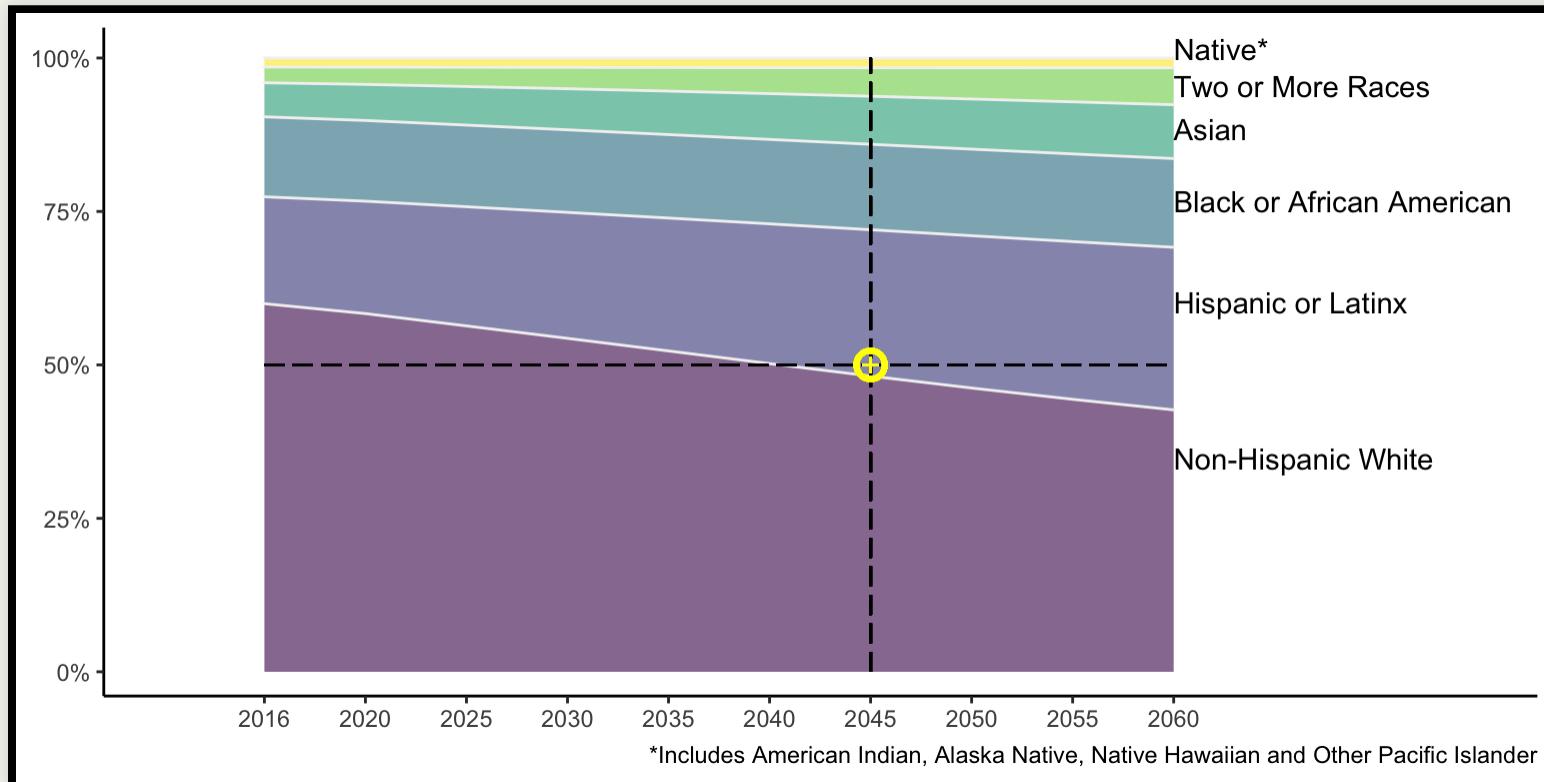


A Boundary of White Inclusion

Amanda Sahar d'Urso
PhD Candidate | Northwestern University

17 Nov 2021

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

- Do changing demographics and 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 identities and with what consequences?
- Do government classification schemes influence those perceptions?

New Questions on Identity

- Do changing demographics and 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 identities and with what consequences?
- Do government classification schemes influence those perceptions?

Talk Take-Away

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

Talk Outline

1. Introduction

A. On Whiteness

B. Analytical Approach

2. Theory

A. On MENA

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.

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.
- “Ethnoracial” captures these ambiguities.

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

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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 and Muslim identities** in the US.

Theory

1. Introduction

- A. On Whiteness
- B. Analytical Approach

2. Theory

- A. On MENA
- B. Historical Classification of MENA

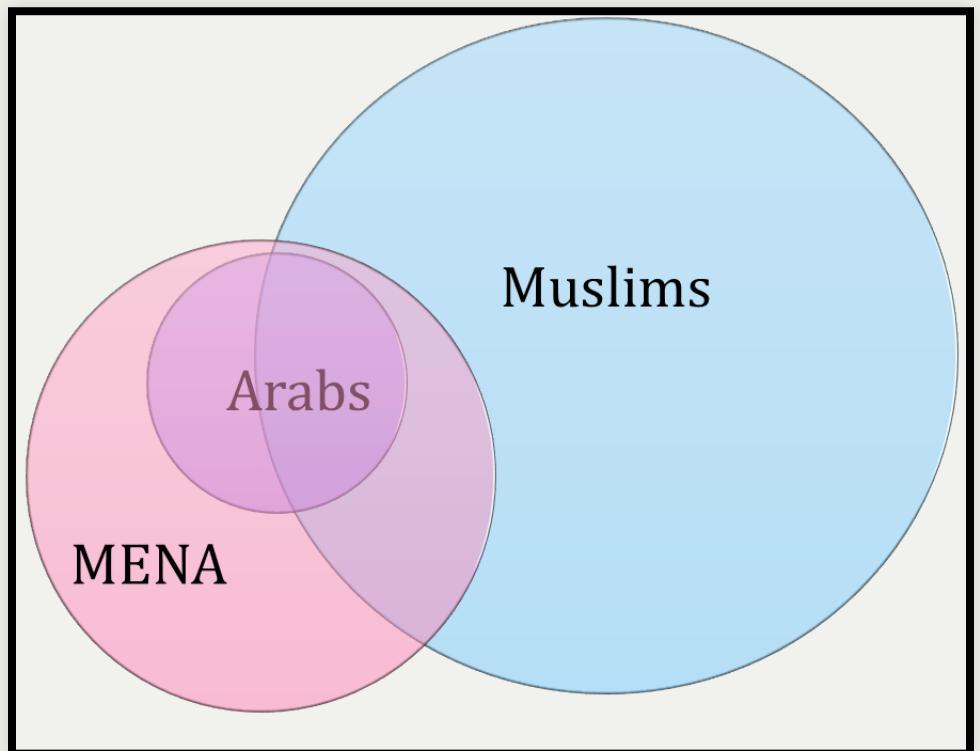
3. Empirical Study

- A. Hypotheses
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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.



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
1913	Ex parte Shahid	MENA are not 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
1913	Ex parte Shahid	MENA are not 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)

But what about today? When it comes to societal classifications does religion also matter?

Testing the Role of Religion on Racial Assignment

1. Introduction
 - A. On Whiteness
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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]

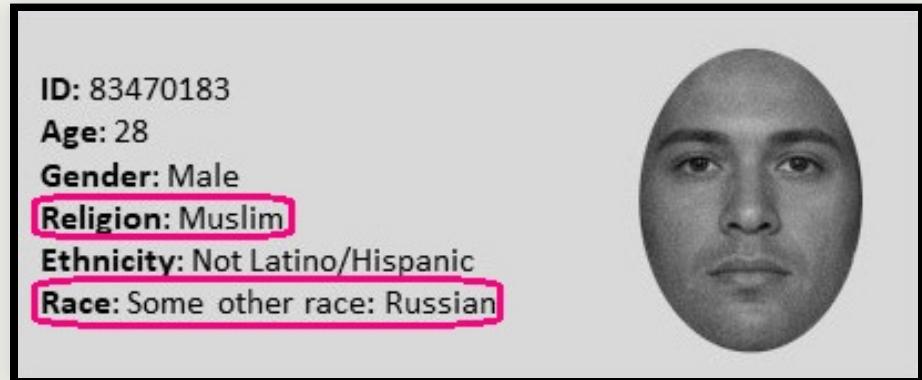
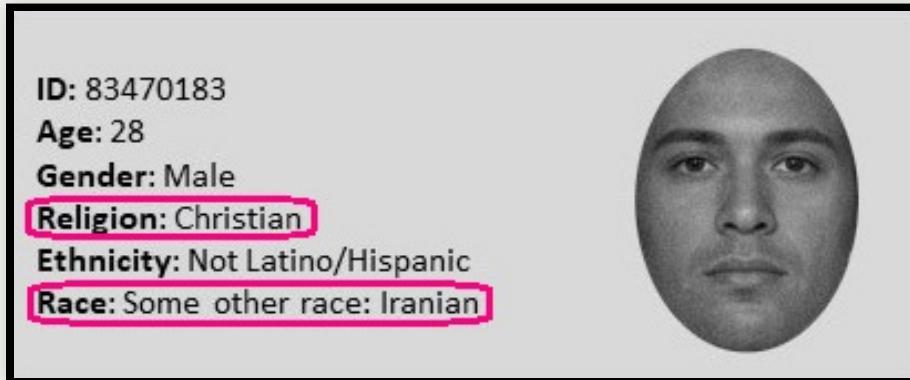
Ethnicity: Not Latino/Hispanic

Race: Some other race: [Russian/Iranian]



Design

		Religion	
		Christian	Muslim
Country or Origin	Russian	<i>Russian Christian</i>	<i>Russian Muslim</i>
	Iranian	<i>Iranian Christian</i>	<i>Iranian Muslims</i>

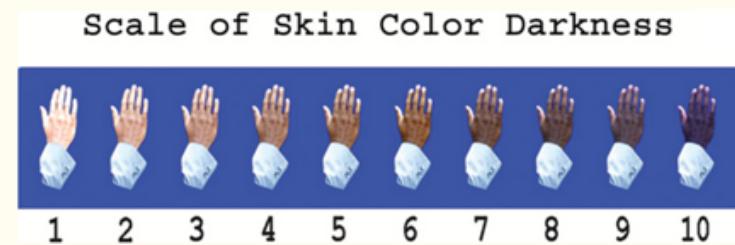


Dependent Variables

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:



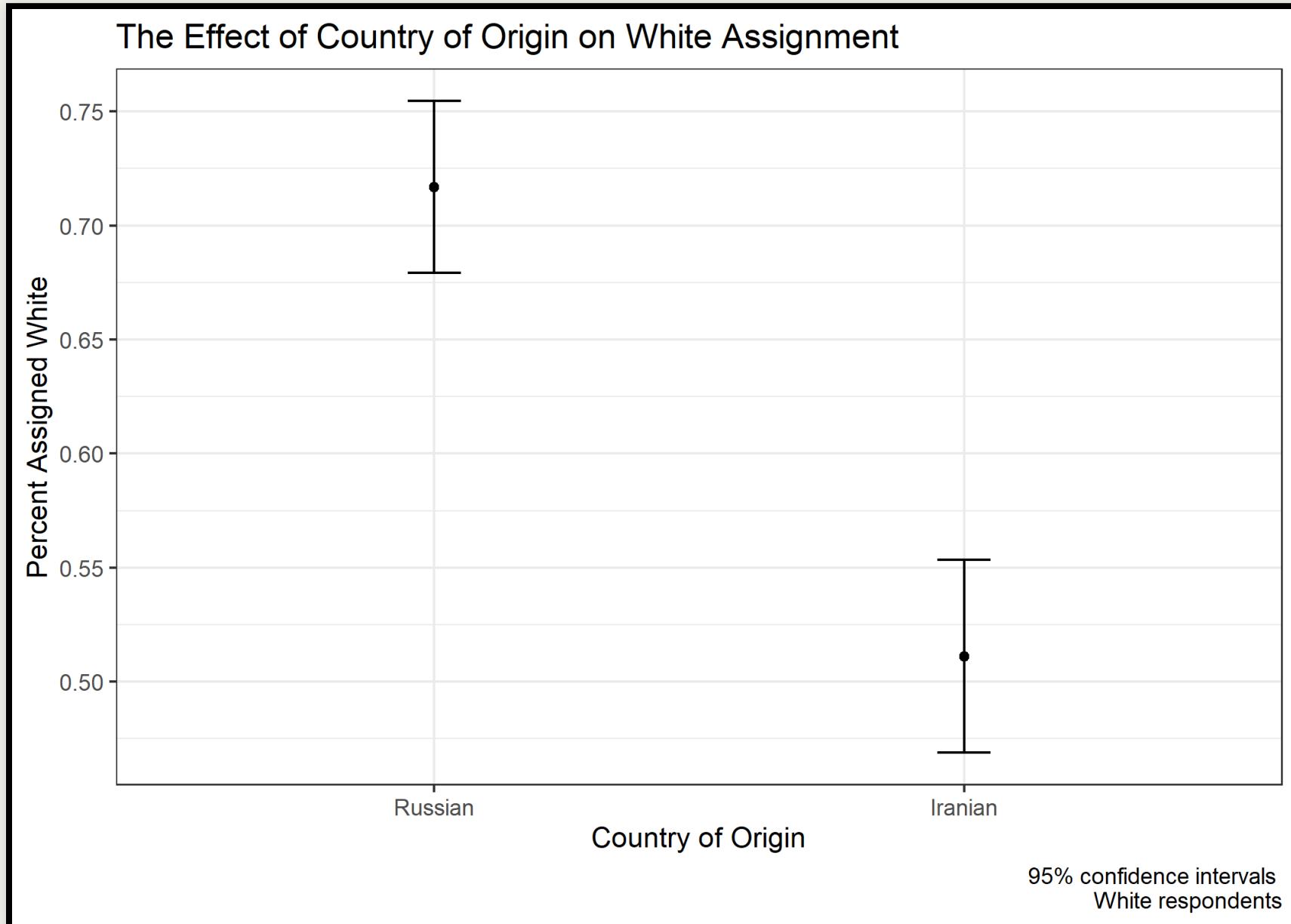
Data

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

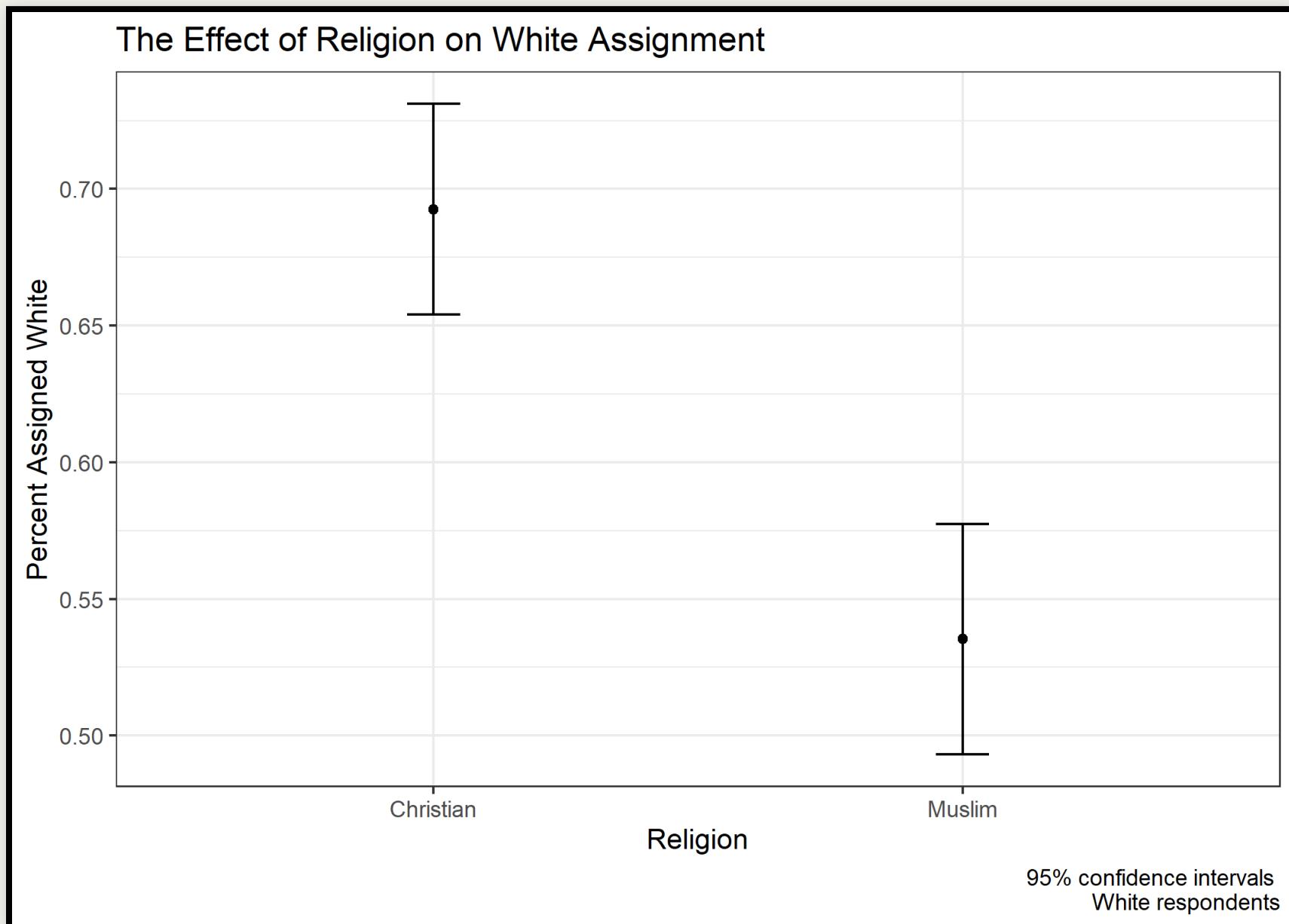
	US Census 2018	Respondents
Male	49%	48.5%
Female	51%	51.5%
18-34	27.6%	13.2%
35-54	31.8%	29.2%
55-64	17.5%	35.7%
65+	23.1%	21.9%
Less than a high school diploma	9.80%	2.7%
High school graduate (or equivalent)	27%	22.1%
Some college or associate degree	29.30%	23.9%
Bachelor's degree	20.90%	36.2%
Graduate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

Results

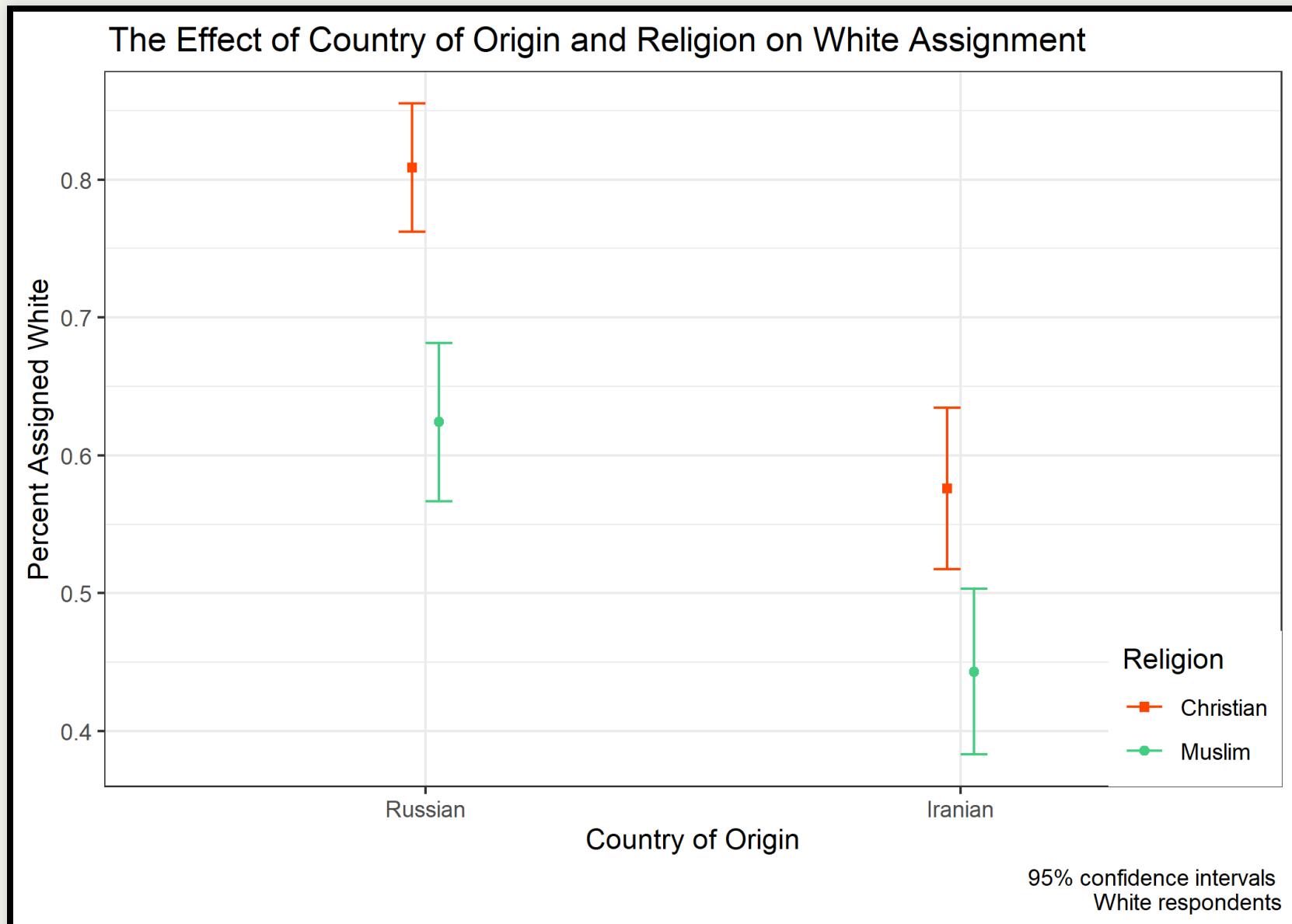
H1: Russians are more likely to be assigned White

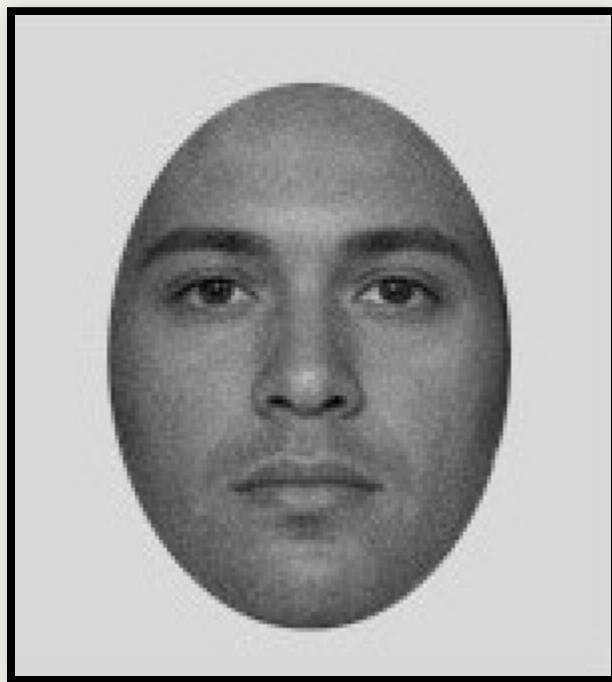


H2: Christians are more likely to be assigned White

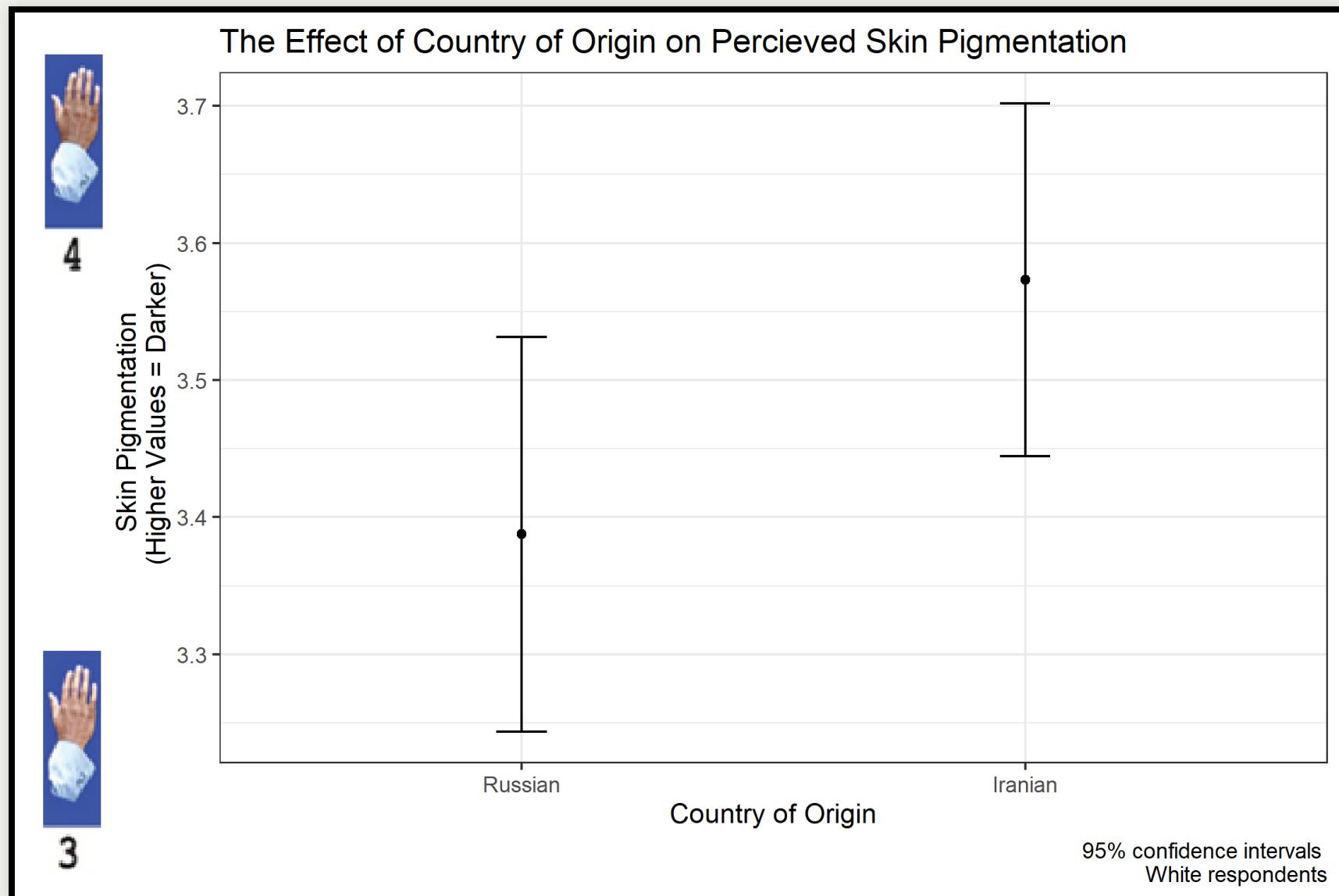


H3: Russian Christian most likely to be assigned White (Iranian Muslim least likely)

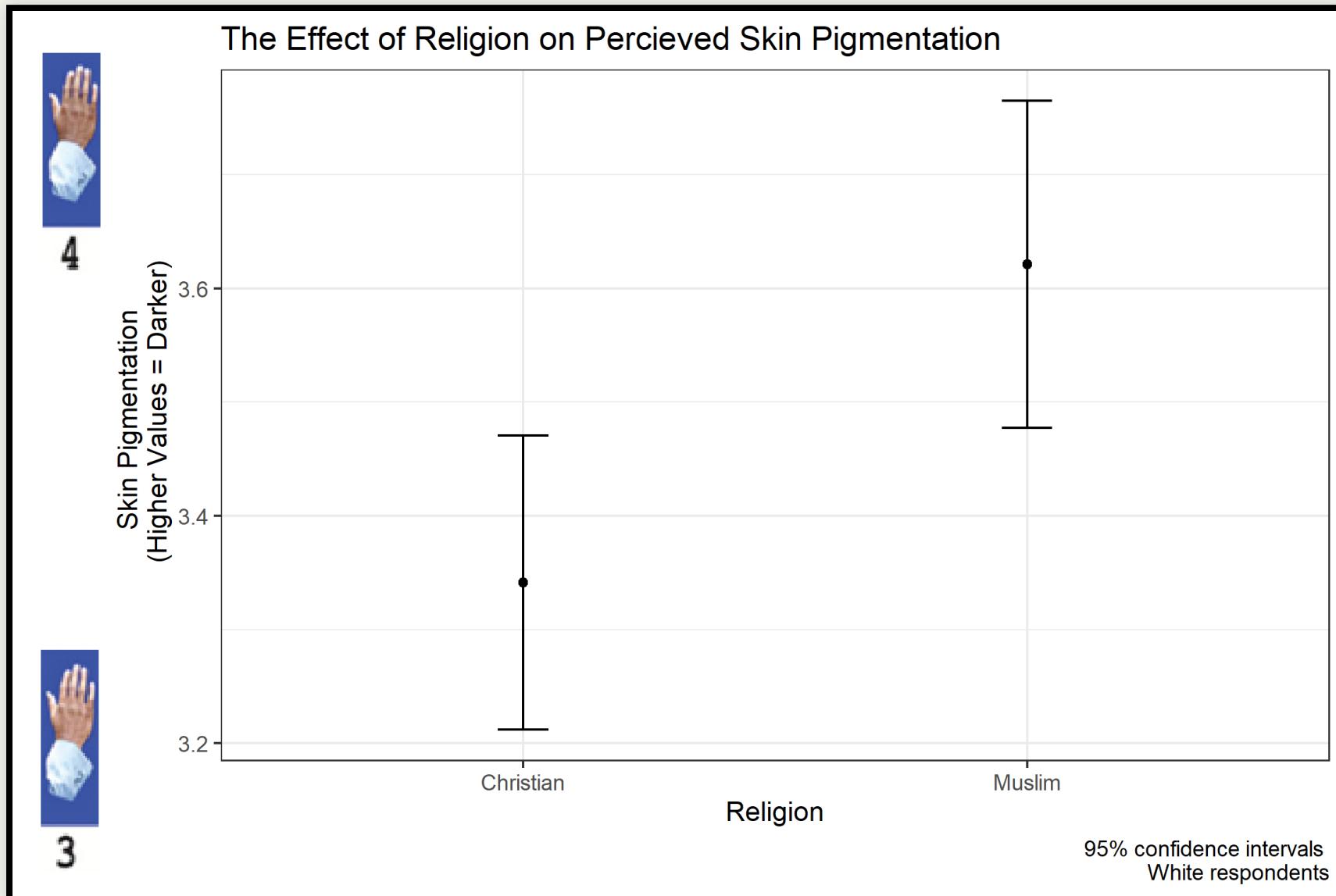




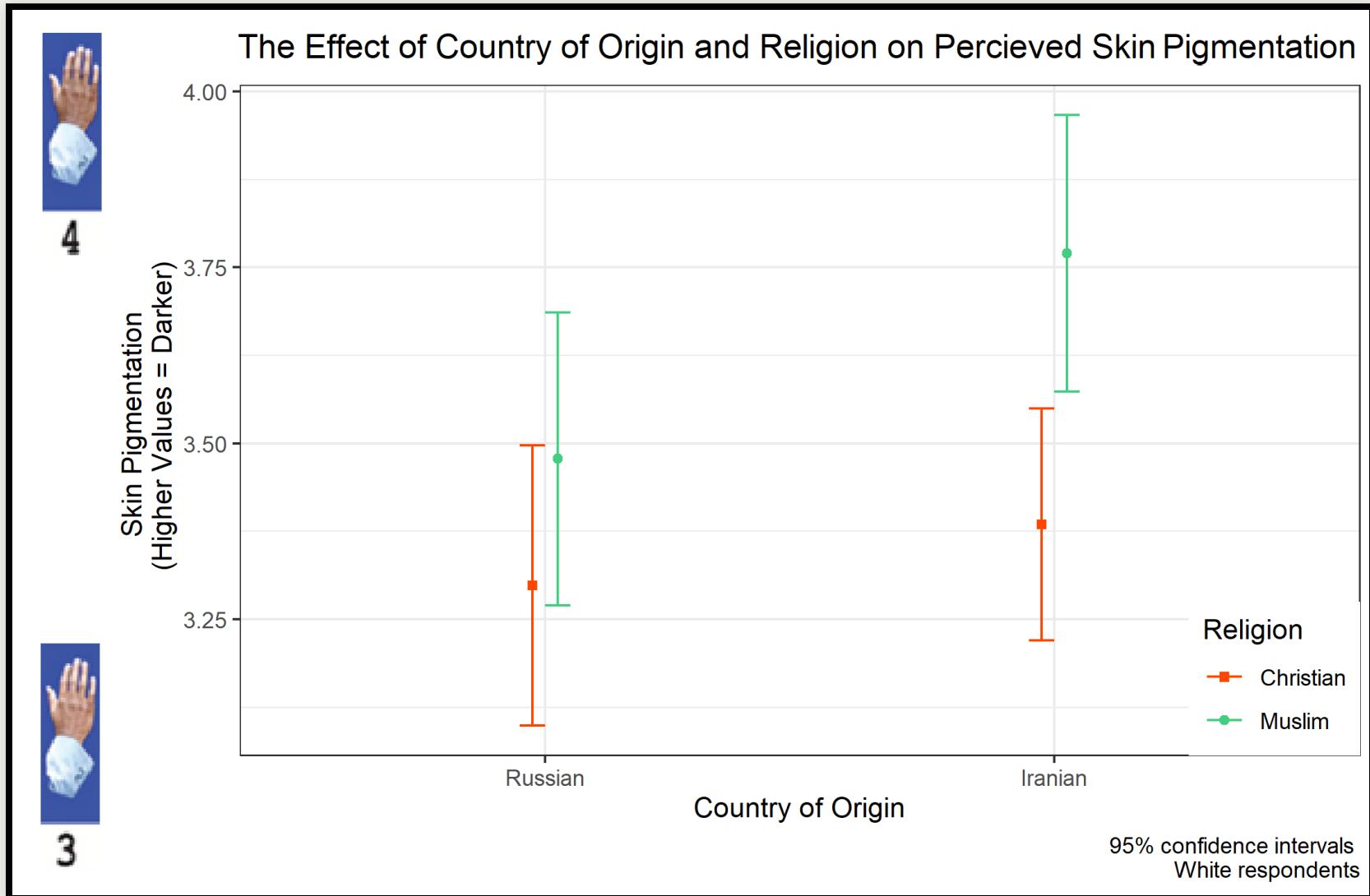
H4.1: Russians are lighter than Iranians ($p < 0.1$)



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



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



Discussion

How do people perceive others with unclear identities?

Do government classification schemes influence those perceptions?

- 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.

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.
- Conjoint 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

- 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?

Thank you!

Thank you!

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تشكر

شکراللک

Մարկ

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Appendix Slides

East, South, Southeast Asian Racial Prerequisite Cases

Decision to Include MENA Option

Correlation between White Assignment & Pigmentation

Effect Sizes

Linear Models

Moderation

Conjoint Study

MENA Identity Study

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

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
<hr/>		
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)

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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Moderation

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:	<i>p<0.1; p<0.05; p<0.01</i>	

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 **
<i>Note:</i>	<i>p<0.1; p<0.05; p<0.01</i>	

Income

	White Assignment	Perceived Pigmentation
Russian Muslim	-0.179 *** (0.055)	-0.179 *** (0.055)
Iranian Christian	-0.238 *** (0.055)	-0.238 *** (0.055)
Iranian Muslim	-0.324 *** (0.055)	-0.324 *** (0.055)
50,000 or Higher	0.017 (0.057)	0.017 (0.057)
Russian Muslim * 50,000 or Higher	0.001 (0.081)	0.001 (0.081)
Iranian Christian * 50,000 or Higher	0.026 (0.081)	0.026 (0.081)
Iranian Muslim * 50,000 or Higher	-0.085 (0.082)	-0.085 (0.082)
Constant	0.803 *** (0.039)	0.803 *** (0.039)
Observations	1,062	1,062
Adjusted R ²	0.067	0.067
F Statistic (16 - 7, 1054)	***	***

F Statistic (df = 7; 1054)

11.840^{****}

11.840^{****}

Note:

$p < 0.1$; $p < 0.05$; $p < 0.01$

Age

	White Assignment	Perceived Pigmentation
Russian Muslim	-0.060 (0.116)	-0.060 (0.116)
Iranian Christian	0.006 (0.119)	0.006 (0.119)
Iranian Muslim	-0.207 * (0.117)	-0.207 * (0.117)
Age	0.008 (0.029)	0.008 (0.029)
Russian Muslim * Age	-0.047 (0.041)	-0.047 (0.041)
Iranian Christian * Age	-0.088 ** (0.042)	-0.088 ** (0.042)
Iranian Muslim * Age	-0.059 (0.042)	-0.059 (0.042)
Constant	0.789 *** (0.082)	0.789 *** (0.082)
Observations	1,091	1,091
Adjusted R ²	0.077	0.077
F Statistic (df = 7; 1083)	13.908 ***	13.908 ***
Note:	<i>p<0.1; p<0.05; p<0.01</i>	

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

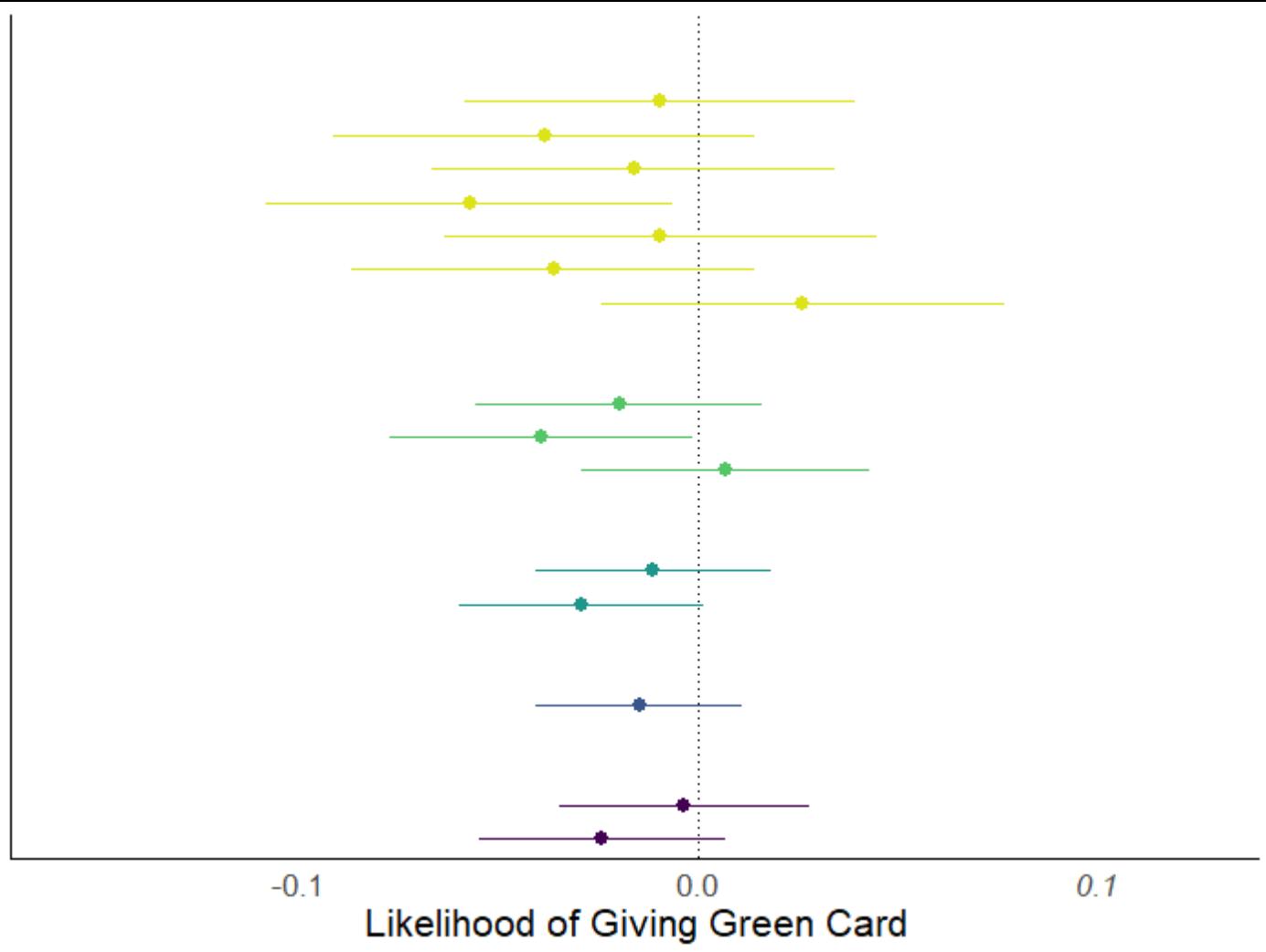
Country:
(Baseline = Bosnia)
India
Iran
Lebanon
Libya
Pakistan
Russia
Sudan

Education:
(Baseline = College)
Elementary school
High school
Master's Degree

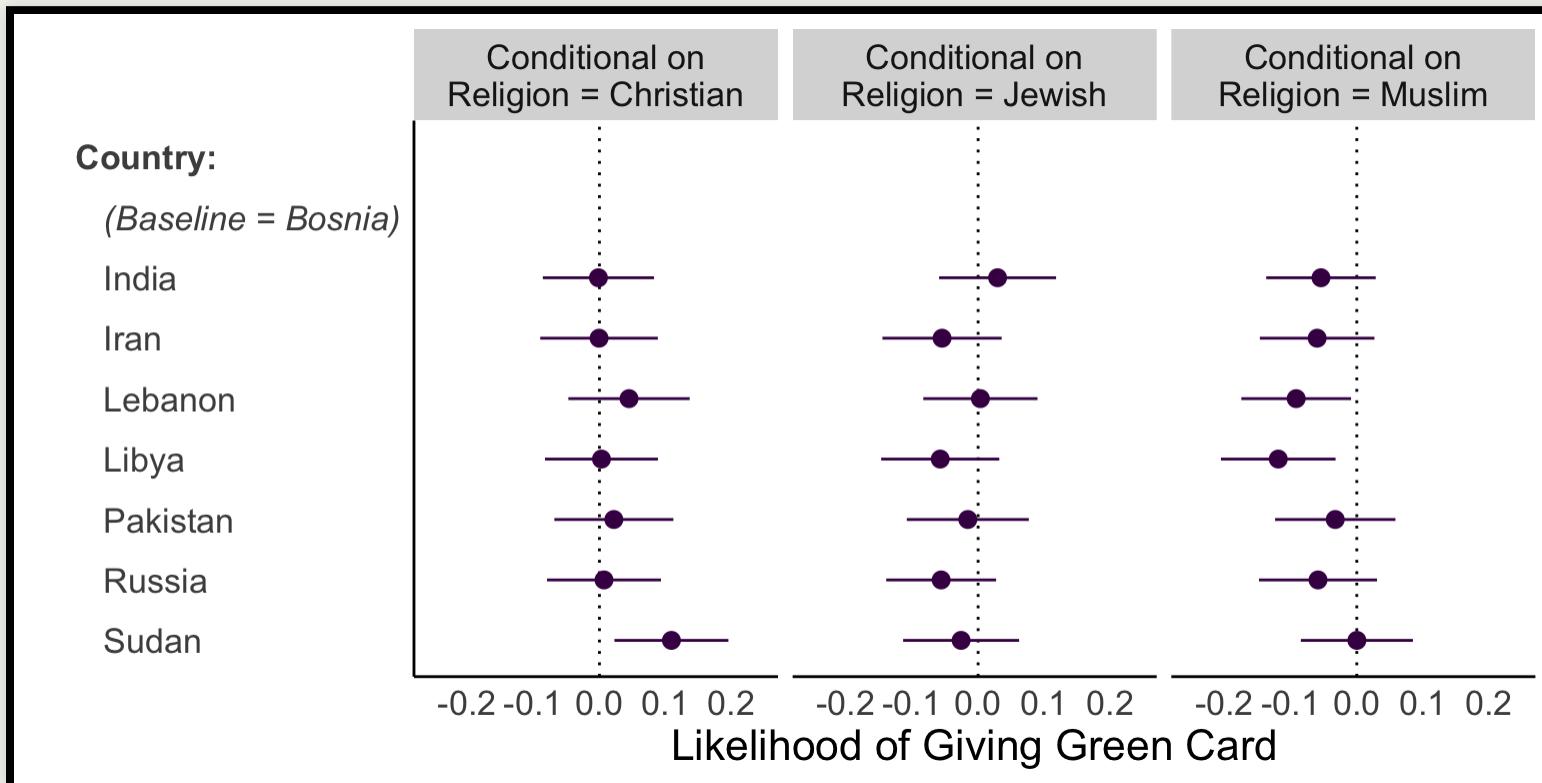
English Fluency:
(Baseline = Advanced)
Fluent
Intermediate

Gender:
(Baseline = Female)
Male

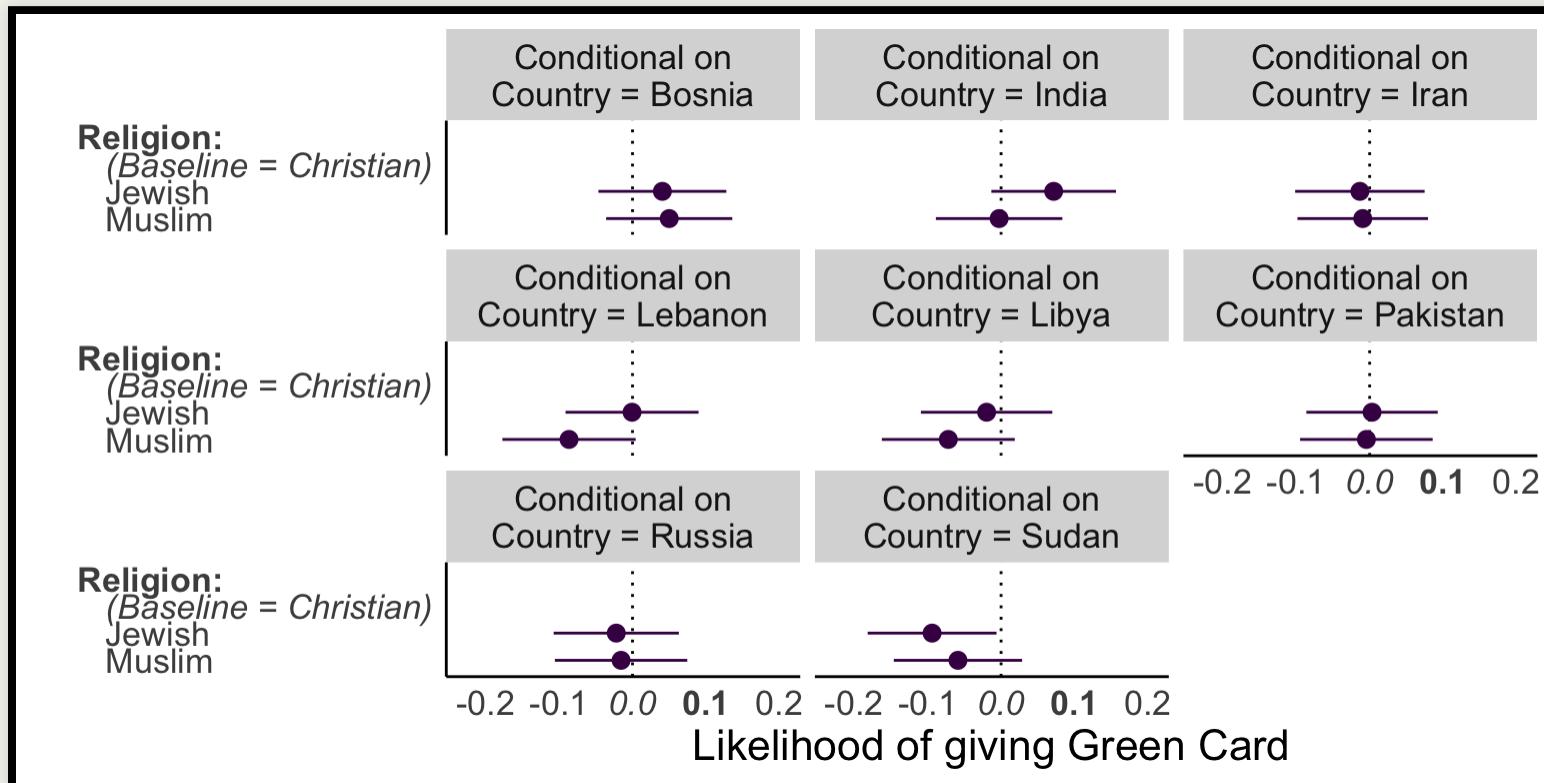
Religion:
(Baseline = Christian)
Jewish
Muslim



Heterogeneity by Religion



Heterogeneity by Country of Origin



Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCE):

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	•

Average Component Interaction Effects (ACIE):

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	•

MENA Identity Study

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

Pan-MENA Identity?

