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# Acculturation of Immigrant Latinos into the U.S. Workplace: Evidence from the Working Hours-life Satisfaction Relationship

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**Abstract** This paper explores the working hours-happiness relationship of Latinos living in the United States and compares it with that of the host society. We find that immigrant Latinos have adopted American work-happiness relationships while having lower levels of subjective well-being. Acculturation plays an important role not only with respect to work attitudes, but also to social status, and it is the latter that affects the well-being of Latinos of color. Future quality-of-life research needs to analyze whether the dichotomy between work attitude and social status will persist or whether this vibrant and increasing group of immigrants who are so vital to the U.S. economy will both adapt to host society values and begin to introduce positive change in those values in a society where multiculturalism is on the rise.

**Keywords** Acculturation · Assimilation · Life satisfaction · Working hours · Latinos · U.S. · General social survey

## Introduction

The Hispanic population is the largest minority in the United States and has for the past decades changed the demographics and social context of the American population. In 1980, Hispanics accounted for 6.4 % of the US population, by 2000 the percentage of Hispanics was 12.5 %, and today it stands at about 17 %, translating

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to about 57 million Latinos.[1] In the past, Hispanic migration was focused on areas colonized historically by Spain. Family members and friends were an important magnet attracting Latinos to the United States. In recent years, however, newly arrived Latino immigrants settle in gateway states like New York, Illinois, Texas and California (Census 2010; Frey 2002, 2005; Schachter and Schachter 2003), and many are choosing new places like Georgia and North Carolina (Singer 2004). The growth of the Hispanic population is not limited to urban areas. Many have followed earlier pathways and migrated to rural areas searching for jobs in agriculture where demand for cheap labor is high (Bailey 2005; Frey 2002, 2003; Lichter and Johnson 2003; McConnell 2009; Mohl 2008).

The classical assimilation view is that when individuals transition from living a lifestyle of their own culture to the new lifestyle of another culture, they have to adapt to the new culture's behaviors, customs, values and language if they are to progress: they have to acculturate.[2] Although some argue that progress is possible in a multicultural society (Kymlicka 1995, 2001; Parekh 2006; Taylor et al. 1994) others believe multiculturalism can foster spatial segregation and hamper migrants' integration into the labor market and educational system, thereby generating economic inequality (Koopmans et al. 2005). Traditionally, assimilation in the United States is described as a linear process by which immigrants give up past languages, identities, cultural practices, and loyalties to become 'truly American' with various types of integration thought to follow each other in progressive states (Gordon 1964; Alba and Nee 2009; Park 1930; Park and Burgess 1969; Warner and Srole 1945). The particular sequence differs from scholar to scholar, as do opinions on how many generations it takes for full assimilation, but these studies suggest that integration is possible and inevitable. Alba and Nee (2009) contend that intergenerational integration into an American cultural, social and economic mainstream remains the dominant empirical pattern and assimilation is an accurate description of the social world. In current formulations, assimilation (which today tends to be viewed negatively), usually means

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[1] 'Latinos' and 'Hispanics' are used interchangeably in this paper. However, it would be more accurate to use 'Latinos' because Brazilians and Latinos from francophone countries in the Caribbean do not consider themselves to be Hispanic.

[2] Acculturation is the cultural and psychological change that emerges during this process. Acculturation is the first step in what Gordon (1964) argued was a seven-step process of assimilation:

| Type or Stage of Assimilation | Sub-Process or Condition |
| --- | --- |
| 1. Behavioral assimilation | Change in cultural patterns to those of host society |
| 2. Structural assimilation | Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host |
| 3. Marital assimilation | Large-scale intermarriage |
| 4. Identificational assimilation | Development of a sense of people hood based exclusively in host society |
| 5. Attitude receptional assimilation | Absence of prejudice |
| 6. Behavioural receptional assimilation | Absence of discrimination |
| 7. Civil assimilation | Absence of value or power conflict |

the narrowing of differences between immigrants and the native-born majority population in certain aspect of life (e.g. labor force participation), but leaves open differences along other lines such as food preferences and fundamental beliefs and ideas regarding existence (Zolberg and Woon 1999; Bloemraad et al. 2008).

In this paper we explore the extent to which immigrant Latinos have taken the first step in the process of assimilation and have acculturated to U.S. workplace values, by examining the relationship between working hours and life satisfaction[3] among majority workers and Latino immigrants. We find convergence upon a common relationship, but Latinos of color remain unhappier than their fellow immigrants and the majority U.S. workers, perhaps due to a relationship between color and social status carried from their Latin homelands that is perpetuated in the U.S. (Telles 2014, 2004).

Using data from the General Social Survey and employing ordered logit regression analysis, we conclude that Latinos share equal levels of happiness with hours worked as the mainstream U.S. society, while having lower levels of subjective well-being. Given the immigrant nature of Latinos and the fact that immigrants of today will be the parents and grandparents of future generations of Latinos, it is critically important to understand the degree of their assimilation into the U.S. labor market. Many things have been said negatively about immigrant Latinos, but our results suggest that they acculturate very quickly, producing similar happiness levels and work-hours satisfaction as the main U.S. society. As the debate over immigration intensifies, the future of quality-of-life research would benefit in further analyzing this vibrant and increasing group of immigrants who have been vital to the U.S. economy and who seem to adapt quickly to American work values.

## Background

Setting the stage for this investigation is a recent paper that examined the relationship between working hours and happiness in Latin America and the United States where we concluded that while there are many common determinants of happiness, hours worked is not among them (Valente and Berry 2016a). Differences in cultural values, especially the distinction between collectivism (familism) and individualism are the reason why married Latin American males are less happy than married U.S. American males when working longer hours. In the United States families are nuclear (Strong and Cohen 2013), whereas in Latin America the family is an extended one including grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, second cousins, and even people who are not biologically related but are close friends. Familism is a dominant theme in Latino culture (Santiago-Rivera et al. 2001; Falicov 2000; Galanti 2003). Increases in working hours deprive Latin American males of time to spend with their families and close friends, and reduce the time that would otherwise be dedicated to religious

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[3]We use "happiness" and "life satisfaction" synonymously. The terms are not to be confused with satisfaction with job.

services in a culture where religion is highly valued (Falicov 2000; Santiago-Rivera et al. 2001; Triandis and Gelfand 2011; Triandis 2001). In the United States, individualistic values outshine familism and stress is put on personal achievements, in particular of males, in an environment that emphasizes self reliance and competition (Triandis et al. 1988). Americans perceive working long hours as key to individual success, as indicated by the job satisfaction that accompanies hard work (Okulicz-Kozaryn 2011), reinforced by a Protestant work ethic (Weber 1930). Also, working longer hours appears to pay off in the United States (Alesina et al. 2004). Social status is achieved via education, occupation and income, rather than ascribed via family of birth or prescribed by tradition, as in Latin America. The question addressed here is whether this difference in culture continues within the U.S. or whether immigrant Latinos are adopting U.S. workplace values.

## Working Hours and Life Satisfaction

An extensive literature explores many aspects of the linkages between worker experiences, behavior or attitudes, performance, job satisfaction, work-family conflict and work-life balance (Reynolds 2003; Berg et al. 2003; Grönlund and Öun 2010; Beckers et al. 2008; Kattenbach et al. 2010; Virtanen et al. 2012; Golden and Wiens-Tuers 2006). Being employed has a significant and positive association with life satisfaction (Menezes-Filho et al. 2009) because it provides a mechanism for engagement and social participation, which are important to individual happiness. On the other hand, being unemployed has an adverse effect on life satisfaction (Clark and Oswald 1994; Clark et al. 2008; Diener 2012; Pouwels et al. 2008; Rudolf 2013; Winkelmann and Winkelmann 1998; Valente and Berry 2016a): job insecurity is negatively correlated to life satisfaction (Graham and Behrman 2010). Workers who work long hours often experience reduced mental and physical well-being, feel overworked, make mistakes, feel anger towards their employers, resent their coworkers and consider looking for a new job (Reynolds 2003; Galinsky et al. 2001) due to work stress, fatigue, depression, or time conflicts (Beckers et al. 2008; Kattenbach et al. 2010; Virtanen et al. 2012; Golden and Wiens-Tuers 2006), often leading to illness, burnout or negative work-to-family spillovers (Berg et al. 2003; Reynolds 2003; Galinsky et al. 2001; Kattenbach et al. 2010). Greater work-life imbalance appears to be the most serious adverse effect of overtime work (Golden and Wiens-Tuers 2006). One of the clearest negative effects on well-being of excessive or unscheduled additional work is on the workers' ability to balance their competing work and family responsibilities (Institute 1999; Golden and Wiens-Tuers 2006; Fenwick and Rausig 2003; Berg et al. 2003; Ganster and Bates 2003; White et al. 2003; Geurts et al. 2009). For these reasons, working longer hours may offset or even eliminate the impact of additional income on a worker's welfare (Pouwels et al. 2008).

What, then, is the relationship between working hours and subjective well-being? The few contributions include Gray et al. (2004) who analyze the effect of working long work hours and well-being of fathers and their families using cross-sectional

Australian data and suggest that long hours are not necessary associated with lower well-being. Golden and Wiens-Tuers (2006) found that the extra money that working overtime brings does not buy additional happiness in the United States. Booth and Van Ours (2008, 2009) find that for men life satisfaction is not affected by how many hours they work, but by whether or not they have a job. For women however, life satisfaction is virtually unaffected by hours worked. Women without children do not care about their hours of work at all, while women with children are significantly happier if they have a job regardless of hours worked. Golden et al. (2013) found that having work schedule flexibility is associated with greater happiness. And Rudolf (2013) found that reductions in working hours did not have the expected positive effects on worker's well-being in Korea.

While these studies have contributed to our understanding of working hours and happiness within countries, it was Okulicz-Kozaryn (2011) who provided the first cross national research on the effect of working hours on happiness. Drawing on data from the GSS, the World Values Survey, and the Eurobarometer series, he found that working more makes Americans happier than Europeans. Following Okulicz-Kozaryn's lead, we examined the work hours and happiness relationship in Latin America and the United States using the GSS and AmericasBarometer datasets, finding that working more makes Americans happier than Latin Americans (Valente and Berry 2016a). What is involved is a fundamental cultural difference, the role of individualism in the U.S. and the significance of familism, a form of collectivism, in Latin America (Triandis and Gelfand 2011; Triandis et al. 1988; Triandis 2001).

## The Present Problem

In this paper we extend our previous research and analyze the working hours-life satisfaction relationship among both immigrant and resident Latinos in the U.S. and the population of U.S. workers. Although Latinos play a significant and important part in the U.S. labor market, no study has examined the relationship between hours worked and happiness among Latinos in comparison to other racial groups. A study from 1992 found that the Hispanic elderly have lower life satisfaction and are more likely to feel lonely than the general elderly population (Andrews et al. 1992). More recent studies such as Weaver (2003), examining the happiness of Mexican Americans and non-Hispanic whites, find virtually no difference in the happiness levels of Mexican American men and non-Hispanic white men, but Mexican American women were not as happy as non-Hispanic white women (Weaver 2003). In the same vein another study found no significant difference in the happiness levels of different racial groups of American youth (Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter 2003).

To begin to fill the gap we start by postulating the null hypothesis:

There is no difference in the relationship between working hours and happiness of Native-born Latinos, immigrant Latinos and the majority population of the United States, *ceteris paribus*.

The dependent variable *happiness* is measured on a scale of 1 to 3, thus the proper model is ordered logit (Scott 1997).[4] Possible responses are 1 = not happy, 2 = happy, and 3 = very happy.[5] The ordered regression model can be derived from a measurement model in which a latent variable $y*$ ranging from $-\infty$ to $\infty$ is mapped to an observed variable $y_i$. Hence, the main structural model tested has the following form:

$$y_i* = \beta_0 + \beta_1 work_i * latino_i + \beta_2 work_i + \beta_3 latino_i + \beta_i \mathbf{X}_i + \varepsilon_i$$

Where the observed $y$ is related to $y*$ according to the measurement model:

$$y_i = \begin{cases} 1 \Rightarrow not\ happy & if\ \tau_0 = -\infty \leq y_i* < \tau_1 \\ 2 \Rightarrow happy & if\ \tau_1 \leq y_i* < \tau_2 \\ 3 \Rightarrow very\ happy & if\ \tau_2 \leq y_i* < \tau_3 = \infty \end{cases}$$

the $\tau$'s are called thresholds or cutpoints that divide $y_i*$ into three values of the observed $y_i$ (*not happy, happy, very happy*), when the latent $y*$ crosses a cutpoint, the observed category changes, $i$ is the observation, $work_i * latino_i$ is the interaction of a measurement of working hours ($work_i$) and being Latino ($latino_i$), vector $\mathbf{X}_i$ contains a set of exogenous independent variables controlling the model for individual differences, such as gender, age, marriage and income that are known to have independent effects on happiness (Appendix A provides the complete list) and $\varepsilon_i$ is a random error.[6] We also control for regional differences in the U.S. by including regional dummies in all models.[7] The data come from years 2000—2014, thus all models also include time fixed effects. Such a specification simply tests whether there are contextual effects unaccounted for due to regional and yearly differences.

## Results of the Analysis

Key findings are set down in Table 1. Three groups of GSS respondents are compared in four pairwise models: Latinos versus non-Latinos (W1), native-born Latinos versus non-Latinos (W2), immigrant-Latinos versus non-Latinos (W3), and immigrant-Latinos versus native born Latinos (W4). For all models working hours were divided into seven categories, from less than part time (< 17 hrs) to more than

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[4]For a detailed overview of the ordinal regression model using a latent variable see Long and Freese (2006). OLS results are included in Appendix D for comparison, as several recent studies have shown ordered logit and OLS to be comparable (Ferrer-i Carbonell and Frijters 2004; Van Praag and Ferrer-i Carbonell 2004; Blanchflower and Oswald 2011). Given that the dataset is a cross-sectional survey based on subjective assessments, selection bias and unobserved variable bias can be potential limitations to the analysis.

[5]The data come from the General Social Survey (GSS). Respondents were asked the following question: *Taken all together, how would you say things are these days—would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?*

[6]It is important to acknowledge that working hours might be affected by unobservable factors such as personality traits that are also important determinants of subjective well-being.

[7]For a list of U.S. regions refer to Appendix C.

**Table 1** Happiness and working hours: Latinos in North America. Odds ratios and % change in odds

| Variable | W1 | % | W2 | % | W3 | % | W4 | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Working hrs cat*ref.group | 1.048 | 4.8 | 1.113* | 11.3 | 0.977 | −2.3 | 0.907 | −9.3 |
| | (0.042) | | (0.060) | | (0.056) | | (0.066) | |
| Working hrs category | 1.054*** | 5.4 | 1.051*** | 5.1 | 1.054*** | 5.4 | 1.135* | 13.5 |
| | (0.015) | | (0.016) | | (0.015) | | (0.058) | |
| Ref. group | 0.763 | −23.7 | 0.584* | −41.6 | 0.983 | −1.7 | 1.419 | 41.9 |
| | (0.138) | | (0.143) | | (0.252) | | (0.469) | |
| Individual controls: | | | | | | | | |
| Income | 1.103*** | 10.3 | 1.124*** | 12.4 | 1.107*** | 10.7 | 1.006 | 0.6 |
| | (0.021) | | (0.024) | | (0.023) | | (0.046) | |
| Nonwhite | 0.763*** | −23.7 | 0.775*** | −22.5 | 0.817** | −18.3 | 0.949 | −5.1 |
| | (0.041) | | (0.048) | | (0.051) | | (0.119) | |
| Married | 2.536*** | 153.6 | 2.552*** | 155.2 | 2.640*** | 164.0 | 2.251*** | 125.1 |
| | (0.118) | | (0.129) | | (0.133) | | (0.293) | |
| Age | 0.946*** | −5.4 | 0.944*** | −5.6 | 0.936*** | −6.4 | 0.993 | −0.7 |
| | (0.010) | | (0.010) | | (0.010) | | (0.031) | |
| Age2 | 1.001*** | 0.1 | 1.001*** | 0.1 | 1.001*** | 0.1 | 1.000 | 0.0 |
| | (0.000) | | (0.000) | | (0.000) | | (0.000) | |
| Female | 1.112* | 11.2 | 1.089 | 8.9 | 1.101* | 10.1 | 0.997 | −0.3 |
| | (0.049) | | (0.052) | | (0.052) | | (0.125) | |
| Education | 1.059*** | 5.9 | 1.062*** | 6.2 | 1.065*** | 6.5 | 1.059** | 5.9 |
| | (0.008) | | (0.010) | | (0.009) | | (0.019) | |
| Attend religious service | 1.182*** | 18.2 | 1.197*** | 19.7 | 1.191*** | 19.1 | 1.091 | 9.1 |
| | (0.021) | | (0.023) | | (0.023) | | (0.055) | |
| Region dummies | | | | | | | | |
| New England | 1.065 | 6.5 | 1.106 | 10.6 | 1.050 | 5.0 | 0.524 | −47.6 |
| | (0.125) | | (0.140) | | (0.132) | | (0.223) | |
| Middle Atlantic | 1.017 | 1.7 | 0.983 | −1.7 | 0.977 | −2.3 | 0.991 | −0.9 |
| | (0.084) | | (0.091) | | (0.090) | | (0.210) | |
| E. nor. central | 0.876 | −12.4 | 0.850 | −15.0 | 0.840* | −16.0 | 0.899 | −10.1 |
| | (0.067) | | (0.072) | | (0.071) | | (0.209) | |
| W. nor. central | 0.944 | −5.6 | 0.924 | −7.6 | 0.920 | −8.0 | 0.835 | −16.5 |
| | (0.092) | | (0.097) | | (0.096) | | (0.356) | |
| South Atlantic | 0.951 | −4.9 | 0.964 | −3.6 | 0.918 | −8.2 | 0.751 | −24.9 |
| | (0.070) | | (0.080) | | (0.075) | | (0.144) | |
| E. sou. central | 1.098 | 9.8 | 1.056 | 5.6 | 1.032 | 3.2 | 1.485 | −48.5 |
| | (0.115) | | (0.118) | | (0.115) | | (0.786) | |
| W. sou. central | 1.118 | 11.8 | 1.103 | 10.3 | 1.063 | 6.3 | 0.989 | −1.1 |
| | (0.097) | | (0.106) | | (0.104) | | (0.170) | |
| Mountain | 1.070 | 7.0 | 1.030 | 3.0 | 1.013 | 1.3 | 1.013 | 1.3 |
| | (0.100) | | (0.104) | | (0.105) | | (0.211) | |

**Table 1** (continued)

| Variable | W1 | % | W2 | % | W3 | % | W4 | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year dummies | | | | | | | | |
| y2014 | 0.982 | −1.8 | 0.963 | −3.7 | 0.964 | −3.6 | 1.194 | 19.4 |
| | (0.073) | | (0.077) | | (0.077) | | (0.260) | |
| y2012 | 0.889 | −11.1 | 0.859 | −14.1 | 0.852 | −14.8 | 1.378 | 37.8 |
| | (0.078) | | (0.082) | | (0.082) | | (0.333) | |
| y2010 | 0.705*** | −29.5 | 0.709*** | −29.1 | 0.713*** | −28.7 | 0.935 | −6.5 |
| | (0.057) | | (0.061) | | (0.061) | | (0.227) | |
| y2008 | 0.729*** | −27.1 | 0.744*** | −25.6 | 0.741*** | −25.9 | 0.761 | −23.9 |
| | (0.058) | | (0.064) | | (0.064) | | (0.181) | |
| y2006 | 0.839* | −16.1 | 0.816** | −18.4 | 0.809** | −19.1 | 0.846 | −15.4 |
| | (0.060) | | (0.063) | | (0.062) | | (0.189) | |
| y2004 | 0.825* | −17.5 | 0.827* | -17.3 | 0.871 | −12.9 | 0.772 | -22.8 |
| | (0.073) | | (0.078) | | (0.083) | | (0.218) | |
| y2002 | 0.910 | −9.0 | 0.939 | -6.1 | 0.969 | −3.1 | 0.823 | -17.7 |
| | (0.080) | | (0.087) | | (0.091) | | (0.260) | |
| N | 9107 | 9107 | 7939 | 7939 | 7909 | 7909 | 1126 | 1126 |

$* \ p < 0.05$, $** \ p < 0.01$, $*** \ p < 0.001$

| Model | Reference Group | Baseline Group |
|---|---|---|
| W1 | Latino US resident | Non-Latino US resident |
| W2 | Native born US Latino | Non-Latino US resident |
| W3 | Immigrant US Latino | Non-Latino US resident |
| W4 | Immigrant US Latino | Native born US Latino |

one and a half time ($>60$).[8] The coefficients in the models are odds ratios, where a value greater than one indicates a positive relationship and a value less than one points to a negative relationship. In the table the percentage changes in odds are signed accordingly.

In Model W1 the working hours/happiness interaction is not significant, revealing that there is no significant difference between Latinos and non Latinos in the United States, in contrast to the findings for Latin America, where *familism* dominates.[9]

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[8]For categories see Table 6 in Appendix B

[9]When running a brand test for the parallel odds assumption we found that it was violated, which is actually quite common (Long and Freese 2006). Therefore, we ran mlogit and gologit2 regressions, and our results were virtually the same. We ran additional tests, such as the BIC test and it showed that the ologit was the best model in comparison to mlogit and gologit (see Appendix E). A fairly common practice when the proportion odds is violated is to just ignore it since the practical implications of violating this assumption are minimal (Williams 2014; Long and Freese 2006). Since our results did not change when the models were refitted relaxing the proportional odds constraint for the relevant predictors, we report the ORM and OLS results because they are much easier to interpret.

Accordingly, *we fail to reject the null hypothesis*.[10] Similarly, Models W3 and W4 indicate that there is not a significant difference in the working/hours interaction between immigrant Latinos and both non-Latino US residents and native born Latinos. Although not significant, the odds ratio shows that immigrant Latinos are happier than native born Latinos, but unhappier relative to non-Latinos U.S. residents. The odds ratios for a unit increase of each covariate of the response variable in Model W2 indicate that the odds of being happier are 41.6 per cent less for native born Latinos than for non-Latino US residents, *ceteris paribus*. Native born Latinos are already embedded within the American status system while many immigrants have not yet fully acculturate.

The coefficients for the control variables in $\mathbf{X}_i$ are all significant and in the expected directions,[11] except for Latinos, who, consistent with evidence in Latin America, were expected to be much happier than non-Latinos (Valente and Berry 2016a). The findings also show that happiness rises and falls with the business cycle, suffering a major dip in 2006, 2008, and 2010 as a results of the economic crisis. There are no regional differences, however: conclusions apply to Latinos in North America regardless of location. We observe no differences in areas of long-term residency.

Figure 1 depicts the on-average relationships without controls and Fig. 2 the modeled probability of being very happy against working hours categories (Model W1) for Latinos (native and immigrant) and non-Latinos, *ceteris paribus* (i.e. subject to controls). The relationships vary monotonically across working hours in the same direction, but at a lower level for Latinos (see Fig. 2).[12]

We conclude that although longer work hours are associated with happier U.S. Americans but unhappier Latin Americans south of the border (Valente and Berry 2016a), within the United States this contrast does not exist. Latinos quickly acculturate to working norms and are just as happy as non-Latinos when working longer hours. Indeed, native born Latinos appear to be happier working longer hours than non-Latino residents, as shown in Model W2. For immigrant Latinos the relationship

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[10]These models may suffer from left out variable bias, however. We controlled for variables suggested by the literature such as age, race, gender, income, education, marital status, and religion (Myers 2000), but it is possible that other control variables may have been omitted. Myers (2000) for example argues that four traits mark happy people: high self-esteem, a sense of personal control, optimism, and extroversion. These trait-happiness correlations are not yet fully understood and findings inherently suffer from causality problems. Some traits may predispose to happiness, while happiness also be a contributing cause and there are many other factors that might correlate with happiness as well. Likewise, it is important to acknowledge that it is possible that people who are less family-oriented and are more work-oriented are the ones who move to the U.S.

[11]Occupation variables were also included and tested in the models, but did not affect the results. Likewise, we tested the models including 'health' as control, but it did not change our findings. Refer to Appendix D.

[12]To account for any nonlinear effects of working hours on happiness several models were run using different measurements of working hours. We re-ran model W1 (Latino US resident vs. Non-Latino US resident) using different measurements of working hours. In Model W1a working hours are divided into seven categories, in Model W1b working hours is a raw number ranging from 0 to 89 hours, in Model W1c a dummy variable was used for a person working more than 40 hours, and in Model W1d a dummy variable for a person working less than 40 hours was used. In all models there is no significant difference in happiness levels among Latinos and non-Latinos when working longer hours. These are presented in Appendix D as robustness checks that reinforce our conclusions.
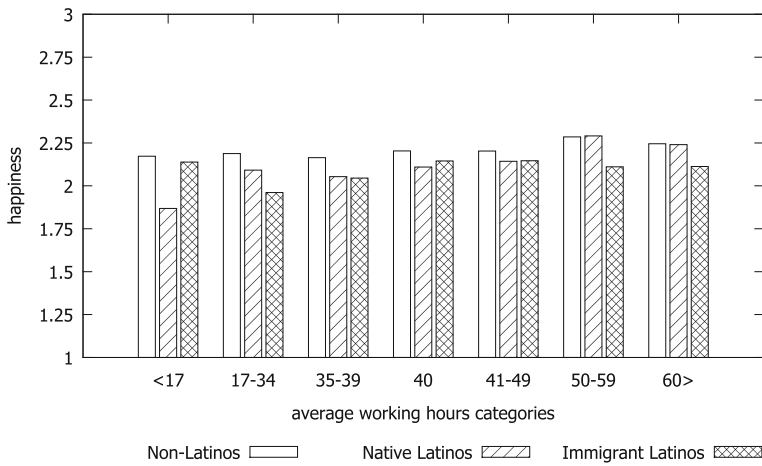
**Fig. 1** Happiness by average working hour for non-Latinos, Native Latinos and Immigrant Latinos in the U.S. Source: GSS

is not significant as shown in Model W3. Likewise, both native Latinos and immigrant Latinos have comparable levels of happiness both with respect to working hours and to their overall happiness as illustrated in Model W4.

## Race Differentials

Overall, Latin Americans are considered to be very happy. A 2013 Gallup study finds that countries in Latin America are among the world's happiest— defining "happiness" as how Latin Americans experience life through laughter, smiles and
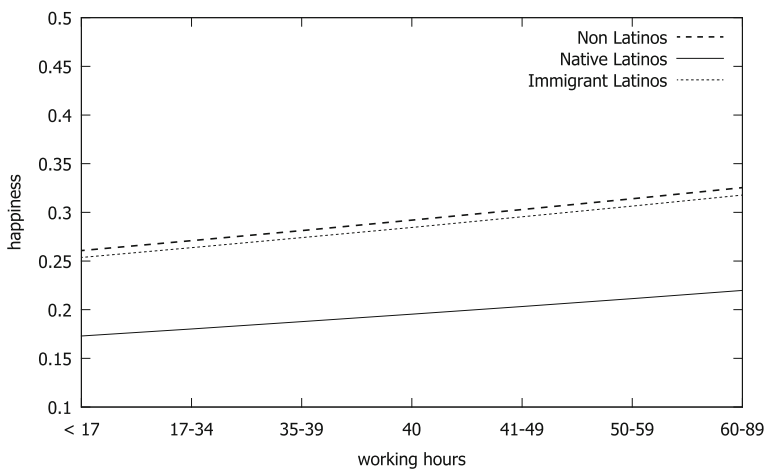


**Fig. 2** Predicted probability of being 'very happy' for Model W1. The three groups show the same relationships, but native Latinos are unhappier at all working hours. Source: GSS

**Table 2** Ordered logistic regressions of happiness and working hours - odds ratios by racial groups in the U.S.)

| Variable | Z1 | Z2 | Z3 | Z4 | Z5 | Z6 | Z7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Workcat*ref.group | 1.070 | 1.009 | 1.042 | 1.061 | 1.079 | 1.048 | 1.031 |
| | (0.059) | (0.055) | (0.076) | (0.064) | (0.061) | (0.043) | (0.049) |
| Workcat | 1.056*** | 1.059*** | 1.063 | 1.064* | 1.049** | 1.049** | 1.066* |
| | (0.014) | (0.014) | (0.034) | (0.016) | (0.017) | (0.016) | (0.033) |
| Ref. group | 0.640 | 0.885 | 0.802 | 0.756 | 0.564* | 0.669* | 0.939 |
| | (0.161) | (0.215) | (0.263) | (0.207) | (0.146) | (0.125) | (0.201) |
| Income | 1.111*** | 1.113*** | 1.005 | 1.065* | 1.142*** | 1.118*** | 1.043 |
| | (0.021) | (0.021) | (0.046) | (0.033) | (0.027) | (0.025) | (0.030) |
| Married | 2.588*** | 2.585*** | 2.217*** | 2.406*** | 2.579*** | 2.549*** | 2.351*** |
| | (0.120) | (0.120) | (0.287) | (0.232) | (0.139) | (0.132) | (0.199) |
| Age | 0.945*** | 0.945*** | 0.995 | 0.970 | 0.937*** | 0.943*** | 0.972 |
| | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.031) | (0.021) | (0.011) | (0.011) | (0.019) |
| Age2 | 1.001*** | 1.001*** | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.001*** | 1.001*** | 1.000 |
| | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Female | 1.108* | 1.112* | 0.998 | 1.126 | 1.127* | 1.108* | 1.081 |
| | (0.049) | (0.049) | (0.126) | (0.101) | (0.058) | (0.054) | (0.086) |
| Educ | 1.063*** | 1.064*** | 1.061*** | 1.023 | 1.069*** | 1.069*** | 1.038** |
| | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.019) | (0.015) | (0.010) | (0.010) | (0.013) |
| Attend | 1.167*** | 1.167*** | 1.092 | 1.194*** | 1.179*** | 1.172*** | 1.172*** |
| | (0.020) | (0.020) | (0.055) | (0.043) | (0.024) | (0.023) | (0.037) |
| Region dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Year dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| N | 9107 | 9107 | 1126 | 2204 | 6895 | 7462 | 2771 |

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

| Model | Reference Group | Baseline Group |
|---|---|---|
| Z1 | Non-white Latinos | Other North Americans |
| Z2 | White Latinos | Other North Americans |
| Z3 | Non-white Latinos | White Latinos |
| Z4 | Non-white Latinos | Non-white non-Latinos |
| Z5 | Non-white Latinos | White non-Latinos |
| Z6 | All Latinos | White non-Latinos |
| Z7 | All Latinos | Non-white non-Latinos |

enjoyment (Clifton 2014).[13] The top 10 ranked countries were Paraguay, Panamá, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Costa Rica, Colombia, Honduras and Venezuela.

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[13]When taking into account several dimensions of happiness combined, studies find that Scandinavian countries are the happiest (Sachs et al. 2012). Gallup measures positive emotions, such as laughter, smile and enjoyment, which is only an ingredient of happiness, other reports such as the World Happiness Reports, show that Americans are happier on reflective happiness measures.

El Salvador ranked 11th, Chile 19th, and Argentina 20th while the United States ranked 24th. Explanations have focused on family, friends, and religion (Fukuyama 1999; Lora 2008; Clifton 2014; Galanti 2003), which boost life satisfaction because they provide social capital (Putnam 2001). We found Latin Americans to be in fact much happier than U.S. Americans (Valente and Berry 2016a). The present show that native-born Latinos in the U.S. are unhappier relative to both non-Latino U.S. residents and to immigrant Latinos. Why should this be?[14] We believe that this unhappiness reflects a minority group whose integration into American society is hampered by prejudice. To further explore this question of status, ethnicity and happiness we decided it was necessary to perform additional tests and comparisons.

These tests and comparisons appear in the seven models presented in Table 2. Model 2 compares non-white Latinos versus other north Americans (Z1), white Latinos versus other north Americans (Z2), non-white Latinos versus white Latinos (Z3), non-white Latinos versus non-Latinos non-whites (Z4), non-white Latinos versus white north Americans (Z5), all Latinos versus white north Americans (Z6), and all Latinos versus non-white north Americans (Z7).

The results confirm that there are no differences among these groups regarding the relationship between happiness and working hours. There is, however, a persistent unhappiness in overall life satisfaction of Latinos in comparison to white Americans (Z6), particularly among nonwhite Latinos (Z5). In order to further examine the relationship of subjective well-being and racial groups, we ran additional regression analyses presented in Table 3. These results show that Latinos in general are unhappier in comparison to whites (Z6), but have comparable happiness levels as African Americans (Z7). In addition, non-white Latinos are unhappier than other North Americans (Z1), and particularly unhappier in comparison to whites in the United States (Z5). White Hispanics, on the other hand, have compatible levels of happiness as the remainder of the population. These are largely Cubans, Puerto Ricans and white descendants of Portuguese and Spanish colonizers who are perceived by many to be white and therefore do not suffer from the same discrimination and exclusion suffered by nonwhite Latinos.

Figure 3 depicts the on-average happiness and working hours relationships without controls for Latinos and non-Latinos by race. Although the average working hours do not show any significant differences by race groups, once we add controls, as illustrated in Fig. 4, the predicted probability of being happy and very happy indicates that nonwhites and Latinos are much unhappier than all categories of whites.

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[14] A possible explanation is the fact that much of the Hispanic immigration is undocumented. Unfortunately, GSS does not ask respondents about their immigration status and we cannot test whether this does in fact contributes to their overall unhappiness. Notice, however, that immigrant Latinos are much unhappier in relationship to native born Latinos in Fig. 4.

**Table 3** Ordered logistic regressions of happiness and racial groups - odds ratios

| Variable | Z1 | Z2 | Z3 | Z4 | Z5 | Z6 | Z7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ref. group | 0.817** | | | | | | |
| | (0.062) | | | | | | |
| Ref. group | | 0.890 | | | | | |
| | | (0.066) | | | | | |
| Ref. group | | | 0.980 | | | | |
| | | | (0.099) | | | | |
| Ref. group | | | | 0.906 | | | |
| | | | | (0.081) | | | |
| Ref. group | | | | | 0.756*** | | |
| | | | | | (0.061) | | |
| Ref. group | | | | | | 0.793*** | |
| | | | | | | (0.047) | |
| Ref. group | | | | | | | 0.966 |
| | | | | | | | (0.067) |
| Income | 1.115*** | 1.115*** | 1.065 | 1.070** | 1.126*** | 1.121*** | 1.069*** |
| | (0.014) | (0.014) | (0.035) | (0.023) | (0.017) | (0.016) | (0.021) |
| Married | 2.531*** | 2.530*** | 2.227*** | 2.423*** | 2.462*** | 2.465*** | 2.437*** |
| | (0.094) | (0.094) | (0.236) | (0.191) | (0.105) | (0.101) | (0.169) |
| Age | 0.944*** | 0.944*** | 0.986 | 0.955*** | 0.940*** | 0.942*** | 0.957*** |
| | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.018) | (0.012) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.011) |
| Age2 | 1.001*** | 1.001*** | 1.000 | 1.000*** | 1.001*** | 1.001*** | 1.000*** |
| | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Female | 1.083* | 1.085* | 0.936 | 1.003 | 1.118** | 1.101* | 0.987 |
| | (0.037) | (0.037) | (0.094) | (0.071) | (0.044) | (0.041) | (0.062) |
| Educ | 1.063*** | 1.065*** | 1.062*** | 1.031** | 1.070*** | 1.070*** | 1.041*** |
| | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.015) | (0.012) | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.010) |
| Attend | 1.172*** | 1.171*** | 1.080 | 1.196*** | 1.182*** | 1.174*** | 1.173*** |
| | (0.016) | (0.016) | (0.043) | (0.034) | (0.018) | (0.017) | (0.029) |
| Employed | 1.179*** | 1.178*** | 1.200 | 1.150 | 1.202*** | 1.201*** | 1.158* |
| | (0.047) | (0.047) | (0.139) | (0.092) | (0.056) | (0.054) | (0.083) |
| Region dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Year dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| N | 14474 | 14474 | 1653 | 3416 | 11037 | 11874 | 4253 |

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

| Model | Reference Group | Baseline Group |
|---|---|---|
| Z1 | Non-white Latinos | Other North Americans |
| Z2 | White Latinos | Other North Americans |
| Z3 | Non-white Latinos | White Latinos |
| Z4 | Non-white Latinos | Non-white non-Latinos |
| Z5 | Non-white Latinos | White non-Latinos |
| Z6 | All Latinos | White non-Latinos |
| Z7 | All Latinos | Non-white non-Latinos |
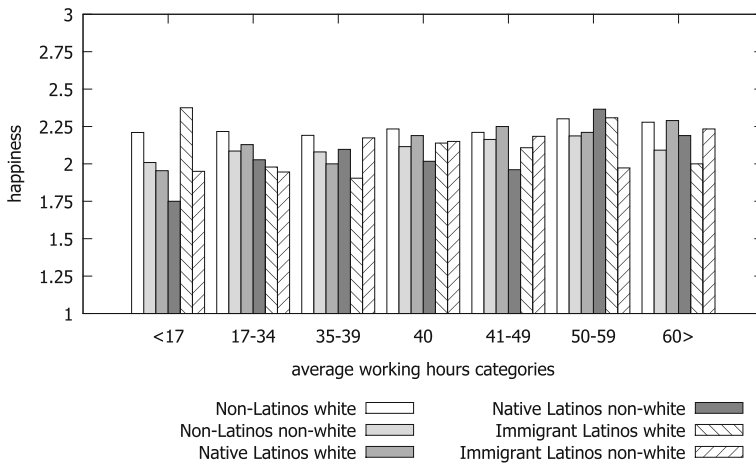
**Fig. 3** Happiness by average working hours for all groups. Source: GSS

These results beg the question, why are nonwhite Latinos living in the United States the unhappiest of all? There is a strong correlation between color and social status in Latin America. Afro-descendants have been disproportionately at the bottom of the socioeconomic distribution and have been systematically excluded from social, economic, and political positions (Bastide and Fernandes 1959; Nascimento 1985; Nogueira 1989; Telles 2004, 2014). Latin American countries have been described
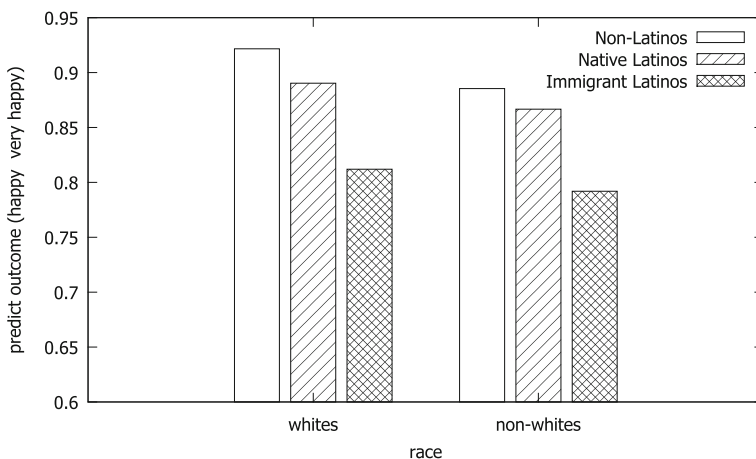


**Fig. 4** Predicted probability of being 'pretty happy and very happy' by racial groups with controls. Source: GSS

as pigmentocracies (Telles 2014).[15] In Latin America, unequal social and economic status is at least as much a function of skin color as of ethnoracial identification (Telles 2014). A closer examination of Latin America historical development reveals the true discriminatory nature of its social, cultural, political and economic anatomy (Nascimento 1989). These differences are reflected in the overall unhappiness among nonwhites in Latin America (Valente and Berry 2016a) and appear to carry over from their status in their place of origin once they have migrated. There is acculturation to the world of work, but there is also unhappiness that is associated with a status system that remains affected by race and color. Whether this difference will wane over time remains to be seen.

## Conclusion

Our findings indicate that Latinos and non-Latinos in the United States share a common working hours-happiness relationship, consistent with the values of the host society: there is acculturation to American values with respect to work but also, problems with respect to subjective well-being—Latin immigrants of color are positioned further down the social ladder and each step down the social ladder is accompanied by greater unhappiness. This reflects both their inferior status in their countries of origin and the disproportionate positioning of Americans of color on the lowers rungs of the North American ladder.

A cross-cultural comparison between Latin America and the United States showed that Latin Americans were significantly unhappier working longer hours (Valente and Berry 2016a). Why then do Latinos in Latin America have a different attitude towards work than Latinos in the U.S.? We argue that it is the difference between individualistic[16] and family-centered culture (Valente and Berry 2016a, 2016b). Migrants to the U.S., when they adopt American work place values, also begin the process of acculturation to American culture, especially since those immigrating are predominantly young and single. We cannot, of course, rule out the possibility of immigrant-self selection—it is possible that people who are less family-oriented and/or more work-oriented are the ones who move to the U.S. and consequently have a less negative happiness-work hour interaction than the general Latin population. Future research should explicitly test the assimilation mechanism by classifying Latino immigrants into subgroups based on length of stay and compare whether the work hours-happiness relationship changes with length of stay.[17]

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[15] Term coined by Alejandro Lipschutz in 1944 to refer to inequalities based on ethnoracial categories and skin color (Lipschutz 1944).

[16] According to Hofstede (1984, 2001) countries are characterized by a dominant cultural mainstream, or social paradigm, and varied along four separate dimensions: individualism vs. collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance and masculinity. It is to the first dimension 'individualism' that we refer. A thorough account of the modern theory of individualism/collectivism is provided by Triandis (2001); Triandis and Gelfand (2011).

[17] Unfortunately, GSS does not provide data on immigrants' length of stay.

## Appendix A: Variables in the GSS dataset

**Table 4**  General Social Survey dataset 2000-2014

| Variable | Survey question |
|---|---|
| Happiness | |
| GSS | Taken all together, how would you say things are these days–would you say |
| | that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy? |
| Working hours | |
| GSS | How many hours a week do you usually work, at all jobs? |
| Income | |
| GSS | In which of these groups did your total family income, from all sources, |
| | fall last year before taxes? |
| Marital status | |
| GSS | Are you currently - married, widowed, divorced, separated, |
| | or have never been married? |
| Religion | |
| GSS | How often do you attend religious services? |
| Age | |
| GSS | In what year were you born? |
| Gender | |
| GSS | Select gender of chosen respondent (male;female) |
| Race | |
| GSS | What is your race? |
| Education | |
| GSS | Highest year of school completed |

All variables were recoded so that the higher value means more, or in the case of dummy variables, one means "yes" and 0 means "no"

## Appendix B: Sample details

**Table 5**  Descriptive statistics – dataset

| Variable | Obs | Mean | S.D. | Min | Max |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Latino | 21483 | .1120886 | .3154828 | 0 | 1 |
| Latino born | 17591 | .0654312 | .2472922 | 0 | 1 |
| Latino immigrant | 17486 | .0598193 | .2371585 | 0 | 1 |
| Age | 21407 | 47.18008 | 17.2875 | 18 | 89 |
| Nonwhite | 21483 | .2368384 | .4251522 | 0 | 1 |
| Female | 21483 | .5536936 | .4971202 | 0 | 1 |
| Married | 21466 | .4713035 | .4991875 | 0 | 1 |
| Education | 21436 | 13.45036 | 3.061428 | 0 | 20 |
| Income | 18925 | 6.111968 | 1.5669 | 1 | 7 |
| Attend | 20825 | 2.594478 | 1.316988 | 1 | 9 |
| Happiness | 17017 | 2.168479 | .6391831 | 1 | 3 |
| Working hrs | 13131 | 41.60506 | 14.62245 | 1 | 89 |

**Table 6** Working hours categories - dataset

|       | Hours  | Freq.  | Per.   | Cum. Per. |
|-------|--------|--------|--------|-----------|
| valid | <17    | 814    | 6.20   | 6.20      |
|       | 17–34  | 1942   | 14.79  | 20.99     |
|       | 35–39  | 940    | 7.16   | 28.15     |
|       | 40     | 4180   | 31.83  | 59.98     |
|       | 41–49  | 1790   | 13.63  | 73.61     |
|       | 50–59  | 1811   | 13.79  | 87.40     |
|       | 60–89  | 1654   | 12.60  | 100.00    |
|       | Total  | 13131  | 100.00 |           |
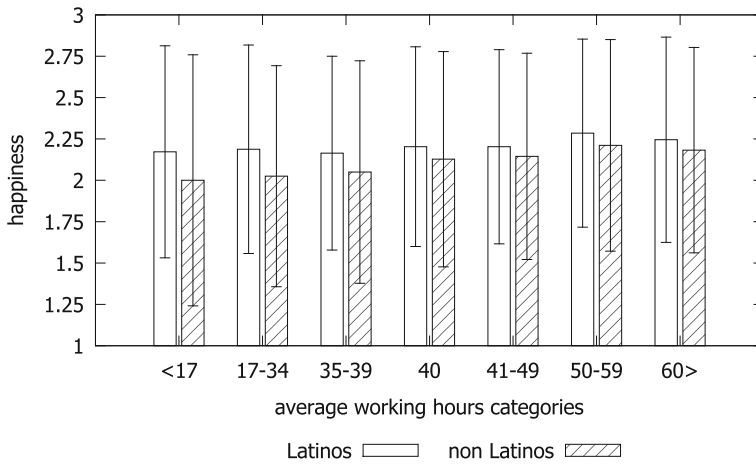


**Fig. 5** Happiness by average working hour for Latinos in the U.S. with stdev. Source: GSS
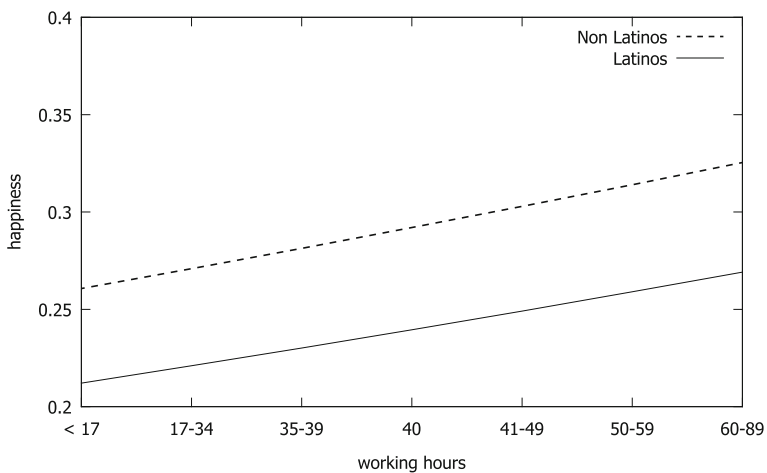


**Fig. 6** Predicted probability of being 'very happy' for Model W1. Source: GSS
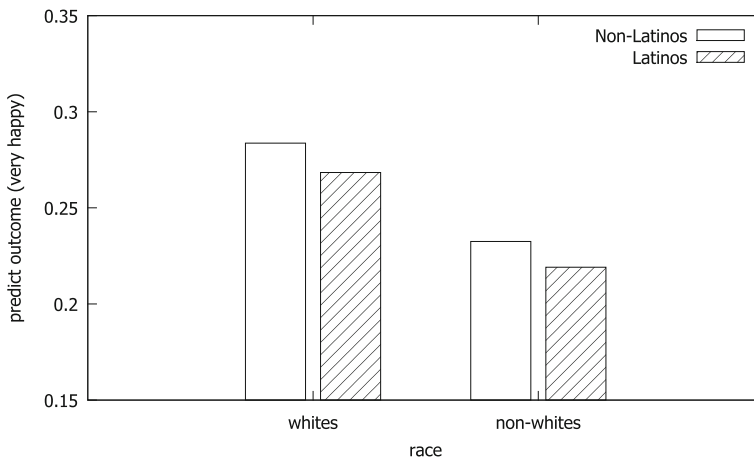
**Fig. 7** Predicted probability of being 'very happy' by race category. Source: GSS

# Appendix C: U.S. regions

**Table 7** American regions

| Region | Freq. | Per. | Cum. Per. |
|---|---|---|---|
| New England | 925 | 4.31 | 4.31 |
| Middle Atlantic | 2842 | 13.23 | 17.53 |
| E. Nor. Central | 3665 | 17.06 | 34.59 |
| W. Nor. central | 1414 | 6.58 | 41.18 |
| South Atlantic | 4434 | 20.64 | 61.82 |
| E. Sou. Central | 1316 | 6.13 | 67.94 |
| W. Sou. Central | 2247 | 10.46 | 78.40 |
| Mountain | 1584 | 7.37 | 85.77 |
| Pacific | 3056 | 14.23 | 100.00 |
| Total | 21483 | 100.00 | |

GSS: 2000 – 2014

# Appendix D: OLR and OLS regressions of happiness

**Table 8** Robustness tests - ordered logistic regressions: W1—odds ratio reported

| Variable | C1 | C2 | C3 | C4 | C5 | C6 | C7 | C8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Workcat*Lat | 1.070 | 1.044 | 1.051 | 1.054 | 1.044 | 1.044 | 1.043 | 1.048 |
| Workcat | 1.052*** | 1.027* | 1.025 | 1.029* | 1.039** | 1.052*** | 1.047*** | 1.054*** |
| Latino | 0.548*** | 0.672* | 0.709* | 0.672* | 0.683* | 0.692* | 0.775 | 0.763 |

**Table 8** (continued)

| Variable | C1 | C2 | C3 | C4 | C5 | C6 | C7 | C8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Income | | 1.244*** | 1.229*** | 1.122*** | 1.140*** | 1.143*** | 1.112*** | 1.103*** |
| Nonwhite | | | 0.736*** | 0.805*** | 0.804*** | 0.800*** | 0.814*** | 0.763*** |
| Married | | | | 2.509*** | 2.662*** | 2.691*** | 2.698*** | 2.536*** |
| Age | | | | | 0.946*** | 0.943*** | 0.941*** | 0.946*** |
| Age2 | | | | | 1.001*** | 1.001*** | 1.001*** | 1.001*** |
| Female | | | | | | 1.195*** | 1.171*** | 1.112* |
| Educ | | | | | | | 1.061*** | 1.059*** |
| Attend | | | | | | | | 1.182*** |
| Region dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Year dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| N | 10355 | 9442 | 9442 | 9440 | 9425 | 9425 | 9417 | 9107 |

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

**Table 9** Robustness tests for different working hours categories - Odds ratio W1

| Variable | W1a | % | W1b | % | W1c | % | W1d | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Workcat*Lat | 1.048 | 4.8 | | | | | | |
| Workcat | 1.054*** | 5.4 | | | | | | |
| Latino | 0.762 | −23.8 | 0.732 | −26.6 | 0.900 | −9.9 | 0.970 | −2.9 |
| Income | 1.102*** | 10.2 | 1.106*** | 10.6 | 1.110*** | 11.1 | 1.106*** | 10.6 |
| Nonwhite | 0.763*** | −23.7 | 0.761*** | −23.9 | 0.769*** | −23.0 | 0.760*** | −23.9 |
| Married | 2.536*** | 153.6 | 2.535*** | 153.5 | 2.525*** | 152.4 | 2.527*** | 152.7 |
| Age | 0.946*** | −5.4 | 0.947*** | −5.3 | 0.949*** | −5.1 | 0.948*** | −5.2 |
| Age2 | 1.001*** | 0.1 | 1.001*** | 0.1 | 1.001*** | 0.1 | 1.001*** | 0.1 |
| Female | 1.112* | 11.2 | 1.100* | 10.0 | 1.098* | 9.8 | 1.087 | 8.7 |
| Education | 1.059*** | 5.9 | 1.060*** | 6.0 | 1.059*** | 6.0 | 1.060*** | 6.0 |
| Attend religious service | 1.182*** | 18.2 | 1.182*** | 18.1 | 1.180*** | 18.0 | 1.180*** | 17.9 |
| Work hrs*Lat | | | 1.006 | 0.6 | | | | |
| Work hrs | | | 1.005** | 0.5 | | | | |
| 40hrs>*Lat | | | | | 1.095 | 9.5 | | |
| 40hrs> | | | | | 1.160** | 15.9 | | |
| 40hrs<*Lat | | | | | | | 0.829 | −17.1 |

**Table 9** (continued)

| Variable | W1a | % | W1b | % | W1c | % | W1d | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 40hrs< | | | | | | | 0.881* | −11.9 |
| Region dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Year dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| N | 9107 | | 9107 | | 9107 | | 9107 | |

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

| Model | Reference Group | Baseline Group |
|---|---|---|
| W1 | Latino US resident | Non-Latino US resident |

**Table 10** OLS Regressions - W1 Latino US resident versus non-Latino US resident

| Variable | W1a | W1b | W1c | W1d |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Work hrs*Lat | | 1.002 | | |
| | | (0.00153) | | |
| Workcat*Lat | 1.013 | | | |
| | (0.0125) | | | |
| Workcat | 1.016*** | | | |
| | (0.00417 ) | | | |
| Latino | 0.925 | 0.913 | 0.969 | 0.989 |
| | (0.0522) | (0.0615) | (0.0254) | (0.0241) |
| Income | 1.027*** | 1.028*** | 1.029*** | 1.028*** |
| | (0.00578) | (0.00579) | (0.00575) | (0.00580) |
| Nonwhite | 0.923*** | 0.922*** | 0.925*** | 0.922*** |
| | (0.0145) | (0.0145) | (0.0146) | (0.0145) |
| Married | 1.309*** | 1.309*** | 1.307*** | 1.308*** |
| | (0.0172) | (0.0173) | (0.0172) | (0.0172) |
| Age | 0.985*** | 0.985*** | 0.986*** | 0.985*** |
| | (0.00295) | (0.00295) | (0.00293) | (0.00296) |
| Age2 | 1.000*** | 1.000*** | 1.000*** | 1.000*** |
| | (0.0000335) | (0.0000335) | (0.0000332) | (0.0000336) |
| Female | 1.032* | 1.029* | 1.029* | 1.025* |
| | (0.0132) | (0.0131) | (0.0131) | (0.0129) |
| Education | 1.018*** | 1.018*** | 1.018*** | 1.018*** |
| | (0.00236) | (0.00236) | (0.00236) | (0.00236) |
| Attend religious service | 1.049*** | 1.049*** | 1.048*** | 1.048*** |
| | (0.00537) | (0.00537) | (0.00537) | (0.00537) |
| Work hrs*Lat | | 1.002 | | |
| | | (0.00153) | | |

**Table 10** (continued)

| Variable | W1a | W1b | W1c | W1d |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Work hrs | | 1.002** | | |
| | | (0.000488) | | |
| More than 40hrs*Lat | | | 1.025 | |
| | | | (0.0427) | |
| More than 40hrs | | | 1.047*** | |
| | | | (0.0143) | |
| Less than 40hrs*Lat | | | | 0.951 |
| | | | | (0.0437) |
| Less than 40hrs | | | | 0.962* |
| | | | | (0.0150) |
| _cons | 1.874*** | 1.861*** | 1.890*** | 1.931*** |
| | (0.0727) | (0.0729) | (0.0728) | (0.0753) |
| Region dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Year dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| N | 9107 | 9107 | 9107 | 9107 |
| R-sq | 0.096 | 0.095 | 0.095 | 0.095 |

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

**Table 11** Robustness tests for different working hours categories - Odds ratio W2

| Variable | W2a | % | W2b | % | W2c | % | W2d | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Workcat*Latborn | 1.114* | 11.3 | | | | | | |
| Workcat | 1.051*** | 5.1 | | | | | | |
| Latinoborn | 0.581* | −41.6 | 0.543* | −45.4 | 0.804 | −19.3 | 0.981 | −1.7 |
| Income | 1.123*** | 12.4 | 1.126*** | 12.6 | 1.131*** | 13.1 | 1.129*** | 12.9 |
| Nonwhite | 0.774*** | −22.5 | 0.773*** | −22.6 | 0.781*** | −21.8 | 0.775*** | −22.4 |
| Married | 2.553*** | 155.2 | 2.552*** | 155.1 | 2.546*** | 154.5 | 2.540*** | 153.9 |
| Age | 0.944*** | −5.6 | 0.945*** | −5.5 | 0.947*** | −5.3 | 0.947*** | −5.3 |
| Age2 | 1.001*** | 0.1 | 1.001*** | 0.1 | 1.001*** | 0.1 | 1.001*** | 0.1 |
| Female | 1.089 | 8.9 | 1.078 | 7.9 | 1.075 | 7.5 | 1.061 | 6.1 |
| Education | 1.062*** | 6.2 | 1.063*** | 6.3 | 1.062*** | 6.2 | 1.063*** | 6.3 |
| Attend religious | 1.198*** | 19.7 | 1.198*** | 19.7 | 1.197*** | 19.6 | 1.195*** | 19.5 |
| Work hrs*Latborn | | | 1.013 | 1.3 | | | | |
| Work hrs | | | 1.005** | 0.5 | | | | |

**Table 11** (continued)

| Variable | W2a | % | W2b | % | W2c | % | W2d | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 40hrs>*Latborn | | | | | 1.456* | 45.9 | | |
| 40hrs> | | | | | 1.139** | 13.8 | | |
| 40hrs<*Latborn | | | | | | | 0.766 | −23.3 |
| 40hrs< | | | | | | | 0.892* | −10.7 |
| Region dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Year dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| N | 7939 | | 7939 | | 7939 | | 7939 | |

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

| Model | Reference Group | Baseline Group |
|---|---|---|
| W2 | Native Born US Latino | Non-Latino US resident |

**Table 12** Robustness tests for different working hours categories - Odds ratio W3

| Variable | W3a | % | W3b | % | W3c | % | W3d | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Workcat*Latinoi | 0.977 | −2.3 | | | | | | |
| Workcat | 1.054*** | 5.4 | | | | | | |
| Latinoi | 0.980 | −1.7 | 0.985 | −1.2 | 0.958 | −3.8 | 0.910 | −8.7 |
| Income | 1.1106*** | 10.7 | 1.109*** | 10.9 | 1.115*** | 11.5 | 1.109*** | 11.0 |
| Nonwhite | 0.816** | −18.3 | 0.813*** | −18.6 | 0.820** | −17.9 | 0.812*** | −18.7 |
| Married | 2.640*** | 164.0 | 2.641*** | 164.1 | 2.628*** | 162.7 | 2.634*** | 163.4 |
| Age | 0.936*** | −6.4 | 0.937*** | −6.3 | 0.939*** | −6.1 | 0.938*** | −6.2 |
| Age2 | 1.001*** | 0.1 | 1.001*** | 0.1 | 1.001*** | 0.1 | 1.001*** | 0.1 |
| Female | 1.100* | 10.1 | 1.091 | 9.1 | 1.084 | 8.4 | 1.078 | 7.8 |
| Education | 1.065*** | 6.5 | 1.066*** | 6.6 | 1.065*** | 6.5 | 1.066*** | 6.6 |
| Attend religious | 1.191*** | 19.1 | 1.191*** | 19.1 | 1.190*** | 18.9 | 1.190*** | 18.9 |
| Work hrs*Latinoi | | | 0.998 | −0.2 | | | | |
| Work hrs | | | 1.005** | 0.5 | | | | |
| 40hrs>*Latinoi | | | | | 0.807 | −19.4 | | |
| 40hrs> | | | | | 1.145** | 14.5 | | |
| 40hrs<*Latinoi | | | | | | | 0.902 | −9.9 |
| 40hrs < | | | | | | | 0.879* | −12.1 |
| Region dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Year dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| N | 7909 | | 7909 | | 7909 | | 7909 | |

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

| Model | Reference Group | Baseline Group |
|---|---|---|
| W3 | Immigrant US Latino | Non-Latino US resident |

**Table 13** Robustness tests for different working hours categories - Odds ratio W4

| Variable | W4a | % | W4b | % | W4c | % | W4d | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Working hrs cat*Latinoi | 0.907 | −9.3 | | | | | | |
| Working hrs category | 1.135* | 13.5 | | | | | | |
| Latinoi | 1.419 | 41.9 | 1.528 | 52.8 | 1.102 | 10.2 | 0.908 | −9.2 |
| Income | 1.006 | 0.6 | 1.010 | 1.0 | 1.014 | 1.4 | 1.005 | 0.5 |
| Nonwhite | 0.949 | −5.1 | 0.950 | −5.0 | 0.954 | −4.6 | 0.955 | −4.5 |
| Married | 2.251*** | 125.1 | 2.237*** | 123.7 | 2.267*** | 126.7 | 2.209*** | 120.9 |
| Age | 0.993 | −0.7 | 0.997 | −0.3 | 0.996 | −0.4 | 0.995 | −0.5 |
| Age2 | 1.000 | 0.0 | 1.000 | 0.0 | 1.000 | 0.0 | 1.000 | 0.0 |
| Female | 0.997 | −0.3 | 0.978 | −2.2 | 0.965 | −3.5 | 0.974 | −2.6 |
| Education | 1.059** | 5.9 | 1.060** | 6.0 | 1.060** | 6.0 | 1.060** | 6.0 |
| Attend religious service | 1.091 | 9.1 | 1.087 | 8.7 | 1.087 | 8.7 | 1.081 | 8.1 |
| Working hrs*Latinoborn | | | 0.988 | −1.2 | | | | |
| Working hrs | | | 1.014* | 1.4 | | | | |
| More 40hrs*Latinoborn | | | | | 0.631 | −36.9 | | |
| More 40hrs | | | | | 1.480* | 48.0 | | |
| Less 40hrs*Latinoborn | | | | | | | 1.132 | 13.2 |
| Less 40hrs | | | | | | | 0.708 | −29.2 |
| Region dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Year dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| N | 1126 | | 1126 | | 1126 | | 1126 | |

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

| Model | Reference Group | Baseline Group |
|---|---|---|
| W4 | Immigrant US Latino | Native born US Latino |

**Table 14** GSS 2000–2014 – occupation

| Variable | Freq. | Percent | Cum. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Professional | 2884 | 14.17 | 14.17 |
| Administrative | 3757 | 18.46 | 32.64 |
| Clerical | 2597 | 12.76 | 45.40 |
| Sales | 2599 | 12.77 | 58.17 |
| Service | 2785 | 13.69 | 71.86 |
| Agriculture | 194 | 0.95 | 72.81 |
| Production, transport | 1952 | 9.59 | 82.40 |
| Craft, technical | 3581 | 17.60 | 100.00 |
| Total | 20349 | 100.00 | |

**Table 15** Happiness and working hours - occupation (Odds ratios reported)

| Variable | W1 | W2 | W3 | W4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Working hrs cat*ref.group | 1.050 | 1.116* | 0.981 | 0.918 |
| Working hrs category | 1.050*** | 1.047** | 1.051*** | 1.126* |
| Ref. group | 0.764 | 0.570* | 0.995 | 1.410 |
| Income | 1.097*** | 1.120*** | 1.102*** | 0.994 |
| Nonwhite | 0.771*** | 0.786*** | 0.825** | 0.928 |
| Married | 2.541*** | 2.560*** | 2.653*** | 2.303*** |
| Age | 0.946*** | 0.944*** | 0.935*** | 0.993 |
| Age2 | 1.001*** | 1.001*** | 1.001*** | 1.000 |
| Female | 1.080 | 1.046 | 1.061 | 1.017 |
| Educ | 1.049*** | 1.052*** | 1.053*** | 1.058** |
| Attend | 1.179*** | 1.194*** | 1.186*** | 1.088 |
| i.occupation: | | | | |
| Professional | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Administrative | 0.943 | 0.934 | 0.945 | 0.922 |
| Clerical | 0.943 | 0.947 | 0.934 | 1.236 |
| Sales | 0.862 | 0.896 | 0.867 | 0.813 |
| Service | 0.934 | 0.955 | 0.928 | 1.026 |
| Agriculture | 0.674 | 0.888 | 0.697 | 0.204** |
| Production, transport | 0.854 | 0.793* | 0.794* | 1.389 |
| Craft, technical | 0.763*** | 0.765** | 0.763** | 0.883 |
| Region dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Year dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| N | 9015 | 7860 | 7831 | 1113 |

$* p < 0.05$, $** p < 0.01$, $*** p < 0.001$

**Table 16** GSS 2000–2014 – health

| Variable | Freq. | Percent | Cum. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Poor | 835 | 5.69 | 5.69 |
| Fair | 2843 | 19.36 | 25.04 |
| Good | 6890 | 46.91 | 71.95 |
| Excellent | 4119 | 28.05 | 100.00 |
| Total | 14687 | 100.00 | |

**Table 17** Ordered logistic regressions of happiness: health (odds ratios reported)

| Variable | W1 | W2 | W3 | W4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Working hrs category | 1.009 | 1.111 | 0.895 | 0.825* |
| Income | 1.058* | 1.076** | 1.058* | 1.029 |
| Nonwhite | 0.739*** | 0.766*** | 0.780*** | 0.837 |
| Married | 2.732*** | 2.666*** | 2.797*** | 2.732*** |
| Age | 0.959*** | 0.960** | 0.956*** | 0.982 |
| Age2 | 1.000** | 1.000** | 1.000** | 1.000 |
| Female | 1.102 | 1.081 | 1.079 | 1.159 |
| Educ | 1.035*** | 1.040*** | 1.036*** | 1.017 |
| Attend | 1.171*** | 1.179*** | 1.187*** | 1.070 |
| Health | 1.942*** | 1.891*** | 1.927*** | 1.953*** |
| Region dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Year dummies | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| N | 6312 | 5519 | 5480 | 767 |

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

# Appendix E: Measures of fit

**Table 18** Measures of fit for mlogit

| | Current | Saved | Difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Model: | mlogit | ologit | |
| N: | 9107 | 9107 | 0 |
| | | | |
| Log-likelihood | | | |
| Model | −7834.727 | −7879.823 | 45.096 |
| Intercept-only | −8332.274 | −8332.274 | 0.000 |
| Chi-square | | | |
| D (df=9053/9079/−26) | 15669.455 | 15759.646 | −90.191 |
| LR (df=52/26/26) | 995.093 | 904.902 | 90.191 |
| p-value | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| | | | |
| R2 | | | |
| McFadden | 0.060 | 0.054 | 0.005 |
| McFadden (adjusted) | 0.053 | 0.051 | 0.002 |
| Cox-Snell/ML | 0.104 | 0.095 | 0.009 |
| Cragg-Uhler/Nagelkerke | 0.123 | 0.113 | 0.011 |

**Table 18** (continued)

|  | Current | Saved | Difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Count | 0.312 | 0.312 | −0.000 |
| Count (adjusted) | 14.197 | 14.191 | 0.005 |
| | | | |
| IC | | | |
| AIC | 15777.455 | 15815.646 | −38.191 |
| AIC divided by N | 1.732 | 1.737 | −0.004 |
| BIC (df=54/28/26) | 16161.762 | 16014.916 | 146.845 |

Likelihood-ratio test assumes saved model nested in current model

Difference of 146.845 in BIC provides very strong support for saved model

**Table 19** Measures of fit for gologit2

|  | Current | Saved | Difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Model: | gologit2 | ologit | |
| N: | 9107 | 9107 | 0 |
| | | | |
| Log-likelihood | | | |
| Model | −7832.752 | −7879.823 | 47.071 |
| Intercept-only | −8332.274 | −8332.274 | −0.000 |
| | | | |
| Chi-square | | | |
| D (df=9053/9079/−26) | 15665.504 | 15759.646 | −94.142 |
| LR (df=52/26/26) | 999.044 | 904.902 | 94.142 |
| p-value | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| | | | |
| R2 | | | |
| McFadden | 0.060 | 0.054 | 0.006 |
| McFadden (adjusted) | 0.053 | 0.051 | 0.003 |
| Cox-Snell/ML | 0.104 | 0.095 | 0.009 |
| Cragg-Uhler/Nagelkerke | 0.124 | 0.113 | 0.011 |
| Count | 0.312 | 0.312 | 0.000 |
| Count (adjusted) | 14.186 | 14.191 | −0.005 |
| | | | |
| IC | | | |
| AIC | 15773.504 | 15815.646 | −42.142 |
| AIC divided by N | 1.732 | 1.737 | −0.005 |
| BIC (df=54/28/26) | 16157.811 | 16014.916 | 142.895 |

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