# The Impact of Hispanic Last Names on Educational and Labor Market Outcomes\*

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###### Abstract

Do individuals with Hispanic names face labor market discrimination? This study analyzes the impact of Hispanic-sounding surnames on wages among inter-ethnic children with one White and one Hispanic parent. I find that individuals that likely have Hispanic surnames often earn less, with a notable wage gap favoring those with White surnames. People born to His- panic fathers and White mothers receive 0.2 years of education less than those born to White fathers and Hispanic mothers. Men born to Hispanic fathers and White mothers are 1 percentage point more likely to be unemployed, and earn 5 percentage points less than those born to White fathers and Hispanic mothers. The earnings gap is largely due to educational differences. **JEL**: J71; J64; J15; J31; I24; J62

**Keywords**: Discrimination and Prejudice; Wage Gap; Inter-ethnic Families

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## Introduction

A large literature documents substantial earnings gaps across race and ethnicity (Bayer and Charles [2018](#_bookmark28); Charles and Guryan [2008](#_bookmark39)). Hispanics constitute a large and growing portion of the population in the United States. As the number of Hispanics increases, determining whether ethnic discrimination affects their labor market outcomes becomes increasingly crucial. Specifically, it is essential to investigate the extent to which a per- son’s Hispanic ethnicity may influence their employment prospects, wages, and career advancement. Understanding these labor market outcomes is critical, as they directly im- pact broader societal issues such as assimilation and economic mobility (Chetty et al. [2017](#_bookmark40); Chetty, Hendren, and Katz [2016](#_bookmark41); Chetty, Hendren, Kline, Saez, and Turner [2014](#_bookmark43)). These factors serve as key indicators of how successfully Hispanics can integrate into society and ascend the socioeconomic ladder.

In this paper, I answer the following questions. Does having a Hispanic last name affect educational outcomes? Does having a Hispanic last name affect labor market out- comes? I aim to show that comparing Hispanic Whites to non-Hispanic Whites might create an artificially higher earnings gap since the two groups differ in many observable characteristics.[1](#_bookmark1) [2](#_bookmark2) My analysis focuses on US-born children with a foreign-born parent—

i.e. inter-ethnic.[3](#_bookmark3) Others have attempted to compare how native-born White Hispanics

fare to non-Hispanic Whites and foreign-born Hispanics. In Antman, Duncan, and Trejo ([2016a](#_bookmark22)), Antman, Duncan, and Trejo ([2016b](#_bookmark23)), and Antman, Duncan, and Trejo ([2020a](#_bookmark24), [2020b](#_bookmark25)), the authors compare the health and educational outcomes of Hispanic Whites to non-Hispanic Whites and native-born Hispanics to foreign-born Hispanics. They find gaps in education and health between Hispanics and Whites. They also find that native- born Hispanics are more likely than their foreign-born counterparts to report poor health. Dávila and Mora ([2008](#_bookmark46)) documents many gaps in labor market outcomes between His- panics and Whites. They attribute a big part of this gap to differences in education, expe- rience, immigration status, and regional differences. This paper builds on those studies by emphasizing how cultural assimilation and generational status further shape educational and labor market disparities for Hispanics.

Understanding discrimination against Hispanics in labor markets has far-reaching im-

1By identifying as Hispanic, I refer to individuals who self-report their ethnicity as Hispanic on surveys or other data collection instruments.

2Observable characteristics refer to factors that can be measured and quantified, such as education level, work experience, and immigration status.

3This study’s focus on US-born children with foreign-born parents means the findings may not generalize to Hispanic children with US-born parents, who likely face different socioeconomic and cultural circumstances. Additionally, the analysis does not account for heterogeneity in im- migrant characteristics across different Spanish-speaking countries of origin, such as variations in educational attainment, socioeconomic status, and gender-specific migration patterns, which could influence both parental selection into migration and subsequent child outcomes.

plications that extend beyond individual earnings. Labor market discrimination can cre- ate persistent intergenerational disadvantages by limiting economic mobility, reducing access to quality healthcare and education, and constraining residential choices (Bowles and Gintis [2002](#_bookmark37); Chetty et al. [2017](#_bookmark40); Chetty, Hendren, and Katz [2016](#_bookmark41); Chetty, Hendren, Kline, Saez, and Turner [2014](#_bookmark43); Djajic´ [2003](#_bookmark47)). Additionally, discrimination may foster occu- pational sorting and segregation, as shown by recent task-based models of racial wage gaps that identify race-specific barriers in “Contact” tasks and explain the stagnation of these gaps post-1980 (Hurst, Rubinstein, and Shimizu [2024](#_bookmark58)). These barriers may trap Hispanic families in cycles of lower socioeconomic status, as reduced earnings and em- ployment opportunities limit their ability to invest in their children’s human capital or build wealth through homeownership and savings.[4](#_bookmark4) While previous research has doc- umented earnings gaps between Hispanics and non-Hispanic Whites, this paper makes several important contributions. First, this paper develops a novel empirical strategy that better isolates the causal effect of Hispanic ethnicity on educational and labor market out- comes by comparing children of inter-ethnic marriages. This approach helps control for typically unobservable family background characteristics that might confound traditional analyses. Second, it provides new evidence on the specific role of Hispanic surnames in driving discrimination, offering insights into how ethnic signals influence both educa- tional attainment and labor market outcomes. Finally, by examining both education and employment outcomes, this study helps illuminate the channels through which ethnic discrimination may perpetuate economic disparities across generations. Furthermore, it extends earlier findings by demonstrating how naming cues can compound structural inequalities and reinforce existing barriers faced by Hispanics.

This study builds upon and improves the traditional Oaxaca-Blinder-Kitagawa de-

composition approach often used in labor market discrimination studies (Blinder [1973](#_bookmark35); Kitagawa [1955](#_bookmark61); Oaxaca [1973](#_bookmark63)). While these decomposition methods have provided valu- able insights into earnings gaps between different groups, including Hispanics and non- Hispanic Whites (Dávila and Mora [2008](#_bookmark46)), they are limited in their ability to account for unobserved differences between the groups. My approach, by comparing children of inter-ethnic marriages, provides a more closely matched comparison group, allowing me to better isolate the effect of having a Hispanic last name on labor market outcomes.

The methodological improvement in this paper is particularly timely and relevant given the rapidly changing demographics of the United States. The US population is growing increasingly diverse, with significant implications for labor market dynamics and potential discrimination. The proportion of non-Whites has increased by more than 10 percentage points from 13 percent in 1995 to 23 percent in 2019.[5](#_bookmark5) Native-born White

4See Bowles and Gintis ([2002](#_bookmark37)) for an analysis of the intergenerational transmission of economic status .

5The proportion of non-Whites and Hispanics is calculated using the Current Population Survey (CPS).

Hispanic men earn 21% less than White men, although a substantial portion of the earn- ings gap is due to educational differences between Hispanics and Whites (Duncan, Hotz, and Trejo [2006](#_bookmark49); Duncan and Trejo [2018a](#_bookmark50), [2018b](#_bookmark51)). Some earnings differences may also be due to discrimination which will have negative consequences. For example, discrimina- tion against Hispanics can lead to reduced job opportunities, lower wages, and hinder as- similation (Bowles and Gintis [2002](#_bookmark37); Chetty, Hendren, Kline, and Saez [2014](#_bookmark42); Djajic´ [2003](#_bookmark47)).[6](#_bookmark6) Using this novel approach, I find significant effects of having Hispanic last names on both educational and labor market outcomes. The results show that individuals that likely have a Hispanic last names face substantial disadvantages in educational attainment and earnings compared to their counterparts with likely non-Hispanic names. Specifically, in- dividuals that likely have Hispanic last names complete 0.2 years of education less than those with non-Hispanic names, even when controlling for family background. Individ- uals individuals that likely have Hispanic last names are also 1 percentage point more likely to be unemployed and earn 5 percentage points less than those with non-Hispanic names. These findings suggest that ethnic discrimination continues to play a role in shap- ing economic opportunities for Hispanics in the United States, highlighting the need for

targeted policies to address these persistent disparities.

Identifying discrimination is difficult because of factors that affect labor market out- comes that are unobservable to economists—such as unobserved skills and separating it from prejudice and stereotypes. One strategy used by researchers is audit or resume stud- ies. Bertrand and Mullainathan ([2004](#_bookmark34)) conducted an audit study where identical resumes were sent to employers with White and Black-sounding names. This approach, however, has its drawbacks. Audit studies only observe callbacks, not wages.

This study uses a method developed by Rubinstein and Brenner ([2014](#_bookmark64)). I compare children from inter-ethnic marriages. More precisely, I compare children of Hispanic fathers and White mothers (henceforth HW) to children of White fathers and Hispanic mothers (henceforth WH). This approach stems from the fact that there is a strong selec- tion among many characteristics, and thus, marriages are not random. Couples match on several observable characteristics like income, schooling, socio-economic background, etc. (Averett and Korenman [1996](#_bookmark26); Averett, Sikora, and Argys [2008](#_bookmark27)).[7](#_bookmark7) Children of HW and WH marriages have more similar observable characteristics than children of endoga- mous/homogamous marriages— i.e., White fathers-White mothers and Hispanic fathers- Hispanic mothers. Moreover, children from a Hispanic father and White mother house- hold will have a Hispanic last name from their fathers, enabling the investigation of how ethnic signals, such as having a Hispanic last name, affect annual log earnings.

6This study focuses on U.S.-born children of inter-ethnic unions, many of whom have at least one foreign-born parent. Assimilation concerns remain relevant because foreign-born parents may pass on cultural norms and language preferences, which can still shape these children’s educational and labor market outcomes.

7For more on assortative mating see (Becker [1973](#_bookmark29), [1974](#_bookmark30), [1993](#_bookmark31); Browning, Chiappori, and Lechene [2006](#_bookmark38); Chiappori, Oreffice, and Quintana-Domeque [2012](#_bookmark44))

In addition, when analyzing the effect of having a Hispanic last name on educational outcomes, I provide separate analysis of men and women. Separating the results for men and women is motivated by evidence that gender and ethnic discrimination operate through distinct mechanisms. As Bertrand ([2020](#_bookmark33)) discusses, women’s labor market out- comes are shaped by persistent gender norms and stereotypes, particularly around moth- erhood and caregiving. Antecol and Bedard ([2002](#_bookmark21)) found that young Mexican women earned 9.5% less than young white women in 1994, with differences in education appear- ing to be the most important explanation for this gap. This contrasts with findings for black women, where differences in labor force attachment were the key driver of wage disparities. The way discrimination manifests can also evolve differently by gender over time— Goldin and Shim ([2004](#_bookmark55)) document how women’s professional identity and career continuity have become increasingly important factors in labor market outcomes, while Darity Jr, Hamilton, and Stewart ([2015](#_bookmark45)) argue that a stratification economics approach helps reveal how group-based hierarchies are maintained through both discriminatory practices and intergenerational resource transfers. Therefore, disaggregating the results by gender provides important insights into how the intersection of ethnic and gender discrimination shapes educational and economic opportunities.

The main identifying assumption of my empirical strategy depends on the assump- tion that people born to HW parents are similar to their WH peer in all observable—and unobservable—aspects and characteristics that are important in the labor market. Con- sequently, the only difference between the two groups is the variation in which group is more likely to have a Hispanic sounding last name. Children from mixed ethnic back- grounds may appear physically similar to those from single ethnicity backgrounds, but the influence of family dynamics and upbringing, crucial in developing skills and per- sonal characteristics, varies with the pattern of mixed ethnic marriages. Particularly in a society where Hispanic ancestry could be perceived negatively, it raises the question of the type of White women would choose Hispanic men. Furthermore, even if such unions were formed randomly, children from White-Hispanic homes might benefit from more favorable family conditions than those from Hispanic-White homes, considering Whites generally have stronger socio-economic backgrounds than Hispanics. These factors intro- duce doubts regarding whether children from Hispanic-White families receive compara- ble familial support and influences, either genetically or environmentally, as those from White-Hispanic families.

Previous studies have also used names as a proxy for race and ethnicity (Bertrand and Mullainathan [2004](#_bookmark34); Fryer Jr and Levitt [2004](#_bookmark53); Rubinstein and Brenner [2014](#_bookmark64)). Fryer Jr and Levitt ([2004](#_bookmark53)) point out that names can be a predictor of a person’s race. Specif- ically, they provide a rising pattern among Blacks having different names than Whites. They did, however, find that having a Black name, after controlling for the home envi- ronment at birth, does not affect their labor market outcomes. Rubinstein and Brenner ([2014](#_bookmark64)) compared the children of mixed marriages between Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews

in Israel.[8](#_bookmark9) They found that workers with Sephardic last names earn substantially less than those with Ashkenazi last names. Bertrand and Mullainathan ([2004](#_bookmark34)) conducted an audit study by sending employers identical resumes that differ in the ethnic and racial signal of a name (Black sounding name versus a White sounding one). They found that resumes with Black-sounding names received substantially fewer callbacks than their White coun- terparts. Furthermore, these early innovations in leveraging name-based identification highlight the importance of understanding how such signals can capture both conscious and unconscious bias, thereby situating this study within a broader framework of research on race, names, and economic outcomes.

Moreover, audit studies in education economics investigated the effect of racial and ethnic signal on access to education. Bergman and McFarlin Jr ([2018](#_bookmark32)) found that students with Hispanic sounding names received 2 percentage points fewer responses from schools than students with White sounding names. Janssen et al. ([2022](#_bookmark59)) found that guidance counselors restricted Asian students from advanced opportunities. Gaddis et al. ([2024](#_bookmark54)) found significant discrimination in interactions with principals against Hispanic and Chi- nese American families. Finally, Bourabain, Verhaeghe, and Stevens ([2023](#_bookmark36)) found more evidence of discrimination in access to education against students with underprivileged backgrounds in the Flemish education system. Discrimination can affect educational at- tainment through multiple channels: restricted access to advanced coursework, biased academic counseling, limited encouragement to pursue higher education, and subtle in- stitutional barriers that may cause Hispanic students to feel unwelcome or unsupported in educational settings. While Hispanic college enrollment has increased substantially in recent decades, discrimination within educational institutions may still impede degree completion through these various mechanisms. This paper contributes to this literature by providing evidence that discrimination in access to education could lead to lower earn- ings for Hispanics, and it further shows how parental background and marriage market selection can importantly shape these outcomes in ways not previously explored by ear- lier studies.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. In Section [2](#_bookmark8), I describe the data used in this paper. In Section [3](#_bookmark14), I present the empirical strategy. In Section [5](#_bookmark18), I present the results from the estimation of the two specifications. Finally, in Section [6](#_bookmark20), I conclude.

## Data

I use three datasets: the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) Current Population Survey (CPS), CPS’ Annual Social and Economic (ASEC) supplement, and CPS’ outgoing rotation ([Flood et al.](#_bookmark52) [2020](#_bookmark52)), and the 1960 to 2000 US censuses ([Ruggles et](#_bookmark65) [al.](#_bookmark65) [2020](#_bookmark65)).

8Ashkenazi and Sephardic are two distinct Jewish ethnic groups.

I use the CPS data set to study the effect of having a Hispanic last name on a person’s labor market outcomes. I take advantage of the fact that the CPS asks parents’ place of birth, ethnicity, and race. The data spans the period between 1994— the earliest sample to ask about a parent’s place of birth— to 2019. Moreover, since the CPS does not provide data on parents’ characteristics, essential to determine the family background, I use the census to construct synthetic parents. The census offers a larger sample of potential par- ents. Similar to the CPS, the 1960 to 2000 censuses ask about the person’s place of birth and the individual’s race and ethnicity. I employ this information to construct "synthetic parents" using a method developed by Rubinstein and Brenner ([2014](#_bookmark64)). I construct the syn- thetic parents by linking husbands and wives in the census data to each other. I assume that parents have children between the ages of 25 and 40. I then link these synthetic par- ents using the birth year of child, and parents’ places of birth to the year of birth of the "children" and the parents’ places of birth in the CPS sample.

For my main analysis, I use different dependent variables. I construct different ed- ucational variables: years of education, whether the person has a high school diploma, whether the person has an associate degree, and whether the person has a bachelor de- gree. For labor market outcomes, I construct unemployment rate variable using the main CPS, log annual earnings using the ASEC, and log weekly earnings using the outgoing rotation. The unemployment indicator is a binary variable that equals 1 if someone is un- employed and 0 if employed, based on civilian labor force status.Log annual earnings is the log of total personal income from the CPS’ ASEC supplement. Log weekly earnings is the natural logarithm of weekly earnings for hourly workers from the outgoing rotation CPS supplement. I use the following controls: age, hours worked, and state-year fixed ef- fects. I also include the parents’ characteristics from the synthetic parents data as controls in alternative specifications. These controls include income and education of the synthetic parents.

### Children of the four parental types

I use the CPS for my primary analysis of the effect of having a Hispanic last name on earnings. I restrict my sample to Whites, United States-born citizens aged 25 to 40 and born between 1960 to 2000. Taking advantage of data on parents’ place of birth, I divide the sample into four groups depending on their parent’s ethnicity. Mothers or fathers are Hispanic if they were born in a Spanish-speaking country and Puerto Rico, and White if they were born in the United States.[9](#_bookmark10) Therefore, an observation can be the product of four types of parents:

* + 1. White father and White mother (hereafter WW)

9The list of Spanish Speaking countries include: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Equatorial Guinea, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, Uruguay, Venezuela.

* + 1. White father and Hispanic mother (hereafter WH)
    2. Hispanic father and White mother (hereafter HW)
    3. Hispanic father and Hispanic mother (hereafter HH).

Moreover, my sample includes inter-ethnic children with Hispanic ancestry aged 25 to 40 that are citizens. I do not restrict the sample to the self-reported Hispanic identity and keep both Hispanic White and non-Hispanic White children because ethnic attrition could lead to biases estimates when measuring gaps as shown by Hadah ([2024](#_bookmark57)). [10](#_bookmark11) [11](#_bookmark12) To maintain analytical clarity, I restricted the sample to Hispanic and non-Hispanic White in- dividuals, excluding other racial groups who also identify as Hispanic, as this allows for a more focused examination of Hispanic ancestry effects without introducing confounding racial factors.

The distribution of the four types of children is presented in Table [1](#_bookmark67). The majority of the sample (96%) is WW children. The second biggest group is HH, which constitutes 3% of the sample. Inter-ethnic children, WH and HW, make up 1.35% of the sample with 90,325 observations. Even though WH and HW are only 1.35% of the sample, I have plenty of observations to carry out an analysis. The summary statistics for the children of the four types of marriages are presented in Table [2](#_bookmark68). Children of WW marriages (Column 1) do better on every measure while children of HH parents (Column 4) do worse than other children on every measure. Children of WH (Column 2) and HW (Column 3) mar- riages fall in between WW and HH children. The rates of self-reported Hispanic identity vary significantly across groups. Among children of WW marriages (Column 1), only 4% of men and 5% of women identify as Hispanic. This proportion increases substantially for children of inter-ethnic marriages: in WH families (Column 2), 74% of men and 78% of women identify as Hispanic, while in HW families (Column 3), the rates are 83% for men and 81% for women. Children of HH marriages (Column 4) show the highest rates of Hispanic identification, with 96% of men and 97% of women self-reporting as Hispanic.[12](#_bookmark13)

### Synthetic parents

Using the 1960 to 2000 censuses, I constructed a data set of synthetic parents. The sample includes married White men and women. Even though the census asks a person whether they are Hispanic or not, I took advantage of the questions on place of birth to

10A person self-report Hispanic identity by answering the following Census question: “Is this person Spanish/Hispanic/Latino?”

11Ethnic attrition happens when a U.S.-born descendant of a Hispanic immigrant fails to self- identify as Hispanic. For more discussion of this phenomenon see Antman, Duncan, and Trejo ([2016b](#_bookmark23)) and Antman, Duncan, and Trejo ([2020b](#_bookmark25))

12The ethnic attrition rates are similar to those found in Antman, Duncan, and Trejo ([2016b](#_bookmark23)), Antman, Duncan, and Trejo ([2020b](#_bookmark25)), and Hadah ([2024](#_bookmark57)).

create a proxy for ethnicity. I consider a Hispanic person as White and born in a Spanish- speaking country. Consequently, Whites in the sample are people who are White and native-born. Using the information provided in the census, I can link husbands and wives with each other. I assume that parents have children between the ages of 25 and 40. There- fore, my sample consists of married White men and women with children that were born in the 1920 to 1975 cohorts[13](#_bookmark16).

For example, consider someone who was 35 years old in 1999, meaning they were born in 1964. If this person’s mother was born in Mexico and their father was born in the United States, their “synthetic parents” would be identified using the 1970 Census, when this person was 6 years old. These “synthetic parents” are created by matching the characteristics of Mexican-American couples who had a 6-year-old child in 1970. The “synthetic mother” would have the average education level, income, and other socioeco- nomic characteristics of Mexican-born women who were married to U.S.-born men and had children around 1964, when they were between 20 and 35 years old (meaning they were born between 1929-1944). Similarly, the “synthetic father” would have the aver- age characteristics of U.S.-born men who were married to Mexican-born women and had children in that same year. This method preserves the demographic composition of par- ents while assigning them historically accurate socioeconomic characteristics based on their origins and marriage patterns. I show the distribution of the four types of couples in Table [3](#_bookmark69). White husbands and White wives (WW) make up the majority of couples in the sample, 96% (5,141,737 couples). Hispanic husbands and wives (HH) are the sec- ond largest group making up 2% (119,749 couples) of all couples. White husbands and Hispanic wives (WH) couples are less 1% (33,097 couples) of the sample and Hispanic husbands and White wives (HW) are also 1% (37,847 couples). I present the summary statistics of the parents in Table [4](#_bookmark70).

## Empirical Approach

Let Yist be the outcome of interest for person i in state s at time t. HWist is an in- dicator variables for the type of parents of person i has. Xist is a vector of controls that includes age and numbers of hours worked, γst are state-year fixed effects (FE), and ϕist represents the error term.[14](#_bookmark17) The equation for this strategy is written as follows and the sample is restricted to I restrict the sample to WH and HW groups:

Yist = β1HWist + Xistπ + γst + ϕist (1)

13The construction of “synthetic parents” follows the method used by Rubinstein and Brenner ([2014](#_bookmark64)).

14I also include parental characteristics of ‘synthetic’ parents as controls in alternative specifica- tions. These controls include income and education of ‘synthetic’ parents.

β1 is the coefficient of interest in this specification. β1 represents the gaps in outcomes between children of inter-ethnic marriages who likely have a Spanish-sounding last name versus a White last name. If β1 > 0, then people with a Hispanic last name have better outcomes than people with a White last name. If β1 < 0, then people with a Hispanic last name have worse outcomes than people with a White last name.

Moreover, by comparing interethnic children, I can control for many unobservable family characteristics that might affect labor market outcomes. These families are likely to be more similar to each other than to families with two Hispanic or two non-Hispanic White parents. This approach allows me to isolate the effect of having a Hispanic last name on labor market outcomes, providing a more accurate estimate of the impact. The difference in means between Hispanics and non-Hispanic Whites could result from dis- crimination. It can also be caused by differences in innate abilities, skills, and parental in- vestments. WH children will have a non-Hispanic last name, while HW children will have a Hispanic last name. This is a method developed by Rubinstein and Brenner ([2014](#_bookmark64)). This is an improvement over traditional Oaxaca-Blinder-Kitagawa decomposition methods, which are limited in their ability to account for unobserved differences between groups by providing a more suitable comparison group to measure discrimination (Blinder [1973](#_bookmark35); Kitagawa [1955](#_bookmark61); Oaxaca [1973](#_bookmark63)).

The central assumption underpinning my estimation strategy is based on the hypoth- esis that individuals born to a HW person exhibits comparable characteristics to their peers of WH descent, especially in areas vital to the labor market. This assumption in- cludes similarities in educational background, skill sets, and work experiences that are significant determinants in employment opportunities, salary levels, and career advance- ment.

Two primary reasons underscore that this assumption. First, there is a significant se- lection in the marriage market. Since belonging to the Hispanic out-group comes with a negative penalty in society, one might wonder who are the White women that would be willing to give their kids a Hispanic last-name that would potentially negatively influence their futures. Second, fathers and mothers influence human capital accumulation differ- ently (Kimball, Sahm, and Shapiro [2009](#_bookmark60); Magruder [2010](#_bookmark62)). If marriage was random, then WH households might be a better environment for children that HA. Using the CPS and the US Census, I will evaluate these empirical concerns.

The previous two threats to identification could be addressed by the selection of part- ners among inter-ethnic couples. The average White person exhibits better observable characteristics than the average Hispanic. Consequently, if marriages were random, the White husband in an WH marriage would have better traits than wife, and the White wife in the HW marriage would have the stronger traits. Random matching in marriages would pose a challenge to the identification strategy. This is because parents are not per- fect substitutes in the inter-generational transmission of human capital. Consequently, differences in parental background could significantly affect children’s labor market out- comes, potentially invalidating the comparison between HW and WH children.

Marriages, however, are not random. There is large body of empirical and theoreti- cal work that indicates that marriages exhibits strong selection, or what is referred to as assortative matching, on traits (Averett and Korenman [1996](#_bookmark26); Averett, Sikora, and Argys [2008](#_bookmark27); Becker [1973](#_bookmark29), [1974](#_bookmark30), [1993](#_bookmark31); Browning, Chiappori, and Lechene [2006](#_bookmark38); Chiappori, Oref- fice, and Quintana-Domeque [2012](#_bookmark44)). Also, Duncan and Trejo ([2011](#_bookmark48)) shows a similar pattern of assortative matching among Mexicans in the United States. These papers suggest that inter-ethnic WH and HW marriages will, on average, consist of partners sharing similar characteristics. Consequently, the literature would predict that both WH and HW parents will be similar in all aspects that are relevant to a child’s labor market outcomes. I will go over the empirical evidence from the data to show that this is actually the case.

Another threat to identification could arise from measurement error in using the place of birth of parents in the CPS data as a proxy for a parent’s ethnicity and last name. The CPS only asks about the place of birth of parents and not their ethnic or racial identity. Therefore, it is possible that a native-born father could be a second-generation or later immigrant from a Spanish-speaking country. However, this scenario is highly improbable. Most Hispanics from 1960 to 2000 were first-generation immigrants, and the number of second-generation or later was very small. This is supported by data from the 1960 to 2000 censuses (see Table [5](#_bookmark71)). Only 3% of native-born Americans identified as Hispanic, indicating the small number of second-generation or later Hispanic immigrants in the sample. Therefore, the probability that an inter-ethnic child with a native-born father that is also a second generation+ Hispanic immigrant is very small.

## From the Data: The Differences Between HW and WH Couples

In this section, I explore the empirical data to affirm the validity of my empirical strat- egy, as presented in Table [4](#_bookmark70), which details the educational and economic profiles of par- ents from four different ethnic groupings—White White (WW), White Hispanic (WH), Hispanic White (HW), and Hispanic Hispanic (HH). This table meticulously lays out the average outcomes and discrepancies for each group, highlighting the impact of inter- ethnic marriages on children’s prospects. These results show that there is selection in marriage, and that the differences between children born to HW and children born to WH are less severe that those between the other two groups. Consequently, comparing WH and HW children to each other to analyze discrimination against Hispanics in the labor market provides a better comparison since any gaps that emerge between these otherwise similar groups are more likely to be attributable to discrimination rather than underlying differences in family background or socioeconomic status.

Using the “synthetic” parents sample that I constructed using the Census data, I ex- amine the family background of the different type of children. WW couples have higher

education, 12.58 years for husbands and 12.36 for wives. As a household, WW couples have 24.95 years of schooling. Husbands in HH marriages have 8.64 years of education, while women have 8.49 years of schooling. As a household, HH couples have 17.13 years of education. As predicted, the inter-ethnic couples exhibit matching in which partners marry people similar to them. WH husbands have 11.82 years of education, while wives have an average of 10.71 years. WH household attained a total of 22.68 years of schooling in total. HW husbands have 10.33 years of education, while wives have an average of

11.01 years. HW household attained a total of 21.50 years of schooling in total. Both His- panic men and women in inter-ethnic couples marry white spouses that are, on average, more educated the the average HH couple. More importantly for human capital accu- mulation, the mother in the HW marriages—the children likely have a Spanish sounding last-name—are more educated than their WH peers. Since mothers could be more im- portant in the a child’s human capital accumulation and education, this would suggest that a child with a Hispanic last-name should complete more years of education (Gould, Simhon, and Weinberg [2020](#_bookmark56)).

The data reveals that WW couples have the highest total household education, amount- ing to 24.95 years, significantly surpassing the 17.69 years of HH couples. This stark con- trast underlines the substantial educational divide between these groups. Inter-ethnic couples, WH and HW, display intermediate educational achievements, with WH house- holds totaling 22.68 years of education and HW households slightly behind at 21.50 years. Notably, HW husbands are less educated (10.33 years) compared to WH husbands (11.82 years), yet HW wives surpass their WH counterparts with 11.01 years of education, sug- gesting a balance in educational attainment within these marriages. This factor is partic- ularly pertinent for children with Hispanic last names who might derive greater benefits from their mother’s higher education.

In terms of labor market performance, WW households boast the highest log total family income at 10.75, while HH households fall at the lower end with 10.42. Among inter-ethnic couples, WH households have a slightly higher total income of 10.65 com- pared to HW households at 10.60. Notably, the difference in husbands’ log hourly earn- ings between HW and WH is marginal, indicating HW men earn 4% less than their WH counterparts. Furthermore, HW women actually surpass WH women in earnings, with HW wives earning 1.75 and WH wives earning 1.73 in log hourly earnings, respectively. This reversal in the typical earning pattern not only speaks to the closing economic dis- parities between these groups but also implies potentially greater economic contributions from HW women to their families, which could be advantageous for children and to the developments of traits that are important in the labor market.

The table also sheds light on fertility trends, noting that WW couples have less chil- dren than HH couples, reflecting broader socio-economic and cultural patterns. The dif- ference in fertility between HW and WH couples is positive but significantly lower than the difference in fertility between HH and WW couples.

The evidence presented in this section supports a robust empirical strategy, revealing

significant selection in marriage and distinctive educational and income patterns among different types of families. Inter-ethnic couples exhibit comparable levels of education and earnings. This suggests that the children of HW families are likely positioned for better educational outcomes, critical in understanding discrimination in the labor market. No- tably, the disparities between HW and WH families are considerably less pronounced than those between other groups, emphasizing the importance of comparing these children di- rectly. Such comparisons shed light on the nuanced dynamics of ethnicity, education, and economic outcomes in inter-ethnic marriages. [15](#_bookmark19)

Despite higher levels of education and income among Hispanic White (HW) mothers compared to White Hispanic (WH) mothers, suggesting an expectation of greater educa- tional attainment for HW children, data reveals a discrepancy. Specifically, HW children complete, on average, 0.4 fewer years of education compared to their WH peers (refer to Table [2](#_bookmark68)). This gap may suggest potential discrimination or barriers in educational access for HW children.

## Results

### The Effect of Having a Hispanic Last Name on Educational Outcomes

I provide the results of the estimation of equation [1](#_bookmark15) in Table [6](#_bookmark72). I estimate the mean ed- ucational outcomes of White, U.S.-born Hispanics ages 25-40. I also restrict the sample to children of HW and WH parents. The omitted group is children of WH parents. Column 1 in Table [6](#_bookmark72) is the difference in total years of education between HW children and their WH peers. Column 2 is the difference in the probability of having been a high school dropout. Column 3 is the difference in the probability of having an associate degree. Column 4 is the difference in the probability of having a bachelor’s degree. All regressions include controls for age, parental education and income, and state-year fixed effects.

Overall, there is a significant gap in total years of education between HW and WH children. HW children receive 0.2 years of education less than WH children. The gap between HW and WH women is larger than the gap between HW and WH men. Women with a Hispanic last name receive 0.25 years of education less than WH women. The gap between HW and WH men is equal to 0.16 years.

Even though there is a significant, albeit small, gap in total years of education between

15I present in Tables [A.1](#_bookmark75) and [A.2](#_bookmark76) the summary statistics which detail the educational and economic profiles of parents from four different ethnic groupings—White White (WW), White Hispanic (WH), Hispanic White (HW), and Hispanic Hispanic (HH) on sub-samples of Hispanics of Mex- ican and non-Mexican ancestries. I find similar results that describe a selection into inter-ethnic marriages among the two groups.

HW and WH children, there is no significant gap in the probability of being a high school dropout. The gap between HW and WH high school dropouts is equal to a statistically insignificant 1 percentage point. The same is true for HW women (2 percentage points) and men (0 percentage points).

However, there is a notable difference when it comes to higher education outcomes. HW children are 2 percentage points less likely to earn an associate degree and 3 per- centage points less likely to earn a bachelor’s degree compared to their WH peers. HW children are 2 percentage points less likely to earn an associate degree compared to their WH peers, representing a 13.3% reduction relative to the WH associate degree rate of 15%. HW children are 3 percentage points less likely to earn a bachelor’s degree com- pared to their WH peers, which is a 13% reduction relative to the WH bachelor’s degree rate of 23%. These gaps are slightly larger for HW women, who are 3 percentage points less likely to earn an associate degree and 4 percentage points less likely to earn a bach- elor’s degree. For HW men, the gap is 2 percentage points for an associate degree and statistically insignificant for a bachelor’s degree.

These results suggest that while the overall educational attainment gap between HW and WH children is small in terms of years of education, the disparities become more pronounced when considering higher education milestones, particularly for HW women. However, given the fact that HWs have more educated mothers than WHs, we would expect them to have higher levels of educational attainment (Gould, Simhon, and Wein- berg [2020](#_bookmark56); Kimball, Sahm, and Shapiro [2009](#_bookmark60)). This could indicate potential barriers or discrimination in access to higher education for HW children, particularly.

### The Effect of Having a Hispanic Last Name on Labor Market Outcomes

I provide the results to the estimation of equation [1](#_bookmark15) in Tables [7](#_bookmark73) and [8](#_bookmark74) on unemployment and log earnings. I estimate the mean unemployment of White, Native-born, Hispanics men aged 25-40. I estimate the mean wages of White, U.S.-born, Hispanic men aged 25- 40 who are employed FTFY as waged and salaried workers. I also restrict the sample to children of HW and WH (omitted) parents. Column 1 in Table [8](#_bookmark74) is the average crude earnings gap in log annual earnings between HW workers and their WH peers. In the next 4 columns, I introduce the results with controls for hours worked, state FE, year FE, age FE, Education FE, and parental background.

In addition to examining earnings, I also analyzed the effect of having a Hispanic last name on unemployment rates. Table [7](#_bookmark73) presents the results of this analysis. Column 1 shows that individuals with Hispanic last names (HW) have a 1 percentage point higher unemployment rate compared to those with White last names. This gap persists even after controlling for age, state fixed effects, year fixed effects, and state-year fixed effects (Column 2), though the significance level drops. When education is included as a control

(Column 3), the gap remains at 1 percentage point. Finally, after controlling for parental background (Column 4), the 1 percentage point difference in unemployment rates be- comes statistically insignificant. These results suggest that while there is an initial unem- ployment gap associated with having a Hispanic last name, much of this difference can be explained by factors such as education and parental background. The mean unemploy- ment rate for individuals with Hispanic last names (HW) is 7% across all specifications.

Overall, the crude gap between HW and WH workers is equal to 5 percentage points (Table [8](#_bookmark74) column 1). An inter-ethnic with a Hispanic last name earns 5 percentage points less than an inter-ethnic with a White last name. Even after controlling for hours worked, and including state, year, and age FEs in the estimation, the gap stays at 5 percentage points. This gap, however, could be entirely explained by educational differences. An inter-ethnic with a Hispanic last name earns 1 percentage points less than an inter-ethnic with a White last name, but the result is statistically insignificant.

### Sensitivity Analysis

Since Hispanics are a very heterogeneous group, I conduct a sensitivity analysis on different samples of Hispanics. To increase the sample size of my analysis I estimate equation [1](#_bookmark15) using weekly earnings as a dependent variable. Weekly earnings are available in all the monthly CPS surveys and not just the March Supplement. I present the results to these estimations in tables [A.4](#_bookmark78), [A.5](#_bookmark79), [A.6](#_bookmark80), and [A.7](#_bookmark81).

First, in Table [A.3](#_bookmark77), I present the results of estimating equation [1](#_bookmark15) using weekly earnings as the dependent variable for the full sample. Similar to the previous analysis, I find that a person with a Hispanic last name earns 4 percentage points less than a person without a Hispanic last name. This gap could be explained by educational differences. Second, in Table [A.6](#_bookmark80), I present the results for a sample of Mexican Hispanics. I find that among individuals of Mexican origin, those with that likely have Hispanic surnames earn 3 per- centage points less than those with a likely native-sounding surnames. This gap becomes an imprecise zero after controlling for education and parental background. Third, in Table [A.7](#_bookmark81), I present the results for a sample of non-Mexican Hispanics. The gap between non- Mexicans that likely have a Hispanic-sounding last names and those that likely have a native-sounding last names is similarly explained by educational differences. I find that a non-Mexican individual that likely has a Hispanic-sounding last name earns 3 percentage points less than a non-Mexican with a native-sounding last name. This gap also becomes an imprecise zero after controlling for education and parental background.

I also present the results of the estimation of equation [1](#_bookmark15) using log annual earnings as the dependent variable but with occupation fixed effects instead of education fixed effects. I present the results of this estimation in Table [A.9](#_bookmark82). I find that the gap between people with a likely Hispanic-sounding last names and those with a likely native-sounding last names is explained by differences in occupation, similar to my findings with educational

controls. I find that a person with a likely Hispanic-sounding last name earns 5 percentage points less than a person with a likely native-sounding last name. This gap becomes an imprecise zero after controlling for occupation.

## Conclusion

As the Hispanic population grows in the United States, studying discrimination against this group becomes increasingly important. In this paper, I examine discrimination against Hispanics in the labor market. More specifically, I examine the impact of Hispanic last names and Hispanic identification on annual log earnings.

I compare the children of inter-ethnic marriages to study the labor and educational markets impact of having a Hispanic last name. I find that inter-ethnic people with a likely Spanish-sounding last names receive 0.2 years of education less than inter-ethnic counterparts that likely have a native-sounding last name, representing a 1.4% reduction in total years of education. This gap is larger for women (0.25 years, or 1.8%) than for men (0.16 years, or 1.2%). When I compare the labor market outcomes of HW and WH children, which captures the effect of having a Hispanic last name, HW children are 1 percentage point more likely to be unemployed than WH children, representing a 14.3% increase from the mean unemployment rate. In terms of earnings, HW children earn 5 percentage points (4.9%) less than WH children. Thus, by comparing inter-ethnic chil- dren, a person with a Hispanic last name makes 5 percentage points less than someone with a White last name. When I control for education, the last name effect decreases to a statistically insignificant 1 percentage point earnings gap.

The findings reveal gaps that could be attributed to discrimination against individ- uals with Hispanic surnames, with effects varying across educational levels and gender. While the impact on total years of education appears modest (1.4% reduction), the more substantial gaps in higher education attainment—particularly the 13% reduction in bach- elor’s degree completion and 13.3% reduction in associate degree attainment—suggest that discrimination may intensify at crucial educational transition points. This pattern is especially pronounced for women with Hispanic surnames, who face larger penalties in both total education (1.8% reduction versus 1.2% for men) and degree completion (14.8% reduction in bachelor’s degree attainment).

There is a large literature in education economics that shows disparities in access to education, which this paper contributes to. In an audit study of charter and traditional public schools, Bergman and McFarlin Jr ([2018](#_bookmark32)) and Gaddis et al. ([2024](#_bookmark54)) find that stu- dents with Hispanic names—compared to students that are presumed White—are less likely to get a response to inquiries from schools. This could be an indication that people with a likely Hispanic sounding names could end up lower access to education, includ- ing high value-added schools. Therefore, the earnings gap between people with a likely Hispanic sounding last names and those with native sounding last names could be due

to differences in access to education that are in turn due to discrimination. This paper provides further evidence, using observational data, that discrimination in access to edu- cation could lead to lower earnings for Hispanics.

In the labor market, the 14.3% higher unemployment rate and 4.9% earnings penalty for those with Hispanic surnames indicate persistent discrimination even among individ- uals who share similar family backgrounds. Putting the results in context, (Trejo [1997](#_bookmark66)) find an earning gap between US-born Hispanics and US-born whites that is equal to 30.7 per- centage points. My findings could be an indication that out of the 30.7 percentage points gap, at least 16% of it could be attributed to discrimination against Hispanics. However, the fact that the earnings gap becomes statistically insignificant after controlling for educa- tion suggests that much of the labor market discrimination operates through educational channels rather than direct wage discrimination. These findings leave several important questions unanswered.

While the earnings gap between children of inter-ethnic parents with and without a Hispanic last name disappears when controlling for education, it does not necessarily indicate the absence of discrimination. Education itself can be influenced by bias, poten- tially resulting in divergent outcomes (Bergman and McFarlin Jr [2018](#_bookmark32); Gaddis et al. [2024](#_bookmark54)). This is especially the case when parental characteristics indicate that people with a likely Hispanic-sounding last-names should in theory complete more years of education—since mothers of inter-ethnic children with a Hispanic last-names have more years of education and earn more. While I observe where discrimination manifests (particularly in higher education access), my analysis cannot identify the specific mechanisms—such as teacher bias, institutional barriers, or social networks—through which surname-based discrimi- nation operates. Consequently, further research is needed to comprehensively understand the earnings gaps between Hispanics and Whites.

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#### Table 1: Number of Children by Parental Type

Perental Type

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | White Father White Mother | White Father Hispanic Mother | Hispanic Father White Mother | Hispanic Father Hispanic Mother |  |
| **Observations** | 6,421,328 | 39,048 | 51,277 | 179,827 |  |
| **Share** | 0.96 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.03 |  |

1 Source: Current Population Surveys (CPS) 1994-2019

2 The sample includes Whites, who are married, and are between the ages 25 and 40. Eth- nicity of a person’s parents are identified by the parent’s place of birth. A parent is Hispanic if she/he was born in a Spanish-speaking country. A parent is White if she/he was born in the United States.

#### Table 2: Summary Statistics of Outcomes Using Parent’s Place of Birth

Father’s and Mother’s Ethnicities Differences

Variables

###### Panel A: Children’s Education

Men’s education (Total Years)

Women’s education (Total Years)

Men’s High School Dropout Rate

23

Women’s High School Dropout Rate

Men’s Associate Degree Rate

Women’s Associate Degree Rate

White White (WW)

(1)

13.82

(2.42)

14.06

(2.37)

0.35

(0.48)

0.36

(0.48)

0.15

(0.36)

0.19

(0.39)

White Hispanic (WH)

(2)

13.57

(2.4)

13.79

(2.44)

0.42

(0.49)

0.43

(0.49)

0.15

(0.36)

0.17

(0.38)

Hispanic White (HW)

(3)

13.22

(2.34)

13.42

(2.38)

0.43

(0.49)

0.45

(0.5)

0.12

(0.33)

0.14

(0.35)

Hispanic Hispanic (HH)

(4)

12.9

(2.31)

13.24

(2.39)

0.44

(0.5)

0.46

(0.5)

0.12

(0.32)

0.15

(0.36)

HH - WW (5)

-0.92\*\*\* (0.01)

-0.82\*\*\* (0.01)

0.09\*\*\* (0)

0.09\*\*\* (0)

-0.03\*\*\* (0)

-0.04\*\*\* (0)

HW - WH (6)

-0.36\*\* (0.02)

-0.37\*\* (0.02)

0\*\*\* (0)

0.02\*\*\* (0)

-0.03\*\*\* (0)

-0.03\*\*\* (0)

Men’s BA Degree Rate 0.32

(0.47)

Women’s BA Degree Rate 0.36

(0.48)

0.26

(0.44)

0.31

(0.46)

0.22

(0.41)

0.25

(0.43)

0.17

(0.38)

0.22

(0.42)

-0.15\*\*\* (0)

-0.14\*\*\* (0)

-0.05\*\*\* (0)

-0.07\*\*\* (0)

24

#### Table 2: Summary Statistics of Outcomes Using Parent’s Place of Birth *(continued)*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| White  Variables White | White Hispanic | Hispanic White | Hispanic Hispanic | HH - WW | HW - WH |
| (WW) | (WH) | (HW) | (HH) | (5) | (6) |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |  |  |
| Men’s Professional Degree 0.09 | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.04 | -0.05\*\*\* | -0.02\*\*\* |
| Rate (0.28) | (0.26) | (0.23) | (0.19) | (0) | (0) |
| Women’s Professional 0.1 | 0.09 | 0.07 | 0.06 | -0.04\*\*\* | -0.01\*\*\* |
| Degree Rate (0.3) | (0.28) | (0.26) | (0.24) | (0) | (0) |
| **Panel B: Children’s Employment and Earnings**  Men’s Unemployment 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.02\*\*\* | 0.01\*\*\* |
| Rate (0.8) | (0.77) | (0.75) | (0.75) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Women’s Unemployment 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.02\*\*\* | 0.01\*\*\* |
| Rate (0.81) | (0.22) | (0.76) | (0.76) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Men’s Log Hourly 2.51 | 2.44 | 2.43 | 2.42 | -0.09\*\*\* | -0.01\*\* |
| Earnings (0.45) | (0.47) | (0.45) | (0.43) | (0) | (0.01) |
| Women’s Log Hourly 2.32 | 2.32 | 2.28 | 2.31 | -0.02\*\*\* | -0.03\*\* |
| Earnings (0.49) | (0.46) | (0.46) | (0.42) | (0) | (0.01) |
| Men’s Log Annual 10.29 | 10.12 | 10.08 | 10.01 | -0.28\*\*\* | -0.04\*\* |
| Earnings (1.01) | (1.05) | (1.01) | (1.04) | (0.01) | (0.03) |
| Women’s Log Annual 10.13 | 10.07 | 10.04 | 10.01 | -0.12\*\*\* | -0.03\*\* |
| Earnings (0.78) | (0.78) | (0.73) | (0.73) | (0.01) | (0.02) |

Table 2: Summary Statistics of Outcomes Using Parent’s Place of Birth *(continued)*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| White  Variables White | White Hispanic | Hispanic White | Hispanic Hispanic | HH - WW | HW - WH |
| (WW) | (WH) | (HW) | (HH) | (5) | (6) |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |  |  |
| **Panel C: Children’s Hispanic Identity**  Men 0.04 | 0.74 | 0.83 | 0.96 |  |  |
| Women 0.05 | 0.78 | 0.81 | 0.97 |  |  |

1 Source: The 1994-2019 Current Population Surveys (CPS) for children’s outcomes

2 The data is restricted to native-born United States citizens between 1994 and 2019 who are also White and between the ages of 25 and 40. I identify the ethnicity of a person’s parents through the parent’s place of birth. A parent is Hispanic if they were born in a Spanish-speaking country. A parent is White if they were born in the United States.

25

#### Table 3: Couples’ Type

Couples Type

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | White Husband White Wife | White Husband Hispanic Wife | Hispanic Husband White Wife | Hispanic Husband Hispanic Wife |
| **Observations** | 5,141,737 | 33,097 | 37,847 | 119,749 |
| **Share** | 0.96 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 |

1 Source: 1960-2000 Census

2 The sample includes Whites, who are married, with kids, and are between the ages 25 and

40. Ethnicity of a person’s parents are identified by the parent’s place of birth. A parent is Hispanic if she/he was born in a Spanish-speaking country. A parent is White if she/he was born in the United States.

#### 26

Table 4: Summary Statistics of Synthetic Parents by Couple Type

Father’s and Mother’s Ethnicities Differences

Variables

Husband’s education (Total Years)

Wife’s education (Total Years)

Total Household education (Total Years)

White White (WW)

(1)

12.58

(2.88)

12.36

(2.40)

24.95

(4.77)

White Hispanic (WH)

(2)

11.82

(3.75)

10.71

(3.97)

22.68

(6.91)

Hispanic White (HW)

(3)

10.33

(4.40)

11.01

(3.44)

21.50

(6.99)

Hispanic Hispanic (HH)

(4)

8.91

(4.25)

8.68

(4.00)

17.69

(7.40)

HH - WW (5)

-3.67\*\*\* (0.01)

-3.68\*\*\* (0.01)

-7.26\*\* (0.01)

HW - WH (6)

-1.49\*\* (0.02)

0.29\*\* (0.02)

-1.18\*\* (0.04)

Log Total Family Income 10.75

(0.57)

10.65

(0.67)

10.60

(0.68)

10.42

(0.66)

-0.33\*\*\* (0.00)

-0.05\*\*\* (0.01)

Husband’s Log Hourly Earnings

Wife’s Log Hourly Earnings

1.74

(0.83)

1.60

(0.93)

1.76

(0.87)

1.73

(0.88)

1.72

(0.88)

1.75

(0.89)

1.55

(0.80)

1.51

(0.79)

-0.19\*\*\* (0.00)

-0.09\*\*\* (0.01)

-0.04\*\*\* (0.01)

0.02\*\* (0.02)

Fertility 3.84

(1.44)

4.05

(1.70)

4.28

(1.84)

4.29

(1.72)

0.44\*\*\* (0.00)

0.23\*\* (0.01)

1 Source: The 1960-2000 Census for synthetic parents, and 1994-2019 Current Population Surveys (CPS) for children’s outcomes

2 The data is restricted to native-born United States citizens who are also White, between the ages

of 25 and 40, and have kids. I identify the ethnicity of a person’s parents through the parent’s place of birth. A parent is Hispanic if they were born in a Spanish-speaking country. A parent is White if they were born in the United States.

#### Table 5: Self-reported Hispanic Identity Among First-Generation Hispanic Immi- grants and Native-Born

Native Born Husband

Spanish-Speaking Place of Birth Husband

Native Born Wife

Spanish-Speaking Place of Birth Wife

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Percent White** | 0.97 | 0.03 | 0.97 | 0.03 |
| **Percent Hispanic** | 0.03 | 0.97 | 0.03 | 0.97 |

1 Source: 1960-2000 Census

2 The sample includes Whites, who are married, and are between the ages 25 and 40.

#### Table 6: Effect of Having Hispanic Last Name

##### Panel A: Full Sample

(1)

#### Years of Education

(2)

#### High School Dropout

#### (3)

Associate Degree

(4)

Bachelor Degree

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| HWist | -0.20\*\*\* | 0.01 | -0.02\*\*\* | -0.03\*\*\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Observations | 88377 | 90027 | 66927 | 90027 |
| *Panel B: Women* |  |  |  |  |
| HWist | -0.25\*\*\* | 0.02 | -0.03\*\*\* | -0.04\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Observations | 46516 | 47302 | 34334 | 47302 |
| *Panel C: Men* |  |  |  |  |
| HWist | -0.16\*\* | 0.00 | -0.02\*\* | -0.02 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Full Sample’s Mean | 13.48 | 0.43 | 0.15 | 0.26 |
| Observations | 41861 | 42725 | 32593 | 42725 |
| Women’s Mean | 13.58 | 0.44 | 0.16 | 0.27 |
| Men’s Mean | 13.38 | 0.43 | 0.14 | 0.24 |
| p-value test Women - Men | p =0.87 | p =0.25 | p =0.92 | p =0.24 |

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

1. This table includes the estimation results of equation ([1](#_bookmark15)). All regressions include state-year fixed effects.
2. HW is an indicator variable that is equal to 1 if a person is the child of a Hispanic-father and White-mother.
3. Standard errors are clustered on the state level.

#### Table 7: Effect of Having Hispanic Last Name on Employment

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Unemployment | Unemployment | Unemployment | Unemployment |
| HWist | 0.01\*\*\* | 0.01\*\* | 0.01\* | 0.01 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Constant | 0.05\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  | (0.00) |  |  |  |
| *Controlling for:* |  |  |  |  |
| Age |  | X | X | X |
| State FE |  | X | X | X |
| Year FE |  | X | X | X |
| State-Year FE |  | X | X | X |
| Education |  |  | X | X |
| Parental Background |  |  |  | X |
| HW’s Mean  Unemployment | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.07 |
| Observations | 38 090 | 38 090 | 38 090 | 38 090 |

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

1. This table includes the estimation results of equation ([1](#_bookmark15)).
2. HW is an indicator variable that is equal to 1 if a person is the child of a Hispanic-father and White-mother.
3. The sample is restricted to prime-age men.
4. Standard errors are clustered on the state level.

#### Table 8: Effect of Having Hispanic Last Name (Log Annual Earnings)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Log annual | Log annual | Log annual | Log annual | Log annual |
| earnings | earnings | earnings | earnings | earnings |
| HWist | −0.05\*\*\* | −0.05\*\* | −0.05\* | −0.02 | −0.01 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Constant | 10.42\*\*\* | 9.46\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.07) |  |  |  |
| *Controlling for:* |  |  |  |  |  |
| Hours Worked |  | X | X | X | X |
| Age |  |  | X | X | X |
| State FE |  |  | X | X | X |
| Year FE |  |  | X | X | X |
| State-Year FE |  |  | X | X | X |
| Education |  |  |  | X | X |
| Parental Background |  |  |  |  | X |
| Observations | 3621 | 3621 | 3621 | 3621 | 3621 |

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

1. This table includes the estimation results of equation ([1](#_bookmark15)).
2. HW is an indicator variable that is equal to 1 if a person is the child of a Hispanic-father and White-mother.
3. The sample is restricted to men working full-time full-year and are wage and salary workers.
4. Column one has the regression results when controlling for hours worked, age, education, year and state fixed effects. Column two has the results after controlling for education.
5. Standard errors are clustered on the state level.

#### Table 9: Summary Statistics of Synthetic Parents by Couple Type (Mexican His- panics)

Father’s and Mother’s Ethnicities Differences

Variables

Husband’s education (Total Years)

Wife’s education (Total Years)

Total Household education (Total Years)

White White (WW)

(1)

12.58

(2.88)

12.36

(2.40)

24.95

(4.77)

White Hispanic (WH)

(2)

10.82

(3.78)

9.58

(4.00)

20.57

(6.88)

Hispanic White (HW)

(3)

9.17

(4.22)

10.23

(3.36)

19.56

(6.60)

Hispanic Hispanic (HH)

(4)

7.87

(3.94)

7.75

(3.77)

15.70

(6.73)

HH - WW (5)

-4.71\*\* (0.01)

-4.62\*\*\* (0.01)

-9.25\*\* (0.02)

HW - WH (6)

-1.66\*\* (0.03)

0.65\*\* (0.02)

-1.01\*\* (0.04)

Log Total Family Income 10.75

(0.57)

10.52

(0.67)

10.48

(0.66)

10.33

(0.64)

-0.42\*\*\* (0.00)

-0.04\*\*\* (0.01)

Husband’s Log Hourly Earnings

Wife’s Log Hourly Earnings

1.74

(0.83)

1.60

(0.93)

1.58

(0.85)

1.56

(0.87)

1.56

(0.84)

1.63

(0.87)

1.46

(0.79)

1.40

(0.77)

-0.28\*\*\* (0.00)

-0.20\*\*\* (0.01)

-0.02\*\*\* (0.01)

0.07\*\* (0.02)

Fertility 3.84

(1.44)

4.36

(1.81)

4.53

(1.91)

4.58

(1.80)

0.73\*\*\* (0.01)

0.17\*\* (0.01)

1 Source: The 1960-2000 Census for synthetic parents.

2 The data is restricted to native-born United States citizens who are also White, between the ages of 25 and 40, and have kids. I identify the ethnicity of a person’s parents through the parent’s place of birth. A parent is Hispanic if they were born in a Mexico. A parent is White if they were born in the United States.

#### Table 10: Summary Statistics of Synthetic Parents by Couple Type (Non-Mexican Hispanics)

Father’s and Mother’s Ethnicities Differences

Variables

Husband’s education (Total Years)

Wife’s education (Total Years)

Total Household education (Total Years)

White White (WW)

(1)

12.58

(2.88)

12.36

(2.40)

24.95

(4.77)

White Hispanic (WH)

(2)

13.40

(2.88)

12.70

(2.81)

26.12

(4.99)

Hispanic White (HW)

(3)

12.68

(3.38)

12.57

(2.76)

25.28

(5.51)

Hispanic Hispanic (HH)

(4)

10.47

(3.95)

10.20

(3.67)

20.75

(6.84)

HH - WW (5)

-2.11\*\* (0.01)

-2.16\*\* (0.01)

-4.20\*\* (0.02)

HW - WH (6)

-0.72\*\* (0.03)

-0.14\*\* (0.03)

-0.84\* (0.05)

Log Total Family Income 10.75

(0.57)

10.84

(0.60)

10.82

(0.62)

10.51

(0.66)

-0.24\*\*\* (0.00)

-0.02\*\*\* (0.01)

Husband’s Log Hourly Earnings

Wife’s Log Hourly Earnings

1.74

(0.83)

1.60

(0.93)

2.00

(0.82)

1.93

(0.82)

1.96

(0.87)

1.90

(0.89)

1.48

(0.87)

1.55

(0.84)

-0.27\*\*\* (0.00)

-0.05\*\*\* (0.01)

-0.04\*\* (0.01)

-0.03\*\* (0.02)

Fertility 3.84

(1.44)

3.52

(1.28)

3.66

(1.42)

3.95

(1.62)

0.10\*\*\* (0.01)

0.14\*\* (0.02)

1 Source: The 1960-2000 Census for synthetic parents, and 1994-2019 Current Population Surveys (CPS) for children’s outcomes

2 The data is restricted to native-born United States citizens who are also White, between the ages

of 25 and 40, and have kids. I identify the ethnicity of a person’s parents through the parent’s place of birth. A parent is Hispanic if they were born in a Spanish-speaking country other than Mexico. A parent is White if they were born in the United States.

ONLINE APPENDIX

# The Impact of Hispanic Last Names on Educational and Labor Market Outcomes

[Hussain Hadah](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8705-6386)

## A Tables

#### Table A.1: Summary Statistics of Synthetic Parents by Couple Type (Mexican His- panics)

Father’s and Mother’s Ethnicities Differences

Variables

Husband’s education (Total Years)

Wife’s education (Total Years)

Total Household education (Total Years)

White White (WW)

(1)

12.58

(2.88)

12.36

(2.40)

24.95

(4.77)

White Hispanic (WH)

(2)

10.82

(3.78)

9.58

(4.00)

20.57

(6.88)

Hispanic White (HW)

(3)

9.17

(4.22)

10.23

(3.36)

19.56

(6.60)

Hispanic Hispanic (HH)

(4)

7.87

(3.94)

7.75

(3.77)

15.70

(6.73)

HH - WW (5)

-4.71\*\* (0.01)

-4.62\*\*\* (0.01)

-9.25\*\* (0.02)

HW - WH (6)

-1.66\*\* (0.03)

0.65\*\* (0.02)

-1.01\*\* (0.04)

Log Total Family Income 10.75

(0.57)

10.52

(0.67)

10.48

(0.66)

10.33

(0.64)

-0.42\*\*\* (0.00)

-0.04\*\*\* (0.01)

Husband’s Log Hourly Earnings

Wife’s Log Hourly Earnings

1.74

(0.83)

1.60

(0.93)

1.58

(0.85)

1.56

(0.87)

1.56

(0.84)

1.63

(0.87)

1.46

(0.79)

1.40

(0.77)

-0.28\*\*\* (0.00)

-0.20\*\*\* (0.01)

-0.02\*\*\* (0.01)

0.07\*\* (0.02)

Fertility 3.84

(1.44)

4.36

(1.81)

4.53

(1.91)

4.58

(1.80)

0.73\*\*\* (0.01)

0.17\*\* (0.01)

1 Source: The 1960-2000 Census for synthetic parents.

2 The data is restricted to native-born United States citizens who are also White, between the ages of 25 and 40, and have kids. I identify the ethnicity of a person’s parents through the parent’s place of birth. A parent is Hispanic if they were born in a Mexico. A parent is White if they were born in the United States.

#### Table A.2: Summary Statistics of Synthetic Parents by Couple Type (Non-Mexican Hispanics)

Father’s and Mother’s Ethnicities Differences

Variables

Husband’s education (Total Years)

Wife’s education (Total Years)

Total Household education (Total Years)

White White (WW)

(1)

12.58

(2.88)

12.36

(2.40)

24.95

(4.77)

White Hispanic (WH)

(2)

13.40

(2.88)

12.70

(2.81)

26.12

(4.99)

Hispanic White (HW)

(3)

12.68

(3.38)

12.57

(2.76)

25.28

(5.51)

Hispanic Hispanic (HH)

(4)

10.47

(3.95)

10.20

(3.67)

20.75

(6.84)

HH - WW (5)

-2.11\*\* (0.01)

-2.16\*\* (0.01)

-4.20\*\* (0.02)

HW - WH (6)

-0.72\*\* (0.03)

-0.14\*\* (0.03)

-0.84\* (0.05)

Log Total Family Income 10.75

(0.57)

10.84

(0.60)

10.82

(0.62)

10.51

(0.66)

-0.24\*\*\* (0.00)

-0.02\*\*\* (0.01)

Husband’s Log Hourly Earnings

Wife’s Log Hourly Earnings

1.74

(0.83)

1.60

(0.93)

2.00

(0.82)

1.93

(0.82)

1.96

(0.87)

1.90

(0.89)

1.48

(0.87)

1.55

(0.84)

-0.27\*\*\* (0.00)

-0.05\*\*\* (0.01)

-0.04\*\* (0.01)

-0.03\*\* (0.02)

Fertility 3.84

(1.44)

3.52

(1.28)

3.66

(1.42)

3.95

(1.62)

0.10\*\*\* (0.01)

0.14\*\* (0.02)

1 Source: The 1960-2000 Census for synthetic parents, and 1994-2019 Current Population Surveys (CPS) for children’s outcomes

2 The data is restricted to native-born United States citizens who are also White, between the ages

of 25 and 40, and have kids. I identify the ethnicity of a person’s parents through the parent’s place of birth. A parent is Hispanic if they were born in a Spanish-speaking country other than Mexico. A parent is White if they were born in the United States.

#### Table A.3: Effect of Having Hispanic Last Name (Log Weekly Earnings)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Log weekly | Log weekly | Log weekly | Log weekly |
| earnings | earnings | earnings | earnings |
| HWist | −0.03\*\* | −0.05\*\*\* | −0.02\* | −0.01 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Constant | 6.60\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  | (0.03) |  |  |  |
| *Controlling for:* |  |  |  |  |
| State FE |  | X | X | X |
| Year FE |  | X | X | X |
| State-Year FE |  | X | X | X |
| Age |  | X | X | X |
| Education |  |  | X | X |
| Parental Background |  |  |  | X |
| Observations | 6568 | 6568 | 6568 | 6568 |

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

1. This table includes the estimation results of equation ([1](#_bookmark15)) where the dependent variable is log weekly earnings.
2. HW is an indicator variable that is equal to 1 if a person is the child of a Hispanic-father and White-mother.
3. The sample is restricted to men working full-time and are wage and salary workers.
4. Column one has the regression results when controlling for hours worked, age, education, year and state fixed effects. Column two has the results after controlling for education.
5. Standard errors are clustered on the state level.

#### Table A.4: Effect of Having Hispanic Last Name: Hispanics with Mexican Ances- try

##### Panel A: Full Sample

(1)

#### Years of Education

(2)

#### High School Dropout

#### (3)

Associate Degree

(4)

Bachelor Degree

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| HWist | -0.25\*\*\* | 0.01 | -0.02\*\*\* | -0.03\*\*\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Observations | 62483 | 63867 | 52008 | 63867 |
| *Panel B: Women* |  |  |  |  |
| HWist | -0.31\*\*\* | 0.01 | -0.02\*\* | -0.04\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Observations | 33292 | 33946 | 27072 | 33946 |
| *Panel C: Men* |  |  |  |  |
| HWist | -0.16\*\* | 0.01 | -0.01 | -0.02 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.02) |
| Full Sample’s Mean | 13.07 | 0.47 | 0.13 | 0.19 |
| Observations | 29191 | 29921 | 24936 | 29921 |
| Women’s Mean | 13.16 | 0.47 | 0.14 | 0.2 |
| Men’s Mean | 12.96 | 0.46 | 0.13 | 0.17 |

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

1. This table includes the estimation results of equation ([1](#_bookmark15)). All regressions include state-year fixed effects.
2. HW is an indicator variable that is equal to 1 if a person is the child of a Hispanic-father and White-mother.
3. Standard errors are clustered on the state level.

#### Table A.5: Effect of Having Hispanic Last Name: Hispanics with non-Mexican Ancestry

##### Panel A: Full Sample

(1)

#### Years of Education

(2)

#### High School Dropout

#### (3)

Associate Degree

(4)

Bachelor Degree

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| HWist | -0.25\*\*\* | 0.01 | -0.04\*\*\* | -0.04\*\*\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Observations | 37893 | 38372 | 24567 | 38372 |
| *Panel B: Women* |  |  |  |  |
| HWist | -0.35\*\*\* | 0.03\*\* | -0.04\*\* | -0.06\*\*\* |
|  | (0.11) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Observations | 19774 | 20039 | 12476 | 20039 |
| *Panel C: Men* |  |  |  |  |
| HWist | -0.24\*\* | 0.00 | -0.04\* | -0.04\* |
|  | (0.10) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Full Sample’s Mean | 14.07 | 0.38 | 0.16 | 0.36 |
| Observations | 18119 | 18333 | 12091 | 18333 |
| Women’s Mean | 14.17 | 0.38 | 0.17 | 0.38 |
| Men’s Mean | 13.97 | 0.38 | 0.16 | 0.34 |

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

1. This table includes the estimation results of equation ([1](#_bookmark15)). All regressions include state-year fixed effects.
2. HW is an indicator variable that is equal to 1 if a person is the child of a Hispanic-father and White-mother.
3. Standard errors are clustered on the state level.

#### Table A.6: Effect of Having Hispanic Last Name: Hispanics with Mexican Ances- try

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Log weekly | Log weekly | Log weekly | Log weekly |
| earnings | earnings | earnings | earnings |
| HWist | −0.01 | −0.04\*\* | −0.01 | −0.01 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.02) |
| Constant | 6.53\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  | (0.04) |  |  |  |
| *Controlling for:* |  |  |  |  |
| State FE |  | X | X | X |
| Year FE |  | X | X | X |
| State-Year FE |  | X | X | X |
| Age |  | X | X | X |
| Education |  |  | X | X |
| Parental Background |  |  |  | X |
| Observations | 4515 | 4515 | 4515 | 4515 |

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

1. This table includes the estimation results of equation ([1](#_bookmark15)) where the dependent variable is log weekly earnings.
2. HW is an indicator variable that is equal to 1 if a person is the child of a Hispanic-father and White-mother.
3. The sample is restricted to men working full-time and are wage and salary workers.
4. Column one has the regression results when controlling for hours worked, age, education, year and state fixed effects. Column two has the results after controlling for education.
5. Standard errors are clustered on the state level.

#### Table A.7: Effect of Having Hispanic Last Name: Hispanics with Non-Mexican Ancestry

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | Log weekly | Log weekly | Log weekly | Log weekly |
|  | earnings | earnings | earnings | earnings |
| HWist | −0.04 | −0.07\*\* | −0.03 | −0.03 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) |
| Constant | 6.70\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  | (0.03) |  |  |  |
| *Controlling for:* |  |  |  |  |
| State FE |  | X | X | X |
| Year FE |  | X | X | X |
| State-Year FE |  | X | X | X |
| Age |  | X | X | X |
| Education |  |  | X | X |
| Parental Background |  |  |  | X |
| Observations | 2853 | 2853 | 2853 | 2853 |

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

1. This table includes the estimation results of equation ([1](#_bookmark15)) where the dependent variable is log weekly earnings.
2. HW is an indicator variable that is equal to 1 if a person is the child of a Hispanic-father and White-mother.
3. The sample is restricted to men working full-time and are wage and salary workers.
4. Column one has the regression results when controlling for hours worked, age, education, year and state fixed effects. Column two has the results after controlling for education.
5. Standard errors are clustered on the state level.

#### Table A.8: Descriptive Statistics About Selection Into Occupation by Type

Hispanic Last Name White Last Name Difference-in-means: HW - WH

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Occupation | Hispanic-White |  | White-Hispanic |  | Difference | p value |
| **Management and Business** | 0.111 |  | 0.129 |  | -0.018 | 0.000 |
| **STEM Occupations** | 0.030 |  | 0.040 |  | -0.009 | 0.000 |
| **Healthcare Occupations** | 0.063 |  | 0.058 |  | 0.005 | 0.002 |
| **Education and Social Services** | 0.062 |  | 0.064 |  | -0.002 | 0.237 |
| **Arts, Media, and Entertainment** | 0.028 |  | 0.034 |  | -0.006 | 0.000 |
| **Service Occupations** | 0.107 |  | 0.099 |  | 0.008 | 0.000 |
| **Manual and Industrial Labor** | 0.199 |  | 0.171 |  | 0.028 | 0.000 |

1 Source: Current Population Survey (CPS) 1994-2019.

#### Table A.9: Effect of Having Hispanic Last Name (Log Annual Earnings)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| Log annual | Log annual | Log annual | Log annual | Log annual |
| earnings | earnings | earnings | earnings | earnings |
| HWist | −0.05\*\*\* | −0.05\*\* | −0.05\* | −0.02 | −0.01 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Constant | 10.42\*\*\* | 9.46\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.07) |  |  |  |
| *Controlling for:* |  |  |  |  |  |
| Hours Worked |  | X | X | X | X |
| Age |  |  | X | X | X |
| State FE |  |  | X | X | X |
| Year FE |  |  | X | X | X |
| State-Year FE |  |  | X | X | X |
| Occupation FE |  |  |  | X | X |
| Parental Background |  |  |  |  | X |
| Observations | 3621 | 3621 | 3621 | 3487 | 3487 |

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

1. This table includes the estimation results of equation ([1](#_bookmark15)).
2. HW is an indicator variable that is equal to 1 if a person is the child of a Hispanic-father and White-mother.
3. The sample is restricted to men working full-time full-year and are wage and salary workers.
4. Column one has the regression results when controlling for hours worked, age, education, year and state fixed effects. Column two has the results after controlling for education.
5. Standard errors are clustered on the state level.