A Boundary of White Inclusion

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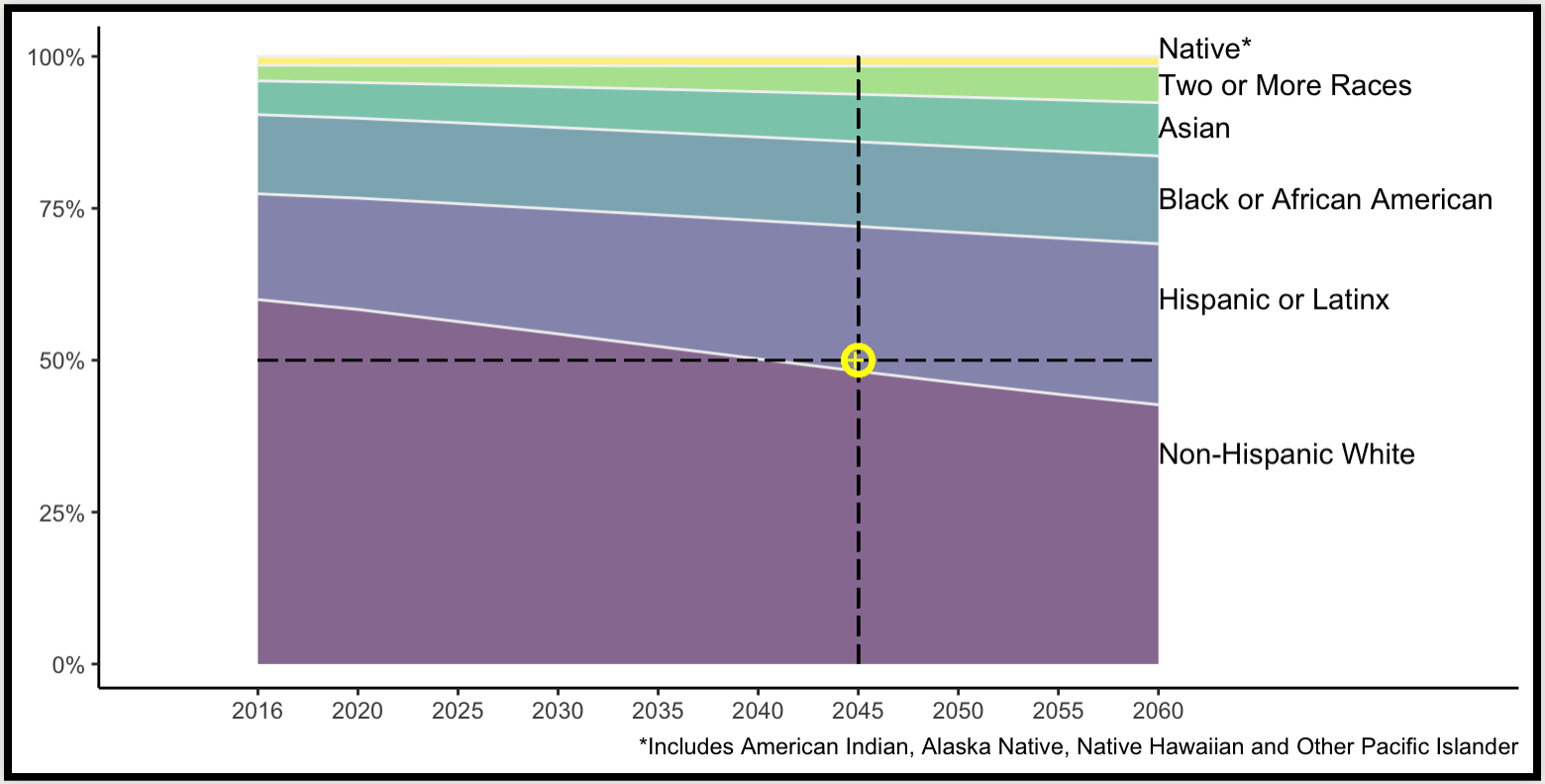
Changing Demographics in the U.S.



Changing Demographics, Changing Labels?

- The political consequences demographic changes are well-studied (see Abrajano and Hajnal 2015, Craig and Richeson 2014).
- Demographic shifts often mean more people choose different/multiracial categories (see Davenport 2018).
- But what about groups left without a bureaucratically recognized label?
- Leads to new questions on identity…

New Questions on Identity

- Does changing identity options alter the groups with which people identify?
- Do these changes alter the connections between identity and political attitudes?
- How do people perceive others with unclear identity labels and with what consequences?
- Do government classification schemes influence perceptions of others' identity?

New Questions on Identity

- Does changing identity options alter the groups with which people identify?
- Do these changes alter the connections between identity and political attitudes?
- How do people perceive others with unclear identity labels and with what consequences?
- Do government classification schemes influence perceptions of others' identity?

Talk Take-Away

- How people assign ethnoracial labels to others with unclear identity labels is based on both country of origin *and religion*.
- Both country of origin and religion influence how people perceive those with unclear identities labels' skin pigmentation.
- Government classification schemes do not influence how people assign ethnoracial labels to others.

Talk Outline

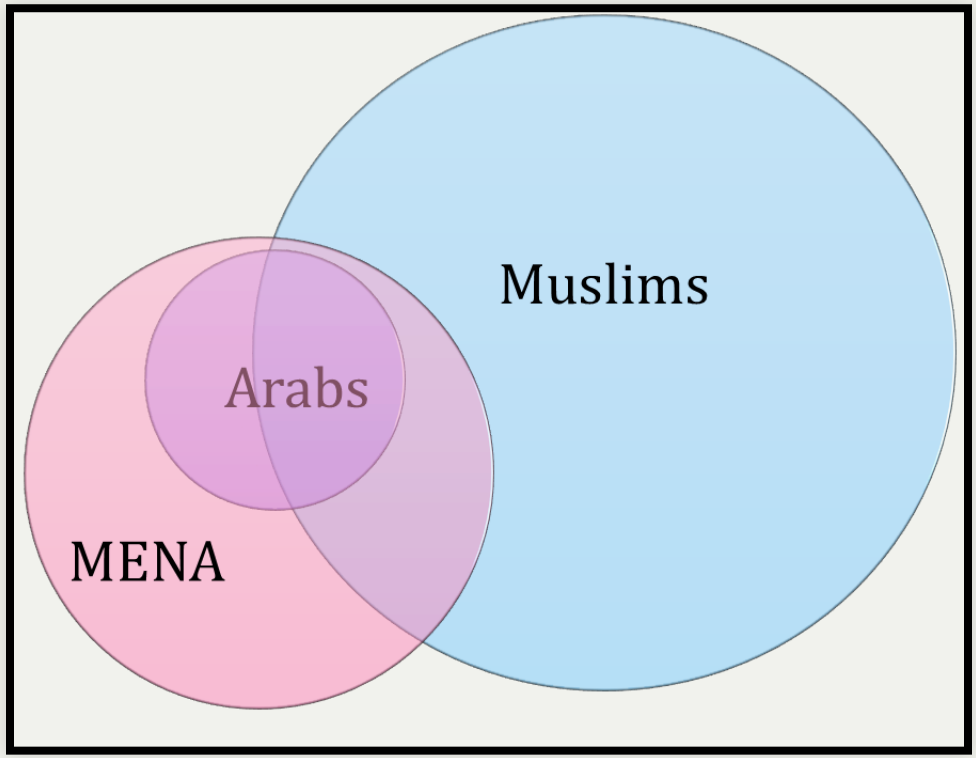
1. Introduction
    A. On Whiteness
    B. On MENA
2. Theory
    A. Ethnoracial Classification in the US
    B. Historical Classification of MENA
3. Empirical Study
    A. Hypotheses
    B. Design and Data
    C. Results
4. Concluding Remarks

On Whiteness

- Who is considered a White in America? It is not necessarily problematized.
- Is it just a matter of country of origin (i.e. European origins)?
- Might religion influence how people assign racial categories to others (i.e. White Anglo-Saxon Protestants aka WASPs)?
- The case of MENA and Muslims in the US shows us that religion is a unique attribute altering ethnoracial assignment–i.e. how people *assign* ethnoracial labels to others.

Who counts as MENA (and Caveats)

- MENA are *ethnically diverse*
- MENA are *religiously diverse*
- MENA are *racially diverse*



Why MENA is a useful Case Study

- MENA individuals were classified as White in the US as early as 1909 (Lopez 1997), **but** it may not be the best label.

Theory

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Ethnoracial Classification in the US

- Naturalization Act of 1870: Only Whites or Blacks could be citizens.
- Those who were not clearly either could not naturalize.
- This led some to petition court for White status.
- Two famous cases: Ozawa (1922) and Thind (1923).

MENA as White: Racial Prerequisite Cases

Year	Case Name	Court Decision
1909	In re Najour	MENA are White
1909	In re Halladjian	MENA are White
1910	In re Mudarri	MENA are White
1910	In re Ellis	MENA are White
1915	Dow v. U.S.	MENA are White
1925	U.S. v. Cartozian	MENA are White
1928	In re Feroz Din	MENA are not White
1942	In re Ahmed Hassan	MENA are not White
1944	Ex parte Mohriez	MENA are White

All but Dow v. US were United States Circuit Court cases

MENA as White:
Racial Prerequisite Cases

Year	Case Name	Court Decision	Petitioner Religion
1909	In re Najour	MENA are White	Christian
1909	In re Halladjian	MENA are White	Christian
1910	In re Mudarri	MENA are White	Probably Christian[i]
1910	In re Ellis	MENA are White	Christian
1915	Dow v. U.S.	MENA are White	Christian
1925	U.S. v. Cartozian	MENA are White	Christian
1928	In re Feroz Din	***MENA are not White***	***Muslim***
1942	In re Ahmed Hassan	***MENA are not White***	***Muslim***
1944	Ex parte Mohriez	MENA are White	Muslim

There appears to be an historical connection between religion and race (not just one of country of origin and race)

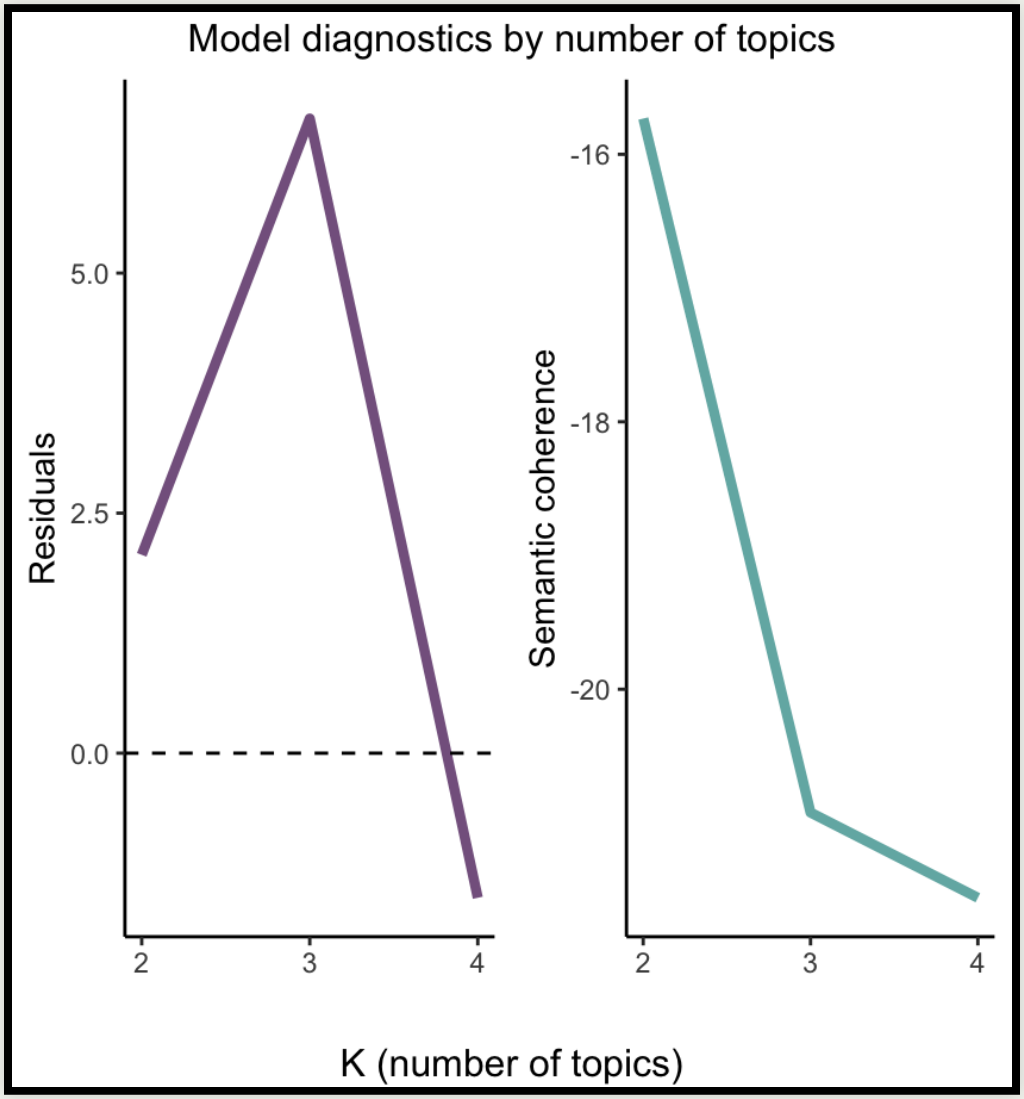
Plausability Probe: Structural Topic Model

- Topic modeling can help probe the plausibility of religion influencing racial assignment.
- Latent Dirichlet Allocation may be useful…
- …But we also have metadata (e.g. petitioner's religion)!
- We can use a Structural Topic Model (STM)
- Relationship between petitioner's religion on two topics: legal precedent or 'scientific' definitions of race

Plausability Probe: Structural Topic Model

- Documents are all final judges' opinions on each racial prerequisite case involving MENA peitioner
- 9 documents, because no opinion for Shishim (1909)
- Universe of all cases involving MENA petitioners and all available judicial opinions

Number of Topics



Two coherent topics: Legal Precedent and "Scientific" Definition

Topic 1: Legal Precedent

FREX: arabian, usca, decis, repeal, arab, legisl, statut

"The court must answer…whether members of the group as a whole are white persons as Congress understood the term in 1790 when it first enacted the ***statute*** *… **Arabs** are not white persons within the meaning of the act." - Judge Wyzanski (Mohriez 1944)*

Topic 2: "Scientific" Definitions of Race

FREX: indian, wit, alpin, armenia, author, deem, great

*"Dixon, who himself is an **author**, and has written a work entitled 'The Racial History of Man,' classifies the **Armenians** as"unquestionably of the **Alpine** type." -Judge Bean (Cartozian 1925)*

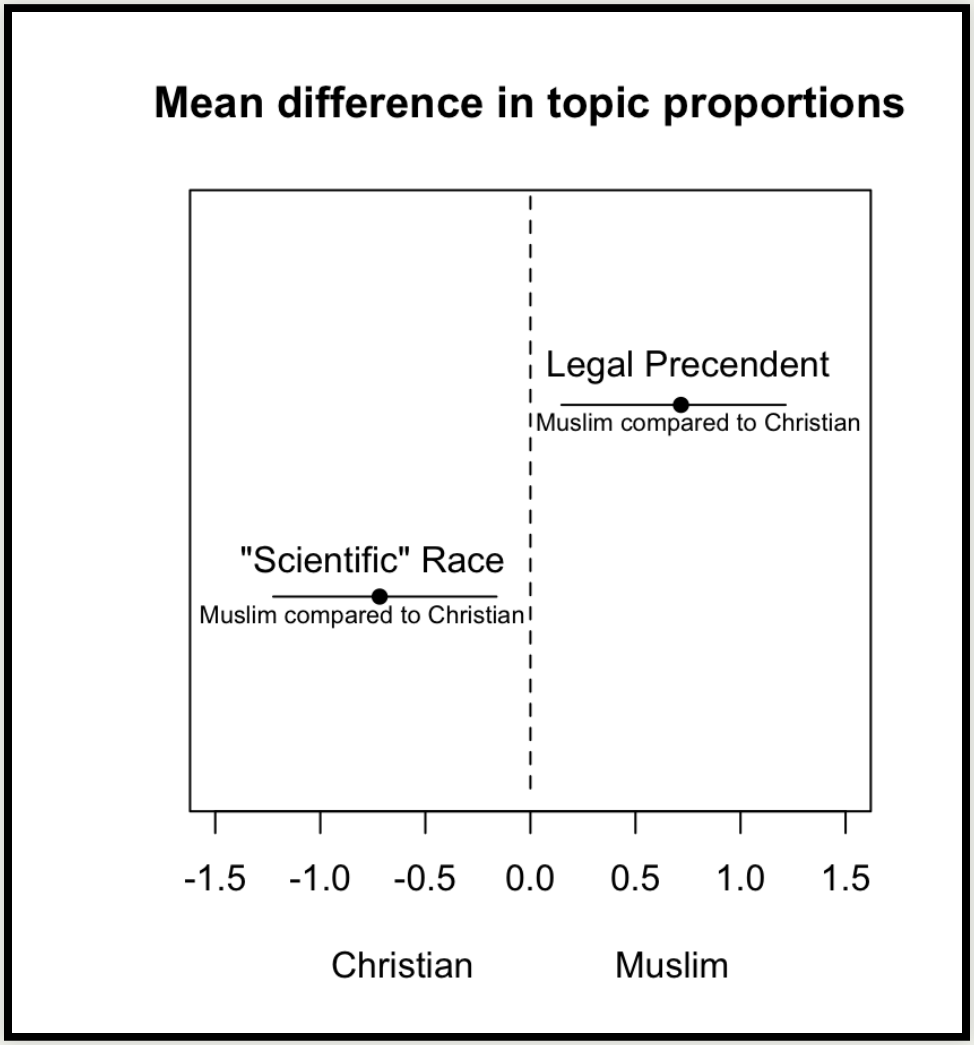
Estimating Regression with STM

Topic 1: Legal Precedent			
	Estimate	**SE**	***p* Value**
Intercept	0.2629	0.1572	0.1383
Muslim	0.7287	0.2540	0.0241 *

Topic 2: "Scientific" Definitions of Race			
	Estimate	**SE**	***p* Value**
Intercept	0.7386	0.1583	0.0023 **
Muslim	-0.7305	0.2548	0.0241 *

Muslim petitioners are associated with content of Judicial opinions related to legal precedent (Topic 1) and negatively associated with "scientific" definitions of race (Topic 2)

Change in Topic Proportion



When it comes to ethnoracial assignment today does religion matter?

Testing the Role of Religion on Racial Assignment

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Hypotheses on White Assignment (Pre-registered)

White assignment meaning whether or not *other individuals* label an individual White.

Hypothesis 1:

Respondents will be less likely to assign an individual who is from a MENA country—as compared to a country in Europe—as White, all else constant.

Hypothesis 2:

Respondents will be less likely to assign Muslims as White, relative to Christians, all else constant.

Hypothesis 3:

There will be an interactive effect where individuals who are both Muslim and MENA will be least likely assigned White, relative to individuals who are only Muslim or only MENA, all else constant.

Hypotheses on Perceived Skin Pigmentation

H4: Perceived skin pigmentation will align with White assignment. Specifically:

- H4.1: Respondents will rate an individual who is from a MENA country—as compared to a country in Europe—as having darker skin pigmentation, all else constant.
- H4.2: Respondents will rate an individual who is Muslim as having darker skin pigmentation, relative to Christians, all else constant.
- H4.3: Individuals who are both Muslim and MENA will be rated as having the darkest skin pigmentation, relative to individuals who are only Muslim or only MENA, all else constant.

Design

2020 Census: Make Yourself Count

Thank you for training to be a coder for the 2020 Census. Our next training task involves recoding the race categories. Census coders need to learn how to classify people into appropriate categories. In this instance, we had someone code themselves as 'some other race' and used his country of origin as a race category. The task at hand is to reclassify this person in the correct racial group.

ID: 83470183
Age: 28
Gender: Male
Religion: [Christian/Muslim]
Ethnicity: Not Latino/Hispanic
Race: Some other race: [Russian/Iranian]

Design

		Religion	
		Christian	Muslim
Country or Origin	Russian	*Russian Christian*	*Russian Muslim*
	Iranian	*Iranian Christian*	*Iranian Muslims*

ID: 83470183
Age: 28
Gender: Male
Religion: Christian
Ethnicity: Not Latino/Hispanic
Race: Some other race: Iranian

ID: 83470183
Age: 28
Gender: Male
Religion: Muslim
Ethnicity: Not Latino/Hispanic
Race: Some other race: Russian

Dependent Variables

Q1: Please reclassify this individual:

- White
- Black, African American
- Middle Eastern, North African, Arab
- Asian
- American Indian or Alaskan Native
- Pacific Islander

Q2: Rate the skin tone of this individual:

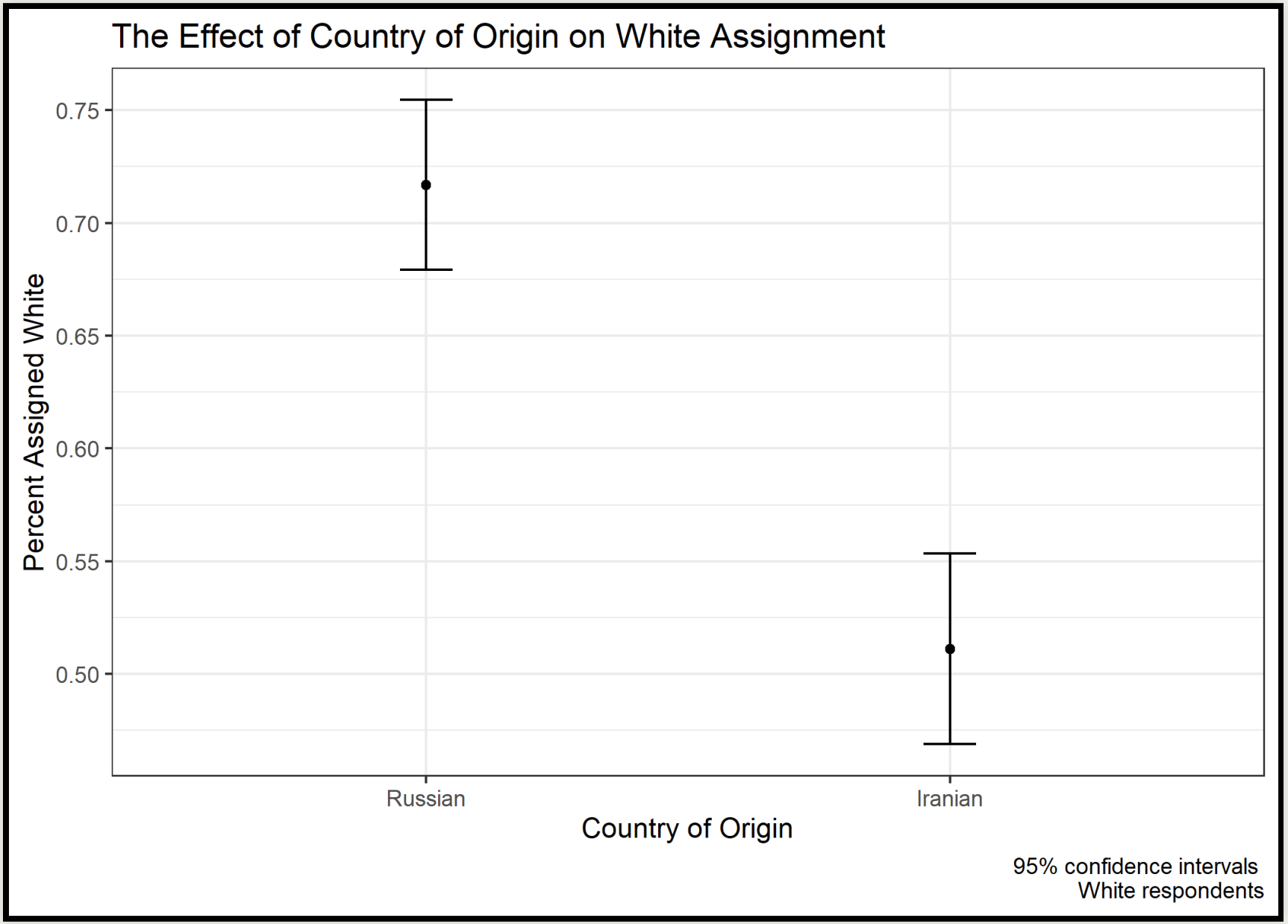
Data

- Fielded May 5 to May 9, 2020, through Lucid
- National quota-based sample sample of 1,091 respondents (n = 272 per condition) who identified themselves as non-Hispanic, non-MENA Whites

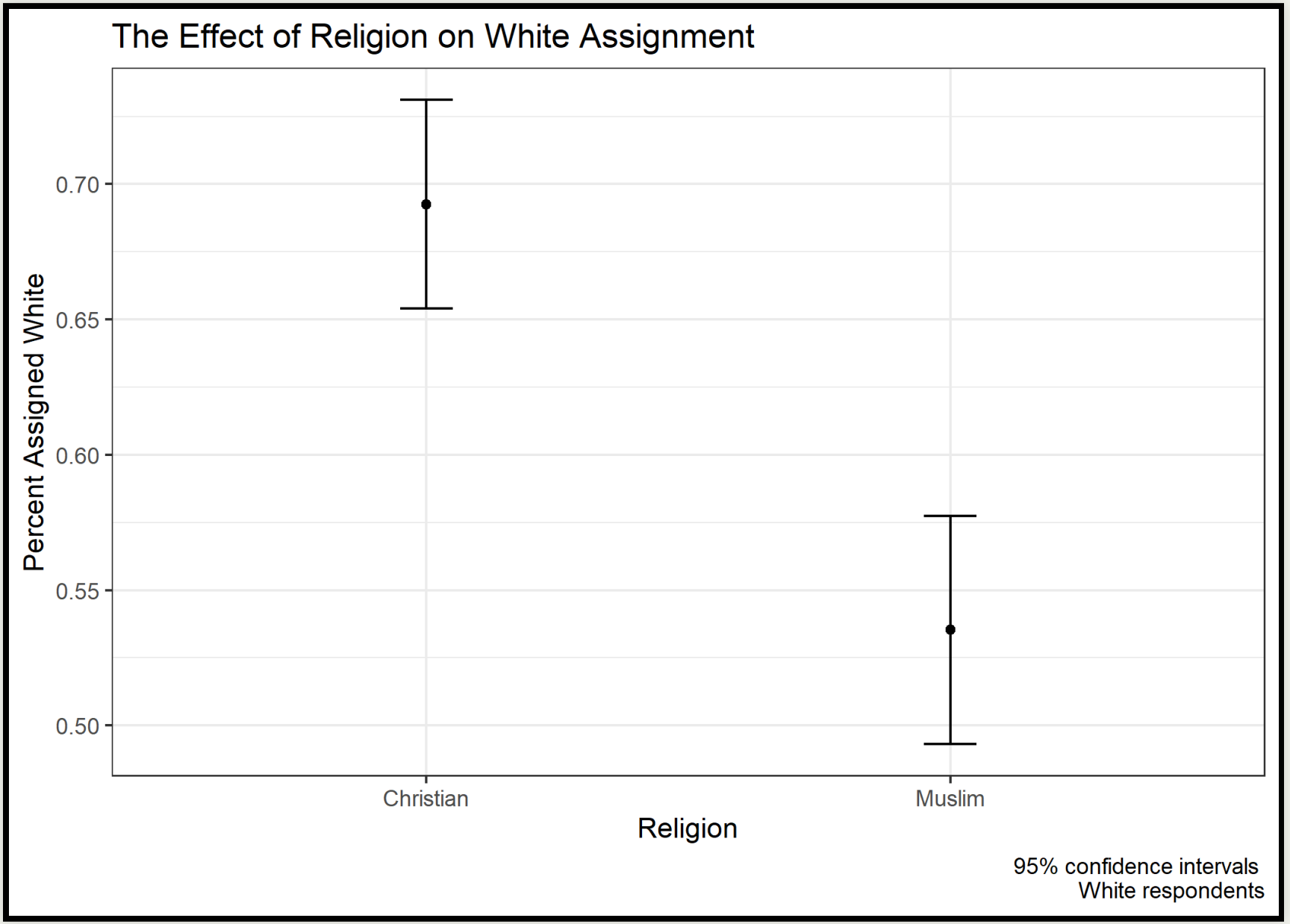
	US Census 2018	Respondents
Male	49%	48.5%
Female	51%	51.5%
18-34	27.6%	13.2%
35-54	31.8%	29.2%
55-64	17.5%	35.7%
65+	23.1%	21.9%
Less than a high school diploma	9.80%	2.7%
High school graduate (or equivalent)	27%	22.1%
Some college or associate degree	29.30%	23.9%
Bachelor's degree	20.90%	36.2%
Graduate or professional degree	13%	15.1%
Income below $50,000	35.2%	46.1%
$50,000 or higher	64.6%	54.0%

Results

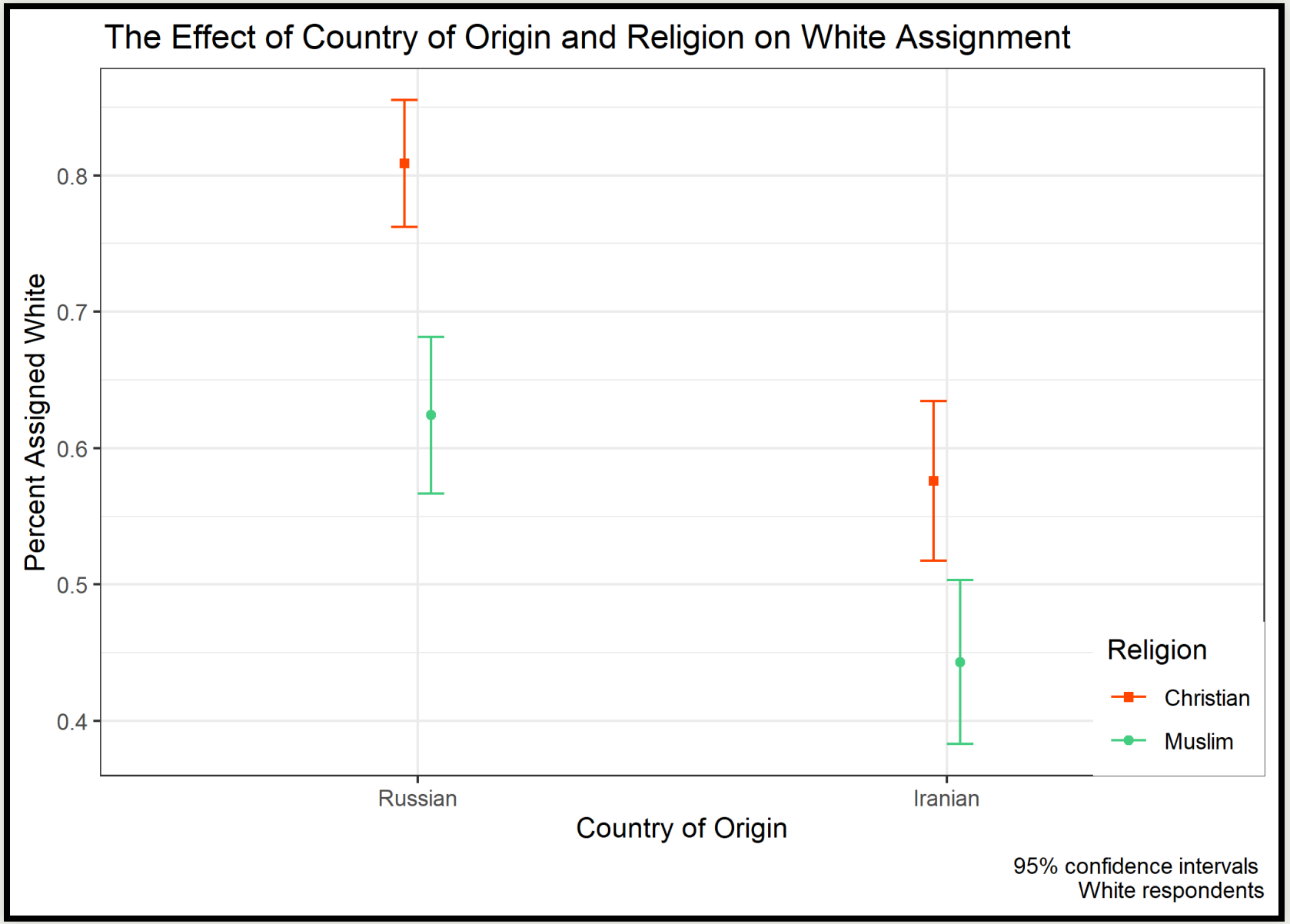
H1: Russians are more likely to be assigned White

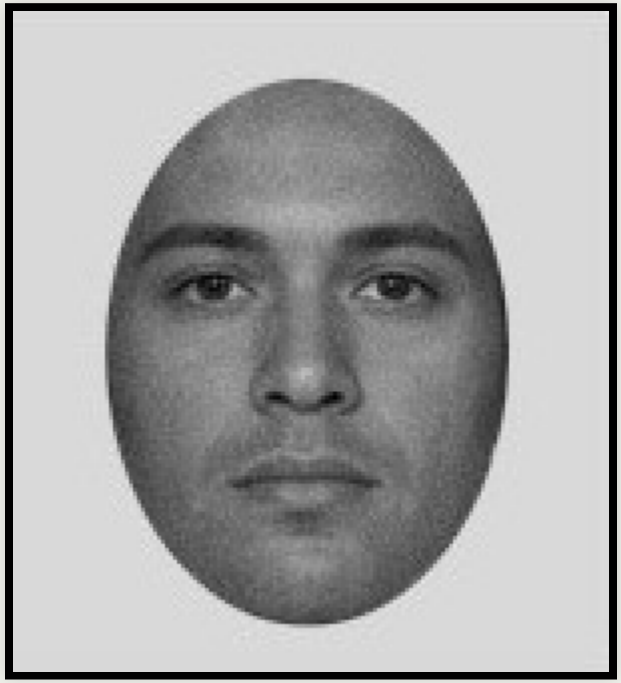


H2: Christians are more likely to be assigned White

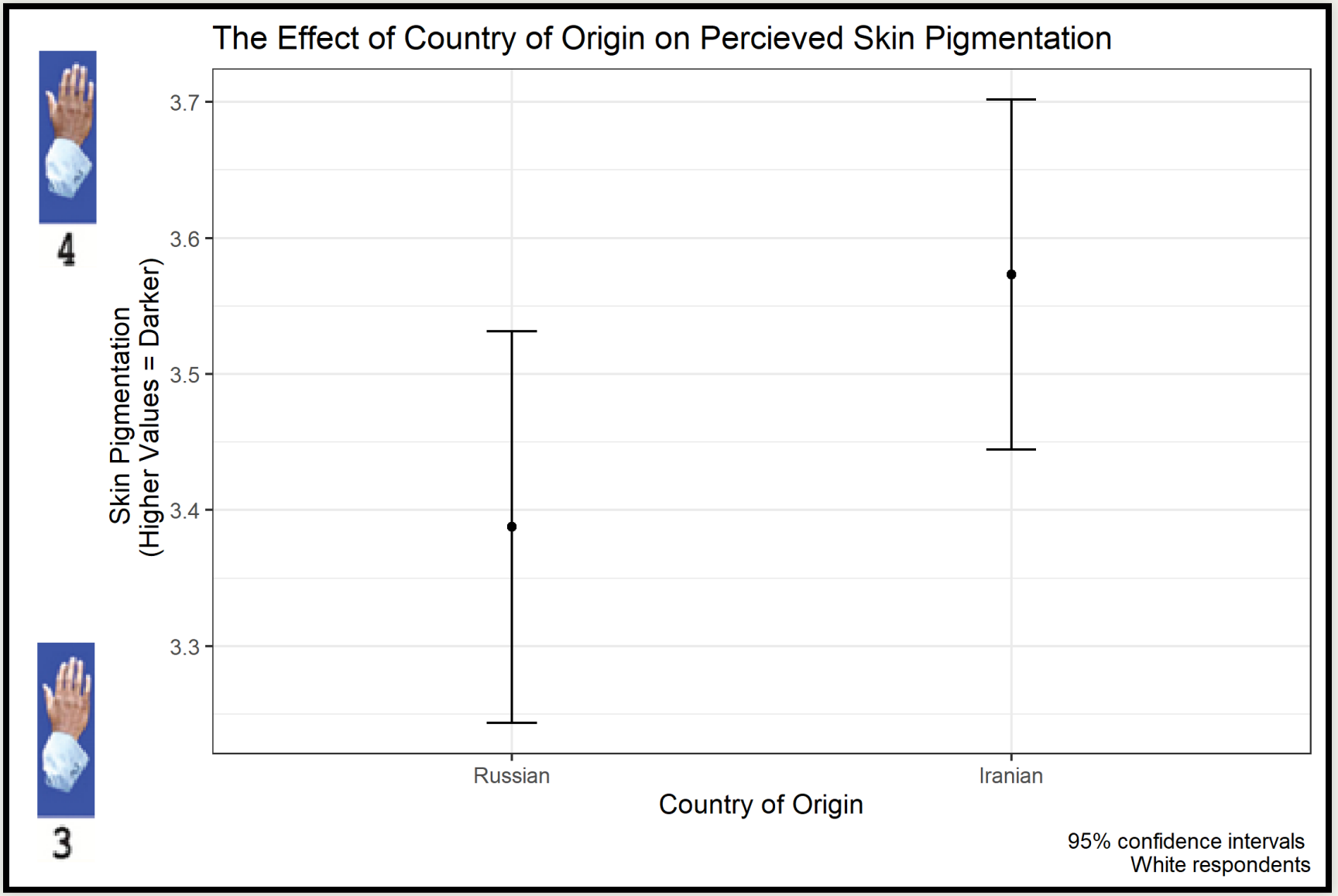


H3: Russian Christian most likely to be assigned White (Iranian Muslim least likely)

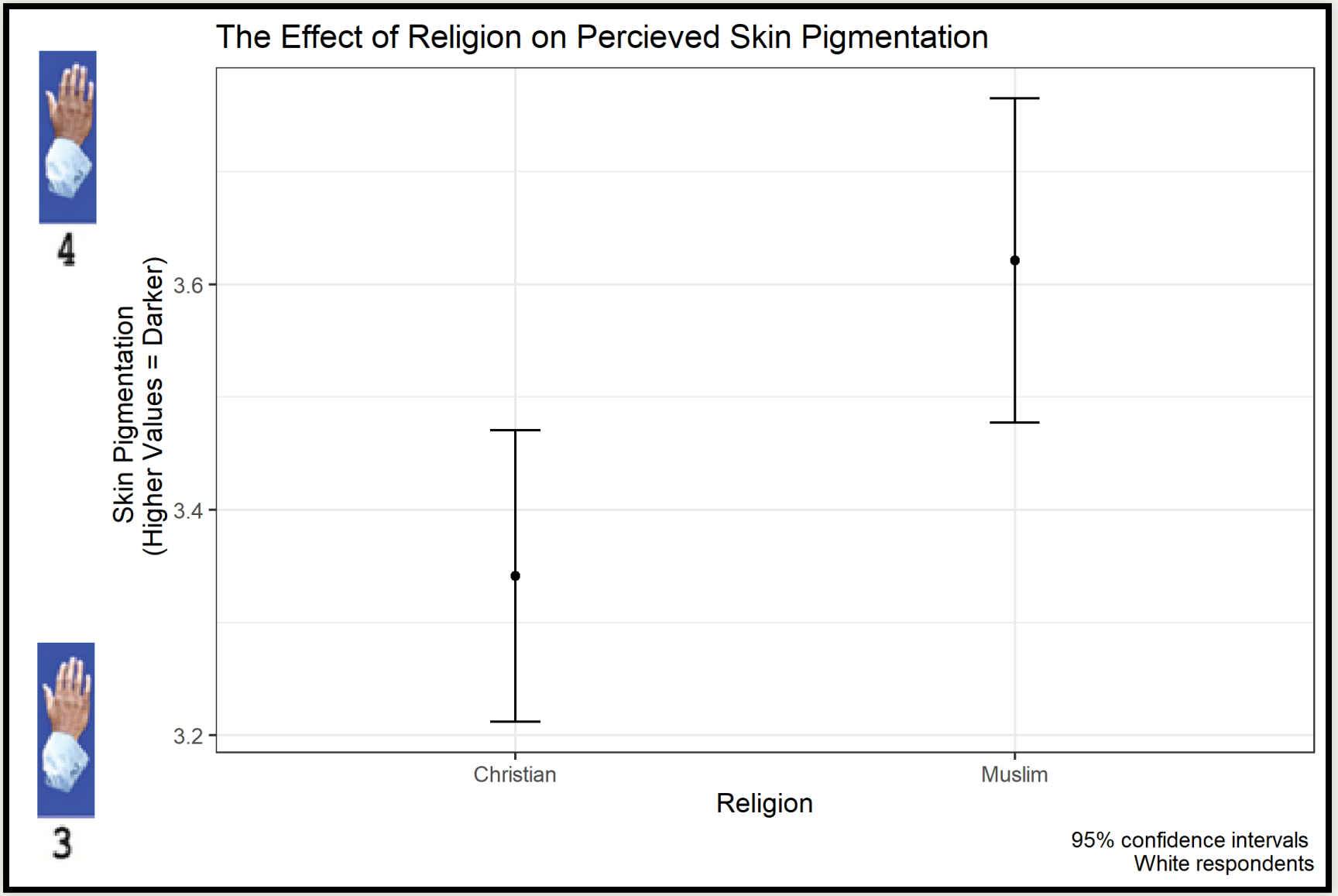




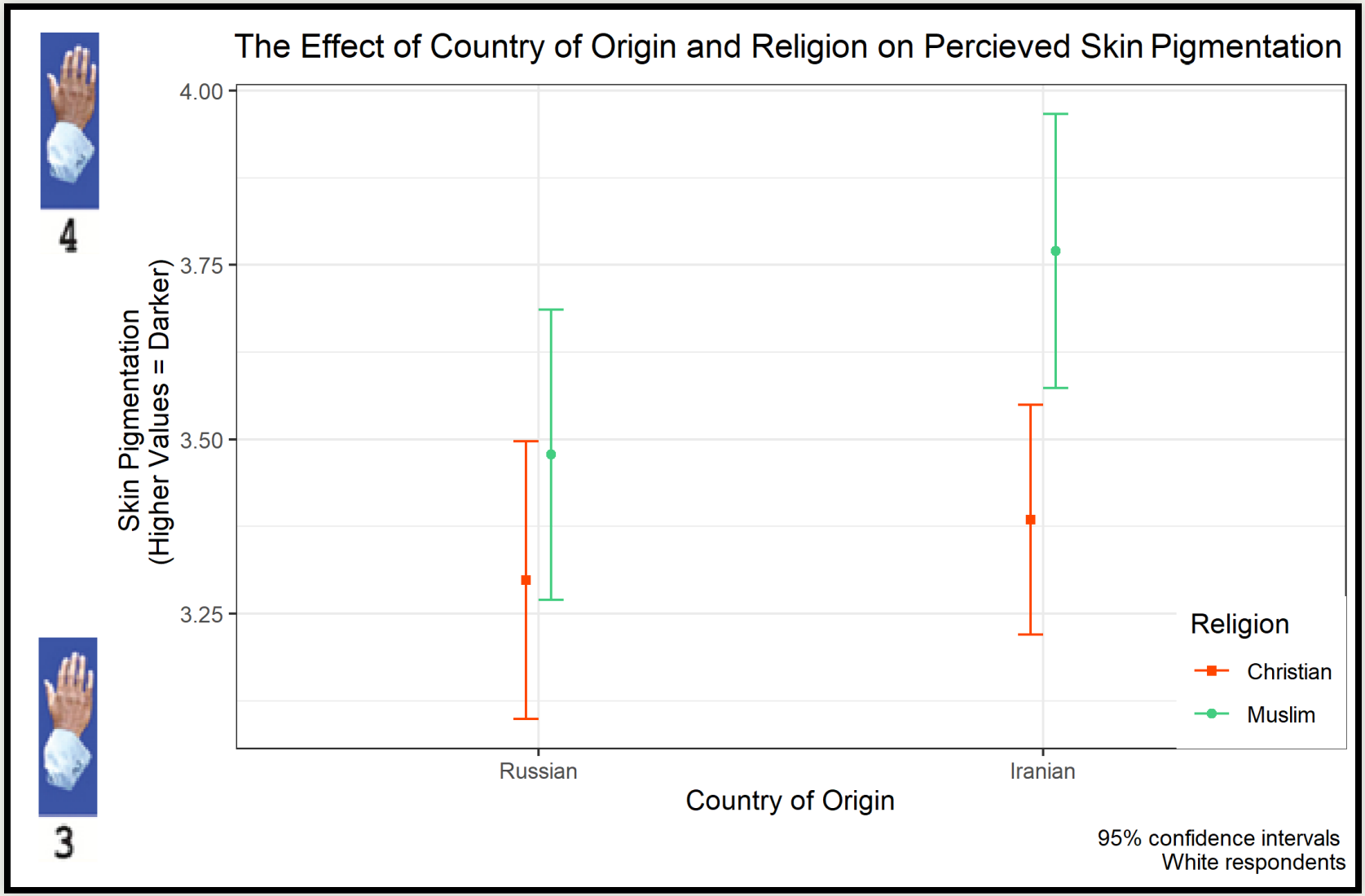
H4.1: Russians are lighter than Iranians ($p < 0.1$)



H4.2: Christians lighter than Muslims ($p < 0.05$)



H4.3: Iranian Muslim is the darkest, but Russian Christian is not the lightest



Robustness Check: Generalized Random Forest

- Sample is slightly off from national averages, this is not a problem if none of these demographic variables consistently moderated treatment effects (Druckman and Kam 2011).
- Maybe differences across subgroups: age, gender, education, income, religion, or party identification.
- Generalized Random Forest for non-parametric statistical estimation based on random forests (Athey, Tibshirani, & Wager 2019).

Generalized Random Forest

DV: White Assignment			
	Estimate	**SE**	***p* Value**
Mean Forest Prediction	1.031	0.263	4.547e-05 ***
Differential Forest Prediction	-0.590	0.731	0.790

DV: Perceived Pigmentation			
	Estimate	**SE**	***p* Value**
Mean Forest Prediction	1.040	0.492	0.017 *
Differential Forest Prediction	-3.777	1.450	.995

(Tuning parameters as well as OLS with moderators available)

- No moderation detected in either dependent variables. We can generalize from experimental results!
- The role of religion on White assignment appears across demographic subgroups

Discussion

How do people perceive others with unclear identity labels?

Do government classification schemes influence perceptions of others' identity?

- In some cases, religion provides just as much of a 'racial cue' as country of origin.
- Religious cues can be as strong as country of origin.
- The relevance of religion appears culturally entrenched going back to judicial opinions and occurring across demographic subgroups.

Concluding Remarks

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Why Does this Matter?

- Whiteness is not always problematized, taken as base/default category, "bland nothingness" (Painter, 2010; see also, Fanon, 1986; Masuoka & Junn, 2013; Waters, 1990).
- Studies on White identity take for granted *who* is White.
  - Work on White identity in the US, often presents Whites as ethnoracially and religiously homogeneous.
  - It does not any discussion include: White Latinx, MENA, non-Christians (including Jewish individuals).

Why Does this Matter?

- Who counts as White changes positionality on American racial hierarchy.
- The racial hierarchy describes the treatment, opportunities, and experiences of different racial groups in America.
- There is a disconnect for MENA individuals who legally at the top of the hierarchy but are subjected to racialization nevertheless.

Monkey Cage • Analysis

Did the Boulder shooting count as White male violence? Depends on how you define White.

Here's the history behind why U.S. law classifies people from the Middle East as White.

Shooting suspect Ahmad Al Aliwi Alissa, 21, appears in court on March 25. (Helen H. Richardson/Denver Post/Pool/Reuters)

By Amanda Sahar d'Urso

April 8, 2021 at 7:45 a.m. EDT

Rest of the Book Project: Chapter 2

- Religion complicates our current understanding of the racial hierarchy consisting of two dimension.
- A conjoint experiment about the intersectionality of MENA and Muslim identity on belonging.
- Conjoints on immigrant preferences rarely include religion, and do not consider the intersection of religion and country of origin.
- I show the intersections of Muslim and MENA identity is associated with decreased likelihood of being selected for a green card.

Rest of the Book Project: Chapter 3 and 4

- Sample of MENA individuals in America (collected both through respondent driven approach and conventional methods)
- It includes a survey experiment on MENA identity: the extent to which it exists and how it influences political attitudes.
- It also includes a survey on beliefs about what White Americans believe about the group (e.g. second order beliefs) and corresponding first order beliefs
- Interviews with MENA individuals

Broader Research

- Study with Emily Farris, Allyson Shortle, and Miranda Sullivan on religiosity on White assignment

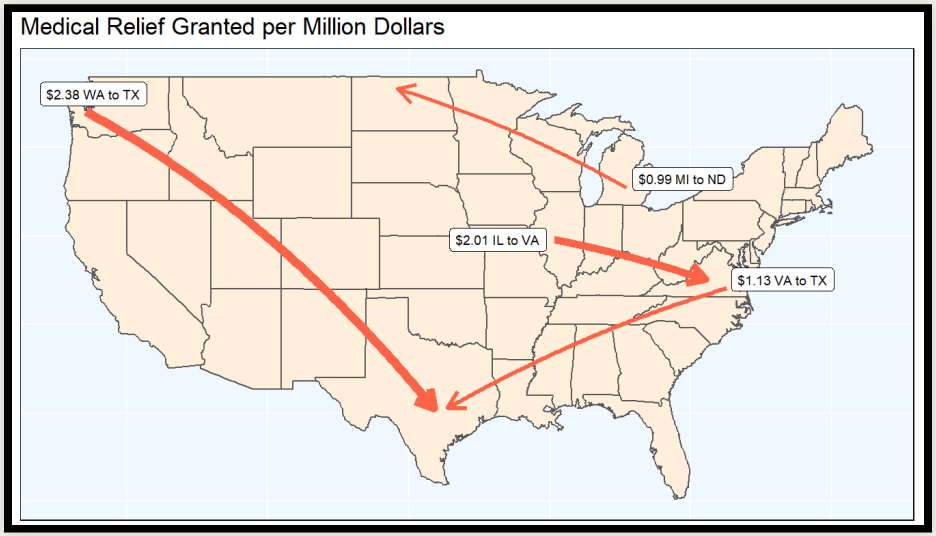
Race and Methodology

- Penalized regressions and support for Trump
- Respondent Driven Sample versus conventional sample of MENA individuals in America
- Where should we place racially sensitive questions in an experiment: pre- or post-treatment?

Quantitative Projects
(with Github Links)

<u>Selected Tutorials</u>

- Circular Graphs
- Directed Network Maps
- Getting Started with RMD
- Github and RStudio



<u>Selected Workshops</u>

- Map Functions
- How to Solve Programming Problems

Thank you!

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Appendix Slides

Analytic Approach
East, South, Southeast Asian Racial Prerequisite Cases
Word Weights
Decision to Include MENA Option
Correlation between White Assignment & Pigmentation
Effect Sizes
Linear Models
Moderation
Conjoint Study
MENA Identity Study

Analytic Approach: What does 'Ethnoracial' mean?

- Race *commonly* refers to differences in phenotype or physical features; harder boundaries between races.
- Ethnicity *commonly* refers to cultural differences; softer boundaries between ethnicities.
- Some scholars use ethnicity to convey social classification system with unequal power dynamics–including race.
- I use the term "ethnoracial" to capture the ambiguities between race and ethnicity, not to hide it.

Three Dimensions of Ethnoracial Identity

Psychological: Ethnoracial Identification

Social: Ethnoracial Assignment

Political (viz state institutions): Ethnoracial Classification

Psychological: Ethnoracial Identification

- How individuals, as members of their community, understand their own ethnoracial identity.

Social:
Ethnoracial Assignment

- “The ways in which the dominant culture and popular understandings construct different categories of social and political beings” (Brodkin 1994, pp 21).

Political: Ethnoracial Classification

- Political institutions have the power to create, remove, and codify ethnoracial labels.

Examples

Ethnoracial Group	Ethnoracial Identification	Ethnoracial Assignment	Ethnoracial Classification
(Monoracial) Black	✓	✓	✓
South Asian (Lee & Ramakrishnan 2019)	✓	×	✓
Middle Eastern & North African	✓	✓	×

Examples

Ethnoracial Group	Ethnoracial Identification	Ethnoracial Assignment	Ethnoracial Classification
(Monoracial) Black	✓	✓	✓
South Asian (Lee & Ramakrishnan 2019)	✓	✗	✓
Middle Eastern & North African	✓	✓	✗

Examples

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Middle Eastern & North African	✓	✓	×

This talk focuses on the tensions between inconsistent ethnoracial classification and ethnoracial assignment using the case of MENA identity in the United States.

East, South, Southeast Asian Racial Prerequisite Court Cases

Year	Case	Outcome
1878	In re Ah Yup	Not white
1890	In re Hong Yen Chang	Not white
1894	In re Po	Not white
1894	In re Saito	Not white
1895	In re Gee Hop	Not white
1902	In re Yamashita	Not white
1908	In re Buntaro Kumagai	Not white
1909	In re Knight	Not white
1910	Bessho v. U.S.	Not white
1910	U.S. v. Dolla	White
1910	U.S. v. Balsara	White
1912	In re Alverto	Not white
1912	In re Young	Not white
1916	In re Mallari	Not white
1916	In re Lampitoe	Not white
1917	In re Rallos	Not white
1917	In re Sadar Bhagwab Singh	Not white
1919	In re Mohan Singh	White
1921	Petition of Easurk Emsen Charr	Not white
1922	Ozawa v. U.S.	Not white
1923	Sato v. Hall	Not white
1923	U.S. v. Thind	Not white
1923	U.S. v. Akhay Kumar Mozumdar	Not white
1925	U.S. v. Ali	Not white
1927	U.S. v. Javier	Not white
1927	In re Fisher	Not white
1928	U.S. v. Gokhale	Not white
1935	De La Ysla v. U.S.	Not white
1939	Wadia v. U.S.	Not white
1941	De Cano v. State	Not white
1942	Kharaiti Ram Samras v. U.S.	Not white

STM Topic Words

Topic 1: Legal Precedent	
Weighting	**Top Words**
Highest Prob:	white, natur, statut, race, court, citizenship, arab
FREX:	arabian, usca, decis, repeal, arab, legisl, statut
Lift:	afghan, afghanistan, aforesaid, arriv, conjectur, convinc, credul
Score:	afghan, arabian, repeal, decis, usca, zone, mohriez

Topic 2: "Scientific" Definitions of Race	
Weighting	**Top Words**
Highest Prob:	white, race, natur, armenian, court, european, peopl
FREX:	indian, wit, alpin, armenia, author, deem, great
Lift:	abod, academi, acquaint, adduc, adher, adriat, affirm
Score:	indian, amerind, wit, alpin, hebrew, armenia, substanti

Decision to Include MENA Option

Survey Option	Iran Race Classification	N
Standard Census Options	White	42
Standard Census Options	Middle Eastern or North African	NA
Standard Census Options	Asian	17
Standard Census Options	American Indian or Alaska Native	1
Standard Census Options	Other	34
MENA Option Included	White	1
MENA Option Included	Middle Eastern or North African	100
MENA Option Included	Asian	0
MENA Option Included	American Indian or Alaska Native	0
MENA Option Included	Other	1

Correlation between White Assignment and Pigmentation

Pearson Correlation Coefficient
0.233

Effect Sizes

Relationship	**Cohen's D**
Country of Origin on White Assignment	0.4322622
Religion on White Assignment	0.3272136
Country of Origin on Perceived Skin Pigmentation	-0.1138679
Religion on Perceived Skin Pigmentation	-0.1721253

Who is White?

	White Assignment		
Iranian	-0.206*** (0.029)		
Muslim		-0.157*** (0.029)	
Russian Muslim			-0.185*** (0.040)
Iranian Christian			-0.233*** (0.040)
Iranian Muslim			-0.365*** (0.040)
Constant (Russian Christian)	0.717*** (0.020)	0.693*** (0.020)	0.809*** (0.028)
Observations	1,091	1,091	1,091
Adjusted R^2	0.044	0.025	0.070
F Statistic	50.958*** (df = 1; 1089)	29.197*** (df = 1; 1089)	28.152*** (df = 3; 1087)
Note:			*p<0.1;* ***p<0.05;*** p<0.01

Who is Darker?

	Perceived Pigmentation		
Iranian	-0.206*** (0.029)		
Muslim		-0.157*** (0.029)	
Russian Muslim			-0.185*** (0.040)
Iranian Christian			-0.233*** (0.040)
Iranian Muslim			-0.365*** (0.040)
Constant (Russian Christian)	0.717*** (0.020)	0.693*** (0.020)	0.809*** (0.028)
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F Statistic	50.958*** (df = 1; 1089)	29.197*** (df = 1; 1089)	28.152*** (df = 3; 1087)
Note:			*p<0.1;* ***p<0.05;*** p<0.01

Moderation

GRF Tuned Parameters

	DV: White Assignment	**DV: Perceived Pigmentation**
Sample Fraction	0.468	0.176
mtry	3	2
Alpha	0.068	0.213
Imbalance Penalty	0.166	0.560

Partisanship

	White Assignment	Perceived Pigmentation
Russian Muslim	-0.130* (0.072)	0.100 (0.249)
Iranian Christian	-0.263*** (0.075)	-0.101 (0.257)
Iranian Muslim	-0.387*** (0.074)	0.466* (0.255)
Party ID (Republicanness)	0.059 (0.079)	-0.167 (0.272)
Russian Muslim * Party ID	-0.090 (0.110)	0.139 (0.379)
Iranian Christian * Party ID	0.062 (0.111)	0.360 (0.384)
Iranian Muslim * Party ID	0.044 (0.113)	0.032 (0.390)
Constant	0.778*** (0.052)	3.374*** (0.178)
Observations	1,062	1,062
Adjusted R^2	0.069	0.007
F Statistic (df = 7; 1054)	12.236***	2.024**
Note:		*p<0.1;* ***p<0.05;*** p<0.01

Education

	White Assignment	**Perceived Pigmentation**
Russian Muslim	-0.146 (0.137)	-0.265 (0.466)
Iranian Christian	-0.049 (0.136)	0.168 (0.464)
Iranian Muslim	-0.206 (0.135)	0.590 (0.458)
Education	0.008 (0.027)	0.005 (0.092)
Russian Muslim * Education	-0.009 (0.039)	0.113 (0.131)
Iranian Christian * Education	-0.049 (0.038)	-0.018 (0.130)
Iranian Muslim * Education	-0.041 (0.039)	-0.030 (0.132)
Constant	0.774*** (0.095)	3.268*** (0.325)
Observations	1,012	1,012
Adjusted R^2	0.059	0.008
F Statistic (df = 7; 1004)	10.038***	2.162**
Note:		*p<0.1;* ***p<0.05;*** p<0.01

Income

	White Assignment	**Perceived Pigmentation**
Russian Muslim	-0.178*** (0.060)	-0.252 (0.207)
Iranian Christian	-0.212*** (0.059)	0.071 (0.203)
Iranian Muslim	-0.409*** (0.061)	0.485** (0.208)
50,000 or Higher	-0.017 (0.057)	-0.128 (0.197)
Russian Muslim * 50,000 or Higher	-0.001 (0.081)	0.781*** (0.279)
Iranian Christian * 50,000 or Higher	-0.026 (0.081)	0.055 (0.278)
Iranian Muslim * 50,000 or Higher	0.085 (0.082)	-0.002 (0.282)
Constant	0.820*** (0.042)	3.352*** (0.146)
Observations	1,062	1,062
Adjusted R^2	0.067	0.017
F Statistic (df = 7; 1054)	11.840***	3.576***
Note:		*p<0.1;* ***p<0.05;*** p<0.01

Age

	White Assignment	Perceived Pigmentation
Russian Muslim	-0.060 (0.116)	-0.454 (0.399)
Iranian Christian	0.006 (0.119)	-0.800* (0.409)
Iranian Muslim	-0.207* (0.117)	0.007 (0.404)
Age	0.008 (0.029)	-0.419*** (0.101)
Russian Muslim * Age	-0.047 (0.041)	0.242* (0.143)
Iranian Christian * Age	-0.088** (0.042)	0.341** (0.144)
Iranian Muslim *Age	-0.059 (0.042)	0.182 (0.144)
Constant	0.789*** (0.082)	4.398*** (0.282)
Observations	1,091	1,081
Adjusted R^2	0.077	0.029
F Statistic	13.908*** (df = 7; 1083)	5.619*** (df = 7; 1073)
Note:		*p<0.1;* ***p<0.05;*** p<0.01

Gender

	White Assignment	**Perceived Pigmentation**
Russian Muslim	-0.077 (0.126)	0.354 (0.439)
Iranian Christian	-0.127 (0.128)	0.172 (0.446)
Iranian Muslim	-0.244* (0.128)	0.00001 (0.447)
Female	-0.053 (0.056)	-0.146 (0.196)
Russian Muslim * Female	-0.073 (0.080)	-0.120 (0.278)
Iranian Christian * Female	-0.068 (0.080)	-0.053 (0.278)
Iranian Muslim * Female	-0.080 (0.080)	0.312 (0.281)
Constant	0.888*** (0.090)	3.519*** (0.312)
Observations	1,091	1,081
Adjusted R^2	0.079	0.009
F Statistic	14.438*** (df = 7; 1083)	2.403** (df = 7; 1073)
Note:		*p<0.1;* ***p<0.05;*** p<0.01

Conjoint

Data

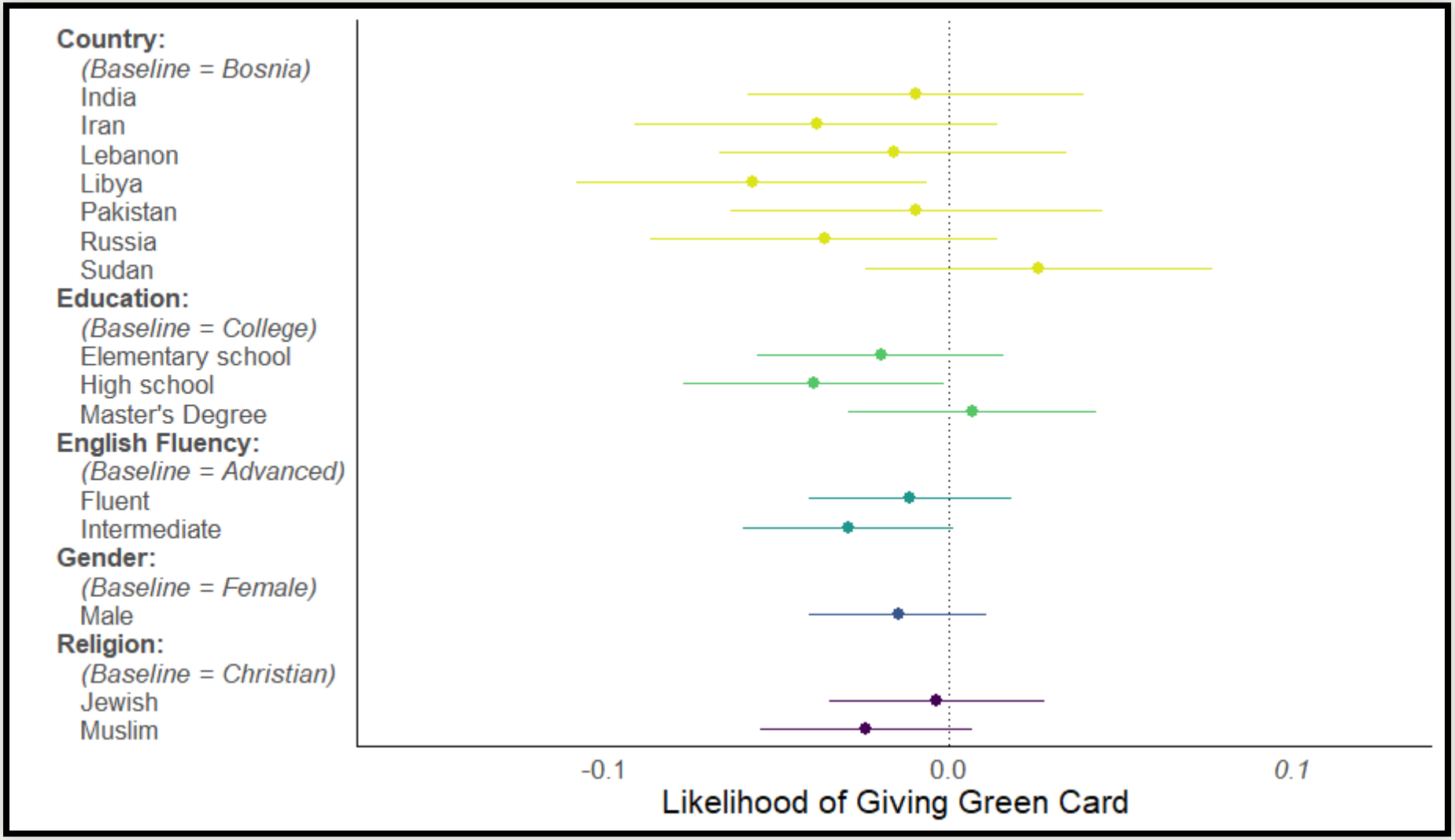
- Survey conducted by Bovitz, Inc from August 12-24, 2019
- 600 respondents White, non-Hispanic/Latino

Design

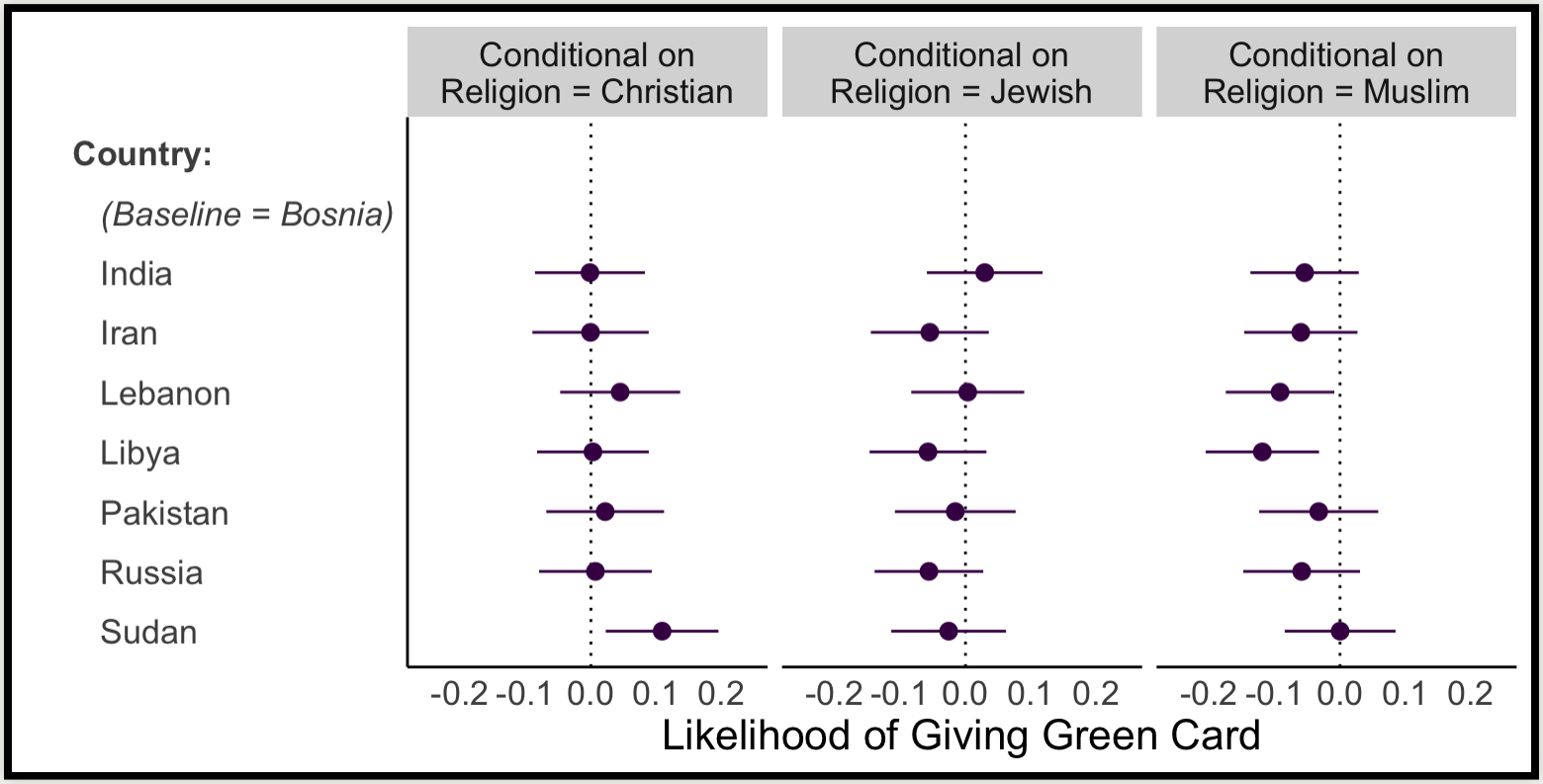
- Forced-choice, conjoint experiment testing the effects of a series of randomly-assigned attributes
- DV "Which immigrant should the US give a green card to?"

Attributes	**Levels**
Education	Elementary; high school; college; master's degree
Gender	Male; female
English Proficiency	Intermediate; advanced; fluent
Religion	Christian; Jewish; Muslim
Country of Origin	Bosnia/Russia, Lebanon/Iran, Sudan/Libya, India/Pakistan
Race	White, North African/Black, Middle Eastern, South Asian

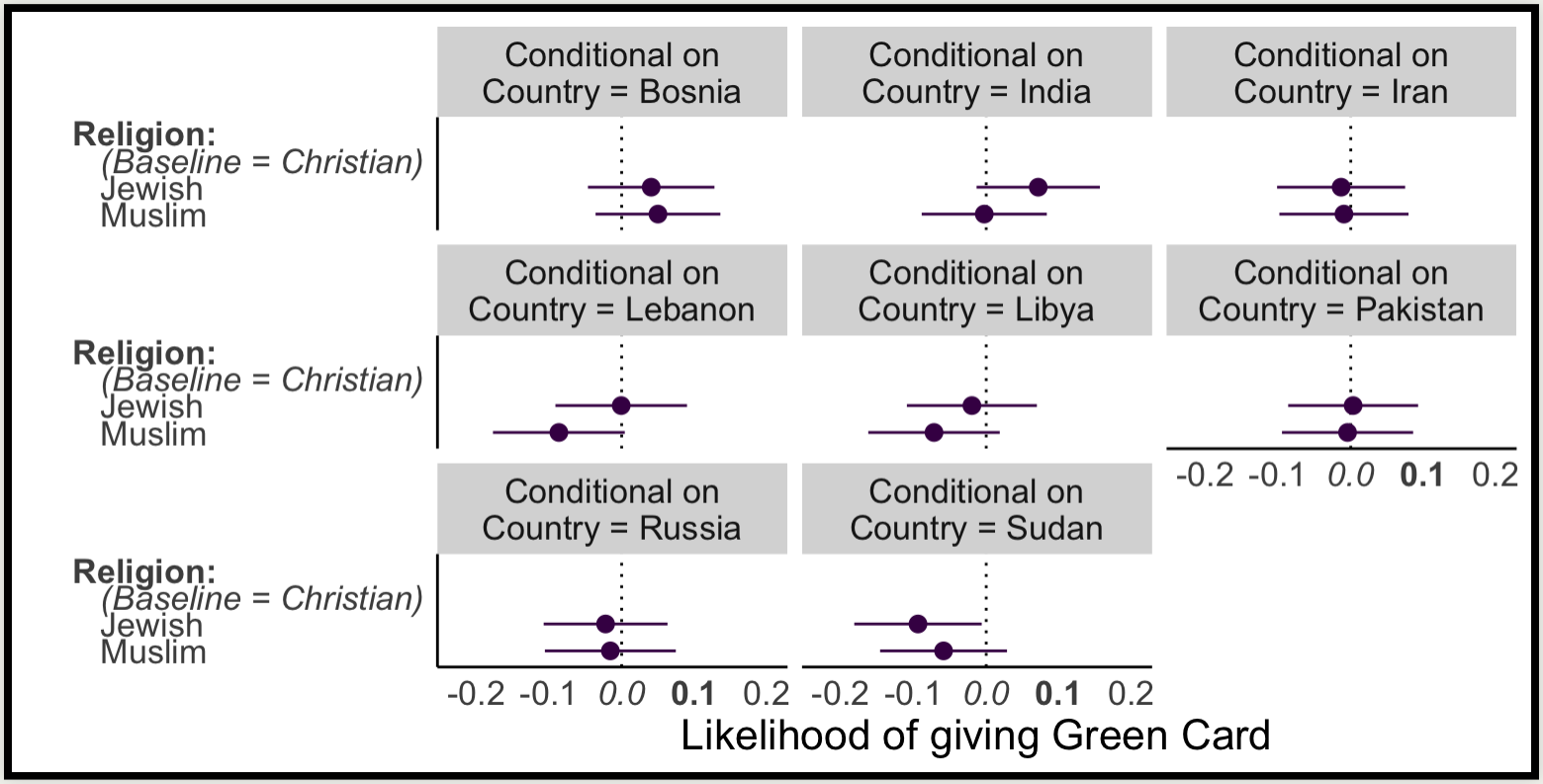
Direct Effects



Heterogeneity by Religion



Heterogeneity by Country of Origin



Average Marginal Component Effects:

Level	Estimate	Std. Err	
India	-0.009	0.026	
Iran	-0.038	0.026	
Lebanon	-0.014	0.026	
Libya	-0.058	0.026	**
Pakistan	-0.009	0.026	
Russia	-0.036	0.026	
Sudan	0.028	0.026	
Elementary school	-0.019	0.018	
High school	-0.038	0.018	**
Master's Degree	0.007	0.019	
Fluent	-0.011	0.016	
Intermediate	-0.029	0.016	•
Male	-0.014	0.013	
Jewish	-0.004	0.016	
Muslim	-0.025	0.016	

Average Component Interaction Effects:

Level	Estimate	Std. Err	
India:Jewish	0.031	0.063	
Iran:Jewish	-0.054	0.063	
Lebanon:Jewish	-0.041	0.064	
Libya:Jewish	-0.060	0.063	
Pakistan:Jewish	-0.037	0.063	
Russia:Jewish	-0.063	0.062	
Sudan:Jewish	-0.135	0.064	**
India:Muslim	-0.053	0.063	
Iran:Muslim	-0.059	0.063	
Lebanon:Muslim	-0.136	0.064	**
Libya:Muslim	-0.122	0.064	•
Pakistan:Muslim	-0.054	0.064	
Russia:Muslim	-0.066	0.063	
Sudan:Muslim	-0.109	0.065	•

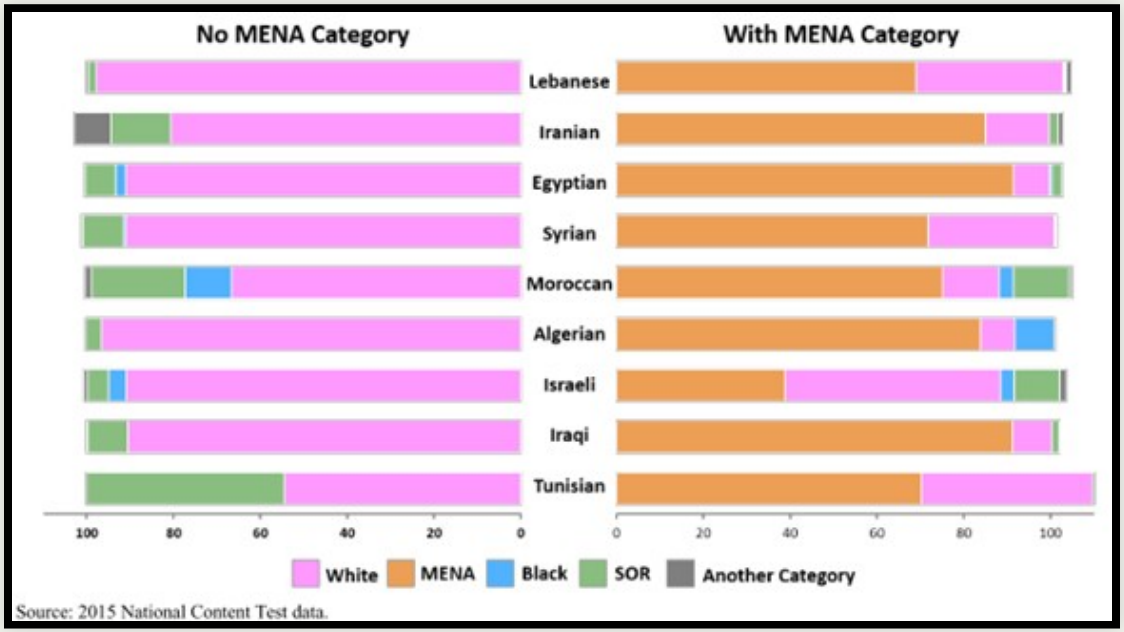
Penalized Regression Models

Model Name	RMSE
ANES 2016 Pilot: GLM (Family = Binomial)	2.245
ANES 2016: GLM (Family = Binomial)	4.392
ANES 2018 Pilot: GLM (Family = Binomial)	5.807
ANES 2016: Ridge (Lambda 1SE)	6.150
ANES 2016: Ridge (Lambda Min)	6.151
ANES 2016: Lasso (Lambda Min)	6.151
ANES 2016: Lasso (Lambda 1SE)	6.152
ANES 2016 Pilot: Lasso (Lambda Min)	6.241
ANES 2016 Pilot: Ridge (Lambda Min)	6.241
ANES 2016 Pilot: Ridge (Lambda 1SE)	6.249
ANES 2016 Pilot: Lasso (Lambda 1SE)	6.256
ANES 2018 Pilot: Lasso (Lambda Min)	6.353
ANES 2018 Pilot: Ridge (Lambda Min)	6.353
ANES 2018 Pilot: Ridge (Lambda 1SE)	6.353
ANES 2018 Pilot: Lasso (Lambda 1SE)	6.356

MENA Identity Study

Control	Treatment 1	Treatment 2
No racial prime	Racial prime	Racial prime
Racial ID asked at the ***end*** of survey	Racial ID asked at the ***beginning*** of the survey	Racial ID asked at the ***beginning*** of the survey
Includes MENA	Includes MENA	***Does not include*** MENA

Pan-MENA Identity?



Source: 2015 National Content Test data.