maintenance of Hmong ethnic identity.

Hmong Serving in the Military: Worth the Sacrifice

Hmong people have overcome tremendous challenges throughout their existence. The Hmong are a group of resilient people and have made great strides to adapt to the new environments while maintaining their own language and cultural traditions, values, and beliefs. Despite the US' broken promises when the Secret War ended, Hmong people are grateful to be in the US, the land of opportunities where older and younger generations can obtain an education, job skills and experiences, and achieve economic stability and success.

The census and PUMS data illustrate great strides and improvements for the Hmong people. Even though Hmong refugees struggled emotionally, socially, and economically in their early resettlement phase, they understood that one of the most powerful tools in the US was education. The first wave of Hmong refugees persisted in the belief that education was important. Since the majority of Hmong parents did not have educational opportunities in Laos, they were supportive agents in their children's educational attainment. Today's Hmong parents maintain high hopes and expectations of their children to acquire a higher education in the US.

Furthermore, Hmong parents remind their children of the war-torn experiences and sacrifices of the Secret War heroes in hopes of motivating them to excel in education and break the cycle of poverty.

The upward economic, education, and employment data are an indication that today's Hmong children acknowledge that their parents continue to make sacrifices and work hard in labor intensive jobs to support all their children until they graduate from college, obtain stable employment, and start a family of their own. For this reason, Hmong parents continue to be an inspiration to their children, who in turn, desire to repay their parents for their sacrifices by obtaining college degrees, professional careers, and financial stability (P. Xiong, 2020).

The Legacy of the Secret War Soldiers

Nearly 50 years after resettling in the US, many of the Secret War Hmong soldiers along with the older Hmong generation have aged or passed away. From the 2016-2020 ACS and 2020 Census Data, only 590 Hmong people (n Male = 584, 0.5%; n Female = 6, 0.0%) reported that they served in the military during February 1955 to April 1975, which was the timeframe of the Vietnam War and Secret War (See Table 9). Whether they were the Hmong men, boys, and women who served in the Secret War or those who joined the US military, they should be honored for their bravery and continued service to protect the lives of all Americans in this country.

This information indicates that many of the Hmong Secret War heroes are deceased and were not included in the 2020 dataset. In terms of military service (See Table 10), 3772 (4.8%) of males have or are serving in the military. In contrast, only 314 (0.4%) of females have ever served in the military. Although the number of Hmong people serving in the US military appears

to be low, it is important to recognize the sacrifices that the Hmong people have made for the American people and will continue to make for their new host country.

Hmong Secret War Heroes' Hopes and Dreams for Their Children

In a study by P. Xiong (2020), Hmong soldiers emphasized that their involvement with the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) during the Secret War was worth the sacrifices. They shared that they have no regrets for putting their lives on the line to save their families, Hmong people, and the American military. The Hmong soldiers stated that their families were the main source of motivation to stay alive. Despite their greatest fear of dying while serving in the Secret war, they proudly acknowledge that it was worth the fight for a passage to freedom, for all of the Hmong people, and for Hmong children to have a better future in the US.

The Hmong soldiers' hopes were to witness Hmong children obtain educational and economic success in this country. Their wish was for the current and future generations of Hmong children to respect the sacrifices that the Hmong elders had made, and to use the elders' sacrifices to inspire them to achieve the highest educational opportunities in this country. When the Hmong soldiers were interviewed in 2020, they were overjoyed when they shared about their children and/or grandchildren who had attained college degrees, who were professionals, and who held leadership positions. They believed that their children respect and honor their sacrifices; hence, their children have worked hard to become successful to repay their parents' sacrifices. In the study conducted by P. Xiong (2020), the Hmong Secret War soldiers shared inspirational messages for their children, grandchildren, and the future generations of Hmong people. The following are excerpts from Hmong soldier participants' responses:

Hmong people had to shed blood to pave the way for a better life, especially the Hmong fathers and sons who died as soldiers. Although the blood that we shed was not enough to

conquer the country of Laos, we have paved the way for Hmong people to start a new life in America (P. Xiong, pp. 71-72).

"Hmong people do not have a country; Hmong people are an indigenous group and unknown to the world...[Now] Hmong people have a place to live and opportunities to be educated" (P. Xiong, p. 71).

It was worth the fight and sacrifices. Although it was unfortunate that many Hmong people died, it was worth dying for because it paved the way for Hmong people to migrate to America. The Secret War should remind Hmong children that Hmong people have suffered greatly because they looked different and were less fortunate than other races. Therefore, Hmong children must remember to work harder than others, to never give up, and believe that they can accomplish anything in this country" (P. Xiong, p. 71).

"My life has already ended [in the Secret War in Laos]. However, my wish is to see my children become successful in life and work hard so they would not suffer like me" (P. Xiong, p. 71).

You must remember that you are Hmong. You have Hmong blood. Although you are living in America, you must remember to love, respect, and forgive one another. Hmong people desire to live freely...Hmong people like to form communities and help each other. When a Hmong family faces darkness or loses a loved one, Hmong people come together to show respect. Hmong people have a beautiful culture (P. Xiong, p. 72).

Summary

From these data, it is evident that the Hmong people have illustrated that they deserve to be honored, respected, and acknowledged in the US. The data presented in the manuscript illustrates that Hmong people are hardworking, productive citizens who strived to achieve the American dream of obtaining higher education, professional careers, leadership roles, and

financial independence. Although the Hmong population has a higher rate of poverty compared to the overall Asian and US populations, Hmong people should be commended for their educational, employment, and financial gains for their short amount of time in the US (less than 50 years).

Hmong people's sacrifices and contributions to the US during the Secret War and to this day should be highlighted in our nation's history. More than ever, the US should acknowledge and pay tribute to the Hmong people. An excellent method should be by using the educational system to inform society about the history and contributions of the Hmong. This educational opportunity will introduce the Hmong to all groups of American students and also serve to enhance Hmong youth's understanding of their families' refugee experiences, the importance of keeping their cultural heritage and language alive, and developing a sense of belonging and identity in their new homeland.

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APPENDIX - Tables in order of inclusion in the Manuscript

Age Categories		States						
Sex = Male		California Minnesota		Wisconsin	Total			
0-10 years	Ν	11594	11198	5822	28614			
•	%	9.2%	8.9%	4.6%	22.8%			
11-20 years	N	9324	7823	5004	22151			
	%	7.4%	6.2%	4.0%	17.6%			
21 - 30 years	N	12500	10709	7920	31129			
	%	10.0%	8.5%	6.3%	24.8%			
31 - 40 years	N	8594	7919	5094	21607			
	%	6.8%	6.3%	4.1%	17.2%			
41-50 years	N	3612	3423	2998	10033			
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	%	2.9%	2.7%	2.4%	8.0%			
51 – 60 years	N	2987	2866	1472	7325			
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	%	2.4%	2.3%	1.2%	5.8%			
61 – 70 years	N	1321	1289	658	3268			
	%	1.1%	1.0%	0.5%	2.6%			
71 – 80 years	N	718	210	163	1091			
	%	0.6%	0.2%	0.1%	0.9%			
81 – 90 years	N	130	95	24	249			
	%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%			
91 – 100 years	Ν	64	0	0	64			
	%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%			
State Totals for Males	N	50844	45532	29155	125531			
	%	40.5%	36.3%	23.2%	100.0%			
Sex = Female								
0-10 years	Ν	11229	9263	6253	26745			
v	%	9.4%	7.7%	5.2%	22.3%			
11-20 years	N	8423	8427	5531	22381			
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	%	7.0%	7.0%	4.6%	18.7%			
21 – 30 years	N	11638	9775	6724	28137			
•	%	9.7%	8.2%	5.6%	23.5%			
31 – 40 years	Ν	8250	7323	3524	19097			
•	%	6.9%	6.1%	2.9%	15.9%			
41-50 years	N	3644	4016	2026	9686			
•	%	3.0%	3.3%	1.7%	8.1%			
51-60 years	N	2788	2130	1830	6748			
•	%	2.3%	1.8%	1.5%	5.6%			
61 - 70 years	N	1680	1368	610	3658			
2	%	1.4%	1.1%	0.5%	3.0%			
71-80 years	N	606	558	694	1858			
<u>.</u>	%	0.5%	0.5%	0.6%	1.5%			

 Table 1: Frequencies / Percentages for Age Categories by Sex and State

81 – 90 years	Ν	367	597	126	1090
	%	0.3%	0.5%	0.1%	0.9%
91 – 100 years	N	240	252	43	535
· ·	%	0.2%	0.2%	0.0%	0.4%
State Totals for Females	N	48865	43709	27361	119935
	%	40.7%	36.4%	22.8%	100.0%
Total by State					
0-10 years	Ν	22823	20461	12075	55359
	%	9.3%	8.3%	4.9%	22.6%
11 – 20 years	N	17747	16250	10535	44532
	%	7.2%	6.6%	4.3%	18.1%
21 - 30 years	Ν	24138	20484	14644	59266
	%	9.8%	8.3%	6.0%	24.1%
31 - 40 years	N	16844	15242	8618	40704
	%	6.9%	6.2%	3.5%	16.6%
41 – 50 years	N	7256	7439	5024	19719
	%	3.0%	3.0%	2.0%	8.0%
51 – 60 years	N	5775	4996	3302	14073
	%	2.4%	2.0%	1.3%	5.7%
61 – 70 years	N	3001	2657	1268	6926
	%	1.2%	1.1%	0.5%	2.8%
71 – 80 years	N	1324	768	857	2949
	%	0.5%	0.3%	0.3%	1.2%
81 – 90 years	Ν	497	692	150	1339
	%	0.2%	0.3%	0.1%	0.5%
91 – 100 years	N	304	252	43	599
	%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%
Totals	<u> </u>				
	Ν	99709	89241	56516	245466
	%	40.6%	36.4%	23.0%	100.0%

Employment Status	States		tes		
Sex = Male		California	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Total
Civilian employed	Ν	20740	21499	15680	57919
¥	%	24.4%	25.2%	18.4%	68.0%
Unemployed	Ν	1811	1497	517	3825
	%	2.1%	1.8%	0.6%	4.5%
Armed Forces	Ν	317	0	30	347
	%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%
Not in labor force	Ν	11234	7097	4725	23056
	%	13.2%	8.3%	5.5%	27.1%
State Totals for Males					
	Ν	34102	30093	20952	85147
	%	40.1%	35.3%	24.6%	100.0%
Sex = Female					
Civilian employed	N	19381	20330	12093	51804
	%	23.7%	24.9%	14.8%	63.5%
Unemployed	N	1271	1003	516	2790
X	%	1.6%	1.2%	0.6%	3.4%
Armed Forces	Ν	9	0	0	9
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Not in labor force	N	12565	8964	5494	27023
	%	15.4%	11.0%	6.7%	33.1%
State Totals for Females					
	Ν	33226	30297	18103	81626
	%	40.7%	37.1%	22.2%	100.0%
Total by State					
Civilian employed	Ν	40121	41829	27773	109723
	%	24.1%	25.1%	16.7%	65.8%
Unemployed	Ν	3082	2500	1033	6615
	%	1.8%	1.5%	0.6%	4.0%
Armed Forces	Ν	326	0	30	356
	%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%
Not in labor force	Ν	23799	16061	10219	50079
	%	14.3%	9.6%	6.1%	30.0%
Totals		1			
	Ν	67328	60390	39055	166773
	%	40.4%	36.2%	23.4%	100.0%

Table 2: Frequencies / Percentages of Employment Status by Sex and State

Personal Income	States					
Sex = Male		California	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Total	
-\$10,000 to -\$1.00	Ν	45	0	2	47	
	%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	
\$0.00	N	7728	4132	2690	14550	
	%	8.8%	4.7%	3.1%	16.6%	
\$1.00 to \$30,000	N	14481	12288	8313	35082	
	%	16.5%	14.0%	9.5%	40.1%	
\$30,001 to \$90,000	N	11308	13491	9846	34645	
	%	12.9%	15.4%	11.3%	39.6%	
\$90,001 to \$150,000	Ν	1127	983	241	2351	
	%	1.3%	1.1%	0.3%	2.7%	
\$150,001 to \$300,000	Ν	304	110	39	453	
	%	0.3%	0.1%	0.0%	0.5%	
More than \$300,000	Ν	114	36	232	382	
	%	0.1%	0.0%	0.3%	0.4%	
State Totals for Males						
	Ν	35107	31040	21363	87510	
	%	40.1%	35.5%	24.4%	100.0%	
Sex = Female						
-\$10,000 to -\$1.00	N	12	0	0	12	
· · · · ·	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
\$0.0	N	7336	4663	3021	15020	
	%	8.8%	5.6%	3.6%	18.0%	
\$1.00 to \$30,000	N	16096	13226	8915	38237	
	%	19.3%	15.8%	10.7%	45.7%	
\$30,001 to \$90,000	N	9328	12478	6333	28139	
	%	11.2%	14.9%	7.6%	33.7%	
\$90,001 to \$150,000	Ν	1084	438	206	1728	
	%	1.3%	0.5%	0.2%	2.1%	
\$150,001 to \$300,000	Ν	250	174	7	431	
	%	0.3%	0.2%	0.0%	0.5%	
More than \$300,000	Ν	0	13	0	13	
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
State Totals for Females						
	N	34106	30992	18482	83580	
	%	40.8%	37.1%	22.1%	100.0%	
Total by State						
-\$10,000 to -\$1.00	N	57	0	2	59	
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
\$0.0	N	15064	8795	5711	29570	
	%	8.8%	5.1%	3.3%	17.3%	

Table 3: Frequencies / Percentages of Personal Income by Sex and State

\$1.00 to \$30,000	N	30577	25514	17228	73319
T - · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	%	17.9%	14.9%	10.1%	42.9%
\$30,001 to \$90,000	N	20636	25969	16179	62784
	%	12.1%	15.2%	9.5%	36.7%
\$90,001 to \$150,000	N	2211	1421	447	4079
	%	1.3%	0.8%	0.3%	2.4%
\$150,001 to \$300,000	N	554	284	46	884
	%	0.3%	0.2%	0.0%	0.5%
More than \$300,000	N	114	49	232	395
	%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.2%
Totals					
	Ν	69213	62032	39845	171090
	%	40.5%	36.3%	23.3%	100.0%

Categories of Public AssistanceSex = Male		States				
		California	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Total	
\$0.00	Ν	34009	30236	21122	85367	
	%	38.9%	34.6%	24.1%	97.6%	
\$1 to \$5,000	N	950	661	123	1734	
	%	1.1%	0.8%	0.1%	2.0%	
\$5,001 to \$10,000	Ν	107	127	118	352	
	%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.4%	
More than \$10,001	Ν	41	16	0	57	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	
State Totals for Males			•		L	
	Ν	35107	31040	21363	87510	
	%	40.1%	35.5%	24.4%	100.0%	
Sex = Female						
\$0.00	N	32110	29266	17709	79085	
	%	38.4%	35.0%	21.2%	94.6%	
\$1 to \$5,000	Ν	1651	1507	773	3931	
	%	2.0%	1.8%	0.9%	4.7%	
\$5,001 to \$10,000	N	277	195	0	472	
	%	0.3%	0.2%	0.0%	0.6%	
More than \$10,001	Ν	68	24	0	92	
· · · · ·	%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	
State Totals for Females			•		L	
	Ν	34106	30992	18482	83580	
	%	40.8%	37.1%	22.1%	100.0%	
Total by State						
\$0.00	Ν	66119	59502	38831	164452	
	%	38.6%	34.8%	22.7%	96.1%	
\$1 to \$5,000	Ν	2601	2168	896	5665	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	%	1.5%	1.3%	0.5%	3.3%	
\$5,001 to \$10,000	Ν	384	322	118	824	
· · · · · ·	%	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%	0.5%	
More than \$10,001	N	109	40	0	149	
	%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	
Totals		•		1		
	Ν	69213	62032	39845	171090	
	%	40.5%	36.3%	23.3%	100.0%	

Table 4: Frequencies / Percentages for Categories of Public Assistance by Sex and State

Supplemental Security Income		States			
Sex = Male	•	California	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Total
\$0.00	Ν	32952	29410	20665	83027
	%	37.7%	33.6%	23.6%	94.9%
\$1.00 to \$5,000	N	342	32	77	451
	%	0.4%	0.0%	0.1%	0.5%
\$5,001 to \$10,000	Ν	1034	1303	426	2763
	%	1.2%	1.5%	0.5%	3.2%
\$10,001 to \$20,000	N	758	238	186	1182
	%	0.9%	0.3%	0.2%	1.4%
More than \$20,001	Ν	21	57	9	87
	%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%
State Totals for Males					
	Ν	35107	31040	21363	87510
	%	40.1%	35.5%	24.4%	100.0%
Sex = Female					
\$0.00	N	31300	28574	17679	77553
	%	37.4%	34.2%	21.2%	92.8%
\$1.00 to \$5,000	Ν	269	295	91	655
· · · · ·	%	0.3%	0.4%	0.1%	0.8%
\$5,001 to \$10,000	Ν	1450	1789	516	3755
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	%	1.7%	2.1%	0.6%	4.5%
\$10,001 to \$20,000	Ν	1087	334	196	1617
	%	1.3%	0.4%	0.2%	1.9%
More than \$20,001	N	0	0	0	0
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
State Totals for Females	•	·			
	Ν	34106	30992	18482	83580
	%	40.8%	37.1%	22.1%	100.0%
Total by State					
\$0.00	Ν	64252	57984	38344	160580
	%	37.6%	33.9%	22.4%	93.9%
\$1.00 to \$5,000	N	611	327	168	1106
	%	0.4%	0.2%	0.1%	0.6%
\$5,001 to \$10,000	Ν	2484	3092	942	6518
	%	1.5%	1.8%	0.6%	3.8%
\$10,001 to \$20,000	Ν	1845	572	382	2799
	%	1.1%	0.3%	0.2%	1.6%
More than \$20,001	Ν	21	57	9	87
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
Totals					
	Ν	69213	62032	39845	171090

Table 5: Frequencies / Percentages of Supplemental Security Income by Sex and State

		% 40.5	36.3%	6 23.3%	100.0%	
Table 6: Frequencies / Percentag	ges of E	ducational At				
Educational Attainment		States				
Sex = Male		California	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Total	
No schooling completed	Ν	5933	5302	3172	14407	
	%	5.1%	4.5%	2.7%	12.3%	
Nursery school, preschool, kindergarten	Ν	1720	1846	1049	4615	
	%	1.5%	1.6%	0.9%	3.9%	
Grades 1 to 8	Ν	7903	7318	4372	19593	
	%	6.7%	6.2%	3.7%	16.7%	
High school, grades 9 to 12, no diploma	N	4505	3982	1968	10455	
	%	3.8%	3.4%	1.7%	8.9%	
High school diploma, GED	Ν	10379	8433	7713	26525	
	%	8.8%	7.2%	6.6%	22.6%	
Some college, no degree	Ν	8424	7114	4758	20296	
	%	7.2%	6.1%	4.1%	17.3%	
Associate's degree	Ν	2479	3126	2210	7815	
	%	2.1%	2.7%	1.9%	6.7%	
Bachelor's degree	N	4803	3998	2031	10832	
	%	4.1%	3.4%	1.7%	9.2%	
Master's degree	Ν	709	1071	346	2126	
	%	0.6%	0.9%	0.3%	1.8%	
Professional degree beyond a bachelor degree	N	103	108	84	295	
	%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.3%	
Doctoral degree	Ν	153	45	142	340	
	%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.3%	
State Totals for Males	Ν	47111	42343	27845	117299	
	%	40.2%	36.1%	23.7%	100.0%	
Sex = Female						
No schooling completed	N	7254	7197	3856	18307	
	%	6.5%	6.5%	3.5%	16.4%	
Nursery school, preschool, kindergarten	N	1683	1456	913	4052	
	%	1.5%	1.3%	0.8%	3.6%	
Grades 1 to 8	N	7821	6419	5060	19300	

	%	7.0%	5.8%	4.5%	17.3%
High school, grades 9 to 12, no diploma	N	4043	4023	2306	10372
	%	3.6%	3.6%	2.1%	9.3%
High school diploma, GED	Ν	6869	6149	5672	18690
	%	6.2%	5.5%	5.1%	16.8%
Some college, no degree	N	7778	5580	3395	16753
	%	7.0%	5.0%	3.0%	15.0%
Associate's degree	Ν	2863	3060	997	6920
	%	2.6%	2.7%	0.9%	6.2%
Bachelor's degree	N	5554	5218	2320	13092
	%	5.0%	4.7%	2.1%	11.7%
Master's degree	N	1411	1261	711	3383
	%	1.3%	1.1%	0.6%	3.0%
Professional degree beyond a bachelor degree	N	228	54	89	371
	%	0.2%	0.0%	0.1%	0.3%
Doctoral degree	N	134	72	54	260
	%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%
State Totals for Females	N	45638	40489	25373	111500
	%	40.9%	36.3%	22.8%	100.0%
Totals by State					
No schooling completed	N	13187	12499	7028	32714
	%	5.8%	5.5%	3.1%	14.3%
Nursery school, preschool, kindergarten	N	3403	3302	1962	8667
	%	1.5%	1.4%	0.9%	3.8%
Grades 1 to 8	Ν	15724	13737	9432	38893
	%	6.9%	6.0%	4.1%	17.0%
High school, grades 9 to 12, no diploma	N	8548	8005	4274	20827
	%	3.7%	3.5%	1.9%	9.1%
High school diploma, GED	Ν	17248	14582	13385	45215
	%	7.5%	6.4%	5.9%	19.8%
Some college, no degree	Ν	16202	12694	8153	37049
	%	7.1%	5.5%	3.6%	16.2%
Associate's degree	Ν	5342	6186	3207	14735
	%	2.3%	2.7%	1.4%	6.4%

Bachelor's degree	Ν	10357	9216	4351	23924
	%	4.5%	4.0%	1.9%	10.5%
Master's degree	Ν	2120	2332	1057	5509
	%	0.9%	1.0%	0.5%	2.4%
Professional degree beyond a	Ν	331	162	173	666
bachelor's degree					
	%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.3%
Doctoral degree	Ν	287	117	196	600
	%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.3%
Totals	Ν	92749	82832	53218	228799
	%	40.5%	36.2%	23.3%	100.0%

*This table does not include those who are 3 years old or younger.

Table 7: Frequencies / Percentages for Language Other Than English Spoken at Home by
Sex and State

Nativity		States			
Sex = Male		California	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Total
Yes, speaks another language	Ν	37315	33955	22110	93380
	%	33.3%	30.3%	19.7%	83.4%
No, speaks only English	Ν	7902	6160	4568	18630
	%	7.1%	5.5%	4.1%	16.6%
State Totals for Males	Ν	45217	40115	26678	112010
	%	40.4%	35.8%	23.8%	100.0%
Sex = Female					
Yes, speaks another language	Ν	35982	33819	19878	89679
	%	33.7%	31.6%	18.6%	83.9%
No, speaks only English	Ν	7602	4996	4612	17210
	%	7.1%	4.7%	4.3%	16.1%
State Totals for Females	Ν	43584	38815	24490	106889
	%	40.8%	36.3%	22.9%	100.0%
Total by State					
Yes, speaks another language	Ν	73297	67774	41988	183059
	%	33.5%	31.0%	19.2%	83.6%
No, speaks only English	Ν	15504	11156	9180	35840
	%	7.1%	5.1%	4.2%	16.4%
Totals	Ν	88801	78930	51168	218899
	%	40.6%	36.1%	23.4%	100.0%

Table 8: Frequencies / Percentages for Grandparents Living with Grandchildren by Sex	
and State	

Grandparents living with for			St	ates	
grandchildren					
Sex = Male		California	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Total
Less than 30 years	Ν	31835	28912	18359	79106
¥	%	25.4%	23.0%	14.6%	63.0%
Yes	Ν	1359	1066	598	3023
	%	1.1%	0.8%	0.5%	2.4%
No	Ν	17650	15554	10198	43402
	%	14.1%	12.4%	8.1%	34.6%
State Totals for Males	Ν	50844	45532	29155	125531
	%	40.5%	36.3%	23.2%	100.0%
Sex = Female					
Less than 30 years	Ν	29759	26407	18046	74212
	%	24.8%	22.0%	15.0%	61.9%
Yes	N	1962	2775	1145	5882
	%	24.8%	22.0%	15.0%	61.9%
No	N	1962	2775	1145	5882
	%	14.3%	12.1%	6.8%	33.2%
State Totals for Females	N	48865	43709	27361	119935
	%	40.7%	36.4%	22.8%	100.0%
Total by State					
Less than 30 years	N	61594	55319	36405	153318
· · · · ·	%	25.1%	22.5%	14.8%	62.5%
Yes	Ν	3321	3841	1743	8905
	%	1.4%	1.6%	0.7%	3.6%
No	N	34794	30081	18368	83243
	%	14.2%	12.3%	7.5%	33.9%
Totals	•				
	Ν	99709	89241	56516	245466
	%	40.6%	36.4%	23.0%	100.0%

Table 9: Frequencies / Percentages of Military Service from February 1955 to April 1975
by Sex and State

Military Service from February 1955 to April 1975		States			
Sex = Male		California	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Total
Too young to serve during that time	Ν	49245	44871	28289	122405
	%	39.2%	35.7%	22.5%	97.5%
Did not serve during this period	Ν	1215	555	772	2542
	%	1.0%	0.4%	0.6%	2.0%
Served during this period	Ν	384	106	94	584
¥i	%	0.3%	0.1%	0.1%	0.5%
State Totals for Males					
	Ν	50844	45532	29155	125531
	%	40.5%	36.3%	23.2%	100.0%
Sex = Female					
Too young to serve during that time	Ν	48751	43617	27361	119729
	%	40.6%	36.4%	22.8%	99.8%
Did not serve during this period	Ν	108	92	0	200
	%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%
Served during this period	Ν	6	0	0	6
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
State Totals for Females					
	Ν	48865	43709	27361	119935
	%	40.7%	36.4%	22.8%	100.0%
Total by State					
Too young to serve during that time	Ν	97996	88488	55650	242134
	%	39.9%	36.0%	22.7%	98.6%
Did not serve during this period	Ν	1323	647	772	2742
	%	0.5%	0.3%	0.3%	1.1%
Served during this period	Ν	390	106	94	590
	%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%
Totals	-	-			
	Ν	99709	89241	56516	245466
	%	40.6%	36.4%	23.0%	100.0%

Military Service			St	ates	
Sex = Male		California	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Total
Now on active duty	Ν	317	0	30	347
	%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%
On active duty in past but not now	Ν	1282	661	836	2779
¥	%	1.5%	0.8%	1.0%	3.4%
Active duty only for training/Natl Guard	N	146	490	10	646
	%	0.2%	0.6%	0.0%	0.8%
Never served in the military		31368	28270	19389	79027
		37.9%	34.1%	23.4%	95.4%
State Totals for Males					
	Ν	33113	29421	20265	82799
	%	40.0%	35.5%	24.5%	100.0%
Sex = Female					
Now on active duty	Ν	9	0	0	9
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
On active duty in past but not now	Ν	105	92	0	197
	%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%
Active duty only for training/Natl Guard	N	72	21	15	108
	%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
Never served in the military		32047	29169	17399	78615
j		40.6%	37.0%	22.0%	99.6%
State Totals for Females		1	I	I	I.
	N	32233	29282	17414	78929
	%	40.8%	37.1%	22.1%	100.0%
Total by State					
Now on active duty	Ν	326	0	30	356
•	%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%
On active duty in past but not now	Ν	1387	753	836	2976
· ·	%	0.9%	0.5%	0.5%	1.8%
Active duty only for training/Natl Guard	N	218	511	25	754
	%	0.1%	0.3%	0.0%	0.5%
Never served in the military		63415	57439	36788	157642
		39.2%	35.5%	22.7%	97.5%
Totals					
	Ν	65346	58703	37679	161728
	%	40.4%	36.3%	23.3%	100.0%

 Table 10: Frequencies / Percentages of Military Service by Sex and State