Do Mexican Immigrant Men Work More? Examining the Difference in Work Time between Mexican Immigrant and Non-Hispanic White Men[1]

Ken-Hou Lin
Department of Sociology
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

ABSTRACT

Less-skilled immigrants have been expected to have long work hours, but it might not be true among today's immigrants. Using data from the Current Population Survey, I examine the difference in work time between Mexican immigrant and non-Hispanic white men. Evidence shows that Mexican men on average work 2 to 3 hours less than non-Hispanic whites per week. I use Heckman two-step selection model to further explore this inter-group difference. Results show that work time disparity between white and Mexican workers is largely explained by differences in selection process, job and skill characteristics, and English ability.

[1] I would like to gratefully acknowledge guidance and support from David Cort, Donald Tomaskovic-Devey, and Sanjiv Gupta. I also gratefully thank Suzanne Model, Jennifer Lundquist, and Michelle Budig for their comments.

"The Italian, like the Jew, has a very elastic character. He can easily change habits and modes of work and adapt himself to different conditions; he is energetic and thrifty, and will work hard with little regard for the number of hours."

Industrial Commission Report, 1901 (Gambino 1974:73)

"You get five or six [Mexican] guys living together, sometimes ten. The places are messy – they'd never live that way at home – but they work all the time."

A Social Worker in New York (Piore 1979:55)

Immigrants have long been considered to have a strong commitment to work. This interpretation is often supported by their high labor force participation rates (Waldinger and Feliciano 2004; Waldinger, Lim, and Cort 2007), as well as their willingness to take demeaning jobs which are rejected by their native counterpart (Foner 2000; Piore 1979; Waters 2001). However, one crucial aspect of labor force participation and socioeconomic incorporation of immigrants, that is, their work time, has seldom been discussed in recent literature.

The importance to investigate the work time of immigrants is explicit: a large proportion of less-skilled immigrants work in hourly-paid sectors. Thus, the work time they acquire directly determines their economic well-being and social mobility. Furthermore, studying work time differentials could further improve our understanding of ethnic-racial inequalities in labor market. For example, disparities in wage rate could be amplified if less-paid workers obtain fewer hours. On the other hand, disparities in aggregate earnings might over- or under-estimate the inequality if the function of work time is not specified.

Traditionally, less-skilled immigrants are expected to have longer work hours because of their relatively low wage, low social constraints, and different evaluation of work, let alone in most cases working itself is the motive for migration. In addition, the need to send back remittance and anticipated return also demand labor migrants to maximize their work time (Piore 1979:52-9). Nevertheless, the appetite for work itself does not always ensure opportunity. Compared with their counterpart in the era of industrial expansion, less-skilled immigrants today confront an unprecedented labor market structure, which features the bifurcation of work time (Jacobs and Gerson 2004:31-40). High-skilled workers now have to work longer hours than their counterpart decades ago, while less-skilled workers have shorter workweek than they did before (Coleman and Pencavel 1993). Furthermore, ethnic-racial hierarchies in labor market might also hinder immigrant workers from obtaining preferred work time. Previous study has found that black men work 20 percent fewer annual hours than white men but are more likely to prefer additional work hours (Bell 1998). While racist antagonism against less-skilled immigrants has been increasing in past few decades (2007: Ch. 4), it is reasonable to suspect the work time of immigrants could be limited by discrimination practice in labor markets. Lastly, U.S. labor market experiences and English ability might also determine the work hours of immigrants, as it does to other aspects of labor force participation (Kossoudji 1988; Massey 1987; McManus, Gould, and Welch 1983; Trejo 1997).

Taking these factors into consideration, it becomes doubtful whether less-skilled immigrants to the U.S. can acquire as much opportunity as their predecessors did at the turn of last century. Thus, this paper seeks to investigate the work time of less-skilled immigrants. Focusing on Mexican immigrants, the largest less-skilled immigrant group in the United States, I examine whether there is difference in work time be-

tween Mexican and non-Hispanic white men. Before further investigation, I first review the experiences of old immigrants and the possible scenarios for today's immigrants.

WORK TIME IN INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION

Hard-working has been the most well-know characteristic, if not mythic attribute, for generations of immigrants to the United States. This feature is most salient among less-skilled European immigrants at the turn of last century who "had nothing when they came – no skills, no stock in trade, no salable commodity except their extraordinary willingness to work from dawn to dark to get a start" (Foner 2000:70).

Most historical studies on the labor force participation of early immigrants seem to confirm this narrative (Basch 1990; Gambino 1974; Kessner 1977; Orleck 1995). For example, Basch noted that a typical workday for immigrant female shirtwaist workers at that time period "was usually from 8:00 A.M. to 6:30 P.M. with thirty minutes for lunch, for a total of fifty-six hours per week. In the busy season, women often worked for up to seventy hours a week without any pay for overtime" (1990:15). Arriving without human or physical capital, the only option for less-skilled immigrants to compete with other workers was to work harder and longer even without compensation. As a result, immigrants then were parallel to the exploitable, and thus profitable, workers described in Marx's The Working-Day.

Among all immigrant groups, Italian immigrants, particularly those from the south, might serve as the best precedent for contemporary Mexican immigrants. A majority of both groups are poor and less-skilled labor migrants taking low-paid jobs at the end of ethnic queue in construction sites or farms, and it is difficult to argue that Italian immigrants had a better starting point than Mexican immigrants do. For example, in 1895, the daily wage for Italian immigrants in New York City was lower than those for the white and "colored" (Gambino 1974:71) . Between 1899 and 1910, 47 percent of Italian immigrants were illiterate (Kessner 1977:40). More than half of them were concentrated in "unskilled" or semi-skilled occupational sectors (ibid. 52). Prejudice, discrimination, racialization, and criminalization of Italians were also common products of ethnic conflicts and justification for exploitation. In 1891, eleven Sicilians were lynched in New Orleans and several in Virginia, 1895, six in Colorado, and 1899, three in Louisiana (ibid. 109).

These liabilities might predict the stagnation of Italian immigrant at the bottom of the ladder, where the first generation disembarked. And yet it moved. In the Census of I970, the median family income for Italian-American was higher than that of the average. Furthermore, it was also higher than those of earlier-arrived English-Americans and Irish-Americans (ibid. 73). Disadvantages shared among yesterday's first generation Italians now become the ethnic pride of today's hyphenated Americans. The lengthy workweek of early immigrants is now often interpreted as evidence of extraordinary work ethic, ambition and industriousness, which in turn explain the success of European immigrants.

Nonetheless, we should notice that the work time and the social mobility of early immigrants are both embedded in particular economic contexts. That is, the industrial expansion at the turn of last century created a strong demand for low-skilled workers, which provided the very first rung for many European immigrants to climb the socioeconomic ladder (Kessner 1977:8-23). Thus, when investigating the work time of today's less-skilled immigrants, it is important to take new economic contexts into

account.

WORK TIME IN HOURGLASS ECONOMY

The impact of economic restructuring on assimilation process of recent immigrants has become one of the most debated issues in recent literature (Perlmann and Waldinger 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). The focus of discussion is whether less-skilled immigrants and the second generation have only limited opportunity in an economy where the number of manufacturing jobs is slowly but surely declining. Taking job holding as main indicator, Waldinger and his colleagues found no evidence to support such suspicion (Waldinger and Feliciano 2004; Waldinger, Lim, and Cort 2007). Nevertheless, the work time of less-skilled immigrants has never been examined.

On the contrary, the increasing variation in work time among workers has been recognized in literature of time use and labor economics. Coleman and Pencavel found that, since 1940, the average work hours fell for those with limited schooling but rose for well-educated white men (1993). Jacob and Gerson also found that, since 1970, "a modest but growing bifurcation of working time has developed among workers" (2004:35). This work time re-allocation among men is depicted in figure 1, where x axis is the work hours per week and y axis is the percent of workers. In 1970, 48% of the male workers worked 40 hours per week, while in 2000, the percent decrease to 41%. In the mean time, the percentages at the bottom and at the top both increase. In 1970 only 4.5% of male workers worked less than 30 hours per week, the percentage grows to 8.7% in 2000. Simultaneously, the proportion who works more than 50 hours a week increases from around 20% to more than 25%. Those who are highly educated and working in professional, technical or managerial occupations are now more likely to have longer work hours than their counterpart did before, while the work time of those who are less-educated and in other occupations becomes more limited. The disparity of work time, thus, exacerbates the inequality in income opportunities particularly to hourly-paid workers.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Jacob and Gerson argued that the increasing variation of work time does not reflect merely workers' preferences. There are several structural incentives for employers to divide the labor force into two segments. Since the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (FLSA), employees have be divided into "exempt" and "non-exempt" two categories. Because benefits costs are fixed and overtime is not mandated fro exempt workers such as professionals and managers, employers are encouraged to demand long work hours from these employees. By contrast, in order to avoid paying mandatory overtime and full-time benefits such as health care, employers tend to cut work hours of those non-exempt workers (ibid. 36-7).

This "hollow in the middle" echoes the concerns on how the restructuring of the economy might impede the assimilation of recent immigrants. If the work time is becoming bipolarized, the issue is not merely whether there is sufficient opportunity at the middle but also at the bottom. In other words, the dense concentration in hourly-paid and low-skilled sectors might seriously limit the opportunity for work time of Mexican immigrants. A quiet different scenario thus emerges from what we saw at the turn of the century. That is, while European immigrants then were "overworked"

against the backdrop of industrial expansion, less-skilled immigrants today become "underworked" in the era of hourglass economy.

ETHNIC-RACIAL INEQUALITIES IN WORK TIME

Besides economic contexts, the work time of less-skilled immigrants might also be limited by ethnic-racial hierarchies in U.S. labor markets. Jacobs and Gerson noticed that white men work 2.5 hours more per week than black and Hispanic men. Besides, white men are twice as likely to work more than 50 hours per week as minority men. After controlling for education, age, occupation, marital, and parental status, the margins narrow down to around 1.6 hours, but the differentials in average work time and long hours remains substantial.

Bell also found black-white differences in work time. On average, black men work 20 percent fewer annual hours than white men. However, in response to questions on preference, black workers are more likely than white men to desire additional hours. This work time disparity, according to Bell, is a result of racial inequality in labor market. The limited opportunity for black workers in labor deters their work time from being responsive to overall wage variation in labor markets (1998). Glauber's research on family-work interaction also indicated that married white and Latino men on average experience increase in work hours while black men do not share the same marriage premium. It is because marriage premium, like other scarce resources, is not equally shared among all men. White married men are more likely to be recognized by employers as responsible and committed breadwinners than their black counterpart. Thus, employers might assign more opportunity to white married men instead of other workers (2008).

Even though Hispanic workers are often considered having higher socioeconomic status than black workers, the discrimination against Mexican workers has been increasing over past few decades (Allen, Telles, and Hunter 2000; Darity Jr. and Mason 1998; Espino and Franz 2002; Mason 2004). Massey argued that "U.S. policies are moving Mexican Americans steadily away from their middle position in the economic hierarchy and toward formation as an underclass" (2007:Ch. 4) Thus, it is reasonable to expect ethnic-racial inequalities when we investigate the work time of Mexican male workers.

SETTLEMENT, U.S. EXPERIENCE AND ENGLISH ABILITY

Besides the ethnic-racial difference in work time, the function of settlement process, U.S. experience and language ability should be taken into account for Mexican immigrants. In his comparison between temporal migrant workers and permanent immigrants, Piore found that the former tend to maximize their work time (1979:55-6), but this behavioral pattern fades when the settlement process comes in (ibid. 64). Following Piore's emphasis on temporary identity and the process of disembeddedness and re-embeddedness, Roberts deploys Merton's concept of Socially Expected Durations to analyze the social and economic behavior of different immigrant groups (1995). He reasoned that the expectation to return encourages Mexican immigrants to allocate more time to work rather than long-term plans for settlement.

However, settlement process brings rewards. Previous studies have found that the labor supply and economic adjustment of Mexican immigrant men are highly deter-

mined by their U.S. labor market experience (Massey 1987) and English proficiency (Kossoudji 1988; McManus, Gould, and Welch 1983; Trejo 1997). In other word, the longer Mexican men stay in U.S. the more chance they have to develop U.S.-specific skills or human capital, which enhances their competency and occupational mobility in labor markets.

Except for English ability and generational status, I have no direct measures of settlement process and U.S. experience. However, it is reasonable to assume both are associated with the year of entry. That is, earlier arrivals tend to have more U.S. experience and lower expectation to return, while recent immigrants are likely to have less experience but higher expectation to return.

POSSIBLE SCENARIOS FOR MEXICAN IMMIGRANT WORKERS

Even though Mexican immigrants might have strong commitment to work, the discussion above envisions that they might have less work time than native-born white workers for three reasons. First, current economic context is different from it was at the turn of last century. In the era of industrial expansion, unregulated demand in low-skilled sectors pressed European immigrant workers to have extremely lengthy workweek. Today, it is the professional and managerial jobs that require more work time, which are not accessible for less-skilled immigrants. In other words, the concentration of Mexican workers in certain sectors might cause the overall deficit in work time. Second, the ethnic-racial hierarchy in labor markets might privilege white workers by giving them more wage opportunity. That is, even holding similar job, Mexican workers might still obtain less work time than their white counterpart. Third, the deficiencies in U.S. labor market experiences and English ability could also limit some Mexican workers to obtain preferred hours of work.

In the following sections, I investigate the work time of Mexican immigrants using year round data from Current Population Survey 2006-2008. By comparing the inter-group differences in the distribution of work time, I will examine whether the work time of Mexican male workers is different from that of native-born non-Hispanic white and black male workers, and, if so, what are the plausible causes of this differential?

DATA, METHOD AND VARIABLES

Data

This paper uses data from Current Population Survey (CPS) basic monthly survey. CPS is the only large-scale dataset capable of indentifying foreign-born, US-born of foreign parentage, and US-born of US-born parentage subgroups within the large population. It also includes detailed information on respondent's work hours, job characteristics, familial contexts, and English ability, which would be used in my analysis.

To incorporate an appropriate sample size of Mexican immigrants and include year round observations (instead of March only), I combined data from January, 2006 to December 2008 but selected only men who were in their fourth survey. Furthermore, the purview is restricted to respondents aged 25-64, since precluding early adulthood avoids the interference of those who have not completed their education. I then exclude self-employed workers and disabled men from the dataset, which yields a sam-

ple size of 126,287 observations including 109,663 employed and 16,624 unemployed men.
To examine inter-group difference, these samples are divided by respondents' nativity, racial and ethnic identity, and generational status. Among the native-born, respondents who have no parents born outside of U.S no Hispanic origin and identified themselves as white are coded as third generation non-Hispanic white (which is the reference group in the regression analysis). The same procedure was applied to identify third generation non-Hispanic black. Similarly, native born without born foreign parents who identified as Mexican origin are coded third-generation Mexican. For those who have at least one parent born in Mexico, I coded them as second-generation Mexican. Those who were born in Mexico are coded first generation Mexican, and further categorized by their year of entry into the United States, which controls for the effects of US experience and cohort difference. The rest are coded as all others.

Method
To examine inter-group differences in work time, two major difficulties should be taken into account (for detailed discussion, see Killingsworth and Heckman 1986; Model, Stiers, and Weber 1992). First, models for work hours are limited to those who are employed, since non-workers have no hours to report. Thus, the estimates of OLS models limited to only workers could be affected by selection bias. Furthermore, if Mexican immigrant has stronger commitment to work, there should be difference in selection process which could bias the intergroup comparison. I use the Heckman two-step selection model to estimate inter-group differences controlling for potential sample selection bias. Expected weekly earnings (computed from employees in the sample), age, education level, marital/parental status, and English ability are used to predict whether one is in labor force or not in the selection equation.
Second, hourly wage rates for many cases are calculated from weekly earnings and weekly work hours. Thus, using observed hourly wage rate as independent variable could artificially inflate the relation between wage rate and work hours, as well as the explanatory power of the model. Thus, predicted wage rate is used as a substitute for observed wage rate in models predicting work hours. The procedure is further discussed in discussion on independent variables.

Dependent Variables
For the purpose of this study, two measures of work hours are used in the analyses:

1.) Total hours actually worked last week (from now on, HL), and
2.) Total hours usually worked per week (from now on, HU)[2].

Both of these measures have strength and weakness. HL is more likely to capture how many hours people actually work, but the number of hours might be influenced by the week of the interview rather than other relatively stable factors. HU, on the contrary, is more likely to capture the temporal routine, but the information it contains is less objective and more determined by self-report bias than that in HL.
In the first part of the analyses, I use HL to take a snapshot for the work time distribution to confirm the finding of Jacobs and Gerson. Then, I compare the inter-group difference to see whether similar bifurcation can be observed across ethnic-racial

[2] For those who do not have regular work hours, I approximate the length of their workweek with hours worked last week.

groups. Since this analysis is at aggregate level and I am using year-round data, the results should reflect the actual work time distribution in the United States. In the second part, HU is used as the dependent variable for multivariate analysis. It avoids the influence of the week of interview on results, and, if the difference between HU and HL is not randomly distributed, it provides more precise information on the effects of determinants, which are discussed in the next section.

Gross Differences in Work Hours per Week

Table 1 presents the means of HL (total hours actually worked last week) and of HU (total hours usually worked per week) for employed men aged 25-64. The sample size of former is different from that of latter because a small proportion of workers were on leave at the time of interview, who had no hours worked last week. Both HL and HU indicate that non-Hispanic third-generation white men on average work 2-4 hours more than any other ethnic-racial groups. The disparity between white and recent Mexican immigrant is most substantial: Mexican men who arrived in 1990s and 2000s work about 4-hours less than white men. The gap narrows for Mexican earlier arrivals. Those who arrived in 1980s or before in general have similar HL with third-generation non-Hispanic blacks. The means of the second generation Mexican workers slightly exceed that of black workers in both indicators. Nevertheless, by the third generation work time of Mexican workers is still 2-hours less than that of native-born whites.

[INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

These results contradicts the portrait that recent immigrants tend to have longer work hours than experienced migrants and native workers, but is consistent with the discussion above, that, due to the differences in economic contexts, low-skilled immigrants today, unlike their counterpart at the turn of last century, have access to fewer work hours than native workers. This deficiency seems to decline once Mexican immigrants acquire more U.S. experience. Nevertheless, the gap between whites and native-born Mexican American is sill substantial.

Table 2 presents the distribution of HL across the groups. The overall pattern confirms the finding of Jacobs and Gerson. More than 6.5% of men in work force work less than 30 hours, while close to 25% of men work 50 hours or more. 40-hour workers are no longer the majority. However, this bifurcation of work time does not persist across ethnic-racial groups. It is most apparent among White male workers, more than a fourth of who worked 50+ hours and in the week before the interview and only 42% of them have a standard workweek. By contrast, around 60% of first-generation Mexican immigrant men hold a standard 40-hour workweek. Except Mexican who arrived in 2000 or later, the percentages at the bottom of all other Mexican groups are lower than whites. Thus, the difference at the aggregate-level is not because Mexicans work less but because one-third of white men work significantly more than average. Moreover, the U.S. experience and generational status both have positive effects to the work hours of Mexican immigrants. While both have around 17% of workers who worked less than 40 hours the week before the interview, the proportion of native-born Mexican Americans working 40+ hours is larger than that of third-generation blacks.

[INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

Overall, the distribution of work time might merely reflect the fact that white male workers are more likely to have professional or managerial jobs and higher education attainment, while blacks and Mexican immigrants are more likely to work in low-skilled sectors. However, the impact of work time bifurcation seems to be limited among Mexican groups. This result is in accordance with what Perlmann and Waldinger argued, that the magnitude of U.S. economy and its slow pace to change should still provide ample space for immigrants, a relatively small fraction of the workforce, to build up ethnic niches (1997:912). Thus, the restructuring of the economy, might not limit the work time of low-skilled immigrants.

Independent Variables

To further examine the net inter-group differences in work time, I incorporate predicated wage rate, job and skill characteristics, familial contexts, and English ability into regression analysis.

1.) Predicated Wage Rate

As mentioned above, observed wage rate calculated from weekly earnings and weekly work hours could inflate the association between wage rate and work time. Furthermore, using observed wage rate would exaggerate ethnic-racial difference in work time since minority workers are often less-paid than white workers. To overcome these problems, I develop an OLS model for logged wage rate using job characteristics, metropolitan status and English ability as determinants. Then, a new variable predicted logged wage is generated from the sum of coefficients for all determinants and the intercept. This predicted wage rate is used as a surrogate in my analysis.

2.) Job and Skill Characteristics

Eight sets of variables are used to capture the job characteristics. First, I use a dichotomous variable to sort jobs by whether it is paid hourly. Second, another dichotomous variable is used to capture whether the respondent receive overtime pay, tips or commissions. Third, another dichotomous variable indicates whether the respondent is a member of union. Fourth, an interaction term between union membership and hourly-paid status is used to capture how the effect of union membership varies by hourly-paid status. Fifth, a set of variables on occupation of the primary job separates the main occupation of respondents into ten categories, where professional related occupation is treated as omitted group. For those respondents who have multiple jobs, this variable might overestimate the effects of their primary occupation. Then, educational attainment is used here to approximate the skills required by the job. It is separated into six categories from primary to more than college. Those who have no high school education are treated as the omitted group. A set of variables on work sectors, from another aspect, divides respondents into four groups including government, private, self-employed and other class. Those who work in local, state, or federal government are treated as reference. Age and age-squared are used to denote the function of seniority on work time. According to the discussion above, senior and non-hourly paid workers who hold professional or managerial occupation in private sectors which require higher education attainment are expected to have longer work hours than others.

2.) Familial Contexts

Four sets of variables are used to capture the familial contexts. Marital status is separated into five categories including married-spouse present, married-spouse absent,

married before, widow and never-married. The last group is treated as the reference. Other income serves as a proxy for earnings of spouse and other family income resource, calculated from family annual income and the respondent's weekly earnings, and is expected to have negative effect on work time. Two dichotomous variables are respectively used to indicate parental status and whether there is other adult member in the household.

3.) English Ability

English ability has been found to be an important determinant of Mexican immigrants' labor force participation. A dichotomous variable asking whether Spanish is the only language spoken by all members in this household who are 15 years and older is incorporated in the regression model.

Differences in Independent Variables

Table 3 lists the means of independent variables for all employed men. Mexican immigrant men on average have lower wage rate, more likely to be hourly-paid, less-likely to be protected by union, less chance to acquire overtime payment, and lower educational attainment than their non-Hispanic white counterparts. Besides, a large proportion of Mexicans obtain service, construction and production related occupations while more white men have management, business, financial, and professional related occupations. Furthermore, there is a sharp difference in educational level. About half of Mexican recent immigrants have no high school education, whereas only 2% of native-born population in the same category. Thus, the patterns of job holding and skill characteristics could explain why the work time of Mexican men is lower than that of their whites or blacks.

[INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE]

The shortage of work time among recent Mexican immigrants could also be explained by familial contexts. Compared with native-born non-Hispanic white men, recent Mexican immigrants are more likely to be either single or married without the presence of spouse. Thus, they might not share the marriage premium in work time with married men living with his wife. However, other familial factors such as marital status for early migrants and other family income predict that Mexican men should have longer workweek than whites. Moreover, 12% to 28% of Mexican men speak only Spanish at home, which implies deficiency in English. This language pattern is also expected to account for the deficit in work time for Mexican men.

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES

In order to examine whether the shortage of work time among Mexican men is due to their concentration in low-skilled labor sectors, successive Heckman two-step selection models are deployed in following analyses. The baseline model includes the selection factor and ethnic categories. The coefficients for ethnic-racial categories in this model are thus adjusted for sample selection bias into employment. Marital, parental status, other income, and family composition are added in the second model to specify the familial contexts. Predicted wage rate, job characteristics and skill related variables are added in the third model. If the work time disparities are explained by the jobs and skills Mexican men hold, ethnic coefficients are expected to decline. Fi-

nally, whether respondent speaks Spanish only is included into the last model, controlling for the effect of fluency in English on access to hours.

[INSERT TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE]

Table 4 presents coefficients, standard errors for two-step regression models predicting usual work hours per week. After taking selection effect into account, the results of the baseline model are slightly different from Table 1. However, the pattern is similar. Compared with white male workers, minority groups still face significant amount of deficient in work time. The largest gap is between whites and Mexican men who arrived in 2000 or after. On average, the latter work about 3 hours less than the former. The shortage decreases to around 1.5 hours among early immigrants and the second generation.

Model (II) controls for familial contexts to specify supply side of variation. Marital experience in general has positive effects to one's work time, which is most salient among those living with their spouses. Unexpectedly, parental status and other income have no meaningful effect in one's amount of work time. Having other adult member in household, on the other hand, decreases the work time of men about half an hour. The disparities in work time slightly decrease when holding familial contexts constant. The largest attenuation comes from Mexican recent immigrant workers, who are relatively young and more likely to be single.

In Model (III) I further control for job and skill characteristics. The directions of coefficients are consistent with previous discussion. Predicted wage rate has a negative relation to work hours, but the accessibility to overtime payment, tips and commissions on average lengthens workweek about 3.6 hours. Hourly-paid employees work 5 hours less per week than salary workers, which captures the division between non-exempt and exempt workers. The effect of union membership varies by hourly-paid status. For hourly-paid workers, union membership helps to gain one more paid hour per week. For salary workers, union membership slightly shortens their workweek but the effect is not significant.

As for occupational categories, only the workweek of management, business, and financial related occupation exceeds that of professional category. Service category, on the other hand, has the shortest workweek among occupations. Employees in private sectors tend to have longer workweek than those in government. In addition, work time is positively associated with age, but the relationship gradually declines when employees become older. Education attainment on average has an exponential function on workweek. Those who have professional training tend to work 8 hour longer than those have no high school education.

The coefficients for ethnic-racial categories in Model (II) indicate that substantial amount of inter-group difference in work time is explained by wage rate, skills and job holding. Though most coefficients remain significant, all hour deficits relative to white men shrink to about or less than hour. Mexican men who arrived before 1980 now have no difference from white employees. The deficits of blacks and recent immigrants are also attenuated. The change in the coefficients for Mexican men who arrived after 1990 is most striking. When the effects of U.S. experience and generational status were obvious in the previous model, they are now tenuous. In other words, the location in economy is a key intervening variable between U.S. experience/ generational status and work time.

To further examine the handicap of language, a dichotomous variable on whether the respondent speaks only Spanish is added in Model (IV). It turns out that language

ability is a strong determinant of work hours. Those who speak only Spanish on average suffer 3.5 hours lost in their work opportunity. After controlling for this variable, the difference between black and white employees decreases to less than one hour. All negative coefficients for Mexican men also become insignificant at 0.01-level.

SUMMARY

While many studies have focused on the labor force participation and economic adjustment of immigrants, few examine their work time. This article is an initial step to explore the work time of immigrants. Results show that, unlike European immigrants at the turn of last century, less-skilled immigrants today have fewer work hours than native-born whites. The difference between immigrants now and then mostly comes from the change in economic contexts. Immigrants then mostly built up their niches in labor-intensive sectors in an era of industrial expansion. Having extremely lengthy workweek was their way to compete with native-born workers. On the contrary, less-skilled immigrants today face a new economy where low-skilled workers acquire far less work time than their high skilled counterpart do. Thus, work time becomes a scarce resource for Mexican immigrants.

Second, compared with white male workers, the impact of work time bifurcation is limited among Mexican men. Around 60% of Mexican immigrants hold a 40-hour workweek, while only 40% of whites work in this category. Except those who arrived after 2000, the proportion of Mexican men who work less than 40 hours is similar or even smaller than that of whites. Thus, the difference at the aggregate level is mainly caused by white men who have extremely more work hours. Furthermore, the work time distribution of both second- and the third-generation Mexicans is closer to the pattern of whites. Compared with first generation Mexicans, around 10% of their offspring move to more than 40 hours categories from the middle.

The disparity in work time between white and Mexican male employees is largely explained by difference in selection process, the concentration of Mexican men in low-skilled sectors and their language handicap. Compared with white men, Mexican men are more likely to have low-skilled hourly-paid job in service, construction, and production occupational categories. They are also less-likely to receive overtime payment, tips, commissions, and to be protected by union.

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FIGURE 1 HOURS WORKED LAST WEEK FOR MEN IN WORKFORCE, 1970 AND 2000
Source: Jacobs and Gerson (2004:33)

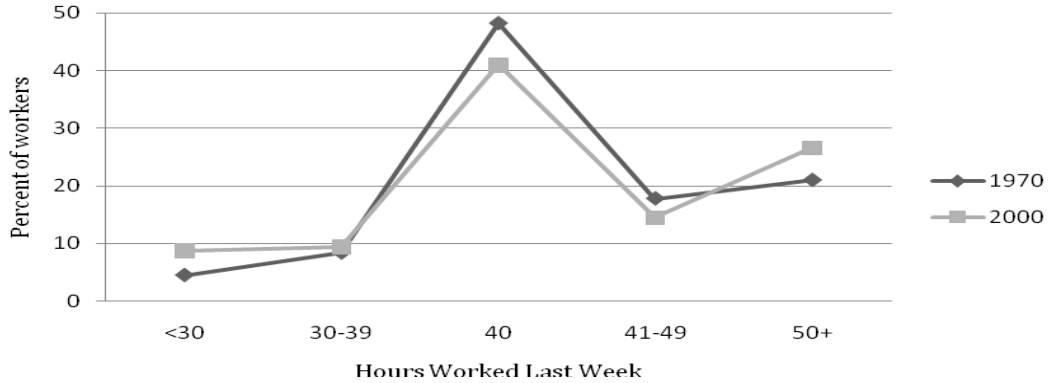

TABLE 1 AVERAGE HL AND HU AMONG FOR EMPLOYED MEN, CPS BASIC MONTHLY SURVEY 2006-2008

Groups	HL	N	HU	N
3rd Generation Whites	43.56	70838	44.03	72898
3rd Generation Blacks	41.25	6825	41.63	6991
Mexicans: early arrivals	41.42	789	41.75	816
Mexicans: 1980s arrivals	41.23	1443	41.67	1473
Mexicans: 1990s arrivals	40.2	2033	40.96	2068
Mexicans: 2000s arrivals	39.33	1452	40.4	1472
Mexicans: 2nd Generation	41.8	1268	41.95	1292
Mexicans: 3rd Generation	42.03	1879	42.16	1932
All Others	42.2	20139	42.64	20721
Total	43.43	106,666	43.4	109,663

TABLE 2 THE DISTRIBUTION OF HL AMONG EMPLOYED MEN AT WORK (%), CPS BASIC MONTHLY SURVEY 2006-2008

Groups	<30	31-39	40	41-49	50+	N
3rd Generation Whites	6.53	9.75	41.83	14.57	27.32	70838
3rd Generation Blacks	6.7	9.8	59.66	8.56	15.28	6825
Mexicans: early arrivals	5.32	6.72	65.27	9	13.69	789
Mexicans: 1980s arrivals	4.85	10.74	62.44	9.22	12.75	1443
Mexicans: 1990s arrivals	5.85	12.69	62.81	8.26	10.38	2033
Mexicans: 2000s arrivals	8.61	13.43	62.12	5.99	9.85	1452
Mexicans: 2nd Generation	6.62	9.62	56.23	9.78	17.74	1268
Mexicans: 3rd Generation	6.12	10.7	53.01	10.75	19.43	1879
All Others	6.65	9.57	52.78	10.67	20.33	20139
Total	6.54	9.83	46.53	12.98	24.12	106,666

TABLE 3 PERCENTAGES, MEANS, EMPLOYED MEN , CPS BASIC MONTHLY SURVEY 2006-2008 (N=109,663)

Variables	3rd Generation Whites	3rd Generation Blacks	Mexicans: early arrivals	Mexicans: 1980s arrivals	Mexicans: 1990s arrivals	Mexicans: 2000s arrivals	Mexicans: 2nd Generation	Mexicans: 3rd Generation	All Others	Total
wage rate										
Predicted logged wage rate	2.983	2.86	2.691	2.625	2.549	2.497	2.785	2.821	2.962	2.944
Job Characteristics										
hourly-paid	0.496	0.613	0.733	0.763	0.779	0.796	0.651	0.65	0.5	0.524
Having overtime payment, tips or commissions	0.201	0.158	0.118	0.129	0.106	0.079	0.19	0.192	0.155	0.184
Union Member	0.152	0.183	0.152	0.099	0.069	0.03	0.157	0.158	0.146	0.146
Management, business, and financial	0.174	0.093	0.059	0.033	0.026	0.013	0.096	0.105	0.144	0.154
Professional and related	0.199	0.14	0.045	0.026	0.019	0.016	0.114	0.119	0.231	0.19
Service	0.094	0.187	0.167	0.198	0.236	0.243	0.139	0.145	0.142	0.117
Sales and related	0.101	0.058	0.054	0.05	0.025	0.02	0.094	0.09	0.084	0.091
Office and administrative support	0.059	0.106	0.033	0.035	0.032	0.015	0.091	0.083	0.068	0.063
Farming, fishing, and forestry	0.008	0.006	0.058	0.056	0.054	0.069	0.012	0.01	0.005	0.01
Construction and extraction	0.097	0.07	0.196	0.248	0.331	0.395	0.143	0.141	0.096	0.108
Installation, maintenance, and repair	0.079	0.056	0.058	0.067	0.044	0.037	0.077	0.076	0.058	0.072
Production	0.094	0.112	0.184	0.158	0.131	0.108	0.102	0.102	0.084	0.096
Transportation and material moving	0.093	0.174	0.146	0.129	0.102	0.084	0.131	0.128	0.088	0.099
Government	0.163	0.219	0.053	0.03	0.014	0.007	0.15	0.185	0.144	0.156
Private	0.788	0.731	0.929	0.957	0.979	0.982	0.816	0.784	0.806	0.797
Other Class	0.049	0.05	0.018	0.012	0.008	0.011	0.034	0.032	0.05	0.047
Primary	0.02	0.02	0.47	0.47	0.47	0.51	0.08	0.06	0.07	0.05
Some High School	0.038	0.074	0.096	0.123	0.134	0.13	0.104	0.092	0.043	0.047
High School	0.313	0.395	0.241	0.272	0.278	0.238	0.357	0.395	0.262	0.308
Some College	0.28	0.301	0.132	0.09	0.072	0.063	0.3	0.297	0.227	0.261
College	0.236	0.15	0.043	0.039	0.032	0.04	0.127	0.11	0.235	0.216
More than College	0.118	0.063	0.018	0.01	0.017	0.016	0.036	0.049	0.164	0.116
Age	43.57	42.66	47.39	40.78	35.5	33.7	37.68	39.83	41.76	42.75

Familial Contexts										
Married-Spouse Present	0.676	0.521	0.767	0.743	0.682	0.451	0.58	0.598	0.631	0.654
Married-Spouse Absent	0.008	0.014	0.045	0.052	0.059	0.177	0.022	0.015	0.034	0.017
Widowed	0.007	0.011	0.013	0.004	0.002	0.003	0.005	0.004	0.006	0.007
Married Before	0.127	0.152	0.093	0.075	0.056	0.052	0.111	0.141	0.097	0.12
Never Married	0.182	0.302	0.081	0.125	0.202	0.317	0.283	0.242	0.232	0.202
Parental Status	0.382	0.331	0.506	0.656	0.597	0.379	0.451	0.449	0.403	0.393
Other Income	686.7	499.1	371.9	205.9	172	160.4	475.4	466.3	696.7	644.7
Other Adult Member	0.251	0.353	0.531	0.449	0.424	0.446	0.404	0.367	0.345	0.29
English Ability										
Spanish Only	0.002	0.002	0.118	0.179	0.208	0.279	0.05	0.01	0.029	0.019
Lineal Prediction from Probit	1.317	1.04	1.075	1.264	1.231	1.155	1.233	1.222	1.282	1.284
Inverse Mills Ratio	0.209	0.296	0.289	0.217	0.227	0.251	0.23	0.234	0.22	0.219

TABLE 4. COEFFICIENTS AND STANDARD ERRORS FOR TWO-STEP SELECTION MODELS PREDICTING USUAL WORK HOURS PER WEEK, CPS BASIC MONTHLY SURVEY 2006-2008

	(I)		(II)		(III)		(IV)	
Variables	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.
Groups								
3rd Generation Blacks	-1.600***	(0.133)	-1.386***	(0.132)	-1.000***	(0.141)	-0.628***	(0.148)
Mexicans: early arrivals	-1.543***	(0.347)	-1.519***	(0.349)	-0.627	(0.350)	-0.181	(0.348)
Mexicans: 1980s arrivals	-2.286***	(0.266)	-2.079***	(0.267)	-0.948***	(0.269)	-0.373	(0.275)
Mexicans: 1990s arrivals	-2.902***	(0.226)	-2.595***	(0.226)	-1.195***	(0.232)	-0.602*	(0.239)
Mexicans: 2000s arrivals	-3.244***	(0.264)	-2.697***	(0.267)	-1.283***	(0.273)	-0.589*	(0.278)
Mexicans: 2nd Generation	-1.885***	(0.280)	-1.569***	(0.280)	-0.906***	(0.273)	-0.666*	(0.273)
Mexicans: 3rd Generation	-1.636***	(0.230)	-1.412***	(0.230)	-0.782***	(0.225)	-0.626**	(0.225)
All Others	-1.298***	(0.0801)	-1.161***	(0.0802)	-0.923***	(0.0804)	-0.734***	(0.0829)
wage rate								
Predicted logged wage rate					-9.303***	(0.762)	-13.40***	(0.899)
Job and Skill Characteristics								
Hourly-paid					-5.341***	(0.138)	-5.960***	(0.156)
Having overtime payment, tips or commissions					3.605***	(0.0778)	3.589***	(0.0778)
Union Member					-0.301*	(0.149)	-0.290	(0.150)
Hourly-paid*Union					1.431***	(0.177)	1.434***	(0.178)
Management, business, and financial					2.790***	(0.116)	3.065***	(0.121)
Service					-3.464***	(0.307)	-4.944***	(0.352)
Sales and related					-1.190***	(0.190)	-1.947***	(0.210)
Office and administrative support					-2.874***	(0.252)	-3.994***	(0.284)

Farming, fishing, and forestry			-0.759	(0.524)	-2.992***	(0.581)
Construction and extraction			-0.0447	(0.135)	-0.199	(0.136)
Installation, maintenance, and repair			-0.158	(0.153)	-0.465**	(0.157)
Production			-0.875***	(0.189)	-1.582***	(0.205)
Transportation and material moving			-0.922***	(0.253)	-2.078***	(0.286)
Private			0.750***	(0.0919)	0.815***	(0.0921)
Other class			-1.351***	(0.210)	-2.095***	(0.227)
Age			0.709***	(0.0801)	0.629***	(0.0811)
Age-squared			-0.00756***	(0.000963)	-0.00591***	(0.000975)
Some High School			1.429***	(0.220)	1.967***	(0.235)
High School			3.455***	(0.284)	4.331***	(0.310)
Some College			4.310***	(0.343)	5.384***	(0.375)
College			5.523***	(0.485)	7.214***	(0.536)
More than College			8.004***	(0.554)	9.955***	(0.613)
Familial Contexts						
Married-Spouse Present	1.683***	(0.0905)	1.351***	(0.141)	0.836***	(0.150)
Married-Spouse Absent	0.994***	(0.256)	1.092***	(0.249)	0.859**	(0.261)
Widowed	1.503***	(0.386)	0.982**	(0.370)	1.218**	(0.381)
Married Before	1.338***	(0.117)	1.102***	(0.123)	0.878***	(0.130)
Parental Status	-0.0756	(0.0838)	0.0473	(0.0798)	-0.0570	(0.0844)
Other Income	0.000311***	(2.97e-05)	6.45e-05*	(2.96e-05)	7.34e-05*	(2.97e-05)
Other Adult Member	-0.665***	(0.0677)	-0.238***	(0.0672)	-0.257***	(0.0669)
English Ability						

Spanish Only							-3.087***	(0.304)
λ	-9.215***	(0.225)	-7.769***	(0.266)	-3.724***	(0.946)	-8.184***	(1.005)
Constant	45.96***	(0.0629)	44.29***	(0.110)	52.83***	(1.812)	66.11***	(2.220)
N	126287		126287		126287		126287	

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