

Between Arab and White: Syrians and the Naturalization Law

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Introduction

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 - ▶ Does citizenship act as a **catalyst**, accelerating integration once barriers are lowered, or as a **crown**, granted only after immigrants have already assimilated?

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 - ▶ **Assimilation:** Americanized names, intermarriage, residential integration
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- **Empirical strategy:** US Census (1900–1930) → within-Arab family variation & cohort DiD across groups
 - ▶ Naming patterns: FNI ↓ 6–7.8 points \approx two decades of maternal U.S. exposure (Abramitzky et al. 2020)
 - ▶ Intermarriage with natives: ↑ 2.4–3 pp
 - ▶ Heterogeneity: parental characteristics, legal certainty, and name Americanization (novel index)

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- **Ongoing work:**
 - ▶ Text analysis of historical **Arab-American newspapers** & American press to trace identity debates

Literature

- Age of Mass Migration (Abramitzky et al., 2012; Bandiera et al., 2013; Abramitzky et al., 2014; Abramitzky and Boustan, 2017; Fouka, 2019; Abramitzky et al., 2020; Tabellini, 2020)
 - ▶ Focuses on an understudied, non-Muslim immigrant group from the Middle East (Saleh, 2017; Saleh, 2022)
- Immigrant Assimilation: factors influencing it: intergroup contact (Bazzi et al., 2019; Schneider-Strawczynski, 2020; Bursztyn et al., 2024), arrival of other groups (Fouka et al., 2022), ethnic enclaves (Edin et al., 2003, government policies (Lleras-Muney and Shertzer, 2015; Bandiera et al., 2019; Fouka, 2020; Govind, 2021), and discrimination (Fouka, 2019). Effect of naturalization (Hainmueller et al., 2015, 2017; Govind, 2021; Gathmann & Garbers, 2023)
 - ▶ Examines how legal classifications shape assimilation effort
- Self categorization, identity formation, and cultural assimilation: (Tajfel, 1981; Turner, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1979, 1986; Turner et al., 1994; Allport et al., 1954; Blumer, 1958; Barth, 1998; Fouka et al., 2022; Bisin and Verdier, 2001, 2017; Rapoport et al., 2020; Giuliano and Nunn, 2021; Assouad, 2024)
- Racial and ethnic politics & interplay of political and cultural institutions: (Bobo, 1983; Lopez, 2006; Bisin and Verdier, 2017; Acharya et al., 2018; Roland, 2020; Jia and Persson, 2021)

Historical Background

General Context: Naturalization Act of 1870

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 - Determining who qualified as "white" was contentious, especially during this period
- ▶ It was only in 1952, that racial prerequisites to naturalization were removed

Syrian Naturalization Question

- **Naturalization Act** and its applicability to Syrians: for Syrians/Arabs this hinged on them **claiming whiteness**

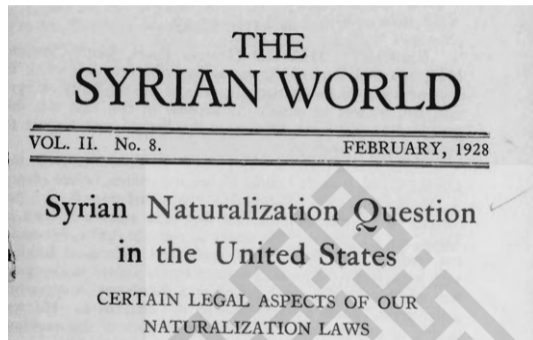


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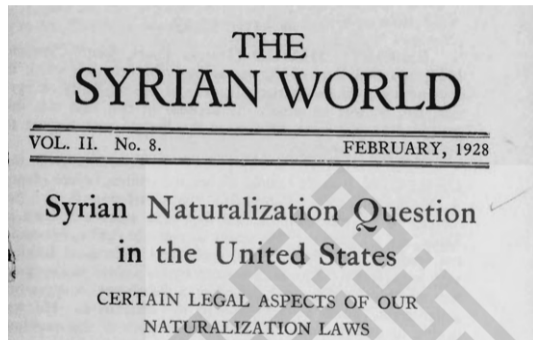


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- Other groups were excluded, *Ozawa v US* in 1923

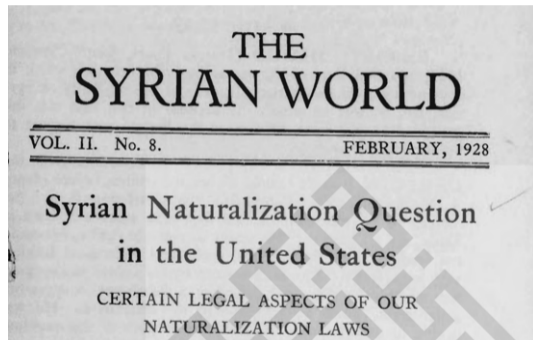


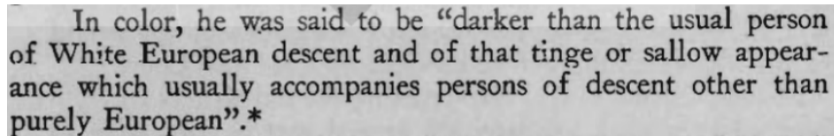
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Dow v United States

US Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, case where **George Dow**, a Syrian immigrant appealed two lower court decisions (Feb 1914 & April 1914) that denied his application for naturalization as a US citizen

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A black and white photograph of a document snippet. The text reads: "In color, he was said to be “darker than the usual person of White European descent and of that tinge or sallow appearance which usually accompanies persons of descent other than purely European”.*"

Finally led to the naturalization of Dow based on:

“the generally received opinion...that inhabitants of a portion of Asia, including Syria,[are] to be classed as white persons.”

– *Circuit Judge Charles Albert Woods (September 15, 1915)*

This resulted in an extension of the privilege of being an American citizen to Arab Christians, (95% of the immigrants from the Arab world)

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- Migrated for three main reasons:
 - ▶ Sectarian tensions
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- Migrated for three main reasons:
 - ▶ Sectarian tensions
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- By 1930, \approx 400,000 Arabs in the US, settling in major cities (NY, Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit)



Data: Overview

Historical US Census Data

Household No.	Name	Birth Date	Sex	Age	Occupation	Country of Birth	Country of Birth	Country of Birth
386411	Arbeely, Youssef	7/11/59	M		Professor in College & Physician	Syria	Syria	Syria
	-, Mary	7/7/48	F		Keeping House	Syria	Syria	Syria
	-, Anwar	7/11/31	M		Physician	Syria	Syria	Syria
	-, Collet	7/11/28	M		Shoe-Maker	Syria	Syria	Syria
	-, Fadlallah	7/11/26	M		Physician	Syria	Syria	Syria
	-, Azhab	7/11/18	M		Student in College	Syria	Syria	Syria
	-, Khabab	7/11/16	M		Student in College	Syria	Syria	Syria
	-, Anwar	7/11/13	M			Syria	Syria	Syria
	-, Amelia	7/7/17	F		Keeping House	Syria	Syria	Syria

Figure: Youssef Arbeely's census record. His sons founded *Kawkab America*, the first Arab-American newspaper in the US.

- **400,000+** individuals identified from Greater Syria (1880-1930) [▶ Arab Population in 1930](#)
- US Census provides extensive demographic, family, and geographic data [▶ Occupations](#)

Historical Arab-American Newspapers

- Scraped from the *Khayrallah Center for Lebanese Diaspora Studies* + manual collection
- Created by the Arab diaspora, printed in the US



▶ Timeline

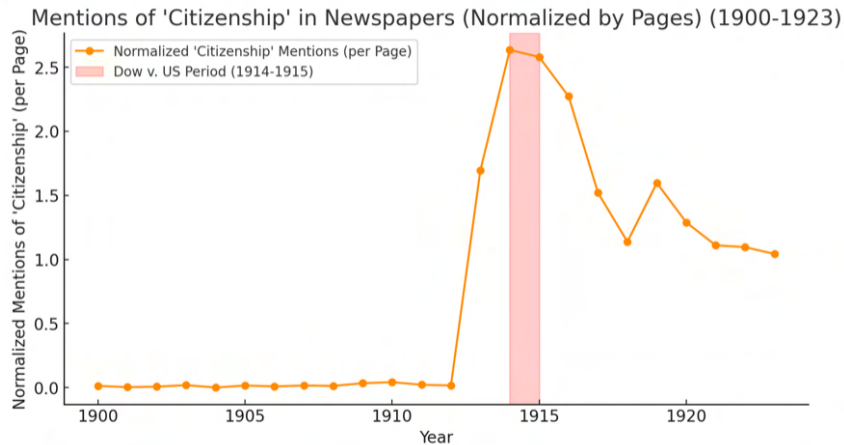
Historical Arab-American Newspapers

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- **16** newspapers, **6,930** editions, **54,774** pages (*ongoing collection*)
- OCR-processed, layout detected, articles extracted

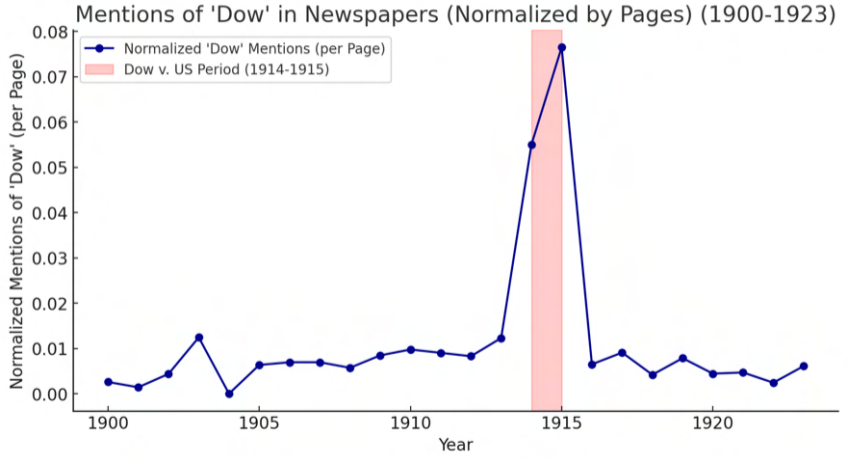
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Salience of the case 1/2



Salience of the case 2/2



Other Data Sources

- Syrian Business Directory (1908–1909) → basis for a novel *Arabic Name Americanization Index*
 - Directory Details
 - ANAI Spec

- American Stories → to capture native sentiment
 - American Newspapers

Name Foreignness

Why Names?

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- **Name Foreignness:** to capture the ethnic content of names, I compute an index of name distinctiveness, the *Foreign Name Index*

Outcome: *Foreign Name Index*

Following Fryer and Levitt (2004), Abramitzky et al. (2006), and Fouka (2019)

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Measures the frequency of a name within an ethnic group relative to its frequency in the population at large. Defined as:

$$FNI_{\text{Name},n,c} = \frac{P_r(\text{Name}|I_{n,c})}{P_r(\text{Name}|I_{n,c}) + P_r(\text{Name}|I_{N \setminus n,c})} \times 100$$

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- Avoid feedback loop and bias where post-ruling naming behavior influences the measure itself

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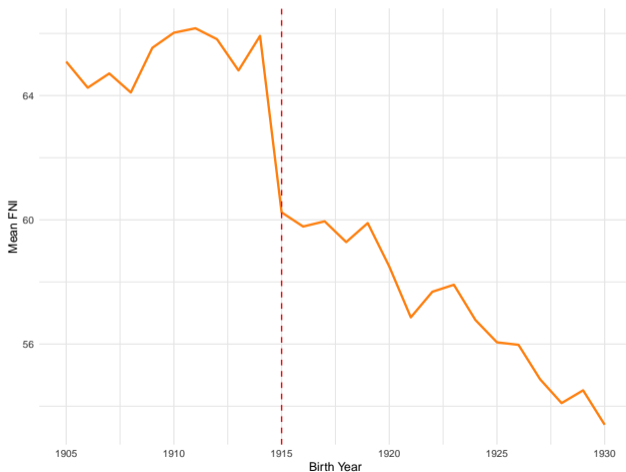
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- Measuring how the distribution of naming choices evolves relative to a **consistent reference**

Mean Arab Name Index by Birth Cohorts

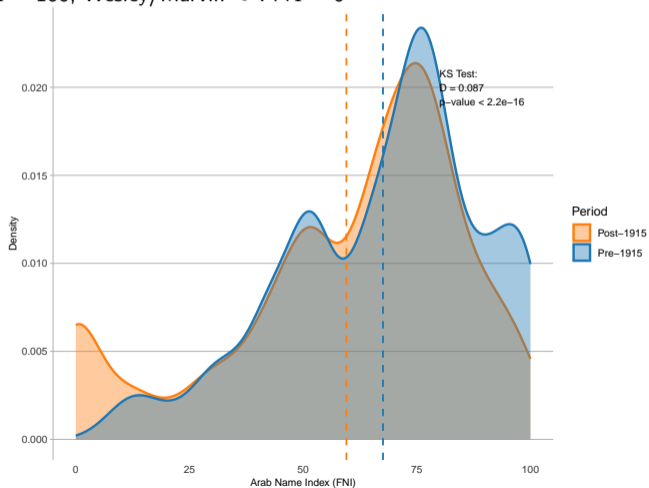
Around 64 in the pre-period, falls strongly post 1915



Arab Name Index Distributions

FNI distributions (pre and post) significantly different from each other

Shafik/Nassif \approx FNI = 100, Wesley/Marvin \approx FNI = 0



Most Common Names

Pre-Period	FNI	Post-Period	FNI
George	77.89	George	77.89
Joseph	72.45	Joseph	72.45
John	49.93	John	49.93
Edward	65.45	Edward	65.45
Fareed	100.00	Albert	64.64
Abraham	93.18	Louis	69.08
Michael	86.27	James	50.89

Within-family analysis

Using the 1920 US census

$$\text{FNI}_{ij\text{sco}} = \beta_1 \mathbf{PostDow}_i + \alpha_j + \lambda_s + \gamma_c + \delta_o + \varepsilon_{ij\text{sco}}$$

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$$\text{FNI}_{ijSCO} = \beta_1 \mathbf{PostDow}_i + \alpha_j + \lambda_s + \gamma_c + \delta_o + \varepsilon_{ijSCO}$$

where:

- ▶ FNI_{ijSCO} : Foreign Name Index of child i in family j , born in state s , living in county c , and has birth order o
- ▶ $\mathbf{PostDow}_i$: 1 if born in or after 1915, 0 otherwise
- ▶ Fixed effects: α_j : household (or mother), λ_s : state of birth, γ_c : county of residence, δ_o : birth order
- ▶ Standard errors clustered at the household level

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- ▶ Standard errors clustered at the household level
- ▶ Sample: all men born in the US to an Arab father, who live in the same household as their father and at least one male sibling, and who were 15 years old or younger at census time
- ▶ 1920 census: to abstract from bias that (much) older siblings in the same household could mean a lower assimilation profile of this family

▶ Co-habitation

▶ Co-habitation: women

Within Family: results

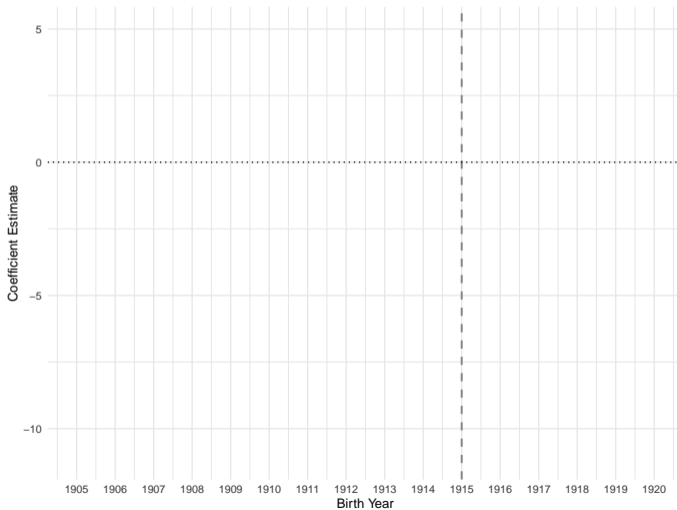
After Dow, Arab children received less foreign/Arab names, even within the same family

From \approx *Basel* \rightarrow *Ralf* (57.81) or *Danny* (57.79), or \approx 19.5 years of extra maternal US exposure (Abramitzky et al. 2020)

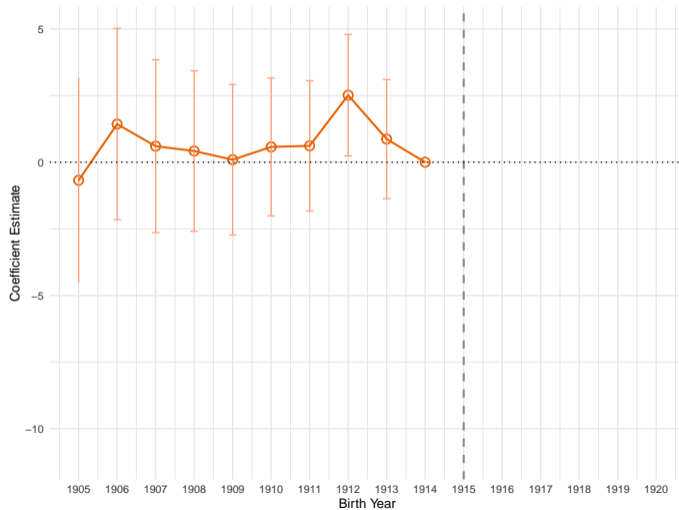
<i>Dep Var: Foreign Name Index (Pre-Treatment Mean = 65.66)</i>					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Post-Dow	-8.048*** (0.3238)	-8.570*** (0.5997)	-8.396*** (0.3775)	-7.815*** (0.9319)	-7.852*** (0.7434)
Linear trend		X			
State of Birth			X	X	X
Household ID				X	
Birth Order				X	X
County				X	X
Mother ID					X
Observations	22,806	22,806	16,464	16,464	16,464
R ²	0.0264	0.0264	0.0373	0.4920	0.5019

*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

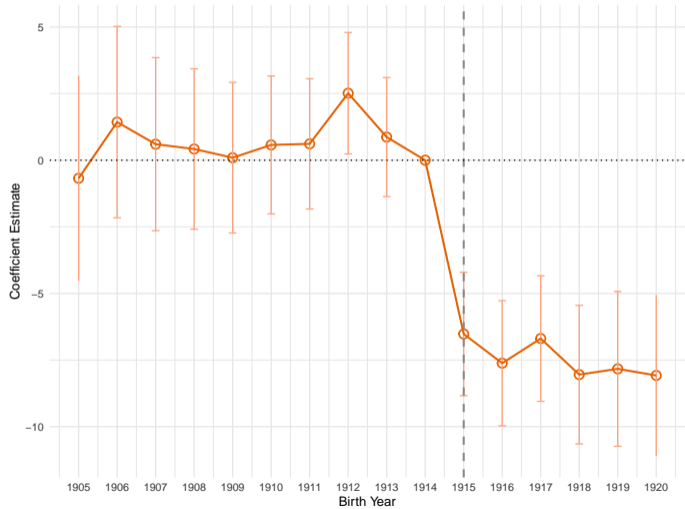
Event Study



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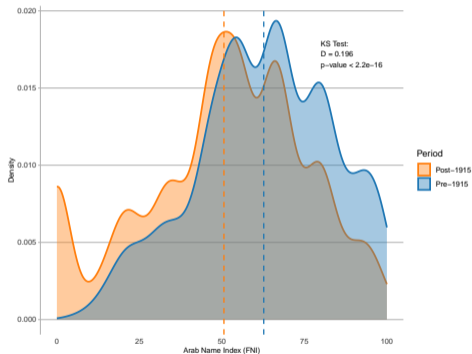
Stronger effects for US-born women to Arab fathers

Aligning with the sociology literature (Rossi 1965; Sue & Telles 2007)

From \approx *Nellie* (FNI = 64) \rightarrow *Lucie* (FNI = 54)

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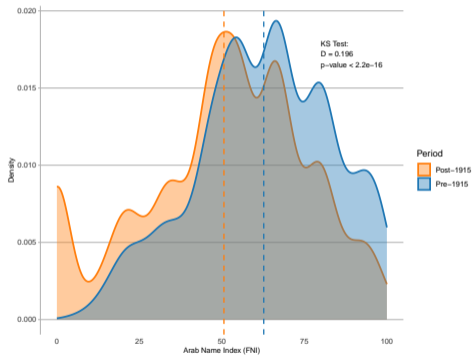
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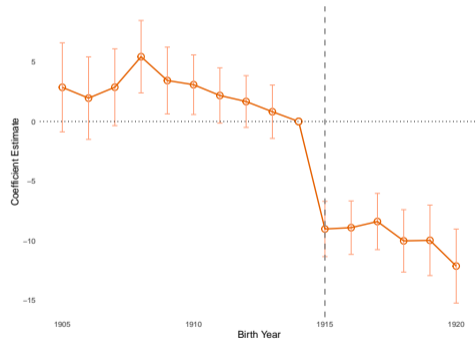
► Mean FNI

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► Mean FNI



► Table

Heterogeneity and Mechanisms

- Heterogeneity responses by parental characteristics [▶ Regression](#) [▶ Father's literacy](#)
[▶ Father's occupation score](#) [▶ Father's years in the US](#)
- Share of the diaspora [▶ Share of Arab diaspora](#)
- Legal Certainty [▶ Legal Certainty](#) [▶ Event Study: Certainty](#)
- Arabic Name Americanization [▶ Americanization Paths](#) [▶ Top Names](#) [▶ Preliminary Evidence](#)

Across Groups

Similar pattern when comparing across different control groups

- Limitations behind the choice of control groups
 - ▶ Poles: generally perceived as white → clear contrast (preferred specification)
 - ▶ Other immigrants groups → varying levels of legal uncertainty (Italians, Greeks, Armenians, Japanese, Chinese, Iranians, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban, Filipino)

- Cohort Diff-in-Diff

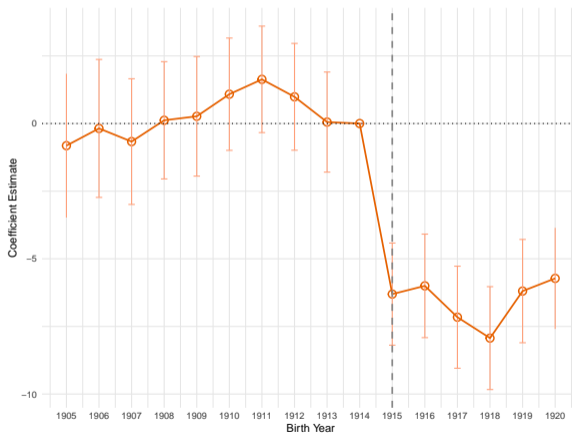
$$\text{FNI}_{i_{nsc}} = \alpha + \beta_1 \text{Arab}_i + \beta_2 \text{PostDow}_i + \beta_3 (\text{Arab}_i \times \text{PostDow}_i) + \gamma_n + \delta_c + \phi_s + \epsilon_{i_{nsc}}$$

- ▶ Coefficient of interest, β_3 : captures the differential effect of the Dow ruling on second-generation Arabs relative to the control group [▶ More](#)

[▶ Counts of US-born males by Father's ethnicity](#)

Event study: birth cohort effects

Control Group: US-born men to Polish fathers. No pre-trends, sharp decrease post-1915.



Other Outcomes

Intermarriage and Residential Integration

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- Both are outcomes that depend on coordination with natives' and their attitudes

Intermarriage and Residential Integration

- **Intermarriage:** =1 if Arab/Polish immigrant man (1G) married to a native-born white woman (spouses observed if co-reside) Pre-1920 intermarriage rate: 5%
- **Residential integration:** =1 if immigrant household head has at least one native neighbor (neighbors inferred from enumeration order)

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- Stacked census waves 1900–1930 (1920/1930 = post-Dow) \Rightarrow descriptive evidence

	Intermarriage (1)	Residential Integration (2)
Arab	2.504*** (0.306)	1.471*** (0.277)
Post-Dow \times Arab	3.017*** (0.339)	-0.728* (0.295)
Observations	939,481	975,843

► Sex ratios Arabs (60:40)

Intermarriage: Marriage-Year Panel

Impute marriage year from 1930 *age at first marriage* → DiD + event study

	Full Sample		1910–1920		1912–1918		Trend-Adj.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Arab	1.328*** (0.225)	1.312*** (0.196)	1.936*** (0.382)	1.678*** (0.333)	2.678*** (0.527)	2.073*** (0.477)	1.259*** (0.424)
Post-Dow × Arab	5.401*** (0.419)	3.401*** (0.419)	5.954*** (0.680)	3.773*** (0.635)	4.904*** (0.866)	3.459*** (0.796)	2.048* (1.067)
Arab × t							0.274 (0.173)
Obs.	304,479	304,479	140,752	140,752	94,128	94,128	169,555
Adj. R ²	0.056	0.249	0.056	0.248	0.056	0.241	0.234
Indiv. controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: State	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: Marry Year	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
FE: County-Year		Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes
FE: State-Year		Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes
FE: State-County		Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes

▸ Age at marriage dist.

▸ Raw rates

▸ Event study

▸ Honest DiD robustness

Conclusion

Conclusion and Next Steps

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- **New outcomes:**
 - ▶ Economic: wages, occupations, education
 - ▶ Political: naturalization rates, voting behavior ▶ Political Outcomes

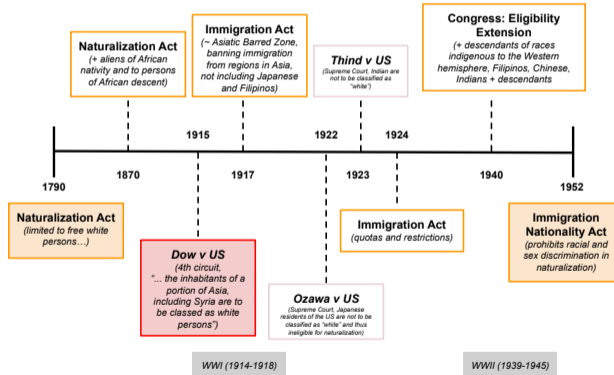
Appendix

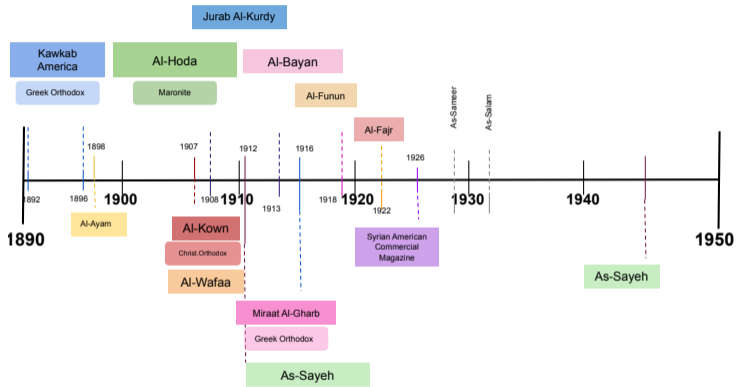
How was Whiteness Defined and Legalized?

- Whiteness was both a legal and social category tied to rights and citizenship (Lopez, 1996)
- Defined through:
 - ▶ **Scientific Racism:** Pseudoscience (e.g., skull measurements, genetics) (Gould, 1981)
 - ▶ **Common Sense Whiteness:** Court decisions based on public perception
- **Key legal cases:**
 - ▶ *Ozawa v. U.S.* (1922) – Japanese denied whiteness

Timeline of Naturalization and Immigration Laws

◀ Back





Historical American Newspapers

- ▶ *American Stories* dataset (1780–1960)



◀ Back

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- ▶ **American Stories** dataset (1780–1960)
- ▶ **20M** newspaper scans from *Chronicling America* (Library of Congress)
- ▶ **438M** structured articles: headlines, bylines, captions, dates, pages
- ▶ Coverage spans all **50 states**, with content concentrated pre-1920



◀ Back

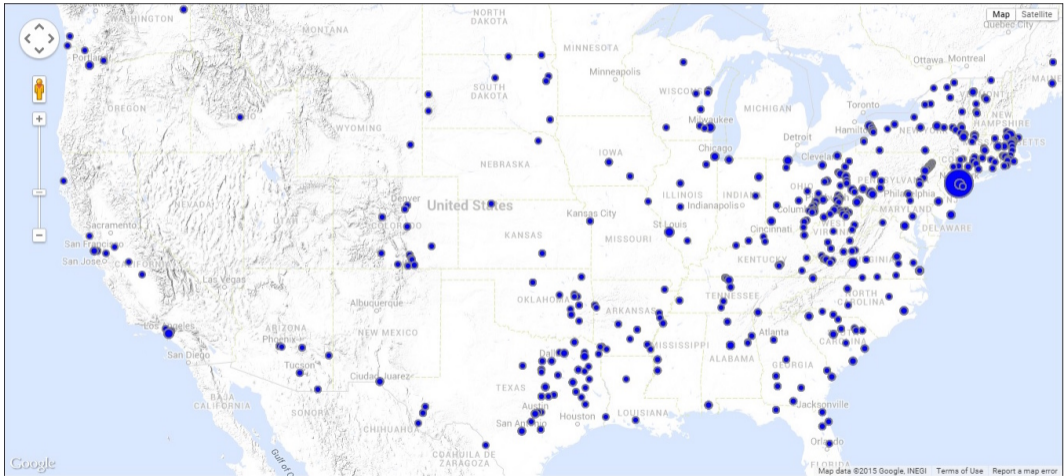
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- ▶ **Next Steps:** Text analysis of media sentiment toward Arabs & immigrants

◀ Back



Map: Syrian American Businesses (1908-1909)



NYC Arab-American Businesses

NEW YORK CITY.		مدينة نيويورك	
Bankers & Brokers.		(صياغة)	
D. J. Faour & Bros.	63 Washington	حدث الجبه	دانيال يوسف فاوور واخوانه
Pedro Caram & Co.	68 West	دايتا	بطرس كرم وشركاه
Petrus Saad & Bros.	59 Washington	بسكتا	بطرس سعد واخوانه
Salim Elias & T. Abdou.	54 Washington	بسكتا	سليم بك الياش وطانيس بك عبده
Barbers.		(حلاقين)	
Elias Daher.	24 1/2 Rector	بيروت	الياش ضاهر
Jos. Gabriel Simon.	18 West	مملكة الدامور	يوسف جبرائيل سمعان
Brass Importers.		(تجار الأواني النحاسية)	
Amin N. Kouri & Co.	30 E. 20th.	بيروت	امين قنولا المحوري وشركاه
Kateb Bros.	36 E. 21st.	الشام	كاتب اخوان
Kawam Bros.	60-62 Washington	الشام	{ انطون خوام } { خوام اخوان } { الياش خوام } { يوسف خوام }
Marrash Bros.	1 Carlisle	الشام	مراش اخوان
Carpenters.		(نجارون)	
David Farah.	139 Washington	الشام	داود فرح
Elias Abraham.	10 Washington	المتين	الياش ابراهيم
George Tabet.	144 Liberty	بيروت	جوج تابت
Gibran Abdou Mejdalani.	10 Washington	الشام	جبران عبده مجدلافي
Hafez Abdou.	6 Washington	الشام	حافظ عبده
Jamil Azaar.	51 Dey	الشام	جميل عازار
John Sirgany.	54 Washington	زحلة	حنا السرفاني

New Names

	New Name		P(Name is American)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Post-Dow	4.406*** (0.300)	4.551*** (0.364)	-3.460*** (0.428)	-3.142*** (0.543)
Observations	42,081	42,081	42,081	42,081
R ²	0.016	0.449	0.023	0.453
Linear trend	X	X	X	X
State of Birth	X	X	X	X
County		X		X
Mother ID		X		X
Birth Order		X		X

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Standard errors in parentheses. Clustered at county level in (2) and (4).

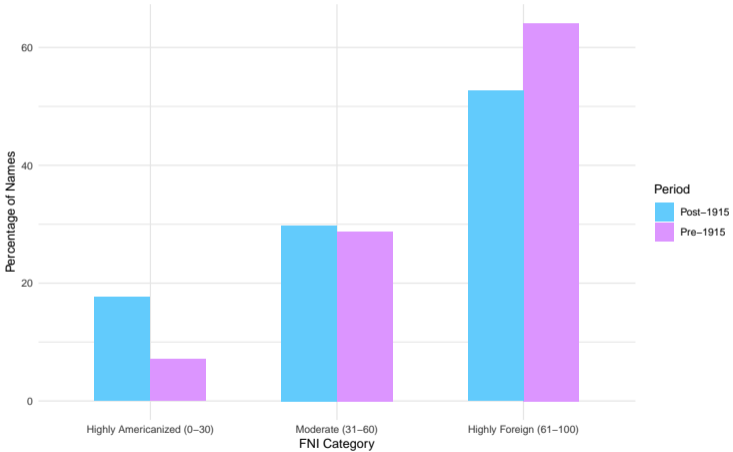
Top Names

Table: Top 10 Names That Became More Common Post-Treatment

First Name	Count Pre	FNI	Count Post	Freq Change
GEORGE	1099	77.14	3346	2247
JOSEPH	676	70.33	2336	1660
JOHN	620	47.67	2073	1453
EDWARD	519	67.40	1533	1014
ALBERT	282	67.10	1129	847
JAMES	395	51.81	1067	672
CHARLES	295	53.32	917	622
WILLIAM	342	40.66	964	622
ROBERT	64	17.05	603	539
LOUIS	222	70.40	748	526

◀ Back

Top Names



DiD results: Arabs vs Poles

Dependent Variable: Foreign Name Index (Mean: 65.66)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Arab	0.750*** (0.215)	0.779*** (0.215)	0.771*** (0.215)	2.465*** (0.229)	2.894*** (0.264)
Post-Dow x Arab	-7.314*** (0.329)	-7.337*** (0.329)	-7.322*** (0.329)	-7.545*** (0.330)	-6.934*** (0.391)
Observations	460,503	460,503	460,503	460,503	460,498
Adj. R ²	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.008	0.020
Linear Trend		X			
Birth Year			X	X	X
State of Birth				X	X
County-Year					X

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses are heteroskedasticity-robust. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Dependent variable: Foreign Name Index (FNI).

Different control groups

Same overall pattern, post-Dow, Arabs named their children less foreign/Arab names

Table: Effect of *Dow v. United States* on Foreign Name Index (Arabs vs. Control Groups, 1930 Census)

	Pole	Italy	Greece	Japan	Armenian	China	India	Mexico	Puerto Rico	Cuba	Philippines
Post-Dow × Arab	-3.035*** (0.284)	-7.212*** (0.260)	-3.981*** (0.508)	-3.032* (1.315)	0.335 (0.810)	1.889 (1.322)	6.417*** (1.491)	-10.755*** (0.809)	-4.385** (1.647)	-0.535 (1.439)	-13.105** (4.008)
Observations	628,639	1,240,419	113,844	75,529	64,226	63,006	56,263	283,445	60,960	60,700	55,722
RMSE	23.36	24.82	24.34	26.01	22.99	23.62	21.97	28.48	22.99	22.76	22.32
Birth-Year FE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
State of Birth FE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
County-Year FE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Event Studies

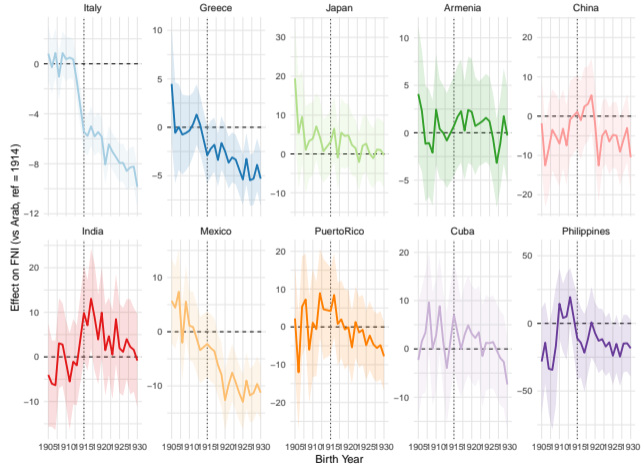


Table: Effects of Dow Ruling on Foreign Name Index (FNI)

	FNI		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Arab	3.503*** (0.982)	-1.763*** (0.390)	-6.421*** (0.464)
Post-Dow x Arab	0.744 (1.093)	-3.865*** (0.435)	-1.988*** (0.513)
Observations	79,927	355,468	111,184
Adj. R ²	0.0370	0.1257	0.0551
FE: Birth Year	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: State of Birth	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: County-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes

Syrian Business Directory (1908-1909)

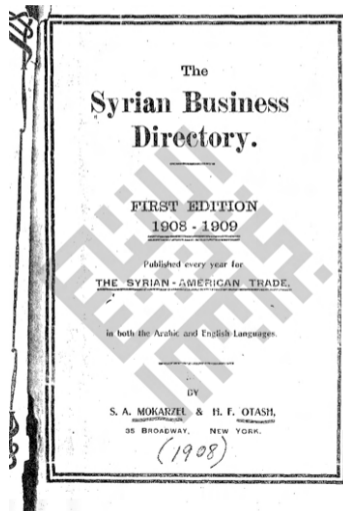
Digitized and geo-located

Overview:

- Voluntary registry of Arab-American business owners
- 3000+ entries with info on: names of owners in Arabic and the Americanized English names, business type, industry, and address, the address where they came from in the Middle East

[▶ Map](#) [▶ NYC](#)

[▶ Arabic Name Americanization Index](#) [◀ Back](#)



Name Americanization

- Americanization indices better capture conformity to American naming norms

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◀ Back

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- *Mapping* of names is the basis for potential and common **Name Americanization Paths**

Carpenters. (نجارون)		
David Farah,	139 Washington الشام	• داود فرح
Elias Abraham,	10 Washington المتين	• الياس ابراهيم
Kairallah Abboud,	10 Washington المتين	• خيرالله عبود
Kalil Abboud,	6 Washington الشام	• خليل عبود

◀ Back

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- After processing, a **dictionary** of: Arabic name - transliteration - English name

Carpenters.		(نجارون)	
David Farah,	139 Washington	الشام	• داود فرح
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- Composite index: normalized Levenshtein distance & phonetic distance, weighting deviations from **Arabic specific sounds** more e.g. "kh", "gh", "h", "dh", "th"

Carpenters.		(نجارون)	
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Transliteration methodology

General rules

1. **Consonants:** Each Arabic consonant is mapped to its closest English equivalent
2. **Vowels:** Arabic vowels, which can sometimes be implied, are represented based on common pronunciation
3. **Special Characters:** Arabic letters that don't have direct English equivalents are approximated using combinations of English letters

Consonants examples

- ا (Alif): Often represented as 'A' or omitted if it starts a word (e.g., 'إلياس' -> 'Ilyas')
- ث (Tha): 'th'
- ح (Ha): 'h'
- خ (Kha): 'kh'
- ع (Ayn): Often represented as an apostrophe (') or omitted (e.g., 'عبدالله' -> 'Abdullah')
- غ (Ghayn): 'gh'

Vowels

- **Short Vowels:** Not always written in Arabic but implied in transliteration
 - َ (Fatha): 'a'
 - ِ (Kasra): 'i'
 - ُ (Damma): 'u'
- **Long Vowels:**
 - ا (Alif): 'a'
 - و (Waw): 'u'
 - ي (Ya): 'i'

Special Considerations

- **Double Letters:** Sometimes, Arabic has doubled letters for emphasis, which are maintained in transliteration (e.g., 'عبدالله' -> 'Abdullah')
- **Ayn ('ع') and Hamza ('أ'):** These can be tricky. 'ع' is often left out or represented as an apostrophe ('), while 'أ' is usually omitted unless it's necessary to indicate a glottal stop

Transliteration example

Arabic name **Arabic Transliteration**

إلياس



Ilyas

ابراهيم



Ibrahim

جرجي

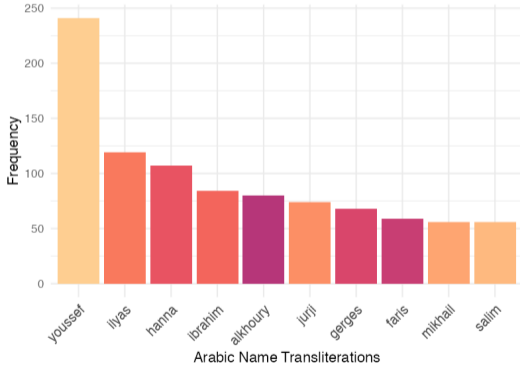


Jurji

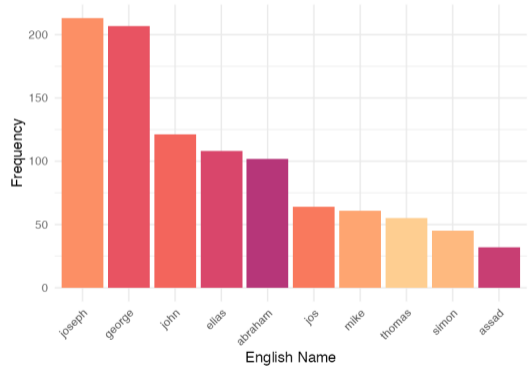
Top names



Top 10 Arabic Name Transliterations



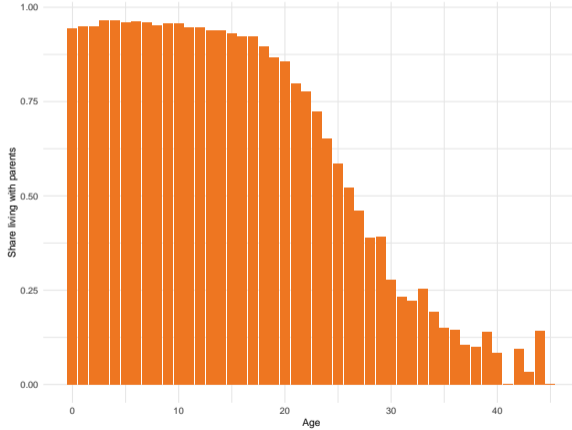
Top 10 English Names



◀ Back

Co-habitation

Co-habitation by age was quite high among Arab men



Co-habitation: women

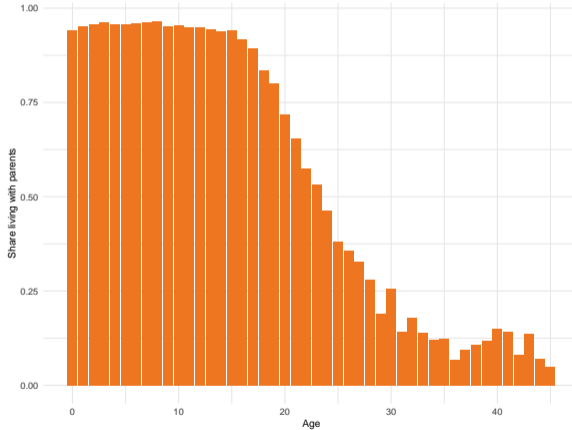
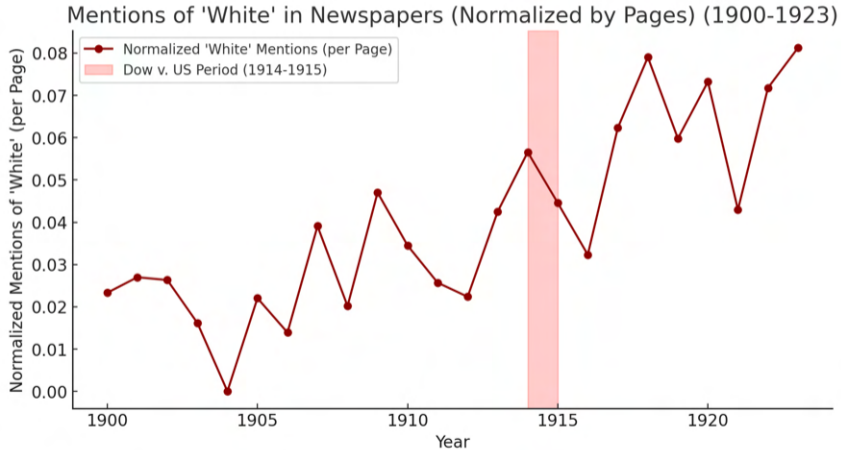


Table: Number of US-born Males by Father's Ethnicity

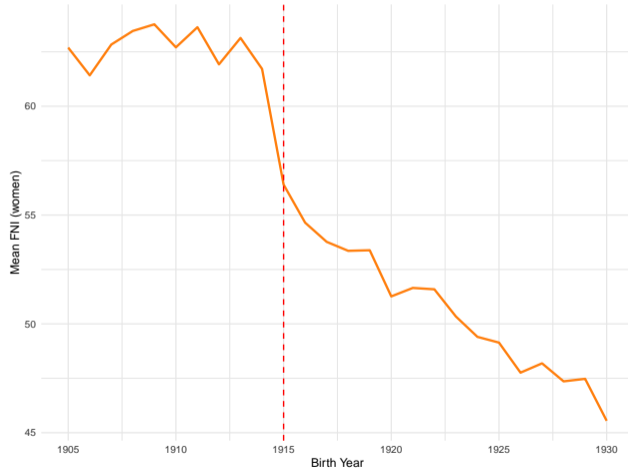
Ethnicity	Pre-Dow Count	Post-Dow Count
Arab	12,288	41,291
Polish	176,043	408,094
Japanese	5,080	29,543
Chinese	1,861	4,952
Filipino	126	1,625
Indian	341	927
Mexican	39,252	189,572
Puerto Rican	554	5,398
Cuban	1,810	3,372
Greek	7,229	55,489

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Keyword search in Arabic-American Newspapers



Mean FNI for women



Within family: female

Greater effects for women

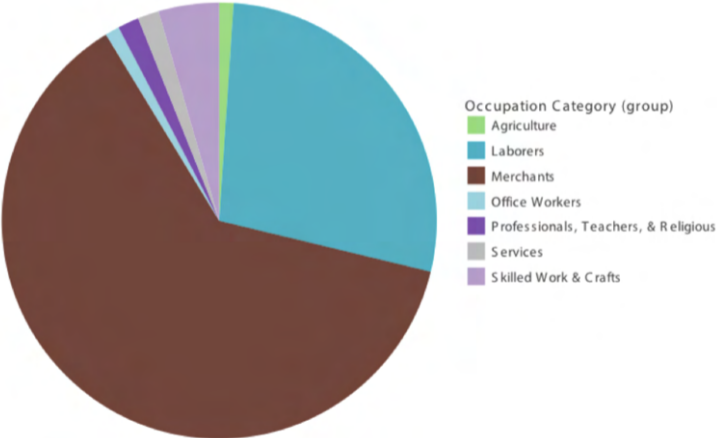
From \approx *Nellie* \rightarrow or *Lucie*

<i>Dep Var: Foreign Name Index (Mean = 64.02)</i>					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Post-Dow	-10.97*** (0.3782)	-8.518*** (0.6544)	-11.17*** (0.3804)	-9.648*** (0.7463)	-9.547*** (0.7542)
Linear trend		X			
State of Birth			X	X	X
Household ID				X	
Birth Order				X	X
County				X	X
Mother ID					X
Observations	15,861	15,861	15,861	15,861	15,861
R ²	0.05089	0.05203	0.05950	0.48149	0.49144

*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Occupations: 1900

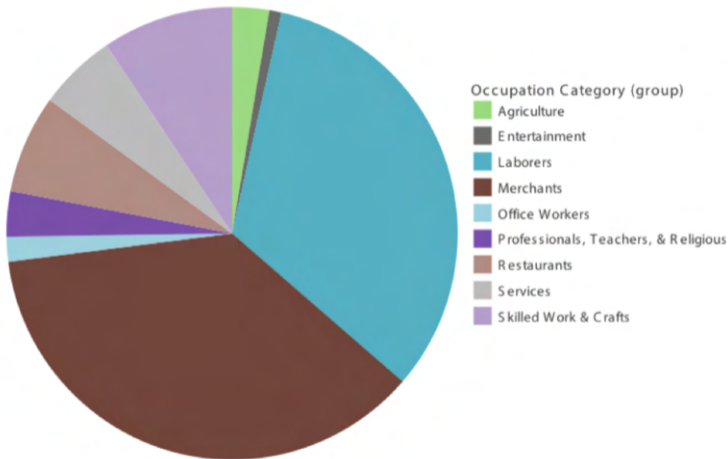
Source: Khayrallah Center for Lebanese Studies



Occupations: 1940

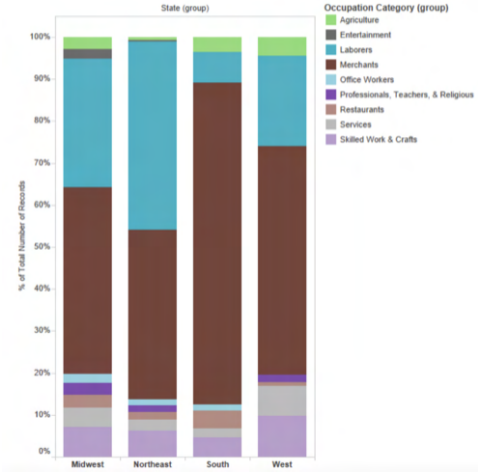


Source: *Khayrallah Center for Lebanese Studies*

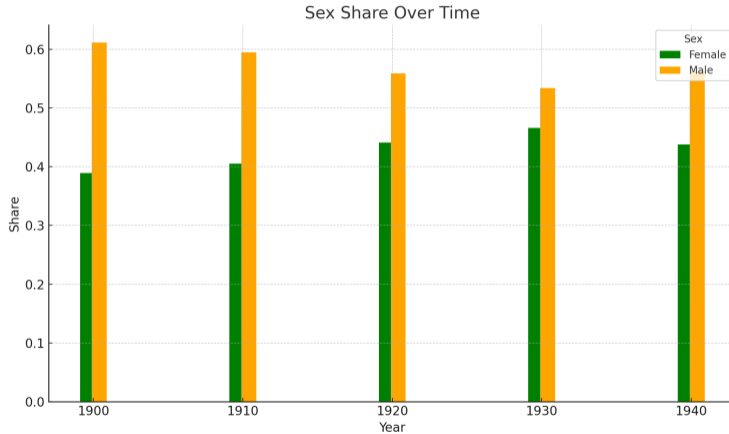


Occupations by region

Source: Khayrallah Center for Lebanese Studies



Shares of Arab Men and Women



Regression: heterogeneity

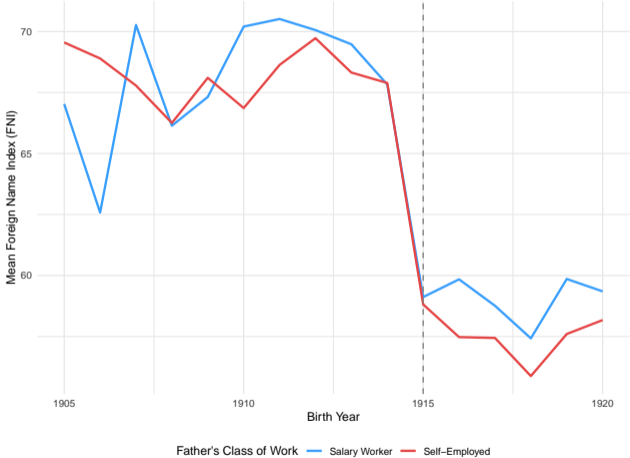
Table: Regression Results by Father Characteristics

Dependent Variable: Model:	Occ Score		Share of diaspora in state		FNI Father's years in the US		Father's literacy		Father's class of work	
	Below Median	Above Median	Below Median	Above Median	Below Median	Above Median	Illiterate	Literate	Employed	Self-employed
Post-Dow	-9.67*** (1.28)	-9.25*** (1.22)	-11.6*** (1.23)	-7.67*** (0.921)	-9.53*** (1.35)	-9.17*** (1.18)	-7.45*** (1.48)	-9.64*** (0.901)	-9.08*** (1.26)	-10.0*** (1.23)
Fixed Effects										
Household ID	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State of Birth	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Birth Order	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	6,066	6,695	7,049	9,886	7,420	8,726	4,168	11,978	5,928	6,833
R ²	0.49609	0.48929	0.48480	0.48785	0.59795	0.57797	0.46262	0.49911	0.50768	0.47859
Median		25		0.13%		11		-		-

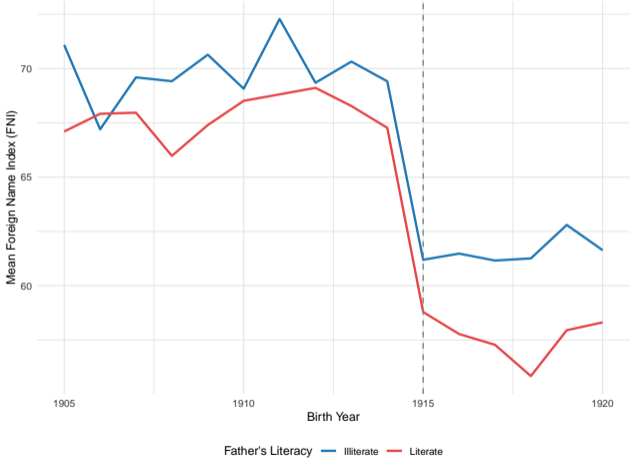
Clustered (household) standard-errors in parentheses
 Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1

◀ Back

Father's class of work

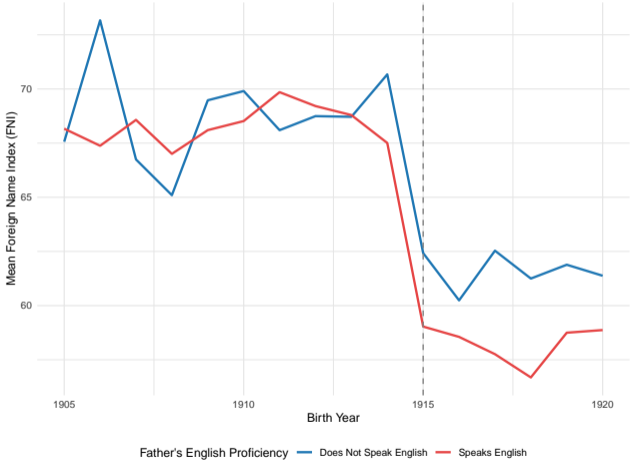


Father's literacy

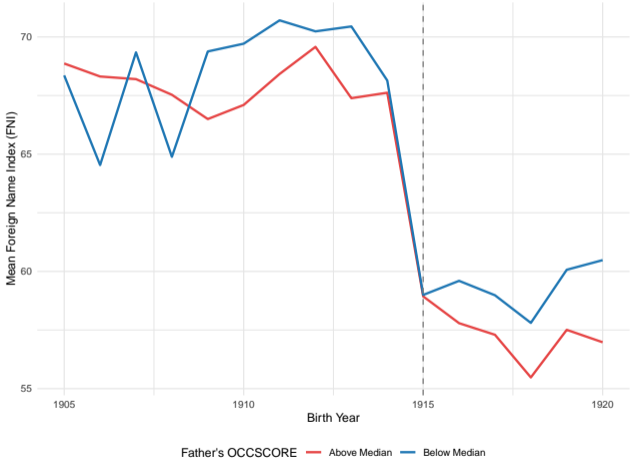


◀ Back

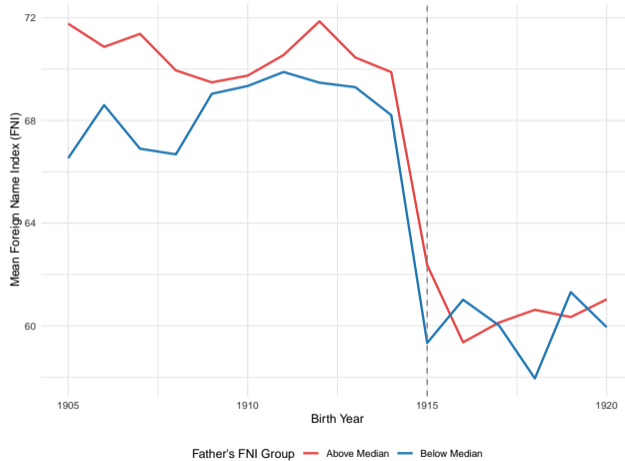
Father speaking English



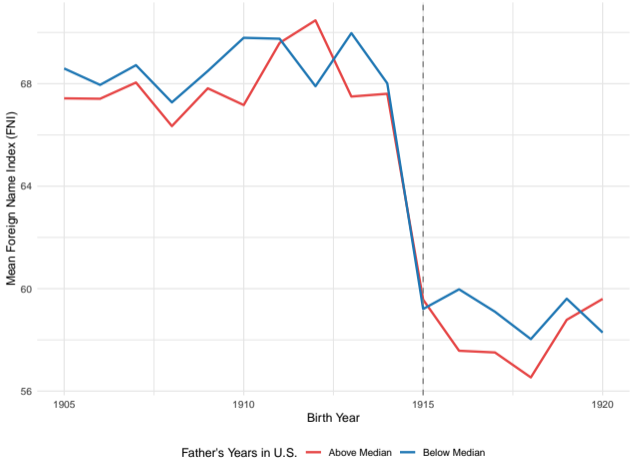
Father's occupation score



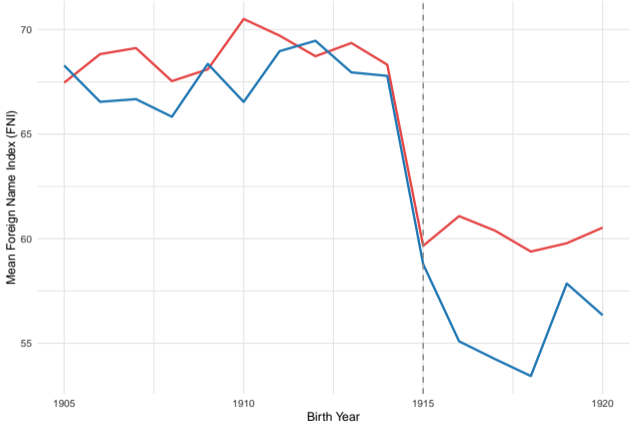
Father's FNI



Father's years in the US



Share of the Arab diaspora in state (1920)

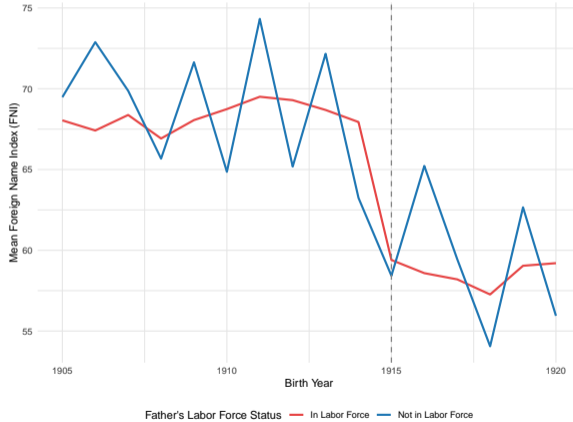


Arab Share in State (Residence) — Above Median — Below Median

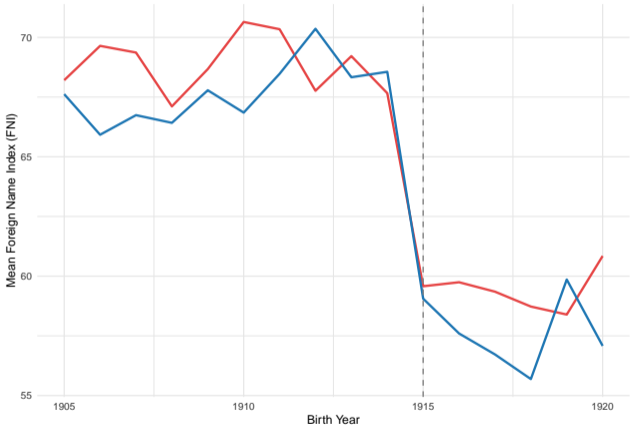
▶ State of birth: pre-period ◀ Back

Father's labour force status

Only 2.5% unemployed in 1920, 6.28% missing info, and 91% employed



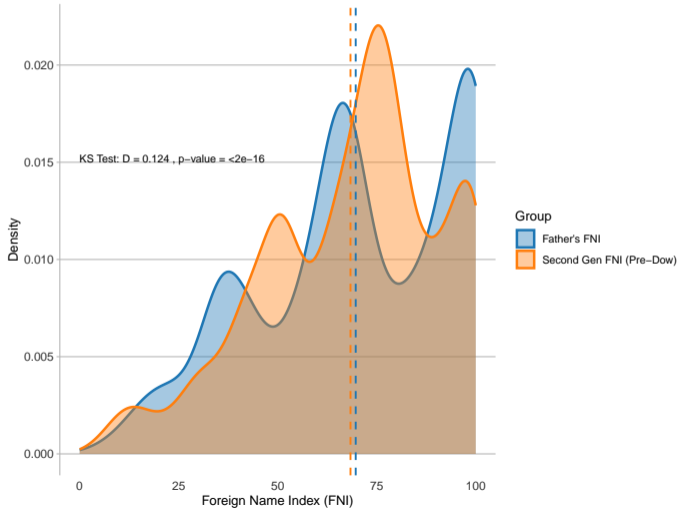
Share of the Arab diaspora in state of birth (1910)



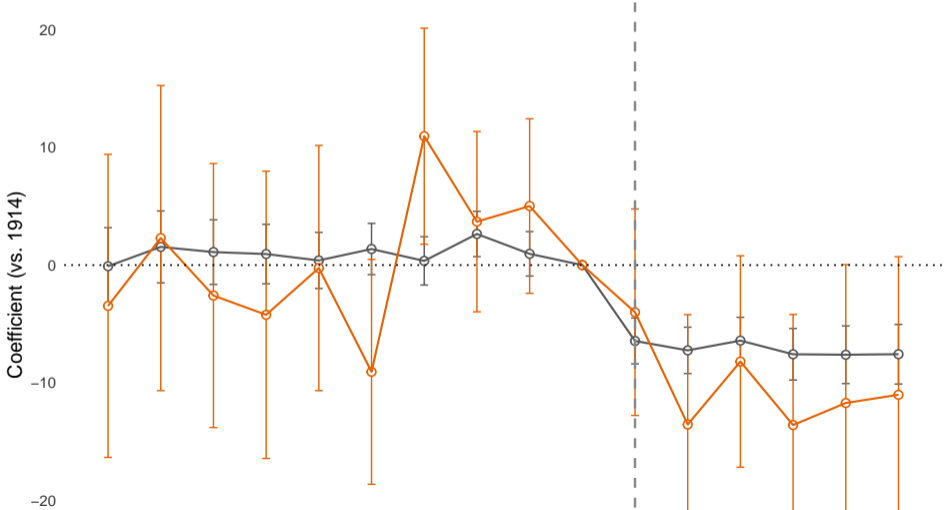
Arab Share in State (1910) — Above Median — Below Median

◀ Back

Father's FNI distribution

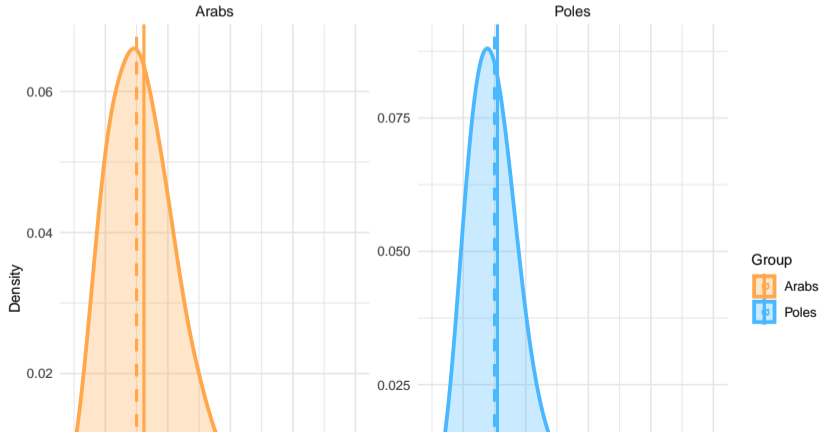


Event Study: Legal Certainty

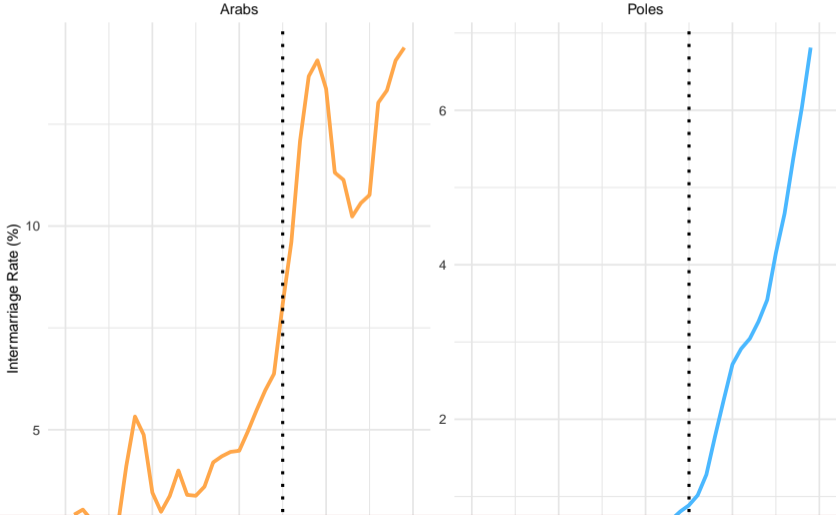


Age at First Marriage

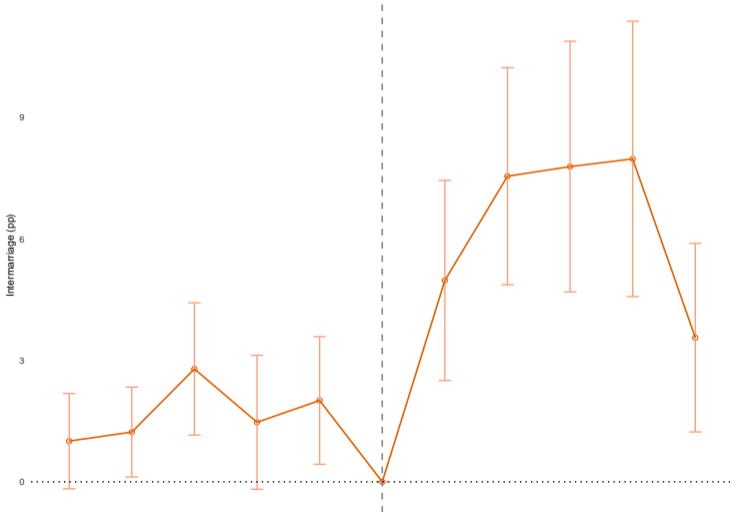
- ▶ 1930 sample; first-generation Arab vs. Polish men.
- ▶ Both peak around age ~25; Arab distribution flatter and more right-skewed.



Intermarriage Rates by Marriage Year

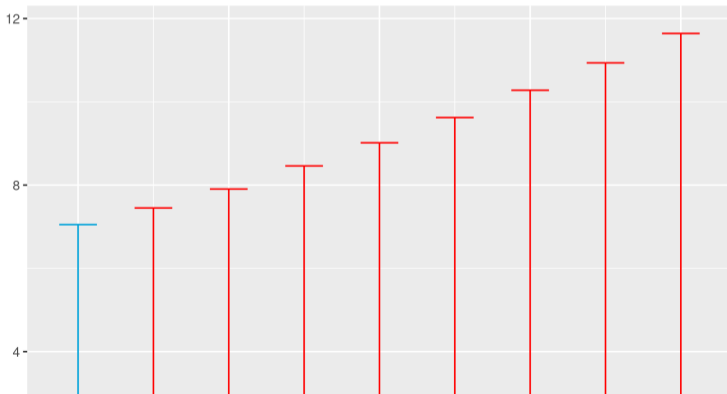


Event Study — Intermarriage



Honest DiD Robustness

- ▶ Follows *Rambachan & Roth (2023)*: relative-magnitude bound on post-1915 bias vs. worst pre-trend.
- ▶ Effect remains > 0 for $\bar{M} \leq 1.25$; first touches 0 around $\bar{M} \approx 1.5$.



Voter Registration Data

- Candidates: MA, City of Boston (13.4%), Ohio (6%), California (2%) ▶ Arab Population
- Ohio: has exact date of registration vs California has political affiliation vs Boston has year of registration
- ▶ Other info: name, date of birth, address, occupation

INDEX TO REGISTER CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO
TO AND INCLUDING ~~JULY 27, 1910~~
PRECINCT 1 ASSEMBLY DISTRICT 28 October 13, 1910.

	NAME	AGE	OCCUPATION	PARTY AFFILIATION	RESIDENCE		
9	Jortall, Nicolai	51	Expressman ..	Democrat ..	128 East	2	63
10	Joranson, Frank	63	Seaman	Democrat ..	109 Steuart ..	1	F
11	Johnson, Harry	39	Boatman	Republican	Boat h. Jol. st. wf.....	1	all
12	Jorgensen, Andras	64	Sailor	Socialist	247 Steuart	2	6
13	Johnsen, Jens	48	Cigars	Democrat ..	144 East	3	62
14	Johnson, Martin	46	Watchman	Democrat ..	245 Steuart	2	2
15	Jensen, Jens Peter	58	Seaman	Declines	15 Howard	2	1
1	Kornahrens, Jolan	42	Bartender	Republican	400 Main	L	all

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▶ Syrian Soldier Book

Potential Directions

- Leverage historical voter rolls to track Arab and Polish immigrants' registration patterns before and after 1915
 - ▶ Compare Arab vs. Polish immigrants, before vs. after the ruling
 - ▶ Men of voting age and naturalized status to test whether legal reclassification increased political participation

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- Examine whether Arab immigrants became more likely to serve in WWI following the 1915 Dow ruling, as a public signal of civic loyalty
- Analyze shifts in political discourse across Arab-American newspapers around 1915
 - ▶ Use keyword frequency, topic modeling, and sentiment analysis to detect changes in tone around citizenship, loyalty, and whiteness
 - ▶ Examine how the ruling shaped the community's collective voice and its claims to Americanness

Other data: WWI

Syrian Soldier in Three Wars Book

- ▶ Jibrail Ward, a Syrian-American who enlisted in the US Army and fought in the Spanish-American War in the Cuba, in the Philippines War and WWI, wrote this memoir
- ▶ Includes his experiences and lists Syrian/Lebanese soldiers who fought in WWI
- ▶ From this it appears that only a small percentage (0.08%) of the Arab American community served in WWI, as opposed to the 1% of general American population that served in France during this period
- ▶ Another book suggests a figure of 6.67%

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