UNDERSTANDING ARAB-AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS' EXPERIENCES WITH
DISCRIMINATION: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH

By

Danielle Balaghi

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

School Psychology—Doctor of Philosophy

2018

ABSTRACT

UNDERSTANDING ARAB-AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS' EXPERIENCES WITH
DISCRIMINATION: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH

By

Danielle Balaghi

Arab-Americans are a vastly understudied group in the social sciences. Of the extant
research, there is some evidence that racial minority individuals, such as Arab-Americans, tend
to have poorer psychological well-being than European Americans (Amin, 2000). Poor
psychological well-being in racial minority individuals has been linked to societal risk factors,
such as perceived discrimination (Umana-Taylor, 2004). This is especially relevant for Arab-
Americans, who have experienced a dramatic increase in discriminatory actions since September
11, 2011 (Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, 2008). There is some evidence to suggest,
however, that social context matters, such as living in communities having a large population of
one's racial group. Ethnically dense communities have been shown to protect members of racial
minority groups from experiencing and perceiving discrimination, ultimately leading to better
well-being. Although Arab-Americans living in racial communities have unique experiences,
being an Arab-American (ArAm) *adolescent*, may pose additional challenges that could affect
their experiences with and responses to discrimination. This is an area however, that has
received limited attention and little is known about their experiences. The study used resiliency
theory (RR) and critical race theory (CRT) as conceptual frameworks to study ArAm adolescents
who live in a racial community and how their experiences with and responses to perceived
discrimination relate to their well-being. The current study will examine the following questions:
How do Arab-American adolescents experience discrimination?; How does perceived
discrimination relate to their well-being?; How do Arab-American adolescents respond to their

experiences with discrimination?; And how do Arab-American adolescents describe and understand their lived experiences with discrimination in communities where the majority of the population is Arab-American?

Participants were 10 female and male Arab-American youth ages 13-17 and were recruited using purposive sampling. Data were collected using semi-structured individual interviews with adolescents and parents. In addition, the adolescents kept an online journal. The data were analyzed using interpretive phenomenological analysis, guided by RR theory and CRT. Validity was assessed via member checks and triangulation of data using multiple participants and sources. With the growing population of Arab-Americans in the United States, psychologists are more likely to encounter these youths in schools. It is thus, vital, that psychologists understand how Arab-American adolescents experience and respond to perceived discrimination and the role of their community in their well-being.

Keywords: Arab-American Adolescents, Perceived Discrimination, Psychological Well-being, Ethnic Enclaves, Phenomenology

To all the teachers that have never wavered in their belief in me, academically and personally, I owe you more than I can ever express in words. Thank you for showing me that my voice is valued when I thought it was not. Thank you for providing me that megaphone, allowing my voice to be heard. Thank you for helping me believe in my potential. May your commitment to education stay staunch, may your fervor continue to light the flame of creativity, and may your conviction for students stand strong in the face of adversity. This dissertation is for you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I want to say thank you to all ten participants and their parents for opening their homes and hearts to me. Without your commitment, courage, and candor this dissertation would not exist. You have taught me so much throughout this process about my own culture and myself as a researcher and person; for that, I will be forever grateful. To the community leaders, Dr. Shady Shebak and Mr. Kamal Charara, thank you for opening doors for me in the community and believing in the importance of my work and allowing me to be part of the Arab-American community.

To my advisor and chair of my dissertation, Dr. Evelyn Oka: thank you for standing in my corner throughout all these years, your steadfast patience and support provided me an opportunity to come into my own. Thank you for providing the feedback that I needed and pushing me to think about the "forest for the trees," which has helped me become the professional I am today. To my dissertation committee, Dr. Dorinda Carter Andrews, Dr. Terry Flennaugh, and Dr. Jodene Fine, thank you for believing in the importance of my work. Your expertise, critical feedback, and passion for research helped me find confidence in my research skills, and pushed my perspectives and understanding on society, culture, and mental health.

To my sisters, thank you for adding levity in my life, making me midnight pancakes, and allowing me a place to just breathe. Thank you to my parents for the bravery and boldness you embody as you sacrificed and risked your life coming to the United States for a chance of a better life for all of us. The sacrifices you have made throughout the years that have helped me pursue my education; your support, diligence, and generosity have not gone unnoticed. To my bulldog in my corner, Jane (Peggy) Sheldon, I'm not sure where I would be without your fervor,

persistence, and guidance. Even when I didn't believe in myself, thank you for your unwavering belief in me throughout these years. To my friends, thank you for the adventures, laughter, and support that carried me throughout the stress of graduate school.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION

The number of racial minority individuals in the United States is rapidly increasing, accounting for 92% of the population growth over the past ten years (Pew Research Center, 2011). Although the growing racial minority population is largely due to an increase in the Latino and Asian populations, the percentage of Arab-Americans is also rising, with a 72% increase from 2000 to 2010 (Arab-American Institute, 2012). Currently, approximately 1.9 million Arab-Americans comprise the roughly 116 million (41-44%) U.S. racial minority population (e.g., Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, and Pacific Islander; American Community Survey, 2014). Although their population has risen, most Americans still have a poor understanding of Arab-Americans (Zogby, 2014) due in part, to limited exposure and narrow reporting by the media. Furthermore, many Arab-Americans are hesitant to disclose their ethnic heritage and the U.S. census does not recognize them as a separate ethnic category (Erikson & Al-Timimi, 2001). This makes it challenging not only for researchers, but also for Arab-Americans who may find it difficult to voice their unique experiences living in the U.S. Additionally, limited information on Arab-Americans is especially challenging for school psychologists, who may not yet have the tools or information to adequately provide culturally sensitive services for Arab-American youth.

Some studies have noted that racial minority individuals, including Arab-Americans, tend to have poorer psychological well-being than European Americans (Amin, 2000). Psychological well-being is a broad construct that encompasses affect (from negative to positive), life satisfaction (e.g., past, current, or future satisfaction), and domain satisfactions (e.g., family satisfaction, group satisfaction, work satisfaction; Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999). Some

research has shown that racial minority individuals who report experiencing discrimination have poor psychological well-being (Umana-Taylor, 2004). This has been especially true for Arab-Americans, regardless of religious affiliation, who have experienced an increase in threats, profiling, hate crimes, and negative portrayals in the media since September 11, 2011 (Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, 2008). Approximately 43% of Arab-Americans have reported experiencing discrimination within their lifetime (Zogby, 2014). Discrimination can take various forms, which can include microaggressions, interpersonal discrimination, cultural discrimination, and institutional discrimination (Ahmed et al., 2011; Awad, 2010; Padela & Heisler, 2010; Sue et al., 2007). These types of discrimination can negatively affect a person's psychological well-being (Pascoe & Richman, 2009, p. 540).

Research has shown however, that the psychological well-being of some racial minority individuals seems to be less affected by discrimination (Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012; Umaña-Taylor, & Updegraff, 2007). For instance, one study found that Latino adolescents who had high self-esteem, ethnic identity, and were oriented towards their Latino culture had better well-being when faced with discrimination in comparison to Latino adolescents who had lower self-esteem, ethnic identity, and were oriented towards the mainstream culture (Umaña-Taylor, & Updegraff, 2007). Findings from this study suggest that individuals from racial minority backgrounds who identified with their heritage culture showed greater resilience in the face of discrimination than those who identified with the host culture.

These findings raise questions that include, why do some members of racial minority groups display positive well-being despite experiencing discrimination? There is some evidence to suggest that social context matters. Ethnically dense communities, or what some researchers call "ethnic enclaves," have been shown to protect racial minority individuals from experiencing

discrimination and the associated stress, which can lead to better well-being (Bécares, 2014; Halpern & Nazroo; 2000). In the current study, ethnically dense communities will be defined as Arab-American communities that share the same culture, language, and race/ethnicity, and are usually economically self-sufficient, relying very little on the outside economy (Qadeer & Kumar, 2006). Along with being economically independent, ethnic communities are made up of intricate social networks. Within these social networks, people create various types of relationships that extend across professional, personal, and community networks. The economic, social, and unique qualities of an ethnic community may provide residents with economic and psychological benefits. It is important to note that research with other racial groups has defined ethnically dense communities differently, as some ethnic communities reflect different economic and social experiences (Marcuse, 2005).

Ethnic enclaves can protect against the negative effects of discrimination by providing psychosocial resources such as social networks, social support, and social capital. For instance, ethnic enclaves can promote or reinforce people's ethnic identity, which may buffer the stress from perceived discrimination by enhancing a sense of belonging and pride (Bécares, 2014). They can also reduce exposure to discrimination, which could then lead to better well-being (Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999). Ethnic enclaves, may thus, help set the stage for adolescent development, by providing an environment with these psychosocial resources.

Emotional and behavioral changes also occur during adolescence, with adolescents exhibiting greater emotional reactivity and intensity (Steinberg, 2005). Neuropsychological research has shown that adolescents often have trouble with emotional regulation, increasing the likelihood of engaging in risky behavior (Casey et al., 2010; Steinberg, 2005). This can help to understand their reactions to experiences such as discrimination. Not only may adolescents be

more aware of discrimination and its implications, but they may also react more intensively, which, may affect their coping strategies and well-being (Steinberg, 2005). Among adults with mental illness, 50% reported their first symptoms or the onset of the illness in adolescence (Merikangas et al., 2010; National Alliance on Mental Health, n.d.). Research indicates that 20% of adolescents exhibit symptoms of psychological disorders (Merikangas et al., 2010), thus, investigating this age group is critical. Adolescence may be a unique time of vulnerability when exposure to discrimination may have long-term effects by placing youth at a greater risk for poorer well-being (Blakemore & Choudhury, 2006; Steinberg, 2005).

Today, with the growing population of racial minority individuals in the U.S., psychologists are more likely to encounter racial minority students in their professional settings. Therefore, it is vital that psychologists have a sound understanding of potential risk and protective factors characterizing racial minority individuals and the social context in which racial minority individuals live. The current study explores Arab-American adolescents' experiences of perceived discrimination, if any, when living in ethnic communities and the relation to their well-being.

Conceptual and Analytical Frameworks

Resiliency Theory

Risk and resiliency (RR) theory will be used as an overarching conceptual framework to guide data collection and analysis. *Resilience* has been defined as "…good outcomes despite serious threats to adaptation to development" (Masten, 2001, p. 228). *Risks* are hazards that threaten a person's development and well-being, such as low socioeconomic status, maltreatment, community violence, war, divorce, etc. (Masten, 2001). RR theory specifies two important processes that explain risk and resilience. The first, *compensatory or promotive*

4

factors, such as access to healthcare, can directly offset risk factors in children's lives and are seen as being beneficial for everyone (Masten, 2001; Zimmerman, 2013). The second process, *protective factors*, help to buffer against risk factors indirectly by moderating the relation between a risk and an outcome variable (Fraser, Galinsky, & Richman, 1999; Masten, 2001; Zimmerman, 2013). Arab-Americans in the current study may experience specific risk factors, that affect the experience with discrimination, such as gender or religious identity. They may also experience promotive factors and protective factors that may mitigate their experiences with discrimination and well-being, but this has not been studied with this population. RR theory provides a conceptual foundation for viewing discrimination as a risk factor and for investigating the promotive and protective factors that may play a role in Arab-American adolescents' experiences with discrimination.

RR theory has been often used in quantitative research but rarely in qualitative research. As qualitative research typically studies questions from an emic approach, RR is less likely to be used to examine specific risk, promotive, or protective factors that were developed with populations residing in different contexts. Using RR constructs assumes that its theoretical assumptions apply to a particular population, such as Arab-Americans. Thus, qualitative researchers may reject this theory as being too "positivistic."

Despite these critiques, RR can still provide a lens to help describe and explain the experiences of Arab-Americans. The theory can provide preliminary ways to conceptualize the challenges and adaptive experiences of Arab-American adolescents in terms of "protective factors" and "risk factors." The risk and resiliency constructs can help orient me to the data, providing greater focus and discipline. Within this study, this framework will be used as a guide for data analysis, to provide a clear starting point for examining the data, but it will also be

applied flexibly, to be open to emerging ideas and constructs that may be unique to Arab-American adolescents. Thus, RR will be used as the theoretical "lens," that guides the focus of this study, the research questions, and the interpretation of the data.

Critical Race Theory

This study uses also uses Critical Race Theory as a conceptual and analytic framework. Critical Race Theory (CRT) aims to understand how race, racism, and power relate and interact within the U.S. society. Before defining CRT's basic assumptions and tenets, however, it is helpful to understand CRT's legal roots. Much of CRT's foundation is based on critical legal studies (CLS), where legal scholars challenged policies and doctrines that spoke to the status quo of White privilege and power (Delgado, & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1998). CLS scholars advocated for civil rights but rejected the notion that it "represents a long, steady march towards social transformation" (Crenshaw, 1988, p. 1334). In contrast to the prevailing perspective of "slow and steady" change, CLS legal scholars argued for the necessity of "sweeping changes" for social change against racism to occur (Delgado, & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Essentially, much of the CLS scholars' goals were aimed at deconstructing race and oppression found in society while advocating for human agency and social justice.

Although CRT is rooted in the legal arena, it has made its way into other fields, such as education, sociology, and psychology, where CRT has been used in slightly different ways depending on the discipline (Masko, 2005; Deaux & Martin, 2003; Ellis et al., 2010; Sanchez-Hucles, Davis, 2010). Regardless of the disciplines in which CRT is used, scholars typically incorporate many of the six major tenets of CRT. These are discussed below.

1.   The first tenet is the notion that *racism is a normal*, everyday occurrence for

people of color (Delgado, & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Zamudio, Russell, Rios, & Bridgeman 2011). Racism is maintained because our society aspires to take a "color blind approach," where, for instance, institutions or people judge people on merit rather than race. This can address obvious forms of discrimination, but taking a "color-blind approach" does not consider the historical adversities and challenges that some groups have had to experience and thus, perpetuates discrimination.

2.   Racism is also maintained because of *material determinism* or *interest convergence* which refers to the idea that the dominant group has little reason or impetus to change the way society is structured and set up unless it benefits them (Delgado, & Stefancic, 2001). Typically, in order to maintain societal structure, the dominant group strives to maintain power and privilege. One way to society changes is when the dominant group perceives that a change will benefit them (Bell, 1979).

3.   The third tenet is that *race is socially constructed*, rather than absolutely and objectively defined. Individuals interpret the meaning of race in relation to their social worlds (Delgado, & Stefancic, 2001; Zamudio et al., 2011). For instance, being "Black" or "White" has no genetic or biological basis but is often defined by common physical (e.g., hair texture or skin color) and cultural characteristics (e.g. traditions, norms, ancestry).

4.   The fourth tenet is *differential racialization*, which, is the idea that U.S. society places a "spotlight" on specific minority groups and that this "spotlight" varies over time. When this spotlight is on a specific minority group they undergo increased scrutiny and face heightened levels of discrimination. For example, since 9/11, Arabs and Arab-Americans have experienced increased attention, suspicion, and discrimination (Arab

Anti-Discrimination Committee, 2008).

5.   The fifth tenet concerns the concepts of *intersectionality* and *anti-essentialism*. *Anti-essentialism* is the notion that researchers should not take a "one-size-fits-all" approach, rather, they need to acknowledge that people come with different backgrounds and identities that can shape their experiences. The concept of *intersectionality* emerges from this and is the idea that a person's identity is not comprised of multiple isolated "parts," but rather, of multiple identities that can overlap and interact (Delgado, & Stefancic, 2001; Zamudio et al., 2011). These overlapping identities can create unique experiences for individuals. For example, CRT contends that a Black gay male's experiences can be vastly different than a Black straight male. Similarly, an Arab-American Republican Jew can have a vastly different experience with the world than an Arab-American Democratic Muslim. Thus, identities may be individually beneficial or harmful; however, taken together, these identities can intersect in complex ways that may amplify, negate, or create advantage or disadvantage (Zamudio et al., 2011). In some cases, such as being a Black female or an Arab-American female, there is a "double disadvantage"—where the individual faces disadvantages associated with being "Black" and with being "female" or with being "Arab" and "female."

6.   The sixth tenet of CRT is that there is a *unique voice of color*. People of color have a distinct perspective and are in a unique position to convey what it is like living in a culture that is embedded with racism and oppression (Delgado, & Stefancic, 2001; Zamudio et al., 2011).

These CRT tenets are relevant and appropriate for the current study because Arab-Americans may be racialized as *people of color* (Kayyali, 2013) despite their legal classification

as being White. The emergence of an identity as people of color can be seen in events over the past 50 years. In general, before the 1960's, individuals with a Middle Eastern or North African (MENA) heritage were considered by the U.S. legal system and by Arab-Americans, themselves, to be "White" Americans" (Kayyali, 2013). It was not until the 1960's and 1970's that their conceptualization of their own ethnicity changed (Kayyali, 2013). Specifically, around 1965 immigrants migrating to the United States displayed a greater ethnic consciousness, aiming to preserve their Middle Eastern culture rather than simply assimilating into the White American culture; this was similar to what Arab-Americans had done prior to the 1960's. This need to preserve their culture may have been the impetus behind the evolution of the Arab-American identity (Kayyali, 2013).

It was not until the 1980's that the Arab-American community and organizations, such as the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS) and the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) sought out minority status from the federal and state government (Kayyali, 2013). Three major events highlight this movement. The first was a Federal U.S. Supreme Court ruling that Arab-Americans could not be discriminated against due to their ethnicity, even though they were White and not officially a minority group (Kayyali, 2013; St. Francis Coll. v. Al-Khazraji, 481 U.S. 604; 1987). Similarly, in Michigan, ACCESS argued that Arab-Americans are "people of color" and helped them receive minority status in specific areas (Kayyali, 2013). In solidarity with ACCESS, in 2012 the ADC also sought out minority status for Arab-American business owners. The Arab-American Institute (AAI), took the opposite stance, however, arguing that Arab-Americans should not seek minority status and instead maintain data on ancestry (Kayyali, 2013). These differences were primarily due to different conceptualizations of race and ethnicity (Kayyali, 2013). Thus, whether Arab-

Americans perceive themselves as a minority group is still currently being debated. Despite

these differences, there does seem to be a consensus across organizations, including the AAI,

that Arab-Americans should be perceived, at the very least, as a specific ethnic minority group

(Kayyali, 2013). In 1992 an AAI representative went before the U.S. Congress to advocate for

officially differentiating Arab-Americans from Whites in a manner similar to Hispanic

Americans (U.S. Congress Review of Federal Measurements of Race and Ethnicity, 1993). Both

of these groups are characterized by shared geographical origin and/or languages. Although

"Hispanic" is not a racial group it has a separate category in the U.S. census as an ethnic

minority group (Sandefur, Campbell, and Eggerling-Boeck, 2004). Currently, the ambiguity

about whether Arab-Americans represent a unique racial as well as ethnic group is reflected in

the recent exploration of creating a new category for *Middle Eastern and North African*

Americans by the U.S. Census. It is posited that in 2020 this may be a new racial and ethnic

category for Arab-Americans, officially distinguishing them from non-Hispanic White

Americans (Krogstad, 2014).

In addition, prior to September 11, 2001, there have been instances of differential racism

targeting Arab-Americans, highlighting Arab-Americans' racialization and essentialism

throughout U.S. history. For instance, in the 1960's and 1970's there was a significant anti-Arab

and anti-Muslim shift in U.S. sociopolitical climate and policy due to the Arab-Israeli conflict

(Kayyali, 2013). Samhan (1987) called this period of discrimination due to the Arab-Israeli

conflict "political racism." In 1985, the Oklahoma bombings that killed 168 people were initially

thought to be committed by "Arab terrorists". This resulted in over 200 reports of Muslim and

Arab Muslim discrimination by The Council of Islamic Relations (Haq, 1995). Also around this

time, the U.S. reduced the number of immigrants accepted from the Middle East. Arab-

Americans were also the targets of violence and hate crimes. In 1985, a leader of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee was killed in a hate crime (Lerner, 1986). In the 1990's in the midst of the Gulf War, violent attacks, including bombings and killings, were reported among Arab-Americans. The ADC recorded 84 hate crimes in six months during the five months prior to the Gulf War and one week after the Gulf War started (Mokhiber, 1992). During the 1990's, Arabs were portrayed by the media using cartoons and rhetoric in a negative and stereotyped way (Artz & Pollack, 1995; Stockton, 1994). Studies that investigated political cartoons and rhetoric consistently found that Arabs were portrayed via "culturally accepted anti-Arab images," that dehumanized Arab-Americans (Artz & Pollack, 1995; Stockton, 1994). Despite the lack of formal recognition as *persons of color,* Arab-Americans have experienced racism, oppression, and marginalization by the dominant culture in U.S. society, even before 9/11. Thus, there is clear evidence of *differential racialization* and *essentialism* of Arabs and Arab-Americans in the U.S. that supports the use of CRT with Arab-Americans.

In addition to traditional CRT, other branches of CRT have supplemented the basic tenets in ways that are specific to racial and ethnic groups such as Latino/a CRT (LatCRT) and Asian CRT (AsianCRT). Although there is currently no form of CRT that focuses on Arab-Americans, CRT can be helpful in understanding Arab-Americans' experiences of oppression, stereotypes, and discrimination, in a similar manner as LatCRT does for Latino/a or Hispanic individuals. LatCRT, builds on traditional CRT by focusing not only on race, but also on gender, ethnicity, class, language, immigration, and culture (Huber, 2009). CRT is similarly relevant to Arab-Americans as they are not only racialized as a minority, but often have different experiences with racism due to intersection identities such as ethnicity, gender, language, religion, immigration, and cultural orientation, similar to Latinas/os (Ahmed et al., 2011; Kumar, Seay, & Karabenick,

2015).

Some researchers have proposed *racist nativism* as an additional construct to be considered in LatCRT. Racist nativism is "the assigning of values to real or imagined differences in order to justify the superiority of the native, who is perceived to be white, over that of the non-native, who is perceived to be people and immigrants of color, and thereby defend the native's right to dominance" (Huber et al., 2008, p. 80). Examples of racist nativism include the creation of internment camps and relocation of Japanese Americans in the 1940's during World War II, Mexican deportation programs, and even perceptions that racial minorities born in America are foreigners (Huber, 2010). In a study of racist nativism, researchers investigated the American identity by analyzing media rhetoric after the attack at Pearl Harbor in 1941 and after September 11, 2001 (Schildkraut, 2002). The results showed that after each event, Americans profiled and discriminated against Japanese Americans and Arab-Americans, because they were viewed as "foreigners" and threats to the safety and security of the country, in effect, restricting the right to identify as an "American" to those with European Ancestry. Arab-Americans may also experience racist nativism, by being perceived as Muslim, foreign, not speaking "correct" English or being a "terrorist" (Huber, 2010).

Thus, the historical racialization in the United States as evidenced by the formal and informal differentiation from Whites, attempts by Arab-American organizations to be seen as a distinctive group from Whites, common perceptions of Arab-Americans as people of color, and similarities with the experiences of other racialized groups within the U.S., supports the appropriateness of *Critical Race Theory* for studying Arab-Americans. Although some Arab-Americans may reap some of the benefits of White privilege (Ajrouch & Jamal, 2007), these benefits vary depending on the salience of their Arab-American ethnic identity. Furthermore,

these benefits of White privilege are limited as the Arab-American population is still a minority group living in a society that can be Eurocentric, hegemonic, and oppressive.

To date, CRT has not been used as a conceptual and analytical framework with Arab-American adolescents. This is surprising, as using CRT may help to understand Arab-American adolescents' experiences with discrimination as people of color within the U.S. CRT has provided the conceptual lens/framework for my decisions regarding the research questions, literature review, methodology and analysis by directing my focus on discrimination and its relation to social context. Using CRT as a conceptual framework has the potential to promote social justice for this population, as the analysis can help to deconstruct Arab-American adolescents' experiences with discrimination by giving them an opportunity to tell their unique stories and counter narratives. In this study, five major tenets of CRT and LatCRT, will be used to analyze participants' responses: racism is normative, race is socially constructed, differential racialization, intersectionality, racist nativism, and unique voices of color.

Purpose of the Study

Using the RR and CRT as conceptual and analytical frameworks, the current study aims to explore Arab-American adolescents' experiences of perceived discrimination, if any, when living in ethnic communities and how this relates to their well-being. Using a phenomenological approach, the current study will examine the following questions:

1. How do Arab-American adolescents experience racial discrimination?
   a. What sources, forms, and types of perceived discrimination do they report?
   b. How do Arab-American adolescents describe and understand their lived experiences with perceived racial discrimination in communities where the

majority of the population is Arab-American? (in other words, "what role does

the community of Arab-Americans play"?)

2. How does racial discrimination relate to their well-being?

    a. How do Arab-American adolescents respond to their experiences with of

    perceived racial discrimination?

        1. How do they cope with perceived racial discrimination?

        2. What are adaptive and maladaptive ways of responding?

3. How do Arab-American adolescents define "well-being"? What does it mean to have

positive well-being?

CHAPTER II:

BACKGROUND TO ARAB-AMERICAN CULTURE

To begin to understand Arab-Americans' experiences in the United States, it is important to understand Arab demographics and culture. The Arab population is heterogeneous and comprised of people with different races, national origins, religions, and histories. Amidst this diversity, there are several common threads that weave the Arab culture together. The following section presents a brief description of the demographics, cultural norms and values in Arab culture.

Demographics

Arab-Americans come from a variety of countries and vary in their religious affiliation. Most Arab-Americans are from Lebanon and Syria and live across many states in the U.S. (Arab-American Institute, 2012). Other common countries of origin of Arab-Americans include: Iraq, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, and Palestine. Additionally, although most Arabs outside the U.S. are Muslim, the majority of Arab-Americans are not Muslim. Contrary to popular belief, 63% of Arab-Americans identify as Christians, 24% as Muslim, and 13% identify as "other" (i.e., Jews, Hindus, etc.; Haboush, 2007; Zogby, Bruce, & Wittman, 2007). Many of the Arab-American Christians share many commonalities with other Christian Americans, despite adhering to their own denominations, such as Maronite, Melkite, and Orthodox (Arab-American National Museum, n.d.). Arab-American Muslims are also characterized by different denominations such as the Shi'a, Sunni, or Druze groups. Moreover, not all Muslims are Arab. A large proportion of the population of many non-Arab nations, such as India, Pakistan, Nigeria, and Iran, practice Islam (Pew, 2015). The assumption of homogeneity of Arab-Americans and Muslims can bias the interview questions and lead to inaccurate conclusions and

overgeneralizations. Recognizing the diversity within the Arab-American and Muslim population is, thus, vital for increasing the validity and trustworthiness of the research.

Arab-Americans have high levels of education with over 89% holding a high school degree and 45% attaining a bachelor's degree or higher (Arab-American Institute, 2012). These percentages are higher than that of Americans as a whole; 81% of Americans graduate high school (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011) and 39% of Americans graduate with a bachelor's degree (National Center for Education Statistics, 2014). Both men and women also strive for education as it helps uphold family honor and values (Erickson & Al-Timimi, 2001). For example, one study (Ajrouch, 2003) showed that both Arab-American adolescent males and females expressed an interest in pursuing higher education, with Arab-American males viewing education as a way to achieve financial success and Arab-American females viewing education as a way to achieve independence. Regardless of the reason, it appears that education plays a significant role in Arab-American youths' goals and behavior.

Values

Typically, researchers characterize Arab-American culture as a collectivistic culture. Collectivistic cultures promote interdependence, placing relationships and groups ahead of the self. People from collectivistic cultures also tend to follow norms defined by the groups (McAuliffe, 2008). An Arab proverb illustrates this sense of collectiveness--"the believer is for his brother—like connecting building blocks supporting each other; if one part falls ill, the whole-body crumbles of fever and sleeplessness" (McAuliffe, 2008, p. 300).

Cultural values in the United States can vary due to factors such as ethnic heritage, gender, religion, and regional differences, but dating back to its origins and Western roots, the United States has generally been characterized by values of individualism, independence,

freedom of expression, and individual achievement. A meta-analysis provides evidence that the

U.S. culture, as a whole, is individualistic, as European Americans, the dominant group in the

U.S., tend to be oriented towards individualism (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002).

Although Arab culture is generally collectivistic, there is some evidence from a United Nations

data that globalization and Western values (e.g., individualism) have permeated the Middle East,

which some researchers have speculated may have influenced Arab culture to incorporate more

individualistic values (Abdelrazek, 2007; Al-Harahsheh, 2011; Metcalfe, 2008; Hakim-Larson,

Kamoo, Nassar-McMillan, & Porcerelli, 2007). This shift may place Arab and Arab-American

individuals in a situation where they may have to make sense of two cultures: collectivistic (Arab

culture) and individualistic (American culture).

Religion

Scholars have noted that religion "permeates all aspects of Arab culture, influencing

family life, child rearing, and views regarding education and psychology (Haboush, 2007, p.

186). Additionally, religion plays a significant role in Arab-Americans' life and identity

(Ajrouch, 2000). In interviews with Arab-American female and male adolescents, the

participants indicated that religion was central to their Arab-American identity, family

expectations, and social life (Ajrouch, 2000). Moreover, the adolescents stated that religious

institutions were not only a place to practice their faith, but were also a place for social

gatherings (Ajrouch, 2000). Thus, the place of religion in the Arab-American culture cannot be

understated, as it plays a significant role in Arab-American youths' lives.

Throughout the Arab culture there are often deep divides between Muslims and

Christians that are rooted in historical and political events. Some Arab Christians and Arab-

American Christians are more likely to differentiate themselves from the "Arab" label and

instead label themselves as "Phoenicians" (Haboush, 2005; Hakim-Larson, Kamoo, Nassar-McMillan, Porcerelli, 2007). Some researchers indicated that the Semitic Phoenicians, which was a Semitic civilization during the BC era, identified themselves as Caucasian with a cultural heritage that is separate from the Arab culture (Kaufman, 2004). Other researchers have posited a simpler notion—that Arab Christians are more likely to identify with the West because Christianity is often equated with the Western culture and Islam is often equated with Arab culture (Erickson & Al-Timimi, 2001; Haboush, 2007). Additionally, Christianity is the dominant religion in the United States with 70.6% of American people reporting an affiliation with Christianity (Pew Research Center, 2015). Because Christianity is generally equated with the West, Arab Christians often find it easier than Arab Muslims to assimilate in the United States and are less likely to "stand out" because of their religious attire (Erickson & Al-Timimi, 2001; Haboush, 2007). With greater assimilation and less visibility within the mainstream culture, Arab Christians may be less likely to be targets of discrimination from the mainstream culture.

Family

Family is another central component of the Arab culture, where family values and goals supersede that of individuals, consistent with a collectivistic orientation. Families typically live with or among extended family such as aunts, uncles and grandparents, and maintain a close bond with them (Hakim-Larson, et al., 2007). Arab families typically operate interdependently with extended families. The family represents a network that can offer social and economic support as well as a way to maintain the Arab heritage (Nassar-McMillan, , Hakim-Larson, 2014). According to the most recent U.S. census (2010), Arab families led by females without a husband present constituted 8.2% of the 640,000 Arab households in the United States,

compared to 9.9% of Whites, 30% among Blacks, and 9.5% in Asian households. These statistics indicate that many Arab families tend to remain together, showing the importance of family structure for Arab-Americans (Haboush, 2007). Additionally, some scholars have described the Arab family as patriarchal, but researchers have found that the wife strongly influences family decisions although the husband has the "final say" (Erickson & Al-Timimi, 2001; Haboush, 2007; Hammad, Kysia, Rhbah, Hossoun, & Connelly, 1999). The woman's influence is rarely seen, however, as this is typically done privately and usually, indirectly (Erickson & Al-timimi, 2001). For example, if a wife does not receive help at home, she might stop doing all housework (Erickson & Al-timimi, 2001).

Family honor also plays a role in the Arab culture. A person is expected to behave in ways that do not "bring shame to the family". Family honor also encourages behaviors, such as high educational achievement and conservatism, while avoiding any misbehavior (Erickson & Al-Timimi, 2001). Additionally, family honor could dictate a person's behavior and emotional expression (Erickson & Al-Timimi, 2001; Haboush, 2007). For instance, in the Arab culture, people are expected to show emotional restraint, as a public display of emotions in many cases can be shameful to the family. This cultural norm could be relevant to Arab-Americans' mental health. For instance, some studies have shown that Arab-Americans are more likely to exhibit mental health symptoms somatically (i.e., bodily) rather than emotionally (Gorkin, Masalha, & Yatziv, 1985). Thus, it is important to be open to a variety of ways, which may be less conventional, in which Arab-Americans may react to discrimination.

An Arab person's family is central to his or her identity, as it offers a sense of closeness, belongingness, and a set of values and expectations that are internalized (Ajrouch, 2000; Ajrouch, 2007). A study investigating Arab-American adolescents' ethnic identity found that

many Arab-American adolescents indicated that their ethnic identity incorporated family values, expectations, and relationships (Ajrouch, 2000). Because family is typically central to Arab individuals' identity, their psychological well-being may be defined in terms of their family's well-being, rather than just their personal well-being. Moreover, the *relationship* with the family can influence an individual's well-being (Ajrouch, 2007). In fact, people of Arab descent may find that many of the sources of their resilience involve family support (Ajrouch, 2007). For instance, Nassar-McMillan, & Hakim-Larson (2003), investigated therapists' views on counseling Arab-Americans and found that family often took on a large role in therapeutic endeavors by having the whole family be included throughout the service delivery (i.e., assessment, intervention, and maintenance). In addition, Ajrouch et al. (2007) found that Arab-American elders' well-being was significantly correlated ($r = .34$) to the psychological quality of support from? their relationship with their children ($r = .34$) or spouse ($r = .24$), demonstrating the importance of social support in Arab-American elders' well-being. Research on Arab-American adolescents (Ajrouch et al., 2000) also highlighted the importance of social support, in that the adolescents reported that their family provided them with a stable identity, support, closeness, and belongingness (Ajrouch, 2000). These factors have been linked to greater levels of well-being (Bal, Crombez, Van Oost, & Debourdeaudhuij, 2003; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Kawachi, & Berkman, 2001; Outten, Schmitt, Garcia, & Branscombe, 2009; Roberts et al., 1999), thereby increasing the likelihood for resilience (Ajrouch, 2000; Abi-Hashem, 2008).

Gender roles. Traditionally, the Arab culture is highly gendered, with males and females holding distinct roles. For instance, within the Arab culture females are typically expected by the community to get married, become a mother, stay at home, and socialize their children (Al-Harahsheh, 2011). Females are not just responsible for child-rearing but also for

maintaining family stability and cohesion, while males are expected to provide financial stability and social status for the family (Al-Harahsheh, 2011; Haboush, 2007; Hakim-Larson, Kamoo, Nassar-McMillan, Porcerelli, 2007). The gendered roles could contrast with some Western ideals, such as egalitarianism and women's rights (Haboush, 2007), but this may vary greatly across families. On the one hand, some Arab-American families may still adhere to the traditional gender roles, as evidenced by Arab-American women's low employment rate despite their high levels of education (Al-Harahsheh, 2011; Read & Oselin, 2008). On the other hand, some Arab-Americans may discard traditional gender roles, as they integrate with the U.S. mainstream society, leading to more egalitarian ideologies and women in the workforce (Haddad & Smith, 1996). Thus, for some Arab-Americans, gender roles may be less traditional.

Whether Arab-Americans adhere to their gender role could depend on two factors, ethnic identity and religion (Ahmed et al., 2011; Amer & Hovey, 2007; Britto & Amer, 2007; Read, 2003). The few studies that have investigated gender, ethnic identity, and religion have found that Arab-American females are more likely to have a stronger ethnic identity and religious affiliation than their male counterparts (Ahmed et al., 2011; Amer & Hovey, 2007; Britto & Amer, 2007; Read, 2003). Other studies have shown that the more a female identifies (not just affiliates) with her religion and/or ethnicity the more likely she is to endorse traditional female gender roles. This was especially true for female Muslims in comparison to female Christians (Read, 2003). Moreover, the findings showed that most participants held more "progressive" gender roles with lower levels of ethnic identity and religiosity. This indicated that the strength of individuals' ethnic identity or religious commitment has a strong influence on gender roles. (Read, 2003) and are ways to maintain the Arab culture and/or religious beliefs. Researchers have hypothesized that females have greater pressure to adhere to their ethnicity and religion

21

because they are expected by the Arab culture or community to "carry the culture" (Amer & Hovey, 2007; Read, 2003), as they are responsible for child rearing and are the main socializing agents of cultural values (Aljourch, 1997).

Gender roles may play an important role in Arab-American adolescent experiences of discrimination in the present study. There is some literature (Ahmed, Kia-Keating & Tsai, 2011) to suggest that females who have higher levels of ethnic identity and religiosity (and therefore a greater likelihood of endorsing traditional gender roles) are more likely to perceive discrimination. In fact, studies have shown that Arab-American females are likely to perceive more discrimination than Arab-American males (Ahmed, Kia-Keating & Tsai, 2011) due to greater religious involvement and levels of ethnic identity. At the same time, high levels of religious and ethnic identity can provide social supports that buffer the stress from discrimination. These findings raise the question of whether Arab-American adolescents may show gender role differences in how they experience and respond to discrimination. For instance, it could be that Arab-American female Muslim adolescents may be more likely to adhere to traditional gender roles, which may increase the likelihood of identifying with their religion and perceiving discrimination, but this may also provide greater sources of social support. Given the importance of gender and religious identity it is vital to recruit a diverse sample, thus, increasing the chances of theoretical saturation.

CHAPTER III:

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the following section I will review literature on three main topics. First, I will review the conceptualizations of psychological well-being and the differences between individualistic countries to collectivistic ones and how it relates to Arab-Americans. It is important to highlight these differences as they may show a different way of understanding how Arab-American adolescents conceptualize psychological well-being and may help shape my interpretations of the data. The second topic is perceived discrimination among ethnic minorities and Arab-Americans and its relation to psychological well-being. This section sets the stage for the main research question by highlighting the different types, experiences, and effects of discrimination among Arab-Americans. Lastly, I will discuss the role of ethnic communities in how perceived discrimination is related to psychological well-being. This provides a foundation to explore whether ethnic enclaves potentially provide unique psychosocial assets that support Arab-American adolescents.

Conceptualizations of Psychological Well-being

Conceptualizations of well-being can vary depending on the culture. In general, individualistic societies view a person as unique and separate from his/her family or group; therefore, there is a greater focus on the independent self and a person's individual happiness, efficacy, and potential (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). In an individualistic society emotions and emotional expressions are often viewed as inherent to the individual rather than related to the larger group of which they are a part. Similarly, behaviors are typically seen as a collection of skills or traits possessed by the individual (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1998). Individualistic cultures tend to view individuals as having personal control over their thoughts,

emotions, and behavior. Thus, in an individualistic culture, a person who has positive psychological well-being typically has appropriate and "open" expression of emotions, greater self-control (over thoughts and behaviors), and has attained personal goals (Diener & Diener, 1995; Oyserman et al., 2002).

In collectivistic cultures, the focus is on the group rather than the individual. The group is a significant part of a person's identity (Oyserman et al., 2002) in that there is little personal "independence" and a focus on "interdependence" with the group. People from collectivistic cultures are often expected to refrain from directly expressing emotions, as that helps to maintain group cohesion. In addition, individuals' social roles and obligations, as well as situations or contexts, tend to drive their behavior more than personal desires or needs (Oyserman et al., 2002). In collectivistic cultures, there is also a focus on achieving group goals rather than personal goals, which is in contrast to individualistic societies, which emphasize personal achievements. In general, collectivistic societies tend to view people's behaviors or emotions as dependent on the external situation or environment (Oyserman et al., 2002). Thus, psychological well-being in collectivistic cultures is often defined as the ability to regulate emotions, fulfill social roles and social obligations, and meet group goals. Poor psychological well-being may be viewed as a failure to maintain group harmony, fulfill social roles or obligations, or meet group goals.

Well-being in Arab-Americans

There is no research on how well being is conceptualized by Arab-Americans, but research on Arabs has shown that they focus less on their internal experiences than Westerners do (Al-Krenawi, 1999; Nassar-McMillan & Hakim-Larson, 2011). Arabs are less likely to engage in introspection and think about the psychology behind their own behaviors or emotions

(Al-Abdul-Jabbar & Al-Issa, 2000; Al-Krenawi, 1999; Nassar-McMillan & Hakim-Larson, 2011). Researchers suggest that Arabs tend to conceptualize stress or mental illness as being due to an external entity or source; i.e., they tend to orient more towards an external locus of control when explaining psychological stress or disorder. For example, research has found that religion informed Lebanese Arabs' sense of shame and/or guilt, indicating a high sense of external locus of control (Bierbrauer, 1992; Haboush, 2007; Sayed, 2003). Some Arabs tend to endorse "ultra-human" and "metaphysical" realities in themselves and others (Al-Krenawi & Graham, 1997), which are often informed by folk stories, myths, religion and magic. A qualitative study that investigated the experiences and conceptualizations of mental health by Bedouin Arabs found that they often endorsed mental illness as being due to God, evil spirits, and/or magic (Al-krenawi, 1999). None of the participants in these studies, however were American.

Consistent with a collectivistic orientation, Arabs tend to base their level of well-being not only on their own life satisfaction or affect, but also on their family satisfaction as discussed above. The family unit, including the extended family, plays a significant role in an Arab person's life and any dissatisfaction or disharmony that arises can lead to significant amount of stress (Ajrouch, 2007; Al-Krenawi, 1999; Awad, 2010). Lower family support for example, has been found to be related to high levels of acculturative stress (Awad, 2007). No studies, however, have differentiated between Arab-American adults and Arab-American adolescents. Thus, there is limited information as to how Arab-American adolescents conceptualize well-being, the role that family may play, or whether other factors such as peer satisfaction may matter. This study will address this gap in the literature by examining Arab-American adolescents' well-being in relation to their experiences with discrimination.

Limitations of Conceptualizations of Well-being

In general, the literature on well-being is rooted in Western psychology, which conceptualizes mental health or well-being in terms of internal states and an internal locus of control (Oyserman et al., 2002). However, this may not be the case for Arab-Americans. No studies have explored Arab-Americans' conceptualizations of well-being from an emic approach but those that have investigated specific sub-cultures of the Arab population reveal different views of mental health (e.g., in-patient Bedouin Arabs of Negev; Al-Krenawi, 1999). It could be that Arab-Americans adolescents define their well-being quite differently than what has been assumed in previous research. For instance, just as some research (Al-Krenawi, 1999; Al-Krenawi & Graham, 1999) has identified family satisfaction as potentially being a proxy measure for an Arab person's well-being, literature has also shown that during adolescence, peer relationships, social acceptance, and autonomy are especially important aspects of psychological well-being (Eccles, Midgley, & Adler, 1984; Kumar et al., 2015; Roseth, Johnson, & Johnson, 2008; Steinberg & Morris, 2001). This needs to be explored with Arab-American adolescents. Relying on Western views of mental health is also reflected in the instruments used to assess well-being. Whether assessing psychological distress or life-satisfaction, the measures commonly reflect Western conceptualizations of mental health and rarely included questions on family harmony, demons, God's will, or external forces, which have been shown to be related to some Arab populations' conceptualization of mental health. The Western-oriented items may lead to a partial picture or a misrepresentation of Arab-Americans' well-being. The use of qualitative methods can aid in unpacking the construct of well-being and how Arab-Americans may understand and experience it.

Perceived Discrimination

Perceived discrimination refers to one's perceptions of prejudice in others' behaviors. This discrimination can take different forms, including interpersonal, microaggressions, institutional, and cultural discrimination. The majority of the studies that have investigated perceived discrimination in relation to well-being have measured interpersonal discrimination (Abdulrahim, James, Yamout, & Baker, 2012; Awad, 2010; Bourguignon, Seron, Yzerbyt, & Herman, 2006; Kessler et al., 1999; Moradi & Hasan, 2004; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Interpersonal discrimination is defined as discrimination aimed at an individual person by other individuals and has often been operationalized as verbal threats/insults, hostility, and/or physical aggression/violence. Some studies investigating discrimination experienced by Arab-Americans have shown that participants commonly reported being physically threatened (Brondolo et al., 2005, p. 37).

Institutional discrimination has been the second most commonly assessed form of discrimination in the research literature. Institutional discrimination is often described as oppressive policies and practices embedded in societal institutions (Ahmed et al., 2011; Mesch, Turjeman & Fishman, 2008; Paradies, 2006; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). An example of institutional discrimination is when a student does not receive a job or a scholarship due to his/her ethnicity or race. Research has often operationalized perceived institutional discrimination as people's perception of unfair policies or practices, such as not getting hired for a job or not receiving a scholarship (Ahmed et al., 2011; Mesch, et al., 2008; Paradies, 2006; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Research with Arab-Americans have found that they endorse items measuring institutional discrimination, such as "In general, the police do not respond quickly or adequately in the Arab community" (Ahmed et al., 2011, p. 62).

Throughout the literature, the third most common assessed form of discrimination has been cultural or group discrimination (Bourguignon, Seron, Yzerbyt, & Herman, 2006; Padela & Heisler, 2010; Seaton & Yip, 2009). Cultural discrimination is defined as a combination of individual and institutional discrimination aimed at a specific culture. Additionally, cultural discrimination is when members of one cultural group view themselves as superior to other cultural groups. Researchers tend to operationalize perceived cultural discrimination broadly rather than narrowly, often by asking participants if, in general, they have ever perceived discrimination aimed at their cultural group (Bourguignon, Seron, Yzerbyt, & Herman, 2006; Padela & Heisler, 2010). For example, Arab-Americans often endorsed items such as "Arab-Americans are not respected by the broader American society'' (Padela & Heisler, 2010, p. 285).

Lastly, microaggressions have also been commonly assessed in the research. Microaggressions are viewed as a unique form of discrimination and are often assessed as a separate construct from perceived discrimination. Microaggressions are subtle behavioral or verbal actions that can occur every day and send denigrating messages to an ethnic or racial group (Sue et al., 2007). Sometimes microaggressions can be ambiguous and seemingly "innocuous," making them harder to identify. Microinsults, one form of microaggressions, are insensitive verbal interactions that demean or denigrate people's ethnic heritage/identity. These can be subtle statements, such as "Don't you feel hot with the thing you are wearing on your head?" when talking to an Islamic woman wearing a hijab (Nadal et al., 2012, p. 24). Microinsults can also be observed in schools, when teachers unconsciously pay less attention to racial minority individuals or avoid conversing with them all together. Microinvalidations, another form of microaggressions, are when verbal interactions send messages that "exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings or experiential reality of a person of color"

(Sue et al., 2007, p. 274). For instance, if people ask, "where are you from?" to an ethnic minority American, they are sending the message to the ethnic minority individual that he or she is a "foreigner." In Nadal et al.'s (2012) research, one Moroccan participant stated:

> People come up to me, like, they don't know between religion and ethnicity,
> they would come up to me and be like, "You are White, why are you
> covered?" I was like, "I'm Muslim. I'm Moroccan. I am not Arabic, but I am
> Muslim." So it's not the same, but for them, it's like if you are covered, you
> have to be Arabic in order to be Muslim. (p. 25)

This is an example of a microinvalidation, where individuals invalidate other people's experiences due to the perception of religious homogeneity. That is, some individuals believe that if people are Muslim, they must be Arab (and vice versa). Thus, microaggressions are often pervasive and entrenched in our language and everyday interactions.

Racial Minority Individuals' Perceived Discrimination

Many members of racial minority groups, such as African, Latino, Asian, and Arab-Americans, experience discrimination (Ajrouch, 2007; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999) that includes, interpersonal discrimination (Abdulrahim, James, Yamout, & Baker, 2012; Awad, 2010; Bourguignon et al., 2006; Kessler et al., 1999; Moradi & Hasan, 2004; Williams & Mohammed, 2009), institutional discrimination (Mesch, et al., 2008; Paradies, 2006; Williams & Mohammed, 2009), group discrimination (Bourguignon, et al., 2006; Padela & Heisler, 2010; Seaton & Yip, 2009), and microaggressions (Helmn, 2012; Nadal, et al., 2011; Rivera, 2012; Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007; Sólorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). These studies have consistently shown that racial minority individuals experience discrimination at different times and at different levels of intensity ranging from daily verbal assaults to physical attacks. One study

examined the source (e.g. teachers, peers, administrators, etc.) and form (name calling, social exclusion, frequently punished, etc.) of discrimination and found that students of color were more likely to experience more discrimination and forms of discrimination through various sources than their White peers (Byrd & Carter-Andrews, 2016).

Research has also documented variability among racial minority groups. For instance, studies have found that Black American adolescents perceived the greatest discrimination in comparison to Latino and Asian American adolescents from teachers in a high school setting (Byrd & Carter-Andrews, 2016; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Additionally, these studies showed that Black and Latino American adolescents experienced more instances of institutional discrimination, in comparison to Asian American adolescents (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Moreover, findings showed that Asian American adolescents experienced more interpersonal discrimination, specifically, discrimination from peers, than from teachers in comparison to their peers (Byrd & Carter-Andrews, 2016; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Fisher, Wallace & Fenton, 2000).

Many of these differences in experiences of discrimination can be explained by differences in stereotypes. For instance, Black Americans have been frequently found to endorse items on surveys indicating that they often felt discriminated against because of stereotypes centered on being "dangerous," "lazy," of "lower intellect," and athletic (Czopp, Mark, Walzera, 2014; Czopp & Monteith, 2006). In contrast, Asian Americans have frequently endorsed items that indicate that they have often perceived discrimination in forms of having high intellect, being stoic, and/or foreign (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Hwang & Goto, 2009; Kim & Yeh, 2002). It appears that culturally specific stereotypes may influence the type, frequency, and intensity of discrimination. It may be that Arab-Americans, have different experiences from

Black, Latino, and Asian Americans because there are different stereotypes associated with their racial group.

Qualitative studies further examine these patterns revealed in quantitative studies. For instance, Asian American high school students have been found to face differential treatment from teachers and peers (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Specifically, teachers believed the model minority stereotype typically associated with Asian American students and treated them better (e.g. being "fair," "caring," and having higher expectations) than their Latino or African American counterparts. In contrast, the Asian American students reported greater discrimination from the Latino and African American students that included harassment. This study showed that Latino and African American students faced more negative discrimination by people of authority (e.g., teachers, administrators, police), whereas Asian American students faced more discrimination from their peers. The authors postulated that being negatively discriminated against by people in authority could have more detrimental effects on the students' resiliency than being negatively discriminated against by peers, as discrimination from authority figures can engender greater feelings of distrust and feelings of being "trapped" in a stereotype they cannot change. In general, this study highlighted differences in the *source* of discrimination among different racial groups (e.g., adults, peers, authority figures) as well as how the *content or the nature* of these interactions can be qualitatively different from one racial group to the next.

Qualitative studies have also shown that racial minority individuals experience various forms of microaggressions such as dehumanization, segregation, exoticization, and stereotyping (Masko, 2005; Nadal et al., 2012; Santos & Ortiz, Morales, & Rosales, 2007; Sue, Capodilupo, & Holder 2008). In a case study of a 12-year-old, African American girl, thematic analysis revealed "dehumanization" when prompted to think about why people engage in discrimination:

"They think we don't got feelings," (Masko, 2005). This nuanced experience of discrimination

is rarely captured in quantitative research. This study not only suggested that discrimination

took the form of "dehumanization," but that she perceived it as "ordinary," embedded in her

everyday life. Another example, with a Muslim adolescent, showed that even teachers often

engaged in mocking Islam because it appears to be socially acceptable:

> I was in seventh grade and my name is Osama. And when the 9/11 happened,
>
> a lot of people picked on me after school . . . And one teacher, like,
>
> she was doing attendance and she called me Osama bin Laden. So I thought
>
> she did it by accident, because the name was on the news a lot and stuff.
>
> But [I knew] she was doing it on purpose [because] she kept doing it over and over.
>
> (Nadal et al., 2012, p. 26).

Just as with Masko's (2005) case study, the interaction between the student and the teacher

described above reveals an experience that is difficult to capture by broad survey items. The

results showed that the social context supported jokes at the student's expense and that this

interaction between teacher and student may be more than just a single discriminatory event

(Nadal et al., 2012). It indicates how embedded and pervasive discrimination is in our society so

that, in some ways, it may even be socially acceptable.

Both quantitative and qualitative studies have shown that the context in which

discrimination occurs, matters. When studying perceived discrimination in adolescents, it is not

only important to pay attention to the characteristics of the general community in which they

reside, but also to the specific contexts within those communities, such as schools,

neighborhoods, grocery stores, airports, government offices, etc., as these settings may increase

the likelihood that a person experiences discrimination. Studies have investigated discrimination

across these social contexts (Baker, 2002; Eccles, Wong, & Peck, 2006; Harris, Henderson, & Williams, 2005; Patcher, 2010; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Seaton & Yip, 2009; Wong, Eccles & Sameroff, 2003) and have found that racial minority adolescents perceive most of their discrimination in schools or the mall, which is in contrast to racial minority adults, who may also perceive discrimination in contexts such as the workplace (Krieger et al., 2006). For instance, for adolescents, school is an important context to consider because research has shown that teachers can hold prejudicial attitudes, beliefs, and values, which can be reflected in their teaching, expectations of students, and/or limited awareness and/or denial of White privilege (Solomona, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell, 2005; Vaught & Castagno, 2008). Teachers have been found to be unaware of White privilege and to struggle to see how European Americans' cultural values informed the school's culture, atmosphere, policy, beliefs, and expectations (Solomona, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell, 2005; Vaught & Castagno, 2008). For example, discourse analysis of 200 teachers' responses to Peggy McIntosh's (1990) seminal article on White privilege revealed themes such as denying White privilege and believing in a meritocracy (Solomona, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell, 2005). For adolescents who spend most of their day in school, identifying encounters with discrimination within the educational setting could be crucial in understanding Arab-American adolescents' experiences with discrimination and its potential effects.

Research has shown that discrimination within school can lead to differential academic as well as psychological outcomes among racial minority adolescents (Alfaro, Umana-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen, Bámaca, & Zeiders, 2009; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Thomas, Caldwell, Faison, & Jackson, 2009; Tran & Birman, 2010). Rosenbloom & Way (2004) suggested that African American and Latino students' experiences with adult discrimination (e.g., teachers)

might have greater negative consequences on their academic achievement (Alfaro et al., 2009; Thomas et al., 2009) than Asian American students' experiences with discrimination by peers. A possible explanation for this is that Asian students tend to use education to become high achievers as a way to fight against the effects of discrimination (e.g., avoid downward assimilation; Tran & Birman, 2010). Thus, schools can play a significant role in adolescents' experiences with discrimination and have deleterious effects on their achievement and psychological well-being, but may have differential outcomes across ethnicities.

Perceived Discrimination and Arab-Americans Post 9/11

As previously discussed, many Arab-Americans experience discrimination, with 43% of Arab-Americans reporting experiences of discrimination (Zogby, 2014). Research has shown that Arab-American Muslims are more likely to perceive discrimination than Arab-American Christians. In a National Poll conducted by Zogby (2014) 63% of Arab Muslims were more worried about future discrimination in comparison to Arab Catholics (27%) and Arab Protestants (37%). According to the FBI hate crime statistics, about 16.3% of hate crimes in 2014 were committed against Muslims whereas 6.1% and 2.6% reported hate crimes were against Catholics and Protestants, respectively. It is important to note that the FBI did not report the number of hate-crimes specifically directed toward Arab-Americans. Nevertheless, taking the data from the Zogby National Poll and the FBI into account, it could be speculated that the greater percentages of discrimination aimed at Arab Muslims may be due to Arab Muslims holding a "double minority" status in the United States, as a racialized minority as well as a religious minority. One study provides some evidence for this showing that the more Arab Muslim women wore religious attire, such as the hijab (which covers the head and parts of the chest), the more they perceived discrimination (Jasperse, Ward, & Jose, 2012).

Although Arab Muslims are more likely to perceive discrimination than Arab Christians, it does not mean that Arab Christians do not experience discrimination as they make up the majority (63%) of the Arab-American population (Zogby, 2002). Viewing Arab-Americans as synonymous with being Muslim can lead to both Arab-American Muslims and Christians experiencing discrimination. In one study of 1016 Arab-American adults, 25% reported experiencing discrimination, with 22% of them identifying as Christians. In another poll by Zogby (2007), 29% and 45% of Arab Catholics and Protestants, respectively, reported experiences of discrimination. Thus, in the case of Arab-Americans, affiliation with mainstream religions may not shield them from experiencing discrimination.

When Arab-Americans do report discrimination, their experiences are often rooted in stereotypes, such as "homogeneous," "terrorists," "dangerous," "pathological" and "foreign" (Nadal et al., 2012). These stereotypes and discrimination are often found within federal and state policies, airline procedures, educational systems, the media, and even day-to-day interactions with other people (ADC, 2007). Some studies have shown that Arab-Americans perceived policies, such as the U.S. Patriot Act, as discriminatory, where the American government is granted the right to scrutinize Arab-American peoples (Cho, Gimpel, & Wo, 2006). In some respects, their fears were substantiated, such as in 2002, when the FBI stated that they would start investigating Arab or Muslim owned businesses to find links between their businesses and terrorist organizations (Cho et al., 2006). Similarly, Arab-Americans have also reported experiencing greater security checks at the airports (Abu-Raiya, Pargament, & Mahoney, 2011). For instance, one study found that 68% of Arab Muslims sampled who resided in the U.S. experienced "special security checks" at airports. Participants attributed these checks to their ethnicity and religion (Abu-Raiya et al., 2011). Thus, at an institutional level,

discrimination can occur via policies and practices, broadly, and at specific settings such as airports.

Recent presidential actions have raised concerns about discrimination toward Muslims including individuals from Arab countries. Soon after taking office, on January 27, 2017, President Donald Trump issued an Executive Order (EO): *Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States* (The White House Office of the Press Secretary, 2017). This Executive Order suspended the entry into the United States of individuals from 7 Muslim majority countries (Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen), for 90 days and was widely viewed as a "travel ban against Muslims" and generally nicknamed the "Travel Ban." In addition, the EO suspended the entry of individuals through the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP) for 120 days. This resulted in confusion across federal agencies such as the Department of Homeland Security and Department of Justice and disruption in travel for thousands, including students, scientists, and others with green cards (Almasy & Simon, 2017). It also spurred demonstrations across the country and class-action lawsuits. In the following days, federal judges throughout the country issued stays that temporarily and partially blocked the Executive Order (Almasy & Simon, 2017).

Other studies have shown that Arab-Americans perceive discrimination within the school system, via textbooks and general curriculum (Barlow, 1994; Seikaly, 2001). For instance, in a content analysis of high school textbooks, one study found that in general, the content within the textbooks often depicted the Arab culture in a stereotypical fashion (Barlow, 1994). For example, Arabs in the Middle East were often shown to be riding camels through the desert or living in a turbulent environment, which, in actuality, only represents a small percentage (2%) of Arabs in the Middle East (Seikaly, 2001). This skewed representation of Arab culture can add to

the commonly held and inaccurate perceptions of Arab-Americans. Another study showed that often teachers hold inaccurate perceptions that are rooted in stereotypes (Kumar et al., 2015). For instance, interviews with immigrant Arab adolescents about their experiences with discrimination in the United States revealed that some Arab-American males were being perceived by their teachers as "violent" (Kumar et al., 2015). One participant stated

> One time when we pushing each other the teacher saw us and
>
> he send us to the office he thinks it is a fight, it is not a fight.
>
> We talking in Arabic and he thinks that I threaten him.
>
> Next day Mrs. W, she brings the police for me. (p. 208)

This suggested that teachers viewed Arab-American males as aggressive or violent based on a stereotype that "Arabs are dangerous". Moreover, this study suggested that teachers within the school could have prejudices against Arab-Americans that may have shaped their behavior and expectations towards Arab-American youth. Arab youth have faced discrimination within the school from their peers and report being bullied because they were Arab-American or Muslim (Kumar et al., 2015). For instance, some female participants talked about being made fun of for wearing the "hijab," and Arab-American males talked about being taunted and/or pushed around by their peers (Kumar et al., 2015). In general, Arab-American youth, who spend much of their time at school, may face discrimination through the curriculum, teachers, and peers.

In the media, there has been anti-Arab and anti-Muslim rhetoric by political leaders and journalists as well as reports of discriminatory behaviors. This was seen during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign with some candidates referring to Arabs as "rabid dogs" and some suggesting mosques should be "shut down" (Fahrenthold & DelReal, 2015). Jokes popularized

37

by the media have also expressed anti-Arab and Anti-Muslim sentiments. For example, a study of website content (Weaver, 2013) analyzed online Arab jokes for discriminatory content and found that most of the jokes used stereotypes and employed *inferiorization*. Many were exclusionary, which tend to portray Arabs being injured or killed. For instance, one exclusionary joke was based on a stereotype that "some Arabs are suicide bombers":

Why is the Afghan air force so easy to train?

You only have to teach them how to take off! (p. 493)

The content of these jokes illustrate how racism can be perpetuated and widely disseminated through online communities (Weaver, 2013). Considering the rise in technology use and time spent online by adults and adolescents, people are likely to come across these messages (The Neilsen Company, 2013). Exposure to ethnic jokes may increase the risk of Arab-Americans' experiencing discrimination and may also serve to perpetuate the stereotypes and racism already present in society. Overall, discrimination appears to be pervasive and few Arab-Americans appear to be immune or shielded from experiencing discrimination. Yet little is known about Arab-American youth's specific experiences with discrimination.

Perceived Discrimination and Psychological Well-being

Experiences of discrimination have been shown to be a significant risk factor in people's lives, putting not only their mental health at risk (e.g., depression or anxiety), but also increasing the likelihood of greater psychological distress, poorer life satisfaction, and poorer overall well-being (Masko, 2005; Mesch et al., 2008; Pachter, 2010; Paradies, 2006; Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014; Schmitt, & Branscombe, 2002). For instance, a meta-analysis found that perceived discrimination was related to greater levels of depression, greater incidences of psychiatric illnesses, and poorer overall well-being (Pascoe and Richman, 2009). The average

correlation between perceived discrimination and these mental health variables was -.16. Other meta-analyses, consistent with Pascoe and Richman's (2009) study, have shown perceived discrimination to be related to poorer self-esteem, lower life satisfaction, and increased substance abuse (Paradies, 2006; Schmitt, et al., 2014). Furthermore, these correlations were greater in magnitude for racial minority individuals (r = - .24), in comparison to majority groups, such as Whites or males (r = -.10; Schmitt et al., 2014). Thus, these studies not only indicated that perceived discrimination is a serious risk factor that psychologists need to be attuned to, but that perceived discrimination can be especially detrimental for disadvantaged populations. This is evidenced by multiple studies that have shown that individuals from racial minority groups report greater perceived discrimination and poorer psychological well-being than European Americans (Kessler et al., 1999; Krieger & Sidney, 1996; MacCarthy & Craissati, 1989; Paradies, 2006).

Some authors have posited that the negative relation between perceived discrimination and well-being is due to the resulting feelings of powerlessness, helplessness, or rejection. Other researchers have posited that this relationship is more indirect and may be due to a poor stress response or due to an increase in risky health behaviors that could potentially adversely affect people's well-being. Therefore, it appears that perceived discrimination may have both direct and indirect pathways to well-being. These direct and indirect effects will be discussed in detail in the next section. The negative effects of perceived discrimination have been found for children and adolescents as well as for adults. Research has shown that children who reported perceptions of discrimination had poorer psychological outcomes (r = -.26) similar to that of adults (r = -.23; Schmitt et al., 2014). This could be due not only to children and adolescents facing societal and communal discrimination, but also experiencing discrimination in school,

specifically from their peers and teachers (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). People in authority could affect well-being by engendering negative affect centered around distrust and powerlessness.

Perceived Discrimination and Psychological Well-being in Arab-Americans

The relation between perceived discrimination and psychological well-being in Arab-Americans is like that of African, Hispanic/Latino, and Asian Americans (Kessler et al., 1999; Krieger & Sidney, 1996; MacCarthy & Craissati, 1989; Paradies, 2006). Research has found that the greater the level of Arab-Americans' perceived discrimination, the lower their self-esteem and overall happiness and the greater their psychological distress. By using path analyses to investigate the relation between perceived discrimination, psychological well-being, ethnic identity, religious coping, and acculturative stress in Arab-American adolescents, Ahmed et al., (2011) found a significant and strong ($r = .84$) direct pathway between perceived discrimination and psychological distress. Even after controlling demographic factors (e.g., religion, SES), other research studying Arab-American adults, (Padela & Heisler, 2010) has found a similar relation between PD and happiness and absence of psychological distress, indicating a robust result. In both studies, Arab-Americans reported feeling unsafe and their personal security threatened. Moreover, they described having a poor response to stress, a low sense of belonging, and/or limited social resources as potential reasons for why perceived discrimination is negatively related to well-being (Abdulrahim et al., 2012; Ahmed et al., 2011; Ajrouch, 2007). Investigating the relation between perceived discrimination and well-being is however, relatively new. Few studies investigated this prior to 2000 and even now, the research is sparse, especially studies investigating this relation in adolescents. Although Arab-Americans may share similar discrimination experiences with other racial minority adolescents, there may be other experiences, unique to the Arab-American adolescent that have yet to be identified. Not only are

Arab-American adolescents grappling with the normative challenges that come with the developmental period of adolescence, but many youth are also trying to forge identities involving two different cultures in a society that is increasingly hostile towards people of Arab heritage. This study aims to shed light on Arab-American adolescents' unique life experiences with discrimination and how it may affect their well-being.

Intervening Conditions Between Perceived Discrimination and Well-Being in Arab-Americans

Arab-Americans experiencing high levels of perceived discrimination may have similar outcomes as other racial minority individuals; however, there are a number of within-group differences that can moderate the relation between perceived discrimination and well-being. The degree of perceived discrimination can vary, for example, by religion. Arab-Americans who are Muslim are more likely to experience discrimination than Arab-Americans who are Christians (Zogby, 2007; Zogby, 2014). Arab-American Muslims are more likely to wear religious attire, making them "stand out" and thus, more likely to be targets of discrimination. Despite Arab-American Muslims being more visible targets for discrimination, it has been found that Arab Christians have poorer well-being than Arab Muslims when faced with discrimination (Ahmed et al., 2011). Arab Christians are less likely to have a strong ethnic identity, perhaps because the Arab culture is largely interrelated with Islamic traditions and values (Ahmed et al., 2011). Studies have shown that when people have strong ethnic identities, they are more likely to be protected against the deleterious effects of discrimination because it provides psychosocial resources, such as social support or a sense of belonging (Ahmed et al., 2011).

Gender is another possible factor that may moderate the effects of discrimination. Research on Arab-Americans has found that females reported less discrimination and better well-

being than males (Ahmed et al., 2011). This is consistent with other research reporting that males faced more racial discrimination and had poorer well-being than females (Paradies, 2006). This may be due to Arab females having a stronger ethnic identity than Arab males (Al-Harahsheh, 2011; Haboush, 2007) that may be protective. It could also be that Arab males tend to interact more with people from the mainstream culture, as they are more likely to be employed than Arab females, who are expected to stay at home and take care of the family (Al-Harahsheh, 2011). More interaction with the mainstream culture may result in a greater likelihood of encountering discrimination from others. Recognizing these intervening conditions, I will therefore explore in the current study, how religion, ethnic identity, and gender may play a role in Arab-American adolescents' perceptions of discrimination and well-being.

Ethnic Enclaves, Well-being, and Perceived Discrimination

In general, research has shown a positive association between living in an ethnic enclave and psychological well-being even in the face of perceived discrimination (Bécares et al., 2009; Stafford et al., 2010; Syed & Juan, 2012). People who live in ethnic enclaves tend to have better overall mental health (Mulvaney-Day et al., 2007), greater positive affect (Gee, 2002), higher life satisfaction (Knies, Nandi, & Platt, 2014), and fewer psychiatric problems (Shaw et al., 2012). Despite these findings, the literature is still mixed on *how* and *why* ethnic enclaves are associated with psychological well-being when considering risk factors such as perceived discrimination.

In this study, ethnic enclaves or ethnically dense communities have been defined as Arab-American communities that share a similar culture and are economically self-sufficient (Qadeer & Kumar, 2006). Arab-American communities are also made up of intricate social networks consisting of friends, family, co-workers, and fellow community members. Alongside the cultural, economic, and social benefits, these communities may provide some psychological

benefits to its community members. This definition may be specific to Arab-Americans, however, as other racial or ethnic groups may have ethnic communities that are segregated, economically dependent on the mainstream, and limited social or cultural benefits. In other words, it is important to not generalize this definition to other racial or ethnic groups as ethnically dense communities may take different forms and have different experiences than Arab-American communities. The present study aims to investigate how Arab-American adolescents who live in ethnically dense communities experience discrimination and how their experiences relate to well-being. Thus, literature on ethnic enclaves, perceived discrimination, and psychological well-being is summarized below.

There are several ways in which Arab-American ethnic communities may play a protective role. Ethnic enclaves can operate in a way that can: (a) reduce exposure to discrimination and (b) mitigate the stress from discrimination by providing social support, social capital, social cohesion, belongingness, and other resources to help buffer the stress from discrimination. The protective effects of ethnic enclaves have been described as the "ethnic enclave hypothesis" or the "ethnic density hypothesis." Only a few studies have investigated this hypothesis (Bécares, 2014; Halpern & Nazroo; 2000). Although this study will not explicitly be testing this hypothesis, it is still important to understand research that has investigated this hypothesis as it could inform the identification of potential themes in the data.

Limiting the exposure to discrimination can help to shield people from the stress typically caused by perceiving discrimination, ultimately protecting people's well-being. A plethora of research studies have shown that ethnic enclaves reduce exposure to discrimination and/or racism for ethnic minority individuals (Bécares, 2014; Halpern & Nazroo, 2000; Potochnick, Perreira, & Fuligni, 2012; Stafford et al., 2010). Ethnic enclaves cannot totally shelter people

43

from discrimination, as prejudice and racism in the media and mainstream institutions can make their way into an ethnic minority community (Perez, Fortuna, & Algeria, 2008). However, some literature has shown that ethnic enclaves can buffer the stress from discrimination, leading to better well-being (Bécares et al., 2014; Bécares et al., 2009; Jurcik et al., 2013; Syed et al., 2012). For instance, a seminal study (Bécares, Nazroo, & Stafford, 2009) investigated ethnic enclaves among Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi individuals living in the United Kingdom (N=5,196). The researchers found that ethnic enclaves operated as a moderator between perceived discrimination and psychological well-being (OR = .94). Specifically, if participants perceived discrimination but lived in ethnic enclaves, they were more likely to have better well-being than participants living in non-ethnic enclaves, but this differed across ethnicities. This was especially true for Bangladeshi participants, but the moderating effects of ethnic enclaves were not found for Pakistani participants. The researchers also discovered that ethnic enclave density mattered, indicating that the denser the enclave was, the less participants perceived discrimination. These results echo the previously cited studies, showing that not only are ethnic enclaves protective, but the degree of protection can vary by density and ethnicity (Bécares, 2014; Bécares et al., 2009; Halpern & Nazroo, 2000).

Even though discrimination can still make its way into the ethnic community, the way ethnic enclaves function seems to provide individuals with resources that can help mitigate the stress they feel from perceiving discrimination. Researchers (Bécares, 2014; Stafford et al., 2010) have posited that ethnic enclaves can provide psychosocial resources, such as greater levels of ethnic identity, social support, cohesion, and belongingness, which all have been found to promote psychological well-being (Phinney & Flores, 2002; Schwartz & Unger, 2010; Stepick, Grenier, Castro, & Dunn, 2003). However, while various studies have shown a relation

between ethnic enclaves, discrimination, and well-being, many of the possible buffers have only been hypothesized.

It appears that when people live in ethnic enclaves, they are more likely to appraise their stressors differently, feel a sense of social cohesion, and seek out social support, thus increasing well-being. Although there have been studies investigating the ethnic enclave hypothesis in adults, few have investigated this hypothesis in younger or Arab-American populations. Literature on these populations will be briefly summarized below.

The ethnic enclave hypothesis in younger populations. To date, there have only been two studies investigating this ethnic enclave effect in younger ethnic minority individuals and only one has investigated ethnic minority adolescents. Moreover, the studies that have investigated this relationship have provided contrasting results. Jurcik (2013) studied this relationship with 146 immigrant college students who were born in Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, East and South Asia, Latin America, South Asia, the Caribbean, or Africa. Two main results were found: (1) living in an ethnic enclave was related to less perceived discrimination ($r = -.16$); and (2) perceived discrimination mediated the relation between living in an ethnic enclave and psychological well-being (indirect effect $[\beta] = -.05$; $R^2 = .07$). Essentially, these results indicated that individuals not only perceived less discrimination in an ethnic enclave, but that perceived discrimination explained the relation between ethnic enclaves and psychological well-being. Unfortunately, however, these data were aggregated across ethnicities; thus, moderations by ethnicity was not explored.

In contrast, another study that investigated ethnic enclaves' effects in adolescents (Astell-Burt, Maynard, Lenguerrand, & Harding, 2012) only partially supported Jurcik et al.'s, (2013) findings. Astell-Burt et al. (2012) studied 4,782 White, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black

Caribbean, and African adolescents ages 11 through 16 in London. The results indicated that perceived discrimination was lower for adolescents who lived in ethnic enclaves but living in an ethnic enclave was not related to psychological well-being; this was the case for all ethnicities. In regard to the first finding, perceived discrimination was found to be the lowest during early adolescence when compared to later adolescence, indicating differences in the developmental trajectory. It may be that as adolescents get older they have more access to the mainstream culture increasing their likelihood of perceiving discrimination (Fisher et al., 2000) and/or become targets of discrimination (Romero & Robert 1998; Seaton, Caldwell, & Sellers, 2008). Older adolescents are also more likely to have solidified their ethnic identity, whereas early adolescents may still be exploring (Seaton, Caldwell, & Sellers, 2008). In regard to the second finding, Astell-Burt et al.'s (2012) results contrast with the previous studies that have consistently found a positive relation between ethnic enclaves and psychological well-being (Becares, 2014; Halpern & Nazroo; 2000; Jurcik et al., 2013; Syed et al., 2012). The discrepant results may be due to the specific neighborhoods chosen for this study that had ethnic densities that ranged from 13 to 18.2%. These neighborhoods' ethnic density was relatively sparse considering that the rest of the community (87 to 81.8%) was made up of other ethnicities, thereby possibly diluting the ethnic enclave and its potential effect on well-being. On the other hand, these results could indicate that the relation between ethnic enclaves and well-being is different in adolescent populations compared to adults. For instance, there may be other, more salient factors, that play a role in the well-being of adolescents, such as ethnic identity or peer support.

The ethnic enclave hypothesis in Arab-American populations. For Arabs, ethnic enclaves seem to operate similarly to Latino and Asian enclaves, discussed in the previous

sections. Researchers have theorized that Arab communities may provide a form of cultural support and belongingness, especially if the mainstream environment is perceived to be threatening or discriminatory (Shammas, 2009). Other researchers have theorized that ethnic enclaves shield Arabs from discrimination (Asmar, 2003), however, more research needs to be done to test these hypotheses.

Studies that have investigated the acculturative stress of residents in ethnic enclaves suggest potential factors that may promote resilience. For instance, one study (Wrobel, Farrag, & Hymes, 2009) found that Arab immigrants in an ethnic enclave were less likely to experience acculturative stress (which can lead to poor well-being). Lower acculturative stress could have been due to the provision of social or cultural resources, such as the ability to maintain cultural traditions, norms, and language. In general, this is consistent with the previous studies done on ethnic enclaves and well-being, suggesting the possibility that ethnic enclaves can provide psychosocial resources to individuals, including the retention of their heritage culture (Bécares et al., 2014; Bécares et al., 2009; Jurcik et al., 2013; Syed et al., 2012). However, this important possible relationship was not investigated.

In another study examining ethnic enclaves and mental health, researchers looked at death records of Arab-Americans and compared them against those for European Americans (El-Sayed, Tracy, Scarborough, & Galea, 2011). Researchers found that there were fewer records of suicide in Arab-Americans than in European Americans (El-Sayed et al., 2011). Because the majority of the participants were sampled in a community that housed a significant proportion of the Arab-American population in the United States, the authors speculated that ethnic enclaves might have been one variable that accounted for these results. It could be however, that Arab-Americans in general, regardless of where they live, have lower rates of

suicide compared to Whites. Research that builds on these findings by directly examining the role of ethnic enclaves can help to clarify its relation to well-being.

To date, no studies have been done that have directly examined the associations among ethnic enclaves, perceived discrimination, and mental health in Arab-Americans and in Arab-American adolescents. This is a significant gap in the literature, given the increasing Arab-American population and the potential value that ethnic enclaves may have for ethnic minority adolescents' well-being. Thus, this study aims to fill this gap in the literature and examine the relations among ethnic enclaves, perceived discrimination, and psychological well-being in Arab-American adolescents.

Adaptive and Maladaptive Responses to Discrimination

Risk and resiliency theory defines resiliency as adapting in the face of adversity. There are many ways to define what "adapt" means, but resilience researchers have described it as "meeting the major expectations of a given society or culture in historical context for the behavior of children of that age and situation" (Masten, 2001, p. 229). This can encompass other indicators of adaptation, such as low psychological distress, minimal psychopathology, absence of substance abuse, and high academic achievement (Masten, 2001). Thus, adapting in the face of adversity can be viewed as displaying psychosocial, developmental, and cognitive competencies. Children who display maladaptive behaviors exhibit lower levels of developmental, mental health, and physical health (Masten et al., 2004).

Responses to adversity such as discrimination can take a variety of forms and be adaptive or maladaptive. People may respond maladaptively by engaging in reactionary behavior such as oppositional behavior and self-defeating resistance. For example, youth may drop out of school in response to discrimination, which could limit their future and lead to poorer well-being

48

(Soloranzo & Bernal, 2001). Another maladaptive response is passive coping, where an individual displays a resigned acceptance of the situation or ignores the discrimination entirely. Either of these passive strategies can have negative effects on well-being (Noh & Kaspar, 2003). Research suggests that this may be due to the perception that discrimination is uncontrollable, resulting in feelings of helplessness and other negative emotions. Another way a person may respond is by making maladaptive attributions about the discriminatory event. Members of ethnic minority groups have been shown to be more likely to make internal, stable, and uncontrollable attributions for discrimination, such as viewing other people as mean-spirited, which can negatively affect their self-concept because they believe that they are responsible for the discrimination and that this is unlikely to change (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). Alternatively, if a person attributes a discriminatory event to explanations that are unstable, uncontrollable, and external, such as viewing it as due to bad luck, they may experience learned helplessness (Schmitt & Branscombe, 1999). When people face discrimination, they may experience it as an attack on their self-concept (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002), which can lead to negative self-evaluations and/or a feeling of low personal self-control, which could lead to poorer well-being (Branscombe & Elmers, 1998; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002).

Another maladaptive response to discrimination is to engage in behaviors that endanger one's health (Pascoe & Richman, 2009). These health-risk behaviors can include substance use, alcohol abuse, smoking, poor exercise, poor sleep, and unprotected sex. Two reasons may account for this behavior. First, people may engage in these behaviors to escape or avoid the emotional and cognitive stress that comes with discrimination. Another reason is that there could be a decrease in self-control, which has been shown to be linked to perceived discrimination (Inzlicht, McCay, & Aronson, 2006; Pascoe & Richman, 2009). For example,

one study investigated the effects of discrimination on self-regulation in Black college students and found that Black students who faced discrimination had lower levels of self-regulation than Black students who perceived less discrimination (Inzlicht et al., 2006). The decline in self-regulation/self-control can lead to risky behaviors, which can negatively affect individuals' daily functioning and ultimately their psychological well-being (Inzlicht et al., 2006). What remains unclear, however, is whether decreased self-regulation results from attempts to cope with the stress from discrimination or whether discrimination lowers self-regulation that triggers risky behaviors.

Other research, discussed in previous sections, has shown that in some instances, when people face discrimination people may respond in adaptive ways that show resiliency. For instance, people can strengthen their ethnic identity, religiosity, gender identity, social support, social cohesion, all of which have shown to be protective factors against discrimination (Phinney & Flores, 2002; Schwartz & Unger, 2010; Stepick, Grenier, Castro, & Dunn, 2003). These resources have been found to promote higher self-esteem, sense of belongingness, pride, stability, and social roles (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Echeverría et al., 2008; Phinney & Flores, 2002). Second, they may engage in *active coping* strategies, such as seeking out social support or actively protesting discrimination. People may also respond adaptively by engaging in ***conformist resistance* or *transformative resistance***, which are also forms of "active coping" (Smith, Yosso, & Solorzano, 2006). ***Conformist resistance*** is when people seek out social justice but do it within the existing social structure, often refraining from questioning the existing social structure itself. *Transformational resistance* is also the pursuit of social justice, but it involves critiquing social structures and institutions. Transformative resistance involves engagement in political, economic, and institutional actions to challenge the structures in place

that maintain the oppression (Smith et al., 2006). Active strategies have been shown to be generally a more effective in reducing stress than passive coping (Noh & Kaspar, 2003). In a correlational study, Korean immigrant adults who engaged in active coping following perceived discrimination had lower levels of depression (Noh & Kaspar, 2003). In other words, active coping moderated the relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being ($r = -.54$).

Thus, the present study aims to understand how Arab-American adolescents respond to their experiences with discrimination and whether these responses are adaptive or maladaptive. These responses may or may not include negative affect, active/passive coping, health-risk behaviors, or internal/external causal attributions.

Current Research Study and Research Questions

The goal of the current study is to examine how Arab-American adolescents experience discrimination and how it is related to their well-being with attention to the role of the ethnic community. Specifically, this study investigated how Arab-American adolescents living in communities where the majority of the population is Arab-American, describe and understand their lived experiences with and responses to discrimination and how it relates to their mental health. I also explored how their racialized identity, gender, and religion play a role in their experiences and responses to discrimination. These goals lend themselves well to a qualitative approach, which allow me to investigate discrimination and well-being in-depth, in an under-theorized and understudied population (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

To accomplish these goals, this study first identified the nature of discrimination experienced by Arab-American adolescents. Next, the study explored how Arab-American adolescents responded to instances of discrimination and whether these responses were adaptive (protective) or maladaptive (a risk factor). Moreover, the present study also aimed to investigate

how social contexts, specifically ethnic communities, can play a role in how Arab-American adolescents experience discrimination as racialized group members. Lastly, this study aimed to understand how these responses relate, if at all, to Arab-American adolescents' well-being. In general, this study aimed to provide school psychologists with a greater understanding of Arab-American adolescents' experiences with discrimination, how discrimination relates to well-being, and the potential risk and protective factors related to discrimination. This study addressed the following research questions:

1. How do Arab-American adolescents experience racial discrimination?

    a. What sources, forms, and types of perceived discrimination do they report?

    b. How do Arab-American adolescents describe and understand their lived experiences with perceived racial discrimination in communities where the majority of the population is Arab-American? (in other words, "what role does the community of Arab-American play"?)

2. How does racial discrimination relate to their well-being?

    a. How do Arab-American adolescents respond to their experiences of perceived racial discrimination?

        1. How do they cope with perceived racial discrimination?

        2. What are adaptive and maladaptive ways of responding?

3. How do Arab-American adolescents define "well-being"? What does it mean to have "positive well-being"?

CHAPTER IV:

METHODS

Methodological Approach

I took a phenomenological approach using qualitative methods. Through a phenomenological approach, reality is constructed via one's consciousness (e.g., perceptions) or "lived experiences," which is entwined with the social context (Smith et al., 2009). An assumption of phenomenology is that there is no "one reality" that exists but rather multiple realities that depend on the social context (Smith et al., 2009). Phenomenology has two goals; one is to understand a person's perceptions of their experiences and how these perceptions are embedded and interrelated to context, culture, and language creating that person's reality (Smith, 2004; Smith & Osborn, 2007; Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). The second goal is to identify the "essence" of the phenomenon across participants (Groenewald, 2004).

Phenomenology has five main features common across all forms of phenomenology which have informed my approach to the current study (Creswell, 2013). The first feature is that there is a phenomenon of interest, which, in the present study, is perceived discrimination. The second feature is an expectation that the phenomenon is experienced by a group of people. In the present study, I assume that Arab-American adolescents have experienced racial discrimination. The third defining feature is that phenomenology concerns both the objective experiences that the participants have in common (i.e. "essential" features of a phenomenon) and the subjective experiences unique to each participant. The third feature aligns with my current study through my use of RR and CRT as conceptual frameworks, which helped to identify objective experiences common to Arab-American adolescents as a group, while also examining the subjective experiences of individuals.

The fourth defining feature is how data are typically collected using qualitative methods such as interviews, journals, and observations, that allow for an in-depth exploration of a person's lived experiences (Creswell, 2013). In the current study, the data collection methods include semi-structured interviews with adolescents and parents, and adolescent journals, which have the potential to provide in-depth information on Arab-American adolescents' lived experiences with racial discrimination (Creswell, 2013; Englander, 2012). In the current study, 10 participants were recruited, which aligns with typical phenomenological research. On average, data saturation is most likely to be reached with 10 to 14 participants (Creswell, 2013). Reaching saturation allows for enough participants to garner a "thick description" in hopes of grasping the essence of the phenomenon (i.e. racial discrimination).

The fifth feature is that interview protocol questions in phenomenological studies typically ask participants about their experiences related to the phenomenon and the context in which this was situated. This aligns with the questions in the interview protocols, as it not only asks participants to explain their experiences with discrimination, but it also probes the social settings in which their experiences occur. In the present study, I aim to understand the common lived experiences of Arab-American adolescents with racial discrimination and the role that the Arab-American community plays with regard to experiences of racial discrimination.

Conceptual Frameworks' Fit with Phenomenology

CRT guided my focus on racial discrimination, as understanding this phenomenon, a person's experiences with racial discrimination, is one of CRT's aims. CRT also led me to examine Arab-American adolescents' common experiences with discrimination while also highlighting unique experiences using intersectionality and personal narratives. Phenomenology

shares this goal of understanding common and unique experiences and provides a method to examine this.

CRT's focus on the construction of narratives also led me to choose a method that allowed me to explore these personal narratives. The use of semi-structured interviews and journals typically found in phenomenology lends itself well to not only uncovering the lived experiences of Arab-American adolescents with discrimination but also provides an opportunity for participants to construct their own narratives, allowing their unique voices to be heard.

Risk and resiliency theory also influenced my choice of the phenomenological approach; RR's focus on risk and protective factors in people's lives required a method that could help me to investigate these factors related to discrimination. The use of phenomenological research tools such as interviews and journals can provide rich data to understand Arab-American adolescents lived experiences concerning the risk, protective and/or promotive factors related to Arab-American adolescents' experiences with discrimination and well-being.

Setting

Participants were recruited from an ethnically dense Arab-American community in the United States. This ethnic community is comprised of a majority of Arab-Americans, numbering approximately 89,000, according to Census estimates from 2014. It is important to note that the percentage of people living in an area is not the sole indicator of an ethnic community. In addition, the community must have established cultural and religious institutions with some economic stability, all of which are found within the geographic region (Ajrouch, 2000).

Participants

The goal of the present study was to understand Arab-American adolescents' lived experiences of discrimination through interviews and journals. Critical changes occur in

adolescents' reasoning, information processing, abstract thinking, and social cognition (e.g., appraisal of situations, prosocial reasoning, and formation of impressions; Steinberg, 2005). Additionally, it is a critical period for growth in executive functioning, self-awareness, and perspective taking (Steinberg, 2005). While some hormonal and biological changes can account for some changes in cognition, changes in the environment can affect an adolescent's development of their social development (Blakemore & Choudhury, 2006).

The sample consisted of five female and five male Arab-American adolescents (N = 10) living in an ethnic enclave. Of the five female participants, two female participants wore the hijab. All ten participants were from the Midwest and US citizens. Nine out of ten participants were born in the United States with their age ranging from 13 to 16, with the average age range being 14 years. In regard to spiritual affiliation, all 10 participants identified as Muslim (n = 10). All participants also identified as White (n = 10). The majority of participants were of Lebanese heritage (n = 8), and of the remaining participants, one was of Syrian and Turkish descent and the other was of Lebanese and Iraqi descent. All participants attended school in the enclave.

Interviews were conducted with one parent of each participant, for a total of ten parents. Parents were selected based on convenience, whomever was the most readily available and willing to volunteer. I allowed the caregiver to make this decision to maintain rapport and trust with me and the research process. More often than not, the parent with whom I made initial contact with, often volunteered to participate. At other times, they were mothers (n = 5) who were the primary or sole caregiver.

Interviewing parents provided information on their perception of their experiences with discrimination and how that may play a role in the adolescents' perceptions of discrimination (e.g., a father may expose their child to discrimination by sharing stories about discrimination at

work). The parent interviews also provided information on their adolescent's experience with discrimination that were used to triangulate the data. Eight of the parents were mothers and two parents were fathers. All the parents lived in the ethnic enclaves with their child. The majority of the parent participants were not born in the US (n = 9), but were US citizens (n=9). Eight of the parents were born in Lebanon, one parent was born in Liberia Monrovia, and another parent was from Syria. All participants identified as Muslim (n=10) and as White.

Sampling and Recruitment

This study used purposeful sampling, a common form of sampling in qualitative research and phenomenology where the researcher specifically targets individuals with particular characteristics relevant to goals or phenomenon of the study (Creswell, 2015; Khan, 2014). In this case, the researcher sampled Arab-American adolescents living in the ethnic community that fit specific inclusionary criteria. A specific sampling strategy as outlined by Creswell (2015) that was used in combination with purposeful sampling is *snowball sampling*. Snowball sampling involves asking "gatekeepers" and participants to refer other participants whom they know to participate in the study (Remler & Van Ryzin, 2011). Snowball sampling is appropriate as this strategy is used when participants are difficult to access (Shaghaghi, 2011). I continued to sample participants until I reached saturation. Saturation is defined as when there is repetition in the data, that is, when new cases yield no new data or themes (Fusch & Ness, 2015). Saturation indicates to the researcher that the study can be replicated (Fusch & Ness, 2015). Some qualitative research has found, that on average, it takes 10 to 14 participants to reach saturation (Creswell, 2013).

Recruitment. Often ethnic communities are wary of "outsiders" coming in to conduct research, as it is sometimes seen as a way of colonization, exploitation, and harm (Trimble,

2014). It is common for racial minorities, including Arab-Americans, to question the motives and intentions of the researcher and to be skeptical of the benefits of participation (Awad, 2010; for a review see Trimble, Scharrón-del Río, & Casillas, 2014). Prior to recruitment, I was actively involved within the ethnic community, becoming part of communal activities and attending community meetings, activities, and informal social gatherings. Being involved in the community and attending activities or social gatherings not only reduced the "researcher-subject" barrier typically found in quantitative studies (Trimble, 2004), but it also increased trust and the likelihood that Arab-American adolescents participated candidly in the study. In addition, immersing myself in the community allowed me to observe and interact with community members. Engaging with the community increased my theoretical sensitivity (i.e., insight), which helped me to learn the cultural nuances in behavior and language of this population and improve my sensitivity to pick up on themes in the data. I also was able to identify leaders or "gatekeepers" in the community that would help me to connect with the target population.

I also used my ties to the community as a way to gain legitimacy. I aimed to make myself as visible and transparent with my intentions as possible. A strong researcher presence within the community of interest can help increase trust and rapport between the researcher, community, and participants. I disclosed my Arab background to community members and participants in hopes of building trust and decreasing any mistrust or suspicion between the researcher and community/participants. By being open about my Arab background, participants were more likely to grant me "insider status," which could increase the likelihood of recruiting participants, developing rapport, and increasing retention (Dumas, Moreland, Gitter, Pearl, & Nordstrom, 2008).

Participants were recruited using site-based and individual recruitment techniques (Arcury & Quandt, 1999). For site-based recruitment I sought out religious centers (mosques and churches), community centers, and social clubs and contacted the gate-keeper of those institutions. These sites are where the majority of Arab-Americans congregate and are also safe spaces. By involving myself within the community prior to recruitment, I hoped to develop rapport with community members and leaders of the religious and community centers and social clubs. I disseminated information about the study by providing flyers and an email template to leaders to share with potential participants. I asked the gatekeeper to seek out individuals that he/she perceived to meet the inclusionary criteria. The gatekeeper then either introduced me in person to the potential participants or asked the individuals believed to meet the inclusionary criteria if they were willing to provide contact information to the gatekeeper to be shared with me. If I met the participant in person, I provided the inclusionary and background form as well as the letter of invitation, consent, and assent in person. If I received the potential participant's contact information, I contacted them-by phone or email and after confirming their interest, sent the forms via mail. Throughout this process, confidentiality was emphasized.

Following a similar process, I recruited individuals by building on family ties that I have to the community. I contacted individuals who were informally influential in the community (not necessarily leaders of an organization). Some of these community members were highly active throughout the social and community life of the city and have established and extensive social networks. As I had situated myself in the community, I built some rapport with some of these highly active community members. By working together, we collaborated to identify potential participants whom we perceived might be a good fit for the study. I provided information via flyers and email to the individual about my study, my intentions, and my

purpose. I asked them to relay this information to anyone they may have known that would be appropriate for the study. Similar to above, the gatekeeper then introduced me in person to the potential participants or asked the individuals believed to meet the inclusionary criteria if they were willing to provide contact information to the gatekeeper to be shared with me. If I met the participant in person, I provided the inclusionary and background form as well as the letter of invitation, consent, and assent in person. Once I made initial in-person or verbal contact with the potential participants' parents, I mailed them an inclusionary and background form (for the adolescent; Appendix A) and a letter of invitation, consent, and assent form (Appendix B).

Participants that met all of the inclusionary criteria were chosen. If there had been more consent forms returned than the number of participants necessary to reach saturation, then equal numbers of male and female, Muslim and Christian participants would have been randomly selected. My goal was to recruit two to three male Muslims, male Christians, female Christians, and female Muslims, for a total of 10-12 participants, but I ended up with almost all Muslim participants. There are a few reasons why this may have occurred. One reason could be that I primary recruited through Islamic centers and mosques. A second reason for this could be that Arab Christians are a numerical minority in the enclave (approximately 5% of the enclave; Baker et al., 2004). Third, Arab Christians tend to identify less with the Arab label, due to its roots in Islam, which may have affected their interest in participating in a study on Arab-Americans. Fourth, Arab Christians may have also felt marginalized within the community due to historical tensions between Arab Muslims and Arab Christians and may have been less likely to engage in a community or a study on Arab-Americans. Further engagement with the study may have been less likely due to my family being of Islamic faith, which is commonly discerned by one's last name and community affiliations.

After the participants were chosen, I contacted the parents of the youth to arrange a time and place (e.g., private room in a community center, meeting room in a mosque or church, or the participant's home) for separate interviews with them and their adolescent (see procedure for more details).

Data Collection

Data took the form of separate, individual interviews with the adolescent and with the parent, and online journals written by the adolescents. Gathering data via multiple mediums can help to generate a thick description of the phenomenon and strengthen the study's credibility and trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The data collection period lasted approximately eight to twelve weeks. Specific information on the data collection methods are provided below.

Adolescent Interview. Individual, semi-structured, in-person interviews were used to gather in-depth information about discrimination. Semi-structured interviews are appropriate for gathering information about certain events, processes, and consequences (Maxwell, 2012). Semi-structured interviews include a guiding set of questions posed to the participants, as well as probes to follow-up on participant concerns or insights that may not be covered in the interview schedule (see Appendix C). The interviews covered the following topics: meaning of being Arab-American; general experiences and perceptions with discrimination; discrimination within the community; experiences and perceptions related to racial discrimination; discrimination within the community specifically against Arab-Americans; intersectionality; and responses to (racial) discrimination. Examples of questions from the interview protocol include "Have you personally had experiences with discrimination?" and "When you have felt discriminated against, how did you react?" The use of a semi-structured interview provided structure by

providing a common set of interview questions yet providing participants the freedom to explore the topic or question as they see fit. The structure allowed me to maintain consistency across interviews, while also allowing flexibility in how or when topics are explored.

Follow up Interview. Follow up interviews with the youth were conducted (see Appendix D). The purpose of the follow up interview was to seek out additional data and clarification of previously collected data. I also engaged in member checking by asking the adolescents to provide feedback on the themes generated and how well they accurately represent their experiences. Follow-up questions included, "Could you tell me more about this particular experience with discrimination?" and "What did you mean by _____?".

Journal. Adolescents were asked to keep an online journal about their experiences with discrimination. Each participant received a link to the Michigan State University Google Drive, a secure website that allows documents to be shared online. The participants accessed this secure website with a Gmail account that was created for them using random user ids. To maintain confidentiality, each participant was allowed to choose a pseudonym to use when writing in the journal. For instance, a participant's pseudonym could be "Aza" and his email could be soccer9jupiter@gmail.com. The journal was labeled as "Week 1/First Entry," with a date that indicated the start and end of the data collection for that week. Contact information about the researcher was provided in the upper right-hand side of each page of the journal. Prompts were provided on each page and the adolescent was instructed to respond underneath each prompt. An example of a prompt included, "Over this past week, were there experiences that made you feel good/happy/proud? To be an Arab-American?" The journal prompts are provided in Appendix E and a screenshot of the journal format is in Appendix F. It was expected that the journal would be accessible for six weeks. The participants were asked to respond to specific prompts at least

once a week. The adolescents had the option to audio record their answers to prompts and input

them into the Google document through an app called "Voice Comments" which was installed

into their google document. Participants were able to open their document with Voice

Comments, record themselves and their responses would be automatically transcribed to the

Google Document. If using this tool, participants were instructed to review the transcribed

responses for accuracy and completeness. Although this was available for everyone, it was

especially helpful if participants had trouble with written expression or communication. The

Google doc was shared with me using a dedicated Gmail address for this purpose. I checked on

the completion of the entries two times a week (e.g. Tuesday and Friday), and sent out reminder

prompts if necessary from this Gmail. I reviewed the journal entries at the end of each week on

Saturday. In addition, at the end of the week, with the permission of the parent, I either called,

met via video conference with the adolescent, or had a dialogue within the journal (e.g., write

clarifying questions/comments or engage in Google chat) to discuss their responses to the

prompts

Previous research has found that computer-mediated communication may lead to greater

disclosure of information in comparison to face-to-face communication (Joinson, 2001). The

online format had the potential to serve as a safe space for adolescents to write freely about any

concerns or provide additional information they wanted to provide, but may have been reluctant

to share in-person. By definition, journals can also function as archives, capturing the

phenomena and responses to the phenomena that reflect their daily lives.   Lastly, it could have

offered an opportunity for the youth to develop self-narratives, by providing a mode to construct

an integrated sense of self and identity related to their experiences with discrimination

(Hookway, 2008). This additional data helped support and validate the data collected during the

semi-structured interviews.

Parent Interview. Similar to the adolescent interviews, an in-person, semi-structured, interview was used to gather in-depth information about parents' experiences with discrimination and their perception of their children's experience with discrimination. Sample questions from the interview protocol (see Appendix G) include, "Have you ever experienced a situation (online or in-person), where you felt disrespected, put down, or told that you don't belong because you are Arab-American?" and "Has your son/daughter personally had experiences with discrimination?". The parent interview questions corresponded to the adolescents' interview to maintain consistency between the interviews.

Demographic Questionnaire. Demographic data was collected from both the adolescent and parents to provide background information to help characterize the participants. The questionnaire asked the participants to indicate the adolescent's age, racial group, ethnic group, national origin, gender, religious identification, and race.

AudioNote. The interviews were audio recorded using the program, *AudioNote,* and a digital audio-recorder. *AudioNote* is a computer program that takes notes and records audio simultaneously. *AudioNote* also linked the notes to the audio by creating a bookmark. For instance, by clicking a specific word in the notes –it linked it directly to the audio where that word was said. In addition to voice recording, *AudioNote* allowed me to take notes during the interview. I also transcribed the interviews on the computer in addition to AudioNote, as an added measure for accuracy.

Procedure

When potential participants informed me of their interest, they were mailed a packet that has the consent and assent forms, along with a demographic questionnaire. If both the parents

and adolescents wanted to participate, the parents signed the consent and the adolescents signed the assent form. After they filled out the packet materials, they were provided with instructions (Appendix H) on what to do with the packet materials. These instructions asked the participant to mail the packet back to the researcher using the stamped envelope with my address written on it that was provided to them. After participants were chosen, I contacted the parents and scheduled separate interviews with the adolescent and with the parent. The interviews occurred in a safe and neutral place to ensure confidentiality such as a conference room at a community, religious center, or at the participant's home with the parent present on site in a different area of the building or home.   If the parents or adolescents felt uncomfortable being alone with the researcher, the parents were welcome to sit in the same vicinity as the adolescent while the interview was taking place.

The adolescent and the parent interview took 45 minutes to an hour. The participants could skip questions and/or withdraw from the interview at any time without penalty. Prior to the interview, I confirmed the adolescent's assent (Appendix B) and established rapport by again disclosing my Arab-background and asking rapport-building questions. Additionally, confidentiality was emphasized to both the adolescent and the parents. Specifically, I told both the adolescent and the parents that any information in the interviews would not be shared with the parent unless there is some danger to self or others. The adolescents also had a follow-up interview about 6 to 8 weeks later. All participants received a list of counseling and hotline resources at the end of the interviews in case the interview questions generate discomfort immediately or at a later time (Appendix J).

At the end of the initial interview I provided the adolescents with a Gmail account and password created for them specifically for this study. Adolescents were instructed to not change

their password of their given Gmail account, as I would be closing access to their accounts when the study is over to protect their confidentiality. I instructed the adolescents on how to access the MSU Google document and reminded them to only use their code name in the journal. I set up a regular time each week to check-in about their journal entry via telephone or video. I discussed what was written in the journal and answered any questions that may have come up during the week.

For the initial interview, adolescents received a $10 gift card to a local store. After the initial parent interview, the parents received a $15 gift card for their participation in the study. In addition to the compensation for the initial interview, the adolescents received a $5 Visa gift card for completing the journal entry each week. The journal was considered "complete" if the adolescent demonstrated thorough answers (i.e., three to five sentences for each question). This process continued for six weeks, for a total of $30 of incentives for completing the journal entries. In addition, I emailed or texted them weekly reminders to complete the journal.

Towards the end of data collection, the parents were contacted to schedule a follow-up interview for the adolescents. I followed up on the initial interviews and conducted member checks on any emergent themes I had identified. The interview was conducted in a similar manner as the initial interview and took approximately 45 minutes to an hour. At the end of the follow-up interview adolescents were given a $10 visa gift card for their participation and the parents received a $15 visa gift card for their time and transportation. If the parents and adolescents were interested, they would be sent a general summary of the results at the end of the study.

Analysis

One way to use a phenomenological approach to analyze participants' lived experiences

is by using the Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). IPA provided the overarching framework for conducting data analysis as outlined by Smith, Flowers, and Larkin (2009) and CRT and RR were used as "lenses" to guide interpretation and generation of themes.

IPA is a qualitative analytic approach that analyzes participants' lived (social and personal) experiences of a specific phenomenon. IPA has its theoretical underpinnings in phenomenology and in hermeneutics, which views the researcher as interrelated with the research process (Smith, 2004; Smith & Osborn, 2007; Smith et al., 2009). The researcher's own perceptions and background affect how the participant might reveal or how he/she may interpret the data. However, the researcher engages in a reflective process, called the hermeneutic cycle, consistently interpreting various levels of data and comparing them against the data as a whole. Engaging in this hermeneutic cycle allows for a relative sense of openness to new insights and perspectives. As part of the research process, my background, assumptions, and world views naturally affected my interpretations. I engaged in reflective efforts to recognize and monitor my biases in order to foreground the participants and their experiences and to be open to alternate interpretations.

Analyzing Data with IPA

There are six general steps that were used to analyze the data. The first step was to closely read the transcripts, which allows for engaging with the data and taking a participant-focused approach to analysis rather than a distal summary and reduction approach (Smith et al., 2009). The second step was "initial noting," where the researcher conducts within-case analysis that focuses on semantics, concepts, and language. For instance, I looked for similarities or differences in use of language, such as metaphors when describing discrimination. The initial noting is typically done within one margin of the transcript. The third step was the development

of initial themes. During this stage I condensed the initial notes of the transcript and looked for interrelationships and patterns among the data in attempts to uncover emergent themes. The fourth step was to find interrelationships and connections across the emerging themes that were created in step three. To do this, I engaged in abstraction in attempts to find a larger theme or a "super-ordinate" theme. Other analytic strategies during this stage include: subsumption, polarization, contextualization, and numeration. The fifth step included cross-case analysis, where I engaged steps one through four with the next transcript. Lastly, after analyzing all the transcripts I looked for patterns in themes and superordinate themes across each case, which could help the analysis move to a higher level of abstraction and theoretical level. In general, I engaged in the hermeneutic circle, where I engaged in micro-analysis while connecting the specific data to the whole and vice versa. I used memos to aid with the data organization and analysis.

Main features of IPA. Three features characterize IPA; it is idiographic, inductive, and interrogative (Smith, 2004; Smith et al., 2009). IPA is idiographic as it focuses on the details of each case until the "essence" of the phenomenon is garnered. In the current study, I examined the data of each participant, closely examining the data at the conceptual, descriptive, and linguistic levels regarding discrimination, their responses to discrimination, and the role the community might play in their experiences with discrimination. The second feature is that IPA is inductive and flexible, as it allows data to emerge from the "ground up," producing new themes via analysis, while also allowing the researcher to engage in deduction (Smith, 2004; Smith et al., 2009). In the current study, I was open to new perspectives on experiences with discrimination that emerged from the data while also using CRT and RR as frameworks to guide interpretation. Third, IPA is interrogative, which means that because IPA uses constructs and theories from

psychology, it can also expand and critique the extant psychological literature (Smith, 2004; Smith et al., 2009).

How the Frameworks Were Used with IPA

The theoretical frameworks were used together to help analyze the data to answer my research questions. As stated in the previous section, three tenets from CRT and Lat-CRT was used to help analyze participants' responses. The first tenet that was used is the idea that race is socially constructed and racism is normal and part of our everyday society. By employing this tenet, participants' responses about racial discrimination were analyzed. Specifically, the tenet helped me analyze the nature of racial discrimination, such as the process, meaning, or intent behind racial discrimination. The second tenet that was used was intersectionality. Participants' responses were analyzed by looking at how different identities, including race, nationality, gender, and/or class, relate to Arab-American adolescents' experiences with racial discrimination. The third tenet that was used was racist nativism. That is, participants' responses were analyzed by investigating participant's perceptions of non-nativity.

RR theory was used to analyze participants' responses for any potential risk, promotive, and/or protective factors that emerge throughout data collection that highlight how Arab-American adolescents respond and adapt to racial discrimination. RR also highlighted other risk factors that shape Arab-American adolescents' experiences with racial discrimination. Moreover, RR helped determine how Arab-American adolescents describe and understand their lived experiences when living in communities where the majority of the population is Arab-American (i.e., living in an ethnic community), as living in an ethnically dense community may be a risk or resiliency factor. Taking both CRT and RR analytical frameworks together helped answer how these Arab-American adolescents responded and adapted to their lived experiences with racial

discrimination in the United States and how it may be related to their well-being. Specifically, I examined how these Arab-American adolescents' narratives of discrimination were related to responses or adaptations to racial discrimination (or vice versa) in the United States. Based on the current study's research questions, a few codes were initially generated using the theoretical frameworks, such as "discrimination," "enclave," "adaptive responses," "maladaptive responses," and "psychological well-being."

Validity

After the themes were assembled, I assessed their validity and trustworthiness by reviewing the themes with participants in-person and asking for their feedback about how well the themes fit with their experiences. By engaging in these member checks, participants were granted a greater "voice" in how their story is told, which is consistent with the emic approach supported by CRT. Member checks are a way to increase rigor by confirming and clarifying results with participants, thereby increasing the trustworthiness of the study (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, Spiers, 2002). Another way validity was checked is by triangulation: collecting and comparing multiple perspectives via multiple data-collection methods (in-person interviews, journaling and caregiver interviews). Triangulation helped to determine the data's power and credibility by assessing the convergence of data from multiple sources, theories, and/or methods. If the data were similar across multiple modes and sources, then it could be judged to be credible (Flick, 2004). Another form of validity that was used is peer debriefing by discussing the data with committee members to help challenge my biases, assumptions, and interpretations. This provided an opportunity to review my research with a critical lens and added credibility by providing impartial feedback through an "outsider" perspective that may challenge my notions or assumptions or provide a different way to understand the data (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

Role of the Researcher

Throughout the study I considered reflexivity, or how my background (e.g., demographics, and biases), context, and study procedures influenced my interactions with the participants and interpretation of the data (Glesne, 2016). Considering the reflexive process can be a way to manage biases and assumptions (Strauss & Corbin, 2015) and starts by discussing my role as the researcher.

I chose to study the current topic because of my personal history as an Arab-American who grew up facing a significant amount of racial discrimination. Growing up in a predominantly White community, I was subjected to multiple forms of discrimination, such as microaggressions as well as interpersonal and institutional racial and ethnic discrimination. However, what I noticed is that friends and family, who, lived in a community where Arab-Americans were the majority, had vastly different experiences. Upon reflecting on my past experiences, it was clear that these experiences informed the topic of the current study. Essentially, I wanted to learn about how people living in ethnically dense communities experienced and responded to discrimination. My experiences with discrimination can strengthen my research by providing personal insight and a passion for the study. Additionally, being an Arab-American graduate student can bring a unique perspective to the study and could affect how Arab-American adolescents interacted with me. Being a doctoral student, I am more likely to garner respect with the parents and the participants and increase retention within the study as education and achievement is valued and respected in the Arab culture. Being an Arab-American female has also shaped my values and beliefs in ways that may or may not align with Arab-American adolescents in the study. Growing up in a predominantly White community and experiencing discrimination at a young age has also shaped my worldview, which likely

contributed to the appeal of Critical Race Theory as a framework for the current study. I acknowledge that my theoretical frameworks are lenses that shape how I view, conduct, and interpret the data. I made diligent efforts to engage in disciplined reflexivity (i.e., reflecting on own personal reactions, biases, assumptions, and worldviews related to the data) by using an autobiographical journal to keep track of my personal views and emotions that came up during my research study. I also made an effort to not reflexively impose the theoretical lenses chosen on the data collected; I was willing to discard those theories if needed and allow the data to speak for itself. I consulted with committee members throughout the study to make sure my values, beliefs, and emotions are not limiting my interpretations of the data. Mid-way through my data collection, I also consulted with committee members. During analysis, I consulted with some of my committee members once at each stage of analysis (i.e., six times). In addition, by being aware of my acculturation levels and national heritage that become salient during the study, I became more aware of potential biases and assumptions that may have affected the recruitment, data collection, and interpretation of the data, such as my acculturation levels and national heritage. As a result, I strove to be open to other points of views, to increase my theoretical sensitivity, and to adjust the research process to align more with the participants' perspectives (Tracy, 2010).

Researcher Advantages

There were a few "insider" advantages that helped establish relationships with the participants. In general, my shared identity as an Arab-American may have had many benefits, especially as it relates to epistemology. In general, epistemology refers to a person's theory of knowledge, which can be related to a person's worldview (Ladson-Billing, 2000). My identity helps to shape my epistemology and worldview. For instance, my racial identity (Arab-

72

American) has created a "double consciousness," which has allowed me to understand two worlds (and worldviews), the dominant and the marginalized worlds. Recognizing my double consciousness throughout the research process helped me to challenge "the inequitable social, economic and political positions that exist between the mainstream and the margins," which is consistent with CRT's objectives and epistemological assumptions of challenging current dominant notions of race and racism (Ladson-Billings, 2000, p. 260). It also shaped the researcher-participant relationship in the interviewing process, especially because it was same-race researcher-to-participant. Same-race researcher-to-participant allows for a critical examination of the dominant epistemology by generating a race-based epistemology rooted in similar marginalized experiences (Scheurich & Young, 1997). Sharing these similar experiences of being part of a non-dominant culture and also understanding the dominant culture, I was able to interpret data through the lens of the marginalized with greater nuance and juxtapose it against the dominant epistemology, allowing me to critique it. Thus, my identity and worldview influenced my choice of CRT as a framework and supported the use of my multiple, intersecting selves throughout the research process. Incorporating my identity, worldviews, and multiple selves throughout the research allowed me to develop a rich and multifaceted study. Incorporating my identity also allowed me to be consistent with an ethnic epistemology that aligns with my social history instead of the dominant culture's social history (Ladson-Billings, 2000).

Some research studies have found that sometimes differences in race/ethnicity between the researcher and participant may increase the likelihood that the participant may minimize or "scale down" their answers to an interviewer to avoid any tension or embarrassment (Hoong Sin, 2007). To rectify some of these challenges some researchers have advocated for matching the

researcher's race and/or ethnicity to the participant as it is posited to yield multiple

benefits.   One advantage is that it may increase comfort levels, which may lead to greater

disclosure of information (Mizock, Harkins, & Morant, 2011; Sherman, 2002). This is especially

true when discussing race, where literature has highlighted that participants often feel more

comfortable discussing race-related topics to an interviewer of the same race or ethnicity (Hoong

Sin, 2007; Mizock et al., 2011). Additionally, matching among race/ethnicity may also yield

better cultural sensitivity, where the researcher is able to pick up on nuances in language,

expressions, and ways of living, which could better inform data collection and the relationship

between the researcher and participant (Hoong Sin, 2007; Mizock et al., 2011). Having a racial

match between the participants and me may have helped to increase access and buy-in to the

study, thereby increasing participation and retention (Dumas et al., 2008; Nazroo,

2006). Moreover, by developing a strong rapport it may have decreased the likelihood that social

desirability might "bias" the interview.   In this study, my educational background facilitated the

development of rapport. Many participants and their families became invested in my research

when they heard that I was pursuing a doctorate.   Learning that I was far along into my

education promoted buy-in and retention. To them, it appeared that they were also investing in

helping another Arab-American succeed.

Researcher Challenges

Although I am from the same race/ethnic background as the participants, disclosing that

I am from outside of the community and having lived in a predominantly White community,

created some distance or made the label of "outsider" harder to shed. As stated in the validity

section, keeping a journal helped document any personal thoughts and feelings throughout the

study. Keeping a journal, member checks, and peer debriefing was critical in helping to identify assumptions and biases that may limit my interpretations.

<div align="center">

Participant Profiles

</div>

The following below is a brief description of the participants interviewed for this study. All of the participants' names were changed to protect the privacy and confidentiality of the participants. Participant demographics are shown in Table 1.

Samer

Samer is a 16-year-old first generation American of Lebanese descent, who, is a junior in high school. Samer has lived in the same community his entire life.   He is a Lebanese Muslim, with high religiosity. Islam was embedded in many of his responses. For example, he viewed religion as necessary to reach his long-term goal (i.e., heaven). Samer stated that it is religion that often helps him to cope and often provides him the motivation to engage in "good deeds." He affiliates with both Arab and American cultures. Samer's identification with the ethnic label "Arab-American" was bicultural; being "Arab" was indicative of his ethnicity and religion and being "American" was indicative of his national identity. However, Samer's ethnic identity was intertwined with religion. During his leisure time, he enjoys video games and spending time with his family. Family plays a central role in Samer's life and he travels frequently to Canada to visit family.

Alia

Alia is a 13-year-old Lebanese Muslim adolescent in 8th grade and goes to a junior high school. She has lived in the same community her entire life. She reports that her community provides her with easy access to her social group, "It's pretty great…I like …everybody is here…all my friends...I'm used to everything here." Although she worries slightly about the

crime around her area, she believes that she can "count on the police" and generally feels safe and secure. She spends much of her leisure time engaging in athletic activities, spending time at cafes, or at home with her family. She is highly involved in athletics at school and sees it as central to her life, as she is part of the track, volleyball, and swimming team. Outside of sports, she takes comfort in socializing with her friends and family as they provide her a safe and supportive environment. She finds swimming relaxing and likes spending time with friends because she "feel(s) safe around them" and because "we can be ourselves in front of each other...even though we are not all the same…and like culture wise...but we can...they understand…like who we are…they're not usually racist."

Alia identifies as "Arab-American." On the surface, Alia's ethnic identification appears to be an integrated identity, as she claims "it's who I am." A closer look suggests that these are separate identities, in which she vacillates between feeling more "Arab" on some days and more "American" on other days, indicating that Alia is able to make cultural shifts and engage in code-switching (Sirin, Bikmen, Mir, Fine, Zaal, & Katsiaficas, 2008).   However, this "identity shifting" or "code-switching" is contingent on her environment. Alia stated that when she visits Lebanon she feels more Arab, whereas when she is in America she feels slightly more American. Yet, while Alia states that she feels more American, culturally it appears that she may identify more with the Arab culture. In contrast, the American culture is, " yah, like 4th of July…and other things like that but not as much as the Arab" and "...just geography." Despite her inability to provide specific reasoning as to why she identifies with the American culture, she viewed being Arab-American as an opportunity connect with people from both cultures—illuminating her double consciousness (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

Nada

Nada is a 15-year-old Lebanese Muslim sophomore in high school who has lived in the enclave her entire life. Nada described her community as a "bubble," in which she enjoys living because it makes her feel "normal" because she is surrounded by other people of the same culture. She feels secure in the notion that she is part of the majority in her community, therefore she feels that she does not have to worry about being looked at as "less than" or "different" than if she lived outside of her enclave. This is telling about how she experiences the world and views herself in relation to it. Nada highlighted one drawback of her community, which was limited diversity. Nada is highly involved in the community and in extracurricular activities. She enjoys going to poetry slams, talent shows, sport events, and is highly involved with her friends and family, "Um...there's always small events going on in the community...so it may be like that…like a poetry slam or a talent show...something like that...sports event…" These activities provide her with feelings of community cohesion (e.g., "togetherness feeling"), positive affect, and helps reduce any negative affect, such as worry. Nada wears the hijab and appears to be bicultural and identifies strongly with both cultures. To her, being Arab, meant "having family be central to life", whereas being American, "provided her social rights and opportunities". Additionally, throughout her journals and interviews She also deeply appreciated the American values and diversity. However, Nada would change her cultural behaviors (i.e., code-switching) depending on the social context. For instance, if Nada was around her family, she would "…. 'turn off'…especially if they're from overseas…I know to dial down the American side," which was different than when she interacted with non-Arab people: "If I was in a room with a bunch of White people, I'd be like, 'Oh, what classes are you taking?…What sports do you play?'..." Despite code-switching, Nada felt that holding two cultures provided her a feeling of uniqueness

and a feeling of connectedness with the mainstream culture, "…So...basically being Arab is like having this sense of uniqueness…like I'm different…"

Further, Nada wears the hijab and is a salient part of her identity. To her, wearing the hijab is separate from being a Muslim, as it yields challenges unique to wearing the hijab (discussed in later sections). Nada stood out, as highly verbal, highly passionate, for a 15-year-old adolescent. Nada spent time during her interview telling her story using current event examples and analogies that painted a picture of a girl that was highly aware of her environment, herself, and her peers.

Malek

Malek is a 13-year-old Lebanese Muslim male in seventh grade in junior high. Malek has lived in this community his entire life. Malek appears to perceive his community as having high ethnic-group concentration, minimal levels of discrimination, and highly levels of cultural connectedness and similarity. One downside to living in the enclave is that he sees minimal diversity in the community. According to his parent, Malek enjoys time outside playing at the park or basketball. Malek reports that he likes to spend time playing video games. He enjoys his time with friends and family and described himself as an "ambivert," balancing solitary activities and social activities. Malek also identifies with both the Arab and American cultures. Malek views himself as culturally Arab, engaging in Arab traditions and cuisine. He describes his identification as American in terms of how he might dress, speak, or behave. He takes pride in having two cultures even though, through his perspective, these two cultures "clash."   Malek displayed a high level of intelligence and often intellectualized or used humor throughout the interviews. He responded to questions distally through an analytical, rational, and intellectual lens.

Mirna

Mirna is a 15-year-old Lebanese-Muslim adolescent girl/female in 10th grade student living in the enclave. She has lived in the community her entire life and speaks highly of her community, stating that she feels that the community provides her with many benefits. Mirna reports a sense of support and shared values. However, Mirna reported a downside to the community, which was that "everyone is exactly the same..." indicating limited diversity. In general, Mirna is focused on school and extracurricular activities, making sure she earns good grades and is highly involved in school through various clubs or organizations. She finds that these clubs give her a sense of independence and purpose. Mirna sees the Arab and American cultures as offering up multiple opportunities for her to engage in and strongly identifies with values from both cultures. Mirna reports her appreciation towards American cultural values, such as inclusivity, openness, and patriotism, as well as an appreciation towards Arab cultural values, such as family cohesion, hospitality, and religion. With that said, Mirna states that she does tend to identify more with the Arab culture due to living in her community. Mirna states that she often must become two different people depending on her environment (i.e. code-switches). If she is interacting with other Arab adolescents she may behave in a more "laid-back" apathetic way, whereas if she were around non-Arab-American adolescents she stated she would behave in a more "up-tight" (e.g., becoming more formal and showing ambition) manner. Mirna appeared to engage in bicultural frame-switching, often switching the way she thinks, Mirna does find herself struggling to balance these two cultures and often finds herself sitting on the "hyphen," of her hyphenated Arab-American identity, unsure of how to behave or act in a particular situation. Mirna verbalized this internal conflict stating that she sometimes feels disingenuous at times but is unsure how to reconcile these seemingly conflicting cultures (Boski,

2008). In general, Mirna is highly intelligent, self-aware, with exceptional verbal abilities, using words that are not typically used for her age.

Celine

Celine is a 14-year-old Syrian, Turkish, and Muslim freshman in high school living within the enclave. Celine has lived in the enclave since birth and sees it as a place of safety to "be herself". Celine's verbalizations were terse and laborious. Celine remarked on the emotional and physical closeness she perceives within the community and among her family and neighbors. With that said, Celine noted that the feeling of "being herself" is not without limits. It appears that there are social norms, such as physical appearance, that can lead to social sanctions if broken. Celine likes to play volleyball, reads books, and spends time on social media. For Celine, spending time with her friends is central to her daily life and regards them as her main support network, where she feels safe and supported.

Celine identifies as Arab-American. Celine, stated that "being Arab-American is who she is" and plays a role in her everyday life, from language, food, to the activities in which she engages. She did not differentiate between the two cultures. To her, the cultures were fused together creating a third culture that represented her lived experience. This fusion was evident when asked if she feels more "Arab" vs "American," stating that she feels "...both of them...I just feel it all the time."   To her, her ethnic identity provides her with a sense of connection, with a shared understanding of cultural traditions and norms and relatedness. Celine speaks of communication as a broad overarching term that encompasses common verbal language but also nonverbal behavior and a shared understanding of communicating the culture through social norms. Celine was highly attuned to her behavior throughout the interviews and interactions with me and spoke in a delicate and hesitant manner. Regardless of her hesitation, she could see the

nuances in her fused identity and everyday life.

Bassem

Bassem is a 16-year-old adolescent in 10th grade living in the enclave. He has lived in the same community his entire life and describes it as a place of comfort, while providing other social benefits, such as describing his community as cooperative, which may indicate social cohesion, and supportive. In contrast to his other peers, Bassem views the community as a place where "there's such a high population of Arab-Americans...immigrants…Polish, Italians, what have you…everyone gets along just fine…", indicating that there is diversity within his community. Further, he speaks of his community as a "bubble," hesitant to leave, as the neighboring communities "start to look shady." Bassem spends time skateboarding, listening to music, socializing with friends, and playing video games in his spare time. These activities provide him an escape (i.e. video games), a sense of productivity (i.e. music), and gives him a sense of connection (i.e. friends).

Bassem is a Lebanese Muslim who identifies with both the Arab and the American culture. Bassem orients more towards the Arab culture, showing fierce in-group pride. For Bassem, being Arab-American also provides him with the ability to connect from both cultures (i.e. double consciousness). Having a cultural history and a set of traditions and norms is highly meaningful to him. Bassem sees the two cultures as separate, each offering different lived experiences. Bassem goes on to discuss how Arab-Americans can contribute positively to the political and historical discussion, highlighting Arab-American's unique voice of color. He is thoughtful, fiercely protective of his friends and family, and has strong views. Bassem has the unique ability to provide responses through engaging and reflective stories.

Hassan

Hassan is a 13-year-old Lebanese Muslim adolescent in 7th grade. He has been living in the enclave for ten years, and finds the enclave to be safe, calm, and livable (i.e., adequate housing). Hassan enjoys playing basketball and video games, generally keeping to himself. Hassan is a Lebanese Muslim orienting towards the Arab culture, because, as he stated, he speaks Arabic more—indicating that his identity is contingent on the language spoken. For instance, if he speaks English, he is more likely to feel more American. Hassan sees being Arab and American as an opportunity to garner greater knowledge and experiences through learning different languages or living in two different places. In general, Hassan appeared highly guarded, providing few responses, often one-word answers.

Sarah

Sarah is 15-years-old Lebanese and Iraqi Muslim and in 10th grade living in the community. She has lived in the community her entire life. Sarah appears to perceive her community as a place that provides her social support, sense of relatedness, and a shared culture. She finds comfort and safety through a sense of closeness with family and neighbors that all share the same culture and worldview. Sarah reports that a downside to the community is that if people do not follow the specific cultural norms they are more likely to face judgment and social sanctions from those around them. In general Sarah was highly verbal and enthusiastic. She described herself as being an avid reader, writer, and loyal to her friends. Sarah described herself as not only in relation to her daily activities but could highlight characteristics about herself. Sarah can hold two conflicting emotions (e.g., able to see the grey) when describing herself.

Sarah endorses the label of Arab-American and appears to identify with both cultures.

She often would argue from both sides and critique both cultures. In general, being Arab-American provides her with a sense of cohesion, belongingness, and uniqueness. Throughout the interviews, Sarah was conscientious, deliberate in her wording, and nuanced—highlighting double edged swords, while providing a refreshing sense of self-awareness.

Kareem

Kareem is a 13-year-old Lebanese Muslim adolescent in 8th grade living in the community. He has lived in the enclave for the entirety of his life and finds it safe, and supportive. Kareem reported that he likes to spend time with to his family and friends, making the community a "perfect" place for him to live. Kareem describes his love for team sports and his interdependence with family. Kareem is a Lebanese Muslim identifying with both cultures. Kareem defined his ethnic identity via language and concrete examples of religious traditions:

> **Kareem:** I think...Arab-American… 'cuz I don't know exactly Arabic yet…but I speak a lot of English...American English...so I consider myself as that too…
> **R:** So you see yourself as both…so what part of the Arab...part of you...do you see yourself…
> **Kareem:** Like I know Arabic…I'm starting to learn how to pray…and I like fasted…I do…what's that thing called…when you don't listen to music for 10 days
> **R:** Ashura?
> **Kareem:** Yeah I think that's what it's called...and I started doing everything like that…Allah wants us to do so...
> **R:** What about the American side?
> **Kareem:** The only thing from American...is probably the language. (Interview 1)

Kareem struggled with grasping what ethnic identity is and thus provided minimal information to determine the strength of his identity. With that said, he did state that there were some advantages to being Arab, one of which allows him to connect with others from the same culture. In general, Kareem appeared to orient more towards the Arab culture, stating how he often finds connections among people who are also Arab. Kareem appeared anxious during the interview. He often worried if he was answering the question "correctly." Despite his discomfort

at times, Kareem was social and warm, providing thoughtful answers and often asking follow-up questions.

Current Socio-Political Context

In making sense of the participants' responses, it is important to consider the ongoing socio-historical context in which data collection occurred. The events may have affected participants' thinking, emotions, and behavior, and their responses to the interview and journal. Below is a bulleted overview of what occurred, followed by a detailed summary of what transpired.

- **April 6, 2017:** U.S. launched an air strike against a Syrian airbase.

- **April 10, 2017:** Bombings conducted by ISIS in Tanta, Egypt on Palm Sunday left 49 people dead.

- **April 13, 2017:** US drops the largest non-nuclear bomb targeting ISIS in Afghanistan.

- **May 23, 2017:** In Manchester, England, a terrorist bombing occurred at an Ariana Grande concert killing 22 children. ISIS claimed responsibility for the attack.

- **June 5th, 2017:** In Manchester, England ISIS claimed responsibility for an attack on pedestrians via car crash and stabbings on the London bridge.

- **June 12, 2017:** Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officials detained dozens of Chaldeans and Muslims in Metro-Detroit.

- **June 29, 2017:** Travel Ban "2.0" is released and overturned by a Federal Judge in Hawaii.

The April 6, 2017 U.S. air strike on a Syrian airbase was the first direct attack against Syria. The U.S. government stated that this attack was vital to deter Syria's use of chemical weapons. This attack marked a shift in policy, making the U.S.'s role in Syria more dominant while placing the U.S. in a difficult position with Russia (Starr & Diamond, 2017). A few days later, on April 10th, 2017, there were church bombings in Tanta, Egypt, occurring on Palm

Sunday, a Christian holiday. ISIS claimed responsibility for these attacks, which killed 49

people and injured 78. The United States responded by describing this as "barbaric attacks on

Christian places of worship" (Karimi, 2017). Soon afterwards, on April 13, 2017, the U.S.

engaged in another military strike, bombing Afghanistan using one of the largest non-nuclear

bombings. This bomb was intended to target ISIS' tunnels and members in a district that

bordered Pakistan. The response from Congress was supportive, stating that aggressive tactics

are warranted to send a message to "America's adversaries" in hopes of having them "understand

there's a new sheriff in town" (Starr & Browne, 2017).

On May 23, 2017, a deadly bombing occurred at an Ariana Grande concert in

Manchester, England. This bombing claimed the lives of 22 children and injured dozens of

others. ISIS claimed responsibility for the attack. This bombing evoked international attention,

with the United Nation security council describing it as "the barbaric and cowardly terrorist

attack which took place in Manchester" (Westcott, 2017). On June 5th, 2017, a terrorist attack

occurred again, in Manchester, England on the London Bridge. Three terrorists drove a van into

a crowd of people and then used hunting knives to attack. The terrorist attack killed seven

people and injuring 48. ISIS claimed responsibility for the attack, although there was no

evidence to substantiate this claim (Masters & George, 2017). The U.S. response occurred in a

tweet by President Trump that denigrated the London Mayor and called for the courts to accept

the Travel Ban (Rubin, 2017).

While these aforementioned events were happening, capturing international, national and

local attention, on June 12, 2017, dozens of Chaldeans and Muslims were detained by

Immigrations and Customs Enforcement (ICE) in metropolitan area near the community under

study. Regardless, many families were faced with the prospect of being separated (WXYZ,

2017). These events shed some light on the larger socio-historical context in which the adolescents in this study were living and interacting.

Throughout this time, the new administration's travel ban was redrafted and planned to go into effect on June 29, 2017. The travel ban would prohibit anyone entering the U.S. from Syria, Iran, Yemen, Somalia, Sudan, and Libya, who did not have a "credible claim of bona fide relationship" (Jarrett & Labott, 2017). This meant that the foreign national had to prove that there is some relationship to a job, school, or a significant relationship (e.g., spouse, parent, child, etc.), to gain entry into the United States. These foreign nationals included those applying for Visas, but also, refugees who were waiting to enter the US. This travel ban was controversial both nationally and internationally. In the United States Congress, the Travel Ban deeply divided law makers and sparked congressional debates (Berman, 2017).   However, much of this controversy has played out in the federal courts. For instance, the initial travel ban was blocked by a federal judge in Hawaii, stating that the ban was discriminatory. Another Travel Ban was drafted adding countries, such as North Korea, Venezuela, and Chad and removing Sudan and was and was blocked on October 17, 2017 by two judges, a district judge from Hawaii and one from Maryland (Rubin, 2017; S.M., 2018). However, this ruling was stayed by the supreme court.

These events reflect the growing international and national hostilities toward Arabs and Muslims that Arab-American adolescents observed and which may have affected their lived experiences.   Further, these events not only draw negative attention to Arabs/Arab-Americans/Muslims, but are also destabilizing, jolting, and unpredictable. These events illuminate the importance of understanding the current socio-political climate and how it may shape Arab-American adolescents' perceived discrimination.

Community Context

While the socio-political environment is important to consider, it is critical to consider the community within which the adolescents reside. Ethnic enclaves often retain ethnic heritage and culture, ultimately retaining traditions, language, and norms. Participants communicated, both directly and indirectly, these different norms in comparison to the mainstream culture's norms in the following sub-themes: (a) explicit discussion of the norms, (b) ethnic homogeneity, (c) social and communal support, and (d) restrictive social norms. These will be discussed below.

Awareness of Bi-Cultural Worlds

Participants showed an awareness of residing in different social worlds with different norms, values, and practices. Nada noted that living in the enclave is characterized by a different kind of "normal," as evidenced by her stating, "My normal isn't everyone else's normal". This quotation encapsulates the lived experiences of almost all the participants in the study, illustrating how the context affords a set of lived experiences that are different from mainstream settings. Here is Nada elaborating on her statement of normality:

> **R:** So, you live in [**Enclave**], what's it like to live in [**Enclave**]?
> **Nada:** Well...it's normal for me...but once I get out...and travel and visit other places I realize that my normal isn't everyone else's normal. Like not every place has all Arabic stores...all Arabic signs...like for example my mom she doesn't even...she...came to America...she learned English, but she forgot it...because she really doesn't need to use it in this city...everyone...wherever you'll go you'll find someone that speaks Arabic...so. (Interview 1)

> **Nada:** So...my normal to give context to everyone else's normal first...my normal will be like...at school...we'll walk around...we'll talk, guys and girls...but outside of school we know okay....certain people that have parents...that don't...especially with Arabs...they don't like when guys and girls interact too much...so like...you know once we leave school some guys and girls won't talk like they won't...like if they see each other in public with families they won't come and say hi...maybe everyone else's normal is like...going over...another guy's house...here it's really weird...like its super rare...like my normal...it's

like...it's going to school…it's coming back even if it's simple stuff like how I speak with my friends like I notice I always say "bro"…even if I don't want to admit it...I was looking thru my text the other day… (Interview 2)

Nada provides an in-depth example of her perceptions of the norms that are embedded in the community that are also evident in Alia's, Mirna's, Celine's, and Bassem's experiences. These participants reported that within this community, many of the institutions accommodate to the majority ethnic culture (i.e. Arab culture) by for example, stores having signs written in Arabic for those who may not speak English. Similarly, Nada and Mirna both remarked on their own or others' use of the English language, and how that is also affected by the ethnic culture. Nada and Mirna both speak about the slang used, such as "wallah," meaning "I swear to God" in Arabic, as well as "bro" and "cuz," which are not used outside of their community. For some participants, this language was used in specific contexts. That is, some participants engaged in code-switching, where they would change their behavior, language, and interactions depending on the cultural context they were in (Molinsky, 2007). This may have been a form of adaptation when balancing the heritage and the mainstream culture. The adolescents' journals also highlighted the norms regarding religious observances that characterize this enclave. During data collection, it was the holy month of Ramadan. Many participants discussed the role of Ramadan in their daily lives. Within this enclave, Ramadan appeared to be equivalent to Christmas, with decorations and festivities embedded at school and within the community.

> **Alia:** At school, there was an event for Ramadan coming up and we had a feast during our last hour. (Journal, Week 5, 2017)

> **Celine:** Over this past week, I faced experiences that made me feel happy or proud to be an Arab-American. I was scrolling on Instagram and seen how people are creating Ramadan dinners for those who cannot afford food and fast. It made me feel proud to be a part of this community. (Journal, Week 1, 2017)

The lived experience of Ramadan within this enclave is highly involved, from their school to

communal activities and it consumed their daily lives and ways of interacting with others. For instance, in the interview, parents and adolescents paid attention to whether I was fasting or not—to determine whether they would provide me with any refreshments. This was typical across almost all the interviews conducted in the month of Ramadan (n = 6). The widespread observance of Ramadan speaks to the Islamic presence in the enclave. Another way in which living in the ethnic community was distinguished was by the shared beliefs concerning the disadvantages of living in an ethnic enclave and of maintaining cultural norms that may conflict with the mainstream culture's. For instance, just as Nada stated above, the mixing of genders in the ethnic enclave is often prohibited or, at the very least, looked down upon. Similarly, common struggles that often go together with the prohibition of opposite-sex friendships are restrictions placed on specific extracurricular activities, such as school dances. Mirna reported how, oftentimes, there is a shared understanding of what Arab adolescents cannot do, like go to school dances.

> **Mirna:** …Like most kids…we're all not allowed to do the same things...like…go to school dances…stuff like that...so it's nice knowing that this whole private like…I want to say...things that are going on that are excluded from... 'cuz everyone is excluded from because our parents think the same way. (Interview 1)

Living in the ethnic community was also characterized by stricter dress codes than found in mainstream society. This was viewed as a disadvantage, especially for Celine.

> **Celine:** Um...let's say…dressing…if you dress in a certain way [provocatively]...someone might look at you or give you looks. (Interview 1)

For girls in the Arab culture, dressing modestly may be embedded in Islam and a cultural expectation for girls to remain "pure" or "innocent":

> **Mirna:** ...Girls are almost like...these untouchable things...fragile...they're destined to one life...
> **Mirna [elaborates]:** …So they have to protect them from…the dangers of society…the impurities...that...anything that will make them impure…

R: That was going to be my next question…what is pure?
Mirna: Their reputation...like if you ask them…their family name…like bad things come up for them… (Interview 1)

The idea of purity was a theme that showed up when discussing intersectionality (discussed in the section below). Mirna not only speaks of girls maintaining this sense of purity or fragility, but speaks of family honor. Mirna was the only participant who discussed family honor explicitly; however, other female participants discussed it implicitly (further discussed in Chapter VI). The adolescents spoke to their bicultural lives by describing how they also engaged in mainstream traditions and activities. The participants viewed themselves as being like any other adolescents, engaging in typical activities, such as sports, video games, going to museums, watching American TV shows, or celebrating the Fourth of July.

Nada: Like I'm normal! I'm literally like you...we probably watch the same TV shows, listen to the same music…but just because I wear a scarf…I'm automatically excluded…I'm...gonna look different...and...yeah... (Interview 1)

These adolescents not only struggle with the common hurdles of adolescence, such as striving for greater autonomy (n = 1), navigating the school system (n = 2), navigating interpersonal relationships (n = 2), or yearning for acceptance or understanding (n = 4), but also struggle to be seen as "normal."

Relatedness

The majority of participants reported experiencing a sense of relatedness within the enclave (n = 7). Relatedness was described as a cultural connection that is embedded in their lived experiences, through sharing jokes, ideals, food, and a natural non-verbal connection. It appears that relatedness is linked to shared cultural understandings and identities (including cultural norms, described above). In general, the perception of similarities and cohesion among community members spoke to the ethnic homogeneity within the enclave. Perceived

homogeneity provided participants with a sense of comfort (n = 7) and commonality, which were all subsumed under the theme of relatedness. This feeling of "comfort" was nuanced, with the range of comfort spanning from experiencing the ease of convenience to the comfort of safety and security. Celine provided the definition of "comfort" from both sides of the spectrum:

> **Celine:** Well it's a lot more convenient...I can eat anywhere because I know it's halal...people usually know who owns things…and it makes me more comfortable...and I never feel unsafe ever… like…I know...that I can go to college library and not feel intimidated...and I just like that feeling…and I know when I go to other cities like one city over…it's like...I have nowhere to eat...and I don't know anyone in this town...I don't feel safe here…(Interview 1)

Some participants (n = 4), like Celine, spoke of easy access to ethnic and Halal foods (like the concept of eating "Kosher") within their community. They also discussed the shared cultural language surrounding ethnic food (e.g., everyone understood what eating "grape leaves" meant), which made them feel more valued and more accepted. Similarly, Sarah also discussed the connection that exists through shared language:

> **Sarah:** I remember when I was taking this one class…a teacher told us…the more you relate to a person religion-wise, so…you're like...in the same religion with a person...kind of like...just have a closer bond than someone who isn't...because you have more stuff to talk about…or you share the same ideal…like we're Arabs...and we might be closer than someone who isn't because you can just randomly shout out a word in Arabic and they'll understand you...despite…like other people where they'd be like "wait what?" and you'd probably sit there trying to explain it. (Interview 1)

For Sarah, having a common culture with Arab-Americans provides her with shared cultural knowledge and language that may make it easier to communicate with others sharing the same heritage. Sarah also highlighted the role religion plays within the Arab culture, offering another avenue for connection through the ethnic enclave. A common religion provides shared values and ideas that for Sarah, provides a foundation for connection. Malek described the feeling of connection as an implicit bond, an "Ah, yeah" moment stemming from discovering a shared

91

minority status, comparing it to liking an unpopular movie character:

> **R:** …What does it feel like to have that cultural connection?
> **Malek:** If you have ever had...to talk to a stranger or a person...a friend or
> something…let's say you're talking about Star Wars or something...and then you
> talk about a certain character. Most people hate that certain character…but…you
> and your friend or you and that stranger both like that character…it is an
> automatic connection…it is not as low as that…but it's...sort of like that… "ah
> yeah" moment. (Interview 2)

Malek used the Star Wars example to illustrate a feeling of being in the minority and connecting

over this shared minority status. He went on to further describe this connection as being

"instant". Once he finds out that another person is Arab, he feels an implicit connection. Many

participants (n = 7) spoke of this connection, where they felt a sense of ease and comfort living

among people from the same culture.   Mirna echoed Malek, suggesting that this connection can

even feel innate.

> **Mirna:** You're just born trusting an Arab…finding out someone is Arab, I'll just
> trust them more…if I know an Arab owns a restaurant I'll trust the food, I'll trust
> the products more……...it's almost like one homogenous mixture…and I love
> that so much. (Interview 1)

Social Cohesion

Two participants talked about how the community provides them with social support and

a place where they have easy access to people with whom they feel a sense of psychosocial

support and stability. When participants spoke of social support, they discussed people who

provided acceptance, safety, understanding, and like-mindedness. The sense of social support,

however, was subsumed by the greater theme of social/communal cohesion, which was endorsed

by four of the participants. Social cohesion also included a sense of solidarity and civic

engagement. For instance, Sarah stated that she feels a "sense of community":

> **Sarah:** Um…to be...Arab...American...it's kind of like...I guess I could
> say…like…a sense of community…um…that's the whole...how I feel about
> [enclave] and like…how close knit it is… (Interview 1)

Sarah briefly touches on feeling that the community is "closely knit," indicating that the people within the community are highly connected and involved with one another, providing a dimension of social cohesion. Bassem and Nada also provided further evidence for civic engagement, another dimension of social cohesion:

> **Bassem:** They'd see cooperation mainly…because we have so many charity groups ...and community groups that all bring people together of whatever race or religion you believe in…here, everyone supports each other. (Interview 1)

> **Nada:** Well with friends and family...just a good time in general… just sit…you're comfortable…you're having fun...you forget about your worries...stuff like that...Community...events…it's…that…togetherness feeling...of like...hey this is my community...we're out here, we're doing something, we're having fun. (Interview 1)

Bassem mostly spoke of *cooperation* that underlies the sense of cohesion, which is embedded in groups that elicit support from community members. For Nada, actively participating in community events, and perceiving others also engaging in community events, provided her with a sense of *togetherness*. For Nada, there also seems to be a *sense of pride* in observing her community coming together via her statement of "hey this is my community…we're out here…we're doing something."

Of all the participants who talked about relatedness, each of them discussed how it was the shared ethnic culture that gave them this sense of relatedness. In sum, the enclave appears to retain the ethnic heritage through shared language, values, norms, and food, essentially creating what Mirna called a "homogenous mixture." Rather than rejecting their ethnic heritage, these adolescents appear to value it, embracing it, and finding solace in the cultural and psychosocial benefits that it provides: a sense of relatedness and of social/communal cohesion.

93

CHAPTER V:

ARAB-AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS' SOURCES,

MODES, AND TYPES OF DISCRIMINATION

Sources of Discrimination

Adolescents reported various sources of discrimination including teachers, peers, and people whom they did not know. It is important to note that parents reported that their adolescents did not perceive discrimination. Therefore, minimal parental data is reported in the subsequent sections below. Some youth viewed teachers as sources of discrimination rather than sources of support (n = 4). For example, Alia and Sarah discussed how they felt that teachers intentionally or unintentionally discriminate. Alia was explicit about her experience with a teacher:

> **Alia:** The teacher is racist--because she favors White people because she is White herself and differentially treats Arabs differently...
> **R:** What other…do you see racism with the teachers…
> **Alia:** Yeah…they treat the White kids better…
> **R:** How can you tell?
> **Alia:** I could tell 'cuz...they...they treat…they mistreated me…over a White person…(Interview 1)

Alia recalls specific and emotion-laden experiences of perceived discrimination such as a teacher placing the entire blame on her for engaging in an argument with another peer in the hallway. Alia attributed the teacher's mistreatment to being a non-White student. Alia's perceived discrimination by her teacher highlights the saliency of race and racism for Alia at school, as well as her perceptions of, what should be, safe and supportive adult models.

This was not unique to Alia but also characterized Sarah's experiences. Sarah described feeling "disappointed" and "disgusted" by a teacher who would make fun of Arab student's names.

Sarah: I mean most I've heard it...and I don't know if it was meant to be insulting but I had a teacher who um...based off her ignorance. She's like...I don't actually...I think all you Arabs make up your names...a bunch of those names can't even be real…'cuz if they are there's gotta be a problem with that. (Interview 1)

This disappointment could indicate how much students are not only observing teachers but also how much students look to teachers as role models. Samer, the 16-year-old Arab-American male adolescent who is a junior in the same high school as Alia and Sarah, was an exception, and viewed teachers positively and not as discriminatory: "So the teachers at my school are not Arab, and the entire school is majority Arab, they're very nice and stuff...they don't do anything."

Another source of discrimination was peers and by Arab-American peers, in particular. The majority of participants (n = 7) discussed experiencing within-group discrimination, which is discrimination against ethnic minorities from people of the same ethnic group. This primarily took the form of bullying by Lebanese youth, who typically targeted adolescents who had backgrounds from Yemen or Iraqi.

R: So how do they view them as different? So let's say I'm at your school and I see a Yemeni, and...why would people to choose to discriminate against them?
Nada: Yemenis especially because with Lebanese people they look the most white, they most of them dress "normally"…with Yemenis...they wear the long dresses...they…a lot of them are…a lot of them won't know English…like...if they….if they come most people come to [enclave] because they know it's all Arabs here, so they'll be fine, so they'll put their kids in [Enclave School] so there's a lot of kids at [Enclave School] that are Yemenis...that don't speak English yet...like they're...they'll obviously know the basics but they won't be at the same standard as us…so…like…we'll just…they'll just put them all in a group…like…obviously not all the Yemenis are like that…there are Yemenis that are like…..there this one kid…his name was…..I'm not gonna say names…he went to [University]…they're literally just the same as us...but just 'cuz we were exposed to so many that just don't speak English… (Interview 1)

Nada discussed how peers discriminated against others not just due to national origin, but also because of how "White" they looked, and how acculturated they were, indicating possible

resentment towards Arab Americans that are different from them, as it may undercut their sense

of belonging within the U.S. culture and produce a sense of being a foreigner. This may also

indicate possible racist nativism (which will be discussed later). Nada, who is Lebanese echoed

many other participants with backgrounds from Yemen or Iraq experiencing discrimination

(primarily by Lebanese American peers) due to one or more of these characteristics. In this

instance, due to the homogeneity within the enclave, differentiation among peers may start to

occur based on more specific characteristics or behaviors. For instance, "dressing normally" and

speaking a form of "standard" English were some ways of differentiation between Western and

Arab culture. One reason for this may be because people from Lebanese backgrounds may

idealize or place a greater value on the dominant mainstream culture. This tells me that among

adolescents, at least, there may be a shift in norms and values—where some Western ideals and

norms are integrated into the Arab-American adolescents sense of cultural and ethnic identity.

The dominant mainstream culture may be the "standard" for dress, speech, and behavior.

Therefore, those who deviate from the mainstream, may be bullied or marginalized because they

are seen as inferior or "less than," the dominant culture.

Peer discrimination also originated from non-Arab-American students. Some Arab-

American youth described how non-Arab students blatantly discriminated against them, although

this was rare. For instance, in week three of Alia's journal, she wrote:

> **Alia:** The only thing I had heard this week that made me feel angry to be an Arab-American was at school a few White kids were saying they "hated Arabs." This happened at my locker, they were walking down the hall and they just had to leave a stupid comment, which, was dead serious. They started off by giving dirty looks and being left it off by being rude. (Journal Entry 3, 2017)

In general, reports of discrimination by non-Arab peers was uncommon. This was

unexpected and may be due to the fact that many non-Arab students also resided in the ethnic

enclave and were part of the same community. It may be that living alongside Arab-Americans and being exposed to the Arab culture fostered a sense of familiarity and tolerance, if not acceptance. It raises the possibility that living together in the same community may have personalized or humanized "the other", by affording firsthand experiences with the Arab-American culture and people. This may perhaps, led to less prejudice and discrimination, as non-Arab peers shared common lived experiences in the ethnic enclave.

The last major source of discrimination that participants reported (n = 5) were from people whom they did not know. They interacted with these individuals incidentally, while online playing video games or in person at museums, shopping malls, and amusement parks. In general, any public space that placed a participant at a greater likelihood of interacting with non-Arab-Americans made it more likely that they would experience discrimination. One instance is Samer's experience playing video games.

> **Samer [talking about the jokes he heard while playing videogames with people from across the world]:** …Like people make jokes...about it…like Allah Au Akbar… You're Arab...leave…we're just saying we're Arab, we're trying to have a good time, just leave us alone.
> **R:** What goes through your head when you hear those jokes?
> **Samer:** That they're racist, 100%. If you go out of your way to message me…of being Arab, one, that isn't something to joke about; two, we are just trying to have a good time; three, you can't just do that online because you are an anonymous player and I don't know who you are… (Interview 1)

Samer highlighted how playing video games online create an opportunity for people he does not know to feel more comfortable engaging in cyber-bullying. The distance and assurance of anonymity appears to embolden people to make comments that he viewed as racist and offensive, centering around ethnicity, ethnic heritage, or religion.

Modes of Discrimination

Participants described experiencing a variety of forms of discrimination, but, the mode

where they perceived the most discrimination was in electronic media (e.g., online and computer). This included social media, YouTube©, text messages, and video games, but not television. As noted before, the online or electronic platform provides people with opportunities to engage in discriminatory behavior without fear of the consequences. For instance, Sarah discussed how Twitter© could be a place where she experienced much discrimination:

> **R:** Is that where you see it the most?
> **Sarah:** Twitter is incredibly biased...there's a lot of discrimination. Especially under the political tags…like if you're against something...people will just...fight you for it…fight you against it...they'll use…any insult or means…to try to put you down...(Interview 1)

Similarly, Bassem described the perceived discrimination on social media:

> **Bassem:** Online mainly, because that's probably the other thing that I wanted to highlight...people have….they're spineless...is the best way I can put it...they have all these things to say over the internet...because when they say derogatory things...it's just like…it doesn't have the same kick as it would in person, you know...you can…say fuck you, you can say you're a piece of ...whatever...but it's not gonna have the same impact as it would if you said it to my face...and everyone knows you're not gonna say it to my face, 'cuz god help you if you do. Yeah no one takes that into consideration…I've had 12- and 13-year-olds lash out at me for race or religion…(Interview 1)

Other participants, such as Nada or Malek also discussed how social media can be a platform for people to "hide behind their screens rather than confronting" others. "Hiding behind their screens" suggests cowardice and intentionality, as a way to anonymously express negative views with little consequence. Malek expands and states that peoples' statements, if said in person, would have a stronger effect on him than if he were to receive these statements online. Malek's response recognizes that technology, by its very nature, can contribute, enable, and foster these kinds of negative expressions.

Many adolescents obtained the news via social media (n = 5). This was especially evident in their online journals, where many adolescents discussed their perceptions of discrimination in

current events. In general, Facebook©, Twitter©, and Snapchat© appear to be the primary

platforms where adolescents received their news. Nada and Mirna, who are highly cognizant of

race relations and current events, discussed an incident over Twitter© in her online journal:

> **Nada:** This past week there was a tragic terrorist attack in Manchester, and
> Donald Trump responded by tweeting that he stands in solidarity with the United
> Kingdom. Under his reply a White old lady tweeted, "Come home and get these
> people out of our country as well. [Enclave] needs help." I decided to tweet back
> and say, "You should come visit, we actually have great people and food here in
> [enclave]", trying to take the "kill with kindness" approach, in which she replied,
> "Never." (Journal Entry 5, 2017)

> **Mirna:** I recently saw a tweet that said, and I quote, "@realDonaldTrump Come home
> and get these people out of our country as well. [name of my city] needs help". It was
> very disheartening, and made me very angry. It was obvious that the person tweeted that
> because of the high Arab population in my town. (Journal Entry 1, 2017)

These examples not only highlight how discrimination that is personally directed, can

occur electronically, but how it can coincide and be fueled by current events and the socio-

political climate. Furthermore, these discriminatory remarks and the subsequent exchange are

public, accessible to the world, allowing anyone, to read and react, to challenge or to reinforce.

It is a public process of drawing clear boundaries between (perceived) good and evil, attacker

and attacked, enemy and ally, that, when the adolescents join in these exchanges, can reinforce

their identities.

Lastly, in-person discrimination of various types, such as interpersonal or vicarious

discrimination, was also reported across six participants. Regardless of type, in-person

discrimination was common, whether it was done by peers, teachers, or strangers. These

experiences ranged from teachers' (as discussed above) interactions with students, to

immigration and custom agents on the Canadian border. Samer spoke of his experiences with

the custom agents, Alia and Sarah lamented on their experiences with the teacher, Nada

discussed her interactions with strangers at museums or tourist locations, Mirna discussed her

interactions with her peers calling her "White", and Bassem described within-group

discrimination. Not only have participants experienced discrimination in person, first-hand, but

many have also witnessed in person, family, neighbors, or friends experiencing discrimination (n

= 5). For instance, Celine recalled an incident that she saw while she was with her friend, who

wears a hijab:

> **Celine:** Yeah, like look at someone different if they're wearing a headscarf...or if
> I'm with someone who wears a headscarf…and they get looked at in a way…like
> you can tell…. their look has a lot of judgement in it…so yeah.
> **R:** And where do they get…stared at…most? are you the…
> **Celine:** Let's say they're wearing a headscarf...they'll aim towards the face...and
> give a disgusted look.
> **R:** …Where does this happen?
> **Celine:** It can be at the mall...last time it happened we were at [regional
> amusement park] (Interview 1)

Thus, perceiving discrimination in person is not just limited to the participants' direct

experiences but can be related to perceiving discrimination indirectly, where friends, family, or

even strangers, are the target.

Types of Discrimination

Participants also discussed interpersonal discrimination from people they did not know,

online and in-person. These experiences were similar in a sense that they occurred in areas where

there was greater exposure to people outside of the community (discussed in a

later chapter). Nada recalled one instance of in-person interpersonal discrimination when she

experienced discrimination at a tourist location within her enclave.

> **Nada:** Um...but yeah, I've been called…a terrorist….at [Historical Tourist
> Site]….but it's a tourist point...so a lot of people come from other states...I
> remember I was just walking...and this kid passed by me and he was like
> "speaking of terrorist" and he eyed me down…and at that time...I didn't know
> what to say…so I just kept walking…but…after…I just got angry...I'm like
> wow…just because I wear something on my head…I automatically get looked at
> in a certain way and that's not fair. (Interview 1)

For Nada, that experience was salient and powerful for her—yet it also highlighted how wearing

the hijab, placed her at greater risk of facing interpersonal discrimination. It essentially illustrates

the stereotype of conflating "Arab" with "Muslim" and "Muslim" with "terrorist," which is what

Nada experienced. Other participants described similar experiences of discrimination with

people whom they did not know in face-to-face encounters as well as on social media.

Participants often faced discrimination on social media, specifically within the comment

section.

> **R:** What are some derogatory…is it just... "camel jockey"?
> **Bassem:** "Camel Jockey" ...some really vulgar ones…like…definitely just
> "terrorist" …or…one of the big ones I get is "blow yourself up"—but that comes
> by default...it's a joke…it's a meme at this point...no one really…in my case I
> don't take it seriously…they might…but it doesn't offend me any more…
> (Interview 1)
>
> **Sarah:** I had no idea where these people come from they just come attacking and they
> were just like...ok...and...it's like…um...it's like…you Arabs...you guys get so offended
> so quickly…it's just like....an insult towards the Arabs…one guy was just like... 'k what's
> so disappointing about like...all the murder of you Arabs…when you guys deserve it' or
> something... (Interview 1)

Both Bassem and Sarah discussed how being told to "blow yourself up" and "murdering all

Arabs" is acceptable and considered well-deserved by the source of the comments. These were

both perceived as interpersonal (and cultural) attacks. What is also important to note is that both

participants were online in political sections of social media, indicating a sense of awareness and

a somewhat conscious choice to engage with people who may discriminate, whereas Nada may

not have had a choice in engaging in the discriminatory experience.

Anticipated Discrimination

Anticipated discrimination was evident in half of the participants' responses, especially

when they were discussing the election results.   Participants viewed anticipated discrimination

as discrimination, of any type, that is expected to occur in the future.   Participants were worried

that they would be discriminated against, hurt, or deported from the country by people who

supported racist ideology during and after the 2017 election. Many participants described being

anxious about leaving their community (while staying within the state or the U.S.) or, when

traveling out of the country or that their families might not be allowed back into the United

States. It appeared that anticipated discrimination for Arab-American adolescents was

specifically related to current events and the political climate, such as the "Travel Ban" and the

greater frequency of reported hate crimes targeting Muslim Americans. Stemming from this

perceived hostile socio-political culture, Malek provided additional evidence that anticipated

discrimination was present in the lived experiences of adolescents:

> **Malek:** I can't really put a name to the uh...I guess to this group, but the thing I
> was saying was…if these people that have power to do these things if they uh...if
> they see more threats developing...and things getting a little more serious and let's
> say they ..it's probably won't ever happen, but if they bomb a certain country
> because of the threat, then…I will become more scared than I am right now
> because there is always the possibility that since our city is one of the most
> concentrated…I'm pretty sure...it is...the most populated Arab community that's
> not in the Middle East…I'm pretty sure…I'm gonna become scared because there
> is the possibility that something is going to happen to our city. (Interview 1)

Embedded in the sociopolitical culture is, what CRT researchers would say, a culture of race and

racism. Malek is highly aware of the tensions in the sociopolitical atmosphere and that some of

these tensions target Arab-Americans.

Many participants (n = 6) exhibited anxious thoughts or feelings over potential reactions

from people who are empowered to engage in discriminatory actions or policy. In regard to

anticipating harm from others, participants spoke about their realizations that many American

people may harbor aggression towards them. It is within the context of the sociopolitical

environment and new administration that has generated this anxiety surrounding anticipated

discrimination.

For instance, Mirna discusses her worries surrounding people who hold negative views against Arab-Americans:

> **Mirna:** I don't like...these people walking among us harboring these opinions on us like...just because their president Obama wasn't racist...and now they feel like they can say or do whatever they want…like everything in the journal has been either an internationally a terrorist attack or domestically someone countering…I guess...defending their homeland of America...by killing an innocent Muslim or Arab...like those people walk among us...it's ugh...I don't know...it's like…I don't feel unsafe…it's just like...it worries me. (Interview 1)

Mirna reported a feeling of worry while still feeling safe. This contradiction raises the notion that someone can generally feel safe but still be on alert that something may happen. Both Celine and Nada echo this response, discussing negative affect, fear, shock, and anxiousness:

> **Celine:** ….It's usually supposed to be the opposite...how president is being elected…may make you one day feel discriminated against...it's not a good feeling. (Interview 1)

> **Nada:** Um, well…not for me personally but...sort of…like not with direct things that happen to me...I'm just a little more fearful in going outside of [the enclave] because honestly, I was shocked with the results...I think my parents...since they've been around the US…they know like...yeah...people are actually racist and people are actually going to vote for Donald Trump but for me I live in [the enclave]…and I'm like no, people aren't really like that...so when I saw the results, I was shocked...so it sort of makes me nervous to go outside of [the enclave]… 'cuz there's people that …there's a lot ..like half of America voted for him. (Interview 1)

Both Celine and Nada indicated a general discomfort or fear that they may be harmed. For Nada, she alludes to how her enclave has tinted her perception of the outside world. It appears that the enclave may be functioning as a shield from perceiving the socio-political state of the nation. For Nada, the fear of being harmed makes her less likely to explore and leave the community, which could be a form of oppression in and of itself. That is, it may be a privilege for those to be able to travel freely from one community to the next, without thought of harm, whereas for ethnic minorities, such as Nada, it is very much a salient thought and worry. In

regard to policy, the major policy that was of concern across some participants was the "Travel

Ban." The travel ban generated anxiety around the idea that they might lose access to their

family members from overseas, may pose a risk for traveling (e.g., a parent may not be let back

into the United States). As stated before, family is often highly central to the participant's life,

especially for Alia. With the Travel Ban, Alia became "bothered" by the prospect of losing her

aunt due to the ban:

> **Alia:** Yeah...kinda…well...like…like my family...my uncle's wife...she came here...and now she wants to go to Lebanon…and they think that…they're all like...it's all like...taking a risk...to let her go because she won't be able to come back…it's bothering me… (Interview 1)

For Sarah, the Travel Ban was the beginning of the slippery slope argument, as she started to

worry about the discriminatory doors this would open if implemented:

> **Sarah:** Yeah he's given them a platform…I haven't been directly affected but you know it's kind of scary...because right now...he's…you know he's targeting people um...what's it called…you know who are new to the country and who probably still have their Visas…but how long until it's someone with a green card? (Interview 1)

Other participants echoed those sentiments, stating that they often worried about their

parents being stopped at the airport and not being let back in to the United States. Many of these

worries did not correspond one-to-one with the Travel Ban. That is, many participants had

family that were not from the seven countries. If a parent or family traveled, it was to another

country outside of the seven countries. Yet, the participants still worried about the policy and its

potential to generate indiscriminate discrimination against all people from Arab descent. They

worried that the Travel Ban would be implemented as a blanket policy. For younger participants,

despite a general misunderstanding of the policy, their anxieties were real, as some thought that

the Trump administration was going to ban all Muslims from the United States. This, too, served

as a significant worry, as these adolescents started to wonder what their life would be like

outside of the United States.

> **R:** Why didn't you want him to win?
> **Hassan:** Because he said he's going to kick Muslims out…yeah..
> **R:** And you heard this through the news or through your friends?
> **Hassan:** Through everyone.. (Interview 1)

> **Kareem:** Oh yeah...well I don't think everything really changed but since Donald Trump was here…like…he tried to ban all Muslims from here...and like…yeah...that's…um…that's one racist thing. (Interview 1)

Kareem went further to remark how he would not want to leave the United States and how it would be a significant adjustment to not see his family again if he were to be deported from the U.S. At the age of thirteen, Kareem was dealing with the perception that not only did he live in a country with an administration that wanted to remove him from his home, but he also had to grapple with the perceived potential of having to move to a foreign land, leaving his family behind. He stated that his primary emotion regarding this was "feeling afraid". For Hassan, his mother reported him being "curious and shocked at the prospect of being deported". Feelings of shock and disappointment were highlighted as the adolescents came to terms with the idea that racism is not only normal, but it is also salient and harbored among many people in the United States. Essentially, their present lived-experience shaped by the socio-political culture, may have affected their responses to the interview questions about experiences with perceived discrimination. Overall, the participants provide an apt example of how sociopolitical climate can seep into the community and minds of adolescents increasing vigilance and expectations of any potential threat towards themselves or their family members.

Cultural Stereotypes and Discrimination

Throughout the study there were broad cultural stereotypes that were transmitted through various modes. The stereotypes were broad and overarching and were pervasive, not limited to any specific mode or type of discrimination. The Arab-American related stereotypes appeared to

be embedded within the fabric of society. That is, these stereotypes were in messages that were transmitted in-person or online, interpersonally, or vicariously. One of the most common stereotypes, experienced by all but one participant was the "terrorist" stereotype (n = 9).

> **Celine:** No... it's just what I hear about other people…or someone that looks obvious too...because they're Arab-American…so like…some people might say they're terrorist...because of what the media shapes them to be…and they might do something harmful...and they aren't 100% safe…(Interview 1)

> **Bassem:** People usually label…whether you're Arab or Muslim or you know…you could be Persian...or Turkish …if you're within that Middle Eastern region...people are going to think you're a terrorist…or some kind of terrorist sleeper cell…like some kind of message that's going to reach all of us…in America and we're all just gonna destroy America…that's not how it is. (Interview 1)

Not only are Arabs considered "terrorists" but there may also be a perception of "latent terrorism," the notion that Arabs can easily become incited or radicalized with a specific message. This idea of easy radicalization was discussed by Samer in response to an immigration and customs border agent who treated him like he was easily radicalized: "Like one day you're kind and the next day you're going to blow up a building?…Like that doesn't happen at all.."

"Terrorist" encompassed various other characteristics that were also associated with Arab-Americans, such as "dangerous", "bad", and/or "barbaric" (n=4). These stereotypes, while often embodied in the concept of terrorism, have also been perpetuated directly in movies, such as *Aladdin*.

> **Sarah:** One my counselors was telling us that in the original Aladdin movie...the song, "Welcome to Agrabah"...there was…a part where it's like… 'where we cut off your ear...if we don't like your face….its barbaric...but hey its home'—so in ways like that…where um…they're subtly...setting Arabs up...to be you know these vicious people….and...if someone…you know ..if someone...like the media shows you...they set them up to be dangerous people…you automatically get scared…you ...it's like…it's when you piss someone off…you get them angry…you're just afraid of what they'll do….kind of like how the people are…you know. (Interview 1)

106

In Aladdin, the perpetuated stereotype is that the Middle East is an uncivilized and

barbaric place (and, therefore, Arabs) could lay the foundation for the "terrorist" stereotype. At

the very least, it could help strengthen the "terrorist" stereotype. Sarah also alluded to the effects

that this movie may have on people, which could strengthen biases, implicit and otherwise, and

lead to instilling fear in people towards Arabs and discrimination. In addition, not only were

Arab-Americans stereotyped as "terrorist" but that this was often conflated with "Muslim" and,

being Muslim was often conflated being Arab. In other words, being perceived as an Arab-

American often meant that an Arab-American adolescent was also perceived as a Muslim, which

was often associated with "terrorist."

> **Nada:** Well there is definitely a stigma about Arab-Americans because they automatically assume you're Arab, you're Muslim…and that leads people thinking you're a terrorist…you're not patriotic…you …yeah (Interview 1)

> **Sarah:** Like the whole...association of…um…you know…Arabs are terrorists…its...kind of what gets people...they're unable to differentiate between like a religion and like a culture...from…just bad people...and Arabs...you can tell...they do share different beliefs than others…and…people like I said...they tend to be afraid of someone who doesn't share from someone who doesn't share their beliefs…especially if for example...the group of people...the media...portrays them...as a violent group…(Interview 1)

Nada highlighted how Islamophobia and the misrepresentation of Islam in the United States

seems to have led to the perpetuation of the widespread belief that Islam is equated with

terrorism.

Nada and Sarah observed another important point that was expressed by a few

participants throughout the study (n = 3): the intertwining between being "Arab" and "Muslim."

Some Arab-American adolescents, at times, didn't distinguish between ethnic heritage (Arab)

and religion (Muslim), often describing their ethnic identity as fully integrated with religious

traditions, values, or participation (n = 5). For instance, Malek talked about the "Arab religion"

(Islam), indicating his perceptions that ethnicity and religion were entwined. Others, appeared to

view heritage and religion as part of an integrated identity, in which being Arab and being

Muslim were seamlessly interconnected, but not identical. As a result of this integrated view,

some participants may have felt misunderstood, especially if they perceived that their ethnic

heritage and religion were both being misrepresented via negative images and messages.

The following examples, taken from journal entries about what made participants proud

to be Arab-American for that week, illustrate the integration of religion and heritage identities:

> **Celine:** Over this past week, I faced experiences that made me feel happy or
> proud to be an Arab-American. I was scrolling on Instagram$^©$ and seen how people are
> creating Ramadan dinners for those who cannot afford food and fast. It made me feel
> proud to be a part of this community. (Journal Entry 1, 2017)

> **Nada:** Last weekend, to celebrate earth day my friends and I visited the Islamic Center of
> America and joined with other members of the community to keep our mosque clean.
> While cleaning we had people going into the mosque blessing us, thanking us, and some
> even joined in. At this event I realized how beautiful our community is when we come
> together about something we care about. After we finished cleaning, we had a barbeque,
> and everyone knows Arab barbeques are the best. The great food just added to my Arab
> pride. (Journal Entry 1, 2017)

> **Alia:** Well, this week not so much I really didn't experience much. On the other hand, not
> too important but I was told by my coach that all Arabs have beautiful hair! Another
> example is that us Arabs were respected at school by the principal he had stated that
> during Ramadan we get to put on a movie in the auditorium during lunch time. (Journal
> Entry 1, 2017)

Institutional Discrimination

Institutional discrimination was not as prevalent for Arab-American adolescents ($n = 3$),

but two participants discussed instances of racial profiling at the airport (targeting their mother)

or at the border. Only two participants experienced institutional discrimination directly. Alia

experienced institutional discrimination through the news media, as it disseminated negative

images of her ethnic group. Alia stated, "It's always on the media...it's never White people that

are looked at badly...it's mostly other cultures that are shaped negatively." Alia's experience

reflects her view that the media has power to shape people's perceptions of ethnic groups. Alia's specific experience will further be discussed below in the section on White Privilege and Racist Nativism.

Samer experienced institutional discrimination directly and powerfully recounted his experience at the Canadian border. He described a time when he was traveling with his sister and was detained at the border for eight hours as part of a "random search" and two other times when he and his family were detained for a total of over nine hours. Samer stated "all these people were saying…searches…random searches…and we were going to visit my cousin's birthday…and a search…that takes 8 hours?" Samer discussed how he noticed, while being detained, that only people of Arab descent would be detained for hours, whereas anyone else would be let through or released after 30 minutes. "All these White people were coming and going…as if nothing…and the majority were Arab people...they were just being held…and I told my sister that…they're just holding the majority of Arab" (Samer, Interview 1). Samer spoke of feeling a sense of injustice as he experienced and witnessed others of the same ethnic heritage be racially profiled. Samer reflected on the treatment that he and his sister experienced when detained at the border:

> **Samer:** It feels like prison. This…like…there's nothing. They won't let you have your phone…you just sit there…and they have metal chairs…the ones at school...I don't really care...but they have metal chairs that are slanted inwards…so you can't have your back straight. (Interview 1)

Samer's account portrays this as a dehumanizing experience in which he felt powerless (or helpless) and isolated, without a way to contact their family. Samer was physically uncomfortable, which created additional stress: "I couldn't sleep…my back was hurting too much…I had a very hard time breathing…I had a very hard time breathing for like a week." In general, he spoke of being frustrated with the way he was treated and the uncertainty of why he

was detained. He was especially troubled by the agents' perceived differential treatment in comparison to people of non-Arab descent. "In my mind- why are you being the biggest douche? I just want to go to the bathroom...it's not like I'm doing anything… and then …a white person comes along…not even her officer...not officer is not his/hers…whatever and lets her go right away…what?"

At one point, Samer attempted to confront a border patrol agent regarding his perceptions of racial profiling:

> **Samer:** But then we stood there for 8 hours…it was just all Arab…and I told the officer that…and they're like no that's true at all…and I was seeing it…so obviously, it has to be true…and all these people were saying… 'searches'… 'random searches'…(Interview 1)

Without realizing it, the border patrol agent invalidated Samer's lived experiences. Samer explained how the agent's comment felt like a "lie," because it starkly contrasted with Samer's perceptions and experiences of being detained three times. This invalidation produced psychological frustration, as Samer felt that his thoughts and feelings about his own perceptions were being doubted. Samer later explained how during another time he was crossing the border he and his family were detained. During this detention experience, he witnessed his step-father placed into handcuffs. Samer explained that during this process, the agents were not communicating with Samer's family:

> **Samer:** My stepdad in handcuffs. My mom had a break down and I'm like…why? The guy didn't do anything…
> **R:** How did you react though?
> **Samer:** I found it funny at first, like…why are you putting him in handcuffs…there is no point at all….and then they put them in a separate room…and when we were outside…we heard like...we didn't know it was him…we didn't know what was back there...all we heard was this huge yelling and screaming…and we thought the officer was yelling and screaming at my step dad but it wasn't them it was someone else…and we aren't treated equally...not at all. (Interview 1)

In this instance, Samer may have been using humor to defend against the distress from what appeared to be dehumanizing, humiliating, and unfair treatment that was imposed onto his family, as the border patrol agents detained his step-father and withheld information. Samer was aware that this was institutional discrimination, as he rationalized and de-personalized his experiences at the border by attributing it to the "Travel Ban," rather than holding the border patrol agents personally responsible. This, again highlighted the importance of the socio-political climate.

Vicarious Discrimination

Lastly, the majority of participants (n = 8) also experienced vicarious discrimination, which was experiencing discrimination on behalf of friends, family, or the community. Many participants (n = 7) reported that they saw or heard about family, friends, family friends, neighbors or other in-group members being mistreated. As seen in the previous section, Samer experienced institutional discrimination vicariously when he perceived racial profiling and witnessed his step-father being placed in handcuffs. It was through witnessing other people and his step-father that he became psychologically and emotionally activated, and used humor as a defense. Samer explained how he had felt like there were blatant institutional inequalities that targeted Arabs. Three other participants witnessed friends get discriminated against, such as Nada:

> **Nada:** Um, friends on social media...they'll do the same thing as me...they'll find something they'll comment on it…then people will just start spamming them…for example someone posted something…and they'll comment like...and people still think that...Islam is terrorism...and someone will reply…oh really? then why does your religion allow this and this bad thing? And that bad thing? and it'll just cause so much drama...and honestly just commenting ..like so simple...so innocent and they just get attacked. (Interview 2)

Nada later describes how she would often watch her friends get inundated with social media

commentary and feel a sense of anger that stems from the powerlessness she felt from not being able to defend her friends or their friends not being able to defend themselves properly. Social media can be an open forum where people can witness and become bystanders to bullying and discrimination. In this case, adolescents can watch from afar as their peers get discriminated against, which could elicit feelings of being personally discriminated against, reinforce a sense of helplessness, and cause discomfort about not speaking up. In another incident, Sarah explained how a family friend's car was burned, a racially/ethnically motivated incident.

> **Sarah:**…Like I had my dad's friend who lives in [City nearby enclave]...he was saying how…he lives next to a bunch of [Non-Arab] people…and because he's Arab…they burnt his car…and it's…it's just…it was intense…So you don't always hear stories. (Interview 1)

While Sarah did not directly witness this discrimination, it was salient and powerful for her to explain learning about this through her parents. Sarah described this event as "intense" perhaps because it was blatant and a powerful symbolic representation of hatred towards Arab-Americans that does not occur as often as other forms, such as discrimination that occurs via social media. Similarly, adolescents discussed witnessing other Arab-Americans, whom they did not know, experience discrimination. Again, this was primarily electronically, often perceiving it through sites, such as YouTube© or iFunny©. Participants discussed witnessing discrimination in current events, such as the attack on a train in Portland, Oregon on May 26, 2017, when two (White) men were stabbed and killed while defending two female adolescents, one of whom was Muslim, wearing a hijab, against a man who was yelling racial slurs at them. Others examples of vicarious discrimination included viewing the news report of a bombing in Afghanistan and reading the comments, or watching an Arab-American comedian get asked to leave an airplane for speaking Arabic.

> **Kareem:** There is this one Youtuber…his name is Adam Salis or something he

said something in Arabic...and Delta stopped the plane and kicked him out. But I think 'cuz he was talking loud in Arabic...but I think they were being racist...
Kareem [when asked how he felt]: probably a little bit sad... 'cuz that's like to an Arab...and then yeah
R: So what do you mean...to an Arab...so you felt sad because it happened to an Arab?
Kareem: Yeah and we're all Arabs...
R: So...explain that a bit more
Kareem: Like we're all like Arabs...and like...we're all like the same...thing...and that happens to Arabs...you can think that that can happen to you. (Interview 1)

Kareem's interview highlights how vicarious discrimination can lead to feelings of being discriminated oneself, but also how vicarious discrimination can result in anticipated discrimination. Kareem also shows how having a strong identification with his ethnic heritage increased his expectation that that this could occur to him as well. With greater in-group attachment, it may be that Kareem felt this incident more acutely, which lead him to anticipate a greater likelihood of experiencing it himself.

Kareem's experience is similar to other participants who described vicarious discrimination at the community level. Perceived discrimination at the community level means perceiving their community or community members in general as being misrepresented or discriminated against. For instance, Sarah explained a time when she watched a video of a festival in her enclave, where a protester burned a Quran, the holy book for Islam.

Sarah: …A couple years we used to have this Arabic festival...and you know it was something where it was actually around the block...like here…on [Street name]...and everyone would come but they were forced to...close it down because …you know…a guy …burned the Quran...in the middle of the street…and there are protesters...who...are…insulting us...you know…and I actually…once...saw video...of um…I was put on this political tag…and it's just like 'oh look all these dirty Arabs' or 'Look at all these…all of them…they're attacking us' and it's just people yelling at them in Arabic 'cuz they were there…invading them while they're trying to have a decent time...a good time…and its um...so it's not something you've experienced yourself… But sometimes...when...someone else...experiences um...like...discrimination… For something…something that you are...you can...it hits home a bit...it kind of…you feel like you've experienced it too. 'cuz although the words were said to that person…you know...they fit you

as well. (Interview 1)

Sarah's comments illustrate how powerful vicarious discrimination associated with the community and community members can be, as she discussed her observations of other community members' experiences with protesters and of the commentary online. Sarah astutely explained how witnessing other people experience discrimination, especially other people who are of the same race/ethnicity can feel like she is experiencing it herself. Similar to Kareem, having a shared sense of ethnic identity, can result in personalizing the vicarious discrimination. That is, if a person feels that their ethnic group is being denigrated then they may also feel personally denigrated due to their belonging to the same group. In these experiences, sharing a similar race/ethnicity, makes it easier for the participants to attribute discrimination targeted generally towards their ethnic group, to themselves personally, which could generate anticipated discrimination and ultimately, a feeling of vicarious discrimination.

Discussion

The following results are reported and described as separate concepts, but they are complex, overlapping phenomena. Many of the participants, for example, discussed experiencing vicarious online-discrimination and anticipated interpersonal discrimination. It is important to keep in mind that while participants described distinctive experiences, they were often experienced at the same time in interrelated rather than discrete ways.

The findings indicated that some of the main sources of discrimination were teachers and other Arab-American peers. Some prior research has found that students of color experience discrimination from various sources, including, teachers and peers (Byrd & Carter Andrews, 2016; Kumar, et al., 2015; Masko, 2005; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Byrd & Carter Andrews (2016) found that after peers, teachers were the second leading source for discrimination among

114

participants. Similarly, Kumar et al., (2015) found that teachers often misperceived and discriminated against Arab-American students, due to cultural stereotypes. CRT scholars have noted that racial stereotypes can be perpetuated by teachers, by perceiving students in a stereotyped way (e.g., having lower expectations of students or adhering to ideals centered on liberalism or meritocracy) and are often used to rationalize certain behaviors towards racial minority students (Solorzano, 1997). Further, teachers are consumers and "carriers" of the dominant culture and have the potential to disseminate these stereotypes and prejudices to their students. Teachers, specifically White teachers, may be unaware of their prejudice and stereotyped views and their dissemination, due to a lack of awareness of White Privilege. Being unaware of White Privilege, has been found to prevent teachers from seeing how the dominant culture shapes the school curriculum, atmosphere, and expectations (Solomona, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell, 2005; Vaught & Castagno, 2008). The denial or lack of awareness of White Privilege, can be a mechanism by which stereotypes, discrimination, and oppression can be maintained. Similarly, peers also absorb messages from the dominant culture, including racial stereotypes, which can lead to bullying and discrimination towards racial minority students, such as Arab-American adolescents. Studies that have investigated peer-to-peer racism have found that they too, are often rooted in racial stereotypes (Kumar et al., 2015; Soloranzo, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Masko, 2005).

The present study found that online discrimination was the most common mode of discrimination. This result was unsurprising, as research has shown that adolescents spend a significant portion of their time online (The Neilsen Company, 2013). Teenagers are reported to spend approximately nine hours a day on electronic media (Common Sense Media Census, 2015). This can provide a doorway out of the protective setting of the ethnic enclave, to access a

more heterogeneous world and exposure to diverse views, making it more likely to perceive discrimination. Although there is limited research investigating perceived electronic discrimination, the extant studies have highlighted the prevalence of online bullying and discrimination. One study found that 43% of all adolescents' experience bullying online (Moessner, 2007), which can include discrimination. Further, Tynes, Giang, Williams, & Thompson (2008) found that about 70% of the adolescents (n = 264) experienced online vicarious discrimination at least once. Another study found that 59% of participants in unmonitored chatrooms were likely to hear a negative racial remark in comparison to adolescents in monitored chatrooms who had a 19% chance of hearing a discriminatory remark.

The online community appears to provide individuals with a cloak of anonymity, which may increase the likelihood of expressing prejudiced and discriminating views (Glaser & Kahn, 2005; Tynes, Giang, Williams, & Thompson, 2008). These studies have not only highlighted the pervasiveness of racism among the online community, but that there are negative implications for adolescents' well-being, such as increased stress, anxiety, and depression (Glaser & Kahn, 2005; Tynes, Giang, Williams, & Thompson, 2008). Throughout the current study, participants spoke about what they heard or observed online, much of which was associated with negative remarks about their race/ethnicity.

Adolescents in the present study spoke of "anticipated discrimination." Anticipated discrimination is the fear or anticipation that racism or discrimination may occur against them or their cultural group. There is some research that has highlighted the prevalence of anticipated discrimination, which is often termed "racism-related vigilance" (Adegbembo, 2006; Benkert, Peters, Clark & Keves-Foster, 2006; Kaiser, Vick & Major, 2006; Eccles, Wong, Peck, 2006; Stone & Han, 2004; Wong, Eccles & Sameroff, 2003). Within this study, participants discussed

their fears or worries of potentially being discriminated against, often citing the current socio-political climate. For instance, Malek exhibited this "racism-related vigilance" when he spoke of the potential of his community being targeted by people with intent to harm or discriminate. Many other participants discussed anticipated discrimination regarding the "Travel Ban" and the shift to more overt forms of discrimination against racial/ethnic minorities. This example indicated that participants experienced anticipated institutional discrimination, an example of the interrelations among the phenomena, anticipated and institutional discrimination. Their perceptions have some validity, with the Southern Poverty Law center citing a 67% spike in hate crimes since 2015, which is the same year Donald Trump started campaigning (SPLC, 2015). Additionally, hate-groups targeting Muslims have increased by 197% from 2015 to 2016. Many studies in the literature do not capture anticipated discrimination, especially when studying adolescents. Leaving anticipated discrimination out when studying adolescents can be inappropriate as it ignores adolescents' stage of development; during this time adolescents tend to be future oriented and thus, more likely to think about future or anticipated forms of discrimination (Nurmi, 1989; 1991).

Anticipated discrimination can be deleterious to people's well-being (Sawyer et al., 2012; Wong et al., 2003); it can decrease self-esteem and promote anger, anxiety, and/or depression, which ultimately may lead to poor well-being (Sawyer et al., 2012; Wong et al., 2003). For instance, Sawyer et al., (2012) found that participants who anticipated prejudice had greater psychological and physical stress responses compared to participants who did not anticipate stress. Anticipated discrimination has the potential to create stress, especially if a person perceives their surroundings to be threatening. Stress is rooted in potential for harm or loss, which can lead to "threat cognitions" (e.g., anticipated negative interactions, negative

expectations) and "threat emotions" (e.g., fearful, nervous, overwhelmed, etc.) psychological

stress responses (Sawyer et al., 2012). These psychological stress responses are linked to

depression, anxiety, and other mental health issues (Cohen, Janicki-Deverts, & Miller, 2007).

However, no studies have investigated this form of discrimination in Arab-Americans or Arab-

American adolescents.

Broad cultural discrimination emerged as a theme during the interviews. Cultural

discrimination is defined as a combination of individual and institutional discrimination aimed at

a specific culture (Bourguignon, Seron, Yzerbyt, & Herman, 2006). Broadly speaking, this can

be exemplified through the use stereotypes in the US society. Only a handful of research has

investigated cultural discrimination, operationalizing perceived cultural discrimination broadly

rather than narrowly, often by asking participants if, in general, they have ever perceived

discrimination aimed at their cultural group (Bourguignon et al., 2006; Padela & Heisler, 2010;

Seaton & Yip, 2009). For example, Arab-Americans have endorsed items such as "Arab-

Americans are not respected by the broader American society" (Padela & Heisler, 2010, p.

285). Thus, there is no clear definition, yet the argument can be made that stereotypes permit all

types of discrimination and are often embedded in many negative racist remarks that adolescents

may hear. Additionally, stereotypes, are a broad overgeneralization of a culture or group

(Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). The stereotypes experienced by the Arab-American adolescents

within the present study mirrored past research on Arab-American adolescents, which have

shown that Arab-American often report hearing stereotyped messages of Arabs being terrorists,

violent/dangerous, and the same (Kumar et al., 2015; Nadal, et al., 2012). In the present study,

participants discussed the common perception of being a "terrorist", but interestingly, there was

some nuance to the perception of being a "terrorist". That is, it was not just a blanket perception

that Arabs are "terrorists" but there was a perception of being a "latent terrorist," that Arabs can easily become radicalized or incited to engage in terrorism. These comments were often heard from various (e.g., teachers, peers, or strangers) and through different modes of discrimination (e.g., online or in-person). Thus, there is this added layer of expectancy, that Arabs are terrorists, and if not, are expected to become terrorists. Further, being called a "terrorist" appeared to be rooted in Islamophobia. One participant noted that being "Arab" meant being "Muslim" which was equated to terrorism. This conflation between "Muslim" and "terrorist" has been substantiated in the research, indicating that the stereotype of "terrorist" is associated with Islam (Nadal et al., 2012). This perception of homogeneity and conflation of Arab, Muslim, and terrorism, can lead to feeling misunderstood, which is not uncommon when two identities are conflated with one another (Amer & Hovey, 2007).

In contrast to the literature, institutional discrimination did not emerge as a salient theme throughout the interviews. Only two participants spoke of a *direct* experience of institutional discrimination (i.e., Samer & Alia). As stated before, institutional discrimination are policies or practices that are part of societal institutions (Ahmed et al., 2011; Mesch, Turjeman & Fishman, 2008; Paradies, 2006; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Some research has shown that Arab-Americans often discuss being discriminated against at the airports (Abu-Raiya, Pargament, & Mahoney, 2011). In the present study, Samer experienced institutional discrimination through the enactment of the Travel Ban. Similar to "airport security checks," Samer spoke of racial profiling at the Canadian border, with people of Arab descent, including him being detained for longer periods of time in comparison to non-Arab counterparts.

While this was a powerful experience for Samer, it was not shared among other participants. The other participants spoke of anticipatory or vicarious institutional discrimination;

119

that is, while they did not experience it directly they experienced it vicariously or anticipated it happening to them. Thus, while the majority of the participants were aware of institutional discrimination, they did not directly experience it. One reason for the theme not being as salient as it is in the literature could be due to the adolescents' age and physical mobility. Adolescents may be less likely to travel outside the ethnic enclave, minimizing their access to the mainstream culture and potential discriminatory institutions. For instance, no participant discussed going to the airport and many of them rarely discussed leaving the community. Although the prevalence of institutional discrimination contrasts with the literature, Samer's experience with institutional discrimination highlighted the deleterious effects policy can have on an adolescent. Research has shown institutional discrimination's adverse effects on health such as high blood pressure, cardiovascular disease, and lower mental health (Gee, 2002; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Samer was clearly affected by his experience at the border both psychologically and physically. He reported that when he was detained at the border he felt frustrated and isolated as well as experienced physical discomfort. These psychological and physical experiences can be highly stressful for an adolescent. Further, through the CRT perspective, institutional discrimination can be understood as a way to maintain the status quo and maintain oppression of ethnic minorities (Delgado & Stefencic, 2012). Specifically, law and policy has been consistently used to maintain the societal structures in U.S. society that are racist, thereby maintaining racism in society. People who perceive institutional discrimination may feel oppressed or a sense of inferiority (Williams & Mohammed, 2009). In the present study, the feeling of oppression and inferiority may have been perpetuated through Samer' perception of racial profiling and being unjustly treated at the border due to the travel ban.   In general, however, Samer's experience exemplifies the power of policy and how it can affect the lives of

ethnic minority adolescents, specifically Arab-American adolescents.

Lastly, vicarious discrimination also emerged as a theme. Vicarious racism is when people experience racism/discrimination on the basis of hearing or seeing others of the same ethnic group experience racism/discrimination (Harrell, 2000). There have been some studies that have investigated vicarious discrimination and found that ethnic minority adolescents are vulnerable to perceiving vicarious racism (Glaser, & Kahn, 2005; Kahn, Spencer, & Glaser, 2013). One study investigating vicarious racism in Asian American undergraduates, found that within the past five years, 99% of the students had perceived at least one incident of vicarious racism (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006). In the current study, participants experienced vicarious discrimination by witnessing other members of their ethnic group experience discrimination. When they felt that their ethnic group was being denigrated they also felt denigrated due to belonging to the same group. In these experiences, sharing a similar race/ethnicity makes it easier for the participants to personalize discrimination targeted towards others in their ethnic group, which could ultimately generate a feeling of vicarious discrimination.

It also appeared that ethnic identity played a role in the intensity of experiencing vicarious discrimination. Research has shown that ethnic identity may place Arab-Americans at greater risk for perceiving discrimination (Ahmed et al., 2011), which may include vicarious racism, albeit this is speculative. However, there is research that has shown that greater ethnic/racial identity is associated with greater sensitivity and intense reactions to vicarious racism (Mason, Maduro, Derlega, Hacker, Winstead, & Haywood, 2017). For instance, Sarah and Kareem, both had an integrated ethnic identity with strong orientations towards the Arab culture, discussed strong reactions to perceiving other Arab-Americans experiences with

discrimination. These reactions were either feeling the effects of discrimination on the other ethnic group member's behalf or anticipating discrimination to happen to them. Thus, it may be that the adolescents with higher ethnic identity perceive it as a greater threat to their identity and well-being (Mason et al., 2017) when perceiving vicarious racism/discrimination, ultimately contributing to their sensitivity to these experiences.

Within-Group Discrimination

 Although Arab-Americans share a general overarching culture, with a shared language, traditions, and foods, they are also a heterogeneous and diverse group. Youth reported experiencing or displaying within-group discrimination toward certain Arab ethnic groups that seems to reflect historical interactions between these countries as well as common adolescent concerns with status and stigma. The within-group discrimination may however, mirror the way that society portrays Arab Americans. This internalized racism may be part of a response to their experiences of societal discrimination, and a way of distancing themselves from these threats and experiences. Thus, it is important to read the following section within the context of the current socio-political climate, so as to not misrepresent the participants.

Differences in characteristics in ethnic heritage, level of acculturation, and skin color, can contribute to nuanced within-group discrimination. These three characteristics were salient sub-themes that emerged throughout the interviews (n = 6). These within-group discriminatory experiences also occurred within the community, often among other peers. In regard to ethnic heritage, a few participants and their parents discussed within-group discrimination that centered around ethnic heritage, specifically people from Yemen or Iraq. For instance, Nada discussed how adolescents of Iraqi or Yemeni descent are often perceived.

> **Nada [On a follow up on who gets discriminated within the community]:** I
> feel like with Iraqis and Yemenis, probably do because…everybody thinks

they're better than everyone in this city…Lebanese they're better than Iraqis and Yemenis…Iraqis think they're better than Lebanese and Yemenis...like...there's this…hierarchy… right now if I go to [Enclave School] and uh, like…I'll say this girl have a crush on a boy...and we'll be like oh who is it...and she'll say their name,, and he'll happen to be Yemeni, and some people in my area…start saying "ew he's a Yemeni, like are you serious?" but like…I feel like...with me, I don't experience it as much, because we think we're the best. like…yeah. Lebanese people always think they're the best." (Interview 1)

Mirna echoes this by adding that often there are specific stereotypes that are affiliated with Iraqis or Yemenis.

Mirna: …I don't know how to describe it...but they're seen as more like…oh like you smell like a Yemeni… like you smell bad…like they don't shower…they're gross…whatever…stuff like that…I don't know where it comes from…I actually have no idea... 'cuz I think Lebanon might be more industrialized…that might be the case… (Interview 1)

Both Nada and Mirna provide some evidence that there may be a hierarchy of status within the community that the adolescents may be mirroring. For these Lebanese adolescent participants, Iraqis and Yemenis appeared to have the lowest status, as they were described in terms of negative stereotypes. Iraqis and Yemenis were also marginalized in the community by being seen as "less than," as exemplified in generalizations such as "they're gross" or "they smell bad", which was seen in Nada's accounts about a peer questioning another peer's decision on liking a student who is Yemeni. This could be related to normative peer rejection or social discrimination, that is common in adolescence (Due et al., 2009; Gomez, Moore, To, Yu, & Brock, 2007). During this developmental period, the role and importance of social status becomes especially salient (Due et al., 2009). It may however, also reflect an internalized racism. On the opposite side of the spectrum are the Lebanese, who, seem to have the highest status with participants stating that it is the Lebanese kids who think they are, as Nada stated, "superior." In fact, being Lebanese represented much more to Arab-Americans than just being the majority within the enclave, which will be discussed further below.

Acculturation. Another way peers could differentiate one another and/or engage in within-group discrimination was through acculturation levels (n = 4). It appeared that there was a "sweet spot" to "acting" Arab-American. That is, assimilation and marginalization were devalued, whereas integration was ideal. Essentially, Arab-American adolescents displayed an integrated assimilative strategy, not being "too Arab" and not being "too American." This was evident in the way adolescents dressed and in their hygiene, citizenship status, and language, all of which overlapped with acculturation. Those who could not speak English, dressed in traditional cultural attire, and may or may not have immigrant status were called "boaters". "Boaters," is a derogatory term used against immigrants or those who are behaving in ways that are "too Arab." When people are called a "boater", people view them as dirty, bad, and "less than." There is also evidence of classism, which might be especially salient among adolescents, for whom clothing, language, and appearance can provide clues about identity and status. Again, the way the adolescents differentiated themselves also appeared to be partly developmental, as they try to garner greater status, they may do so by denigrating those whom they may perceive as "less than" via language, dress, and hygiene.

Celine and Nada discussed how discrimination based on acculturation levels is typically seen within the community.

> **Nada:** If they only speak Arabic, we call them boaters. It's like…they're a boater…what are you doing hanging out with them...they're a boater...what are you doing? Just because they weren't born here and they don't speak great English or something. (Interview 1)

> **Nada [on explaining what a boater is]:** ...It's basically if are born in America…and if...the other person isn't they're automatically a "boater"…but it's not just…so you cannot be born in America...and you can come here...like…and for example fifth grade...you'll still be considered a boater…um...yeah but if they came here young and they speak perfect English, you won't be called a boater...but let's say you were born here and you still speak mainly English at school and you dress…differently…you'll be called a boater...it's not specifically

people who weren't born here…but it's those characteristics of not speaking English, looking different, um. Like, they're sticking with…they all stick together…so all the Yemeni's stick together…all the boaters stick together. (Interview 1)

Mirna: Because usually immigrants don't speak English...what I don't understand...they don't talk when people don't speak Arabic and they don't like when people don't speak English…so you have this perfect vocabulary…of just the right amount of Arabic...just the right amount of English…not too much English…not too much Arabic...just perfect balance...so it's like…it's very exclusive...so I think it's the language…and the dress...the way they dress... 'cuz like immigrants would be wearing like off brand clothes...or old clothes... 'cuz you know in your country they don't have whatever available...also...that's what makes it bad to be an immigrant. (Interview 2)

Mirna [on explaining what a boater is]: Yeah anyone can be called a "boater"...you don't have to be an immigrant…but boater...has a negative connotation...it means...that…you're acting like you're wearing your sha-hatas [sandals]…and you look like...dirty...and I don't know...it's like...what they say. (Interview 2)

Both Nada's and Mirna's examples suggested an internalized sense of shame or resentment towards being less acculturated Arabs. That is, Arab people who retained their Arab culture and identity without assimilating could be threatening to an adolescent's identity and acceptance as American, when living in a country that views Arabs negatively. Distancing oneself from less acculturated Arabs may be a protective stance, to avoid being equated with those who may wear "off-brand clothing" or speaks broken English.

Mirna goes on to discuss how being perceived as too assimilated also has its drawbacks:

Mirna: I think…the main thing is that…people say...well Arabs say that I act too 'White'…or I act 'too American' like I'm 'not Arab enough' 'cuz of the way I talk...and the way I present myself…which I don't really find it as an insult...and it's not necessarily discrimination but...I remember when people say that to me.. 'cuz its...it makes sense…I can see why they'd call me that...it doesn't hurt me or anything. so Arabs def have their own slang...like 'wallah bro' or 'cuz' just those typical Arab sayings…that I would never say…I'd never say bro…I'd never say…like…I don't usually swear…that's integrated with my language…I guess I say…relatively big words…they're not really big…people just think they're big...so they say… 'oh why you acting that way'... 'why you so stuck up'… 'why you so White'…and I'm like…what? I'm not even doing anything…so…they'll

just say... 'what's up bro?' and I'll say 'how are you?' (Interview 1)

For Mirna, she represents the dominant American culture to others when she behaves in ways that are perceived to be "too White" or "too American," which is often evidenced by how she speaks. Other Arab-American adolescents may perceive Mirna as rejecting her ethnic heritage, which could then be related to their comments that she is "too White." For other Arab adolescents, Mirna's use of language is perceived as a sign of superiority by her peers (e.g. "Why you so stuck up?"), which could come from the perception of the dominant culture and dominant cultural language as being superior.

      Skin Color. Skin color was also another salient characteristic that was associated with within-group discrimination. Although this idea will be elaborated in greater depth in the next section, it is important to highlight how skin color was salient for some participants' experiences with within-group discrimination (n = 3). On one side of the spectrum, participants spoke about Arab-Americans facing within-group discrimination (from different people) for having darker skin while on the other side of the spectrum, specifically Bassem, spoke about how he faced within-group discrimination for looking "too White."

> **Nada [discussing why some Arabs may get discriminated against]:** Yeah, well... Iraqis and Yemeni just happen to be darker complexity, while Lebanese people they look more White…they're…they...they're more like blonde…they're more… they're the most Americanized you can say, compared to Yemeni's and Iraqis…they stick to their culture…like they're living in the Middle East…while as Lebanese people are more Americanized. (Interview 1)

> **Bassem:** I kinda come off as a White kid...I know for sure that's the case…because when I moved on to the street...about six years ago…I encountered my now best friends back then, and I introduced myself to them...and only 2 of them on the block were Arab and Muslim…they were Lebanese Muslim like me…so…we got along really well…it was good to see that I found people of my own kind living on the same street as me…so that was nice…but as it turned out...even they doubted my ethnicity and religion…they were like there's no way you're Lebanese…there's no way you're Muslim. (Interview 1) I get it from everyone…I've….pretty recently…I went to a wedding…and I walked in with my uncle…who everyone knows is Arab Muslim...and he kind of passes for Arab

Muslim you can kinda tell when you're looking at him…but when I walked in, someone said, "Who's the White kid"? (Interview 1)

Nada not only provides further evidence of within-group discrimination related to national origin, but she highlights a critical point of the value of skin color. Through Nada's comments there is a devaluation of darker skin and an idealization of whiteness. On the other hand, looking "too White," such as the case for Bassem, can lead to people invalidating his experiences or identity as an Arab-American or questioning his in-group status. This could be comparable to acculturation levels, albeit skin tone cannot be changed, in a sense that to minimize the chances of facing within-group discrimination due to skin color Arab-American adolescents have to be in the middle—having some resemblance of Middle Eastern skin tone, but not too light or too dark.

Discussion

Despite living in an ethnic community, the results showed that participants were not completely shielded from discrimination. In fact, within-group discrimination played a role in their lived experiences. Yet, it is important to note that this within-group discrimination mirrored the sociopolitical climate and the societal discrimination experienced by these adolescents. That is, the within-discrimination that was found in this study, played a smaller role than other types of discrimination and may have been reflective of the societal discrimination commonly faced by Arab-Americans, particularly, Muslims. This was evident in participants' stories of the border crossings, social media, government policies, and interpersonal interactions.

Within-group discrimination can be understood by understanding the developmental factors, the community context, and the broader historical and economical influences. Within-group discrimination is not unique to Arab-Americans, but characterizes the social processes in other cultural groups (Córdova and Cervantes, 2010; Hall, 1995; Hunter, 2007). Moreover, it is

127

not unique to Arab-American adolescents. During adolescence, peers often engage in peer group discrimination, often based on various forms of status or status symbols. For instance, some participants discussed differentiating other Arab adolescents on the basis of clothing brands; this status differentiation characterizes adolescents in general (Killen & Stangor, 2001; Lachance, Beaudoin, & Robitaille, 2003).

In regard to communal factors, prior research indicated that the greater ethnic density within a community the greater the likelihood of within-group discrimination (Juang & Alvarez, 2011). This may be due to the within-group heterogeneity found in a dense community. This heterogeneity within the community may increase the likelihood of social hierarchies beginning to form (Córdova and Cervantes, 2010), with these hierarchies embedded in dominant mainstream cultural values. Through the internalization of the dominant cultural values, within-group discrimination can begin to occur on the basis of national origin, skin-tone, and acculturative levels (Hall, 1995; Hunter, 2007).

Previous research has shown that individuals of some races/ethnicities do differentiate others on the basis of national origin (Córdova and Cervantes, 2010; Kumar et al., 2015; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). In the only study that investigated Arab-American adolescents' experiences with intragroup discrimination and the adolescents' differentiation based on their ethnic heritage, Kumar et al., (2015) reported a similar social hierarchy based on nationality. Specifically, participants, who were almost all of Lebanese origin, discussed a hierarchy that placed Lebanese at the "top" with Yemeni's at the bottom and Iraqi's hovering near the "bottom" of the social hierarchy. According to the participants, this commonly held hierarchy lead to discrimination from people of Lebanese national origin against those who were lower on the social hierarchy, such as people from Yemen or Iraq.

This is similar to Latino youths' experiences with intragroup discrimination, who, often times differentiated themselves on the basis of nationality (Coker et al., 2009; Córdova and Cervantes, 2010; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Yet, there is currently a dearth in the literature that investigates why this may occur. Using the CRT perspective, one may posit that these hierarchies are pre-established based on colonization and globalization. For instance, Lebanon was colonized by France in 1920 (Ritli, 2011) in comparison to Yemen, which was not colonized by a Western country. The western influence in Lebanon has been maintained through globalization and colonialism throughout the years. It could be speculated that because the West is often perceived as "superior" the Lebanese may have internalized this "White, European, Western Supremacy" (Burke, 1999, p. 46). This may explain the intragroup discrimination on the basis of nationality as demonstrating a form of ethnocentrism. The Lebanese participants exemplified ethnocentrism when they used their own cultural values, which are largely rooted in Western values, as a standard against which other Arab nationalities would be compared.

This internalization appears to be maintained by the current socio-political climate, which has made it more threatening to be of Arab descent. Thus, there may be an advantage to being Lebanese-American compared to being from other Arab ethnic groups living in the United States. This may result in attempts to maintain the status quo or attempting to maintain power and control within the Lebanese-American culture. By maintaining power and control within their community, it may help facilitate the perception of minimizing the threat of racial/ethnic discrimination outside of the community, by distancing themselves, albeit slightly, from their ethnic group (Pyke, 2010).

Acculturation was another factor that was associated with within-group discrimination. Acculturation is the psychological process that takes place when two cultures

meet (Birman & Simon, 2014). In his model of acculturation, Berry (1980) proposed four acculturative strategies, assimilation (when the ethnic culture is shed entirely), separation (i.e., maintaining ethnic culture while rejecting the new culture), integrated-bicultural (i.e., identifying with both cultures), and marginalization (i.e., identifying with neither cultures). Participants in the current study reported that being "too assimilated" or "too separated" would place someone at risk for facing discrimination. If a person displayed a separated acculturative strategy, then they may be called a "boater," and if they were assimilated they may be called "too White," which is used as an insult.

Acculturation has been shown to be associated with within-group discrimination (Córdova & Cervantes, 2010; Pedraza, 2014). Some researchers have posited that the reason for this association between acculturation and within-group discrimination is because people have internalized varying levels of racism (Pyke, & Dang, 2003). In the present study, there was evidence of internalized racism, which, consciously or unconsciously, fueled biases and stereotypes that could be used to rationalize their negative views and treatment of others. This may indicate the influence of societal prejudices against Arab-Americans. That is, societal attitudes about Arabs may be absorbed, fostering the belief that their ethnic group is inferior (Pyke, & Dang, 2003). Some research has shown that ethnic minorities distance themselves from people from their same ethnic group that may look "too ethnic" because they associate that with the negative messages disseminated by the dominant mainstream culture (Osajima, 1993; Pyke & Dang, 2003). Some Arab adolescents may view those who engage in the separated acculturative strategy as stereotyped representations of Arabs and thus, may be more likely to reject them, as it could be threatening to their sense of self. Therefore, Arab-American adolescents may attempt to distance themselves from looking "too Arab" as a way to protect

themselves and promote a positive sense of self. However, while there are some benefits to being White and assimilating to some degree, going beyond a certain point, is considered to be "shedding the culture." Being called "too White" is considered an insult and often the person is perceived as not caring about the culture or caring about their fellow ethnic group members. Perhaps this may be a reason why participants all had a form of bi-cultural or integrated identity (Benet-Martinez, 2005). By living in a community that denigrates people for being "too Arab" and/or "too American," being "in-between" may be the most protective identity. Lastly, skin-tone emerged as a salient theme within the current study. However, this will be further discussed below in the section on Colorism.

Another reason for the within-group discrimination occurring on the basis of acculturation is the role of ethnic nativism. As stated before, it appeared that within-group discrimination appeared based on displaying a separation acculturative strategy. Participants made this differentiation partly based on citizenship status; specifically, whether other Arab adolescents were immigrants or U.S. citizens. That is, participants demonstrated ethnic nativism when they discussed the provision of social and economic benefits to Arab adolescents who were U.S., citizens. In this case, it may have overlapped with the concept of ethnocentrism, where Lebanese participants, who tended to be more assimilated, discussed the social and economic restrictions placed on Arab adolescents who may be less assimilated or from "lower-ranking" nationalities.

CHAPTER VI:

CRITICAL RACE CONSCIOUSNESS

Participants exhibited the superordinate theme of critical race consciousness

(CRC). CRC is defined as "a critical understanding of the asymmetrical power relationships that

exist between Blacks and Whites in America" (Carter, 2008). In this study, the definition has

been amended to understand the power relationships between Arab-Americans and Whites in

America. Arab-American adolescents in this study exhibited a heightened awareness of race

relations in America, including their own. Racism was understood and discussed in almost all the

participants' experiences, indicating that racism was ordinary and embedded in their everyday

lived experiences. Essentially their awareness of racism and discrimination helped in their

construction of their lived experiences and racial/ethnic identity. This awareness and their

racialized construction of their lived experience was exemplified through their discussion of the

CRT constructs of White Privilege, Racism as a Normal Occurrence, Intersectionality, and

Racist Nativism.

White Privilege

One aspect of Whiteness as Property is the privilege that comes with being White. White

privilege yields certain advantages to which many non-White students do not have access. Two

participants provided direct evidence for White Privilege, although the concept of privilege was

embedded in the majority of responses. As discussed before, Alia perceived discrimination

from the teachers at school. In her experiences, Alia perceived differential treatment on the basis

of race, stating that the teacher favored her White peer because she herself is White.

> **Alia:** I already know she's racist because she does it with a lot of people. She...just
> defends all the Americans…
> **R:** Americans meaning White kids?
> **Alia:** Yeah…she probably doesn't like Arabs.

R: What is it about the White kids that she favors?
Alia: She's White. (Interview 2)

Alia is not only highlighting her perceived interpersonal discrimination but is highlighting a clear

and concrete example of privilege: (1) students of color often may not have teachers that are of

the same race/ethnicity as them in comparison to White students (e.g., Samer: "so the teachers at

my school are not Arab…"); (2) students of color may often face differential treatment from

people in authority, who may harbor stereotyped beliefs about Arab-Americans. For the latter,

Alia goes on to discuss how this teacher views all Arab-Americans to be disrespectful, which is

why she was disciplined over the other white student.   Another form of privilege was

exemplified by Celine, who discussed how people of color are not only often treated unequally

but are often highlighted more negatively in the media in comparison to Whites. Celine stated

that White people are often the only group she perceives as being treated fairly, and it's often

highlighted in the media.

Celine: It's always on the media...it's never White people that
are looked at badly...it's mostly other cultures that are
shaped negatively. (Interview 2)

Through Celine's perspective, the media perpetuates the negative views of other cultures by

stereotypes or consistently reporting out negative stories involving people of color while

ignoring negative stories that involve Whites. This is not only indicative of privilege but speaks

to the broader concept of White Supremacy, where the media is sending implicit messages of

White superiority.

Discussion

Although only two participants (Alia and Celine) provided direct evidence of White

Privilege, there were broad themes that were interpreted across the majority of the

participants. That is, when participants spoke about being oppressed institutionally (e.g., Travel

Ban), interpersonally, and/or vicariously, they were all highlighting examples of experiences that their White counterparts rarely ever experience, indicating White Privilege. There is a privilege of traveling freely, free from worries about profiling, detainments, or bans, throughout the world or across borders that Arab-American's may not have. There is a privilege of being able to leave a community without fear of being hurt or discriminated against. There is a privilege of going online via social media or video games without a fear of personal attacks or backlash. There is a privilege of not experiencing being viewed as a "foreigner," who doesn't belong (racist nativism, discussed below).

Lastly, there is a privilege of racial/ethnic identity, where feeling marginalized on the basis of race/ethnicity is less likely to occur for White students. All of these privileges provide advantages for White adolescents. By participating in a system and society that is built for them they are exercising White privilege.   White privilege has been theorized and studied throughout the literature (Solomona, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell, 2005; McIntosh, 1990; Vaught & Castagno, 2008). Alia's experiences with the teacher highlighted White privilege when she viewed the teacher as favoring the White student. Alia believed that she was mistreated due to her race/ethnicity. The teacher was also exercising White privilege via her possible perpetuation of stereotypes and possible unawareness of the "system of Whiteness" (Solomona et al., 2005).

For Celine, the media often display minorities negatively in comparison to their White counter-parts. Media has been shown to play a role in perceptual bias (Entman, 2007). Further, some research has shown that media does tend to portray Whites as victims and minorities as the perpetrators (Entman, & Rojecki, 2001; Feagin, & O'brien, 2004).   This bias is advantageous to Whites and underscores the notion that Whites are pure, innocent and good (Deglado & Stefancic, 2012). Thus, the media displays a significant role in maintaining and distributing

power (Entman, 2007), which appears to benefit the maintenance of White power. In both cases, whether Whites are conscious of it or not, White privilege can serve to maintain the power and self-interest of their group (Bell, 1987). Thus, this can pose a risk factor for Arab-American adolescents, where they are continuously placed at a disadvantage via the restriction of certain privileges and through the oppression perpetuated by the media bias.

Colorism

In addition to White Privilege, White Supremacy is also highlighted in the idealization of "Whiteness" through the concept of Colorism. Colorism is the idea that discrimination is based on one's specific skin color or "shade" (Burton, Bonilla-Silva, Ray, Buckelew, & Hordge Freeman, 2010).   Preferential treatment based on color can be seen when greater privileges are provided to those with lighter skin-tones than darker skin-tones, such as economic (e.g., income) or social privileges (e.g., marriage; Hunter, 2007). Many participants (n = 4) discussed how looking or acting "White" provides some benefits to their daily lives. Participants discussed how, within the Arab-American community there is an idealization of skin color and White culture/ideals. Some of this was captured in the discussion of Within-Group discrimination, as many participants discussed how their Yemeni or Iraqi peers would often get bullied or discriminated against due to some of their characteristics, one of which was skin tone. If students were of darker complexion, then they were more likely to be marginalized, called a "boater," and/or be bullied, Mirna provided a clear example of this:

> **Mirna:** If they...like if they know how to speak English…but they choose to speak Arabic [with everyone]...and…if they like...have…darker skin...like...really tan skin…and…they...I guess have certain distinct smell...I don't know...this is just what I'm gathering…and like maybe their hair is greasy...or they're like…not wearing Nike or Adidas…they're wearing off brand clothes…that's the criteria for a boater. (Interview 1)

Other participants, such as Nada and Alia provided further evidence regarding the importance of

135

"looking White." As stated in the previous section on within-group discrimination Nada discussed how some Arab-Americans get discriminated against for having darker skin. Alia, along with her mother also provided concrete evidence about looking "White." When asked why she perceived her daughter as having experienced little discrimination, Alia's mother responded "…most likely they look at her...like White. I don't know why...maybe her name…maybe because she has White skin." The evidence indicates that having lighter skin tones or being White is a benefit, it shields the participants from discrimination (especially within-group discrimination). It also provides evidence that there is an idealization of being White and a devaluation of non-White skin tones. As stated before, darker skin tends to be associated with more negative characteristics, potentially mirroring dominant cultural values associated with Whiteness. Specifically, if being White is superior and grants a person greater access to property, opportunities, privilege, and power, then people may have greater motivation to strive for Whiteness. Even further evidence of this are the people who are engaging in the discrimination against Yemeni's and Iraqi Americans. As discussed before in a previous section, Lebanese peers were the one's engaging in discrimination against their darker skin-toned peers. This could be due to the Lebanese's identification with Whiteness and Western culture. Almost all participants were Lebanese (n = 9) and many critiqued the people from their own national origin as perceiving themselves as "superior" in comparison to other Arab-Americans. Nada, who, is Lebanese, provides some evidence as to why this may be the case:

> **Nada:** Yeah well…well…Iraqis and Yemeni just happen to be darker complexity, while Lebanese people they look more White…they're more like blonde…they're more… they're the most Americanized you can say, compared to Yemeni's and Iraqis…they stick to their culture…like they're living in the Middle East…while as Lebanese people are more Americanized. (Interview 1)

In this instance, Nada observes how because Lebanese people are more likely to look physically

White, they are more likely to be assimilated into the American culture (i.e.

"Americanized"). Through this assimilation, Lebanese adolescents may start to identify with

their White counter-parts, idealizing Whiteness and White culture while devaluing their own

race/ethnicity. This adaptation strategy appears to be a trade-off; that is, attempts to gain greater

privileges and opportunities may come at a cost of undermining one's ethnic identity.

> **R:** How come the Lebanese they are "the best"?
> **Mirna:** I think because they [the Lebanese] are considered almost the most liberal
> of the Middle Eastern...countries...that like…oh they're so not primitive and
> barbaric...but almost in a sense of…we…have a more evolved mindset than the
> Iraqi's and Yemeni's …the Lebanese def. think they're better than Yemeni's and
> Iraqi's...I know that for a fact. (Interview 2)

Mirna's mother also echoed Mirna's point, noting that the Lebanese tend to hold more "modern

beliefs" or "a more evolved mindset", which are typically congruent with Western beliefs. She

stated that some Arab cultures hold on to "1000-year-old traditions," where some assimilation

may be necessary to avoid perpetuating common Arab stereotypes. This internalization of White

culture and idealization of Whiteness can lead to discriminatory behaviors from Lebanese people

against their own culture. Through internalizing the value of Whiteness and denigrating their

own race/ethnicity, internalizing White culture, Lebanese adolescents may start to engage in or

model the White mainstream culture:

> **Alia:** Like…how I said like...how they treat Yemenis...it's not because they were
> here before...they're more like Americans...we are more like (Americans)
> **R:** So how come...because we are more American we treat them differently?
> **Alia:** Yeah 'cuz like Americans are the ones that usually treat others
> differently...not all…but...so ...if they…if they're with the Lebanese…more…the
> Lebanese will learn from there and treat others. (Interview 2)

Similarly, Alia viewed Lebanese-Americans as being the most assimilated into the White

mainstream culture, but also, highlighted the potential for Lebanese Americans to learn and

model discrimination from their White counterparts in hopes of possibly entering the exclusive

"club" of Whiteness, which could ultimately provide economic, social, legal, and psychological benefits.

Discussion

Skin-tone also appeared to be a salient factor in the current study as conceptualized by colorism. Arab-American adolescents of Lebanese heritage, who were primarily light-skinned, appeared to have a bias in favor of lighter skin tones. Lebanese adolescents, who tended to have lighter skin, discussed perceiving less discrimination due to being more "Americanized" and looking more "White." Whiteness has often been perceived as a symbol of beauty and civility (Hunter, 2007). In fact, empirical research has provided evidence for this phenomenon, indicating that racial minorities with lighter skin tones often are treated differently (Keith, & Herring, 1991; Maddox, & Gray, 2002). Specifically, they are afforded greater privileges and access to property in comparison to their darker-skinned counterparts. For instance, research has shown that racial minorities in higher SES tended to also have lighter skin (Hunter, 2007; Hill, 200; Rondilla & Spickard, 2007). The evidence provided in the current study indicates that having lighter skin tones or being White may be beneficial, as it shields the participants from discrimination (especially within-group discrimination) from within their culture.

Colorism also underscores CRT theorists concept of binary thinking and White Supremacy (i.e., everyday privileges afforded to Whites that are left unchallenged, maintaining power and control over the mainstream culture; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Gillborn, 2005). This binary thinking is shown within the U.S. through the idealization of being White and a devaluation of non-White skin tones. As stated before, darker skin tends to be associated with more negative characteristics, potentially mirroring dominant cultural values associated with Whiteness. The idealization of Whiteness by both non-Whites and the majority culture

comes from greater access to property (i.e. social, legal, and physical privileges and benefits; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012), opportunities, and power that people observe and may be motivated to strive for Whiteness (Rondilla & Spickard, 2007; Hunter, 2007, Burton et al., 2010). Thus, it may be that in the present study, Arab-American adolescents internalized this binary thinking as well as assumptions of White Supremacy, as not only a way to ward off discrimination but also to access the many opportunities and privileges associated with being perceived as White.

Interestingly, one participant, Bassem, spoke of how being "too White" also has its drawbacks within the culture. People often perceived him as not being part of the ethnic community, sometimes questioning his ethnic membership. This was similar to Mirna's experiences of being told she is acting "too White." Acting "too White" may be the "flip side" of colorism, where darker-skinned people of the same racial/ethnic minority perceive the lighter-skinned people as shedding their racial/ethnic culture. In the present study, this may be exemplified by being perceived as not being "Arab enough." In the case of Bassem, it may be that other Arab-Americans may have also succumbed to the perception of Arab-American homogeneity; that is, all Arab-Americans "look the same," which may indicate an internalization of Arab stereotypes from the dominant culture (Ridouani, 2011). Because Bassem did not have the stereotypical Arab appearance, his identity as an Arab-American was questioned.

Scholars have viewed this phenomenon as a defensive response to lighter-skinned members of the community, rather than not caring about the ethnic community or culture (Rockquemore, 2002). The participants in the current research distinguished other Arab-Americans by skin color. Skin color also appeared to be conflated with being "American," which will be discussed in depth in the section on racist nativism. For participants such as Bassem, being viewed as "too White" came with some social disadvantages. Some research has

139

indicated that being perceived as "too White" by your heritage community is seen as having less racial consciousness and having less ethnic and/or racial loyalty, which, can result in being excluded from the community (Hunter, 2004). It was even seen with former President Barack Obama, where his "Blackness" was questioned (Coates, 2007; Hunter, 2007). Being perceived as physically or behaviorally as, "too White", can be a risk factor, as the participants may perceive it as a form of rejection or exclusion from the ethnic community. This raises the possibility that within-group racism works both ways. Not only are non-Lebanese Arab American adolescents perceived as "less than," but Lebanese Arab American adolescents, although advantaged by their social status, may be also viewed negatively and excluded by the larger community. They may thus, be at risk for rejection and double discrimination, from their ethnic community as well as the White majority society.

Racism as a Normal Occurrence

Experiencing "Racism as Normal" was experienced by almost all participants (p = 8). The participant's discussions about their experiences with discrimination, witnessing other people experiencing discrimination, or the participant's responses to discrimination highlighted the prevalence of racism in their daily lives. Arab-American adolescents not only were racially conscious about their own race/ethnicity but were also aware of the prevalence and normality of racism in other races/ethnicities. Bassem added that he does not perceive racism as decreasing anytime soon because he sees racism as something that is taught, something "that's been bred...and it's going to be hard because I don't think people care to get rid of it…." While a realistic perception, Bassem's response was laced with futility. In this quotation, Bassem alludes to the critical race theory concept of interest convergence, where the dominant culture aims to maintain the status quo (maintaining White supremacy) and thus, is less likely to actively attempt

to get rid of racism (in whatever form it may be) unless it benefits them.

Many Arab-American adolescents anticipated discrimination. As seen in the section on

Anticipated Discrimination, racism was perceived to be a common occurrence, it became to be

expected. This was especially salient with the new 2017 presidential administration.

> **R:** Another thing is you said…you alluded…you talk about airport security...what happens with airport security?
> **Nada:** Just recently my mom was gonna go...in February…it was right after the Muslim ban…
> **R:** when she went to Australia..?
> **Nada:** yeah. and she was saying like...no one got stopped to the side but her…so like…come on…what are you gonna think at that point. It's obviously because she's wearing a scarf…so they checked her…and they put her thru the metal detector...usually it's one or the other...like you just go thru the metal detector...if nothing happens…you're done...no...like nothing happened…but they still decided to check her…
> **R:** Your mom told you about this…and she told you what happened…when she was telling you this...how did you feel about it?
> **Nada:** I was not surprised...
> **R:** not surprised...
> **Nada:** no not at all...I expected it...I was nervous for her you know...I know obviously, Australia isn't a Muslim majority country ...it wasn't on the list...but like...just because of that…people are like…people are gonna be more concerned with Muslims and Airports. and airplanes...so...I was nervous for her...and I expected it…honestly. (Interview 2)

In this case, Nada's responses suggested that not only was she not surprised about it, but it

suggested that she is drawing from past experiences or stereotypes regarding Muslims and

airports. That is, she seems to view the underlying implicit biases and stereotypes regarding

airports and Muslims held at the societal level as "terrorism". Nada seems to have encountered

these messages often enough to generalize it and anticipate being treated accordingly.

Other participants discussed how they were not particularly "fazed" by the bigotry and racism

shown during the 2017 presidential election, such as Alia, who stated, "I've always thought

people are racist but…not as much Trump...". This feeling of surprise about the President's

actions were also echoed in Sarah's response:

Sarah: I've always known that the world was a pretty discriminating place or like …that the world is just so filled with hate...they elected a man that was filled with hatred or this bad person…maybe…I was a bit shocked or surprised that people would actually do that…but it wasn't...nothing…

Sarah [later elaborating]: Nothing really ever actually changed…my view stayed the same… it's just after so many years of seeing what they can do...of people who they've elected…who they've put in power…like positions of high power…it's just...you kind of built up...where...it's like ok it happens…it makes sense...its normally happening… (Interview 1)

In this excerpt Sarah explicitly stated how racism (both interpersonal and institutional) is not only normal, but pervasive and consistent. While she was more so "shocked" at the overt actions of others, her general idea of racism was reinforced and normalized, ultimately confirming her initial beliefs that this is something that is "normally happening…".   Not only is racism occurring but it has changed forms and Bassem was acutely aware of the normalcy of this type of "modern" electronic form of discrimination.

Bassem: Technology has gone far enough...where if you piss off the wrong people...they're going to get you back for it one way or another...but yeah…there's definitely. a barrier...between what racism used to be and what racism is now…now it's just lonely trollish people on the internet that get off on that kind of stuff...when it used to be people getting lynched...people getting killed...or getting kidnapped because of their color…fortunately…it's not like that anymore...but it doesn't mean it's not still around...it definitely still happens. (Interview 2)

The concept of "racism as normal" was also prevalent in some of the participants' responses to discrimination (n = 5). Some of their responses indicated a sense of apathy or desensitization, indicating that racism is embedded in their lived experiences. Participants' responses to discrimination will be further discussed in Chapter VIII, however it is important to highlight how some of these responses can be indicative of consistent and normalized experiences of discrimination. For instance, Bassem's response to some of the comments on social media indicated that racism has become so normal to him that it no longer elicits a strong emotional response:

Bassem [being asked what racial comments he has heard over social media]: Camel Jockey...some really vulgar ones…like…definitely just terrorist…or…one of the big ones I get is "blow yourself up"—but that comes by default…it's a joke...it's a meme at this point…no one really…in my case I don't take it seriously…they might…but it doesn't offend me any more…(Interview 1)

This desensitized response was also evidenced in Nada's response:

Nada: Mmm….um…well I've learned that anything is possible…uh...yeah…I don't know…I learned not to be really be shocked by people's reactions to me…I've gotten used to it by now...especially with…the president now making it so normal...to make Muslims feel like…they don't belong in the United States…(Interview 1)

For Bassem and Nada, this sense of normality towards racism has lead them to become desensitized to the racism, which indicates that racism is so pervasive and an intricate part of society that it warranted an adaptive response from the adolescents.

Discussion

A significant theme that emerged throughout the study was the concept of Racism as a Normal Occurrence. In the current study, Arab-American adolescents not only were racially conscious towards their own race/ethnicity but they were also aware of the prevalence and normality of racism in other races/ethnicities. This normality was displayed explicitly, stating that racism is "bred," and displayed implicitly by showing a lack of a response to racism (e.g., statements of "I was not surprised" and general feelings of desensitization). To the participants, racism appeared to be pervasive through the media, social media, socio-political climate, and society in general. These lived experiences highlight the central tenet of Critical Race Theory that racism is embedded in the daily lived experiences for people of color. The US society tends to take a color-blind approach, often not perceiving racism as a significant problem or occurrence in society. Yet, for Arab-American adolescents in this study, this was not the case. In fact, the color-blind approach appeared to provide evidence that race and racism was not only

salient for Arab-American adolescents but has become *ordinary*. Additionally, Bassem

perceives racism as being "bred" and does not perceive it as changing in the foreseeable

future. He stated "...it's going to be hard because I don't think people care to get rid of it…." In

this quote, Bassem alludes to the concept of interest convergence, where the dominant culture

finds little incentive to change or eradicate racism because it does not necessarily further the

interests of the dominant culture. Thus, the dominant culture aims to maintain the status quo by

taking a color-blinded approach, ultimately perpetuating racism and discrimination, thereby

making it ordinary.

Intersectionality

While not directly assessed, ethnic identity did emerge as a sub-theme across participants.

While almost all the participants exhibited some level of biculturalism, half of the participants

more strongly oriented towards their ethnic heritage. This was evidenced by their Arab pride (n =

9), ability to highlight positive attributes (e.g. traditions, behavior, dress, language; n = 8)

communicating a sense of belonging (n = 5), and their adherence to norms or beliefs of the

culture (n = 5). Participants that exhibited high ethnic identity were Samer, Nada, Mirna,

Bassem, and Sarah. Two out of the three females wore the hijab. One of these five was half

Lebanese and half Iraqi. These five participants also experienced the most discrimination in

comparison to the other five participants. Three characteristics appeared related to participants

with high ethnic identity: (1) participants were more likely to possess a greater racial

consciousness and thereby, actively involve themselves in the community or social media

concerning their ethnicity; (2) they were more likely to perceive discrimination; (3) they were

more likely to have a higher reactivity to discriminatory events. For instance, Nada, Bassem, and

Sarah were both highly involved on social media, often commenting or sharing posts related to

Arab-Americans. For instance:

> **Bassem:** I do get into some…. heated online arguments but I don't consider them
> significant at all…often times what happens is that I present a logical opinion and
> often times I present fact
> **R:** Related to what?
> **Bassem:** Related to culture…and how people are treated a certain way...like...I
> recently witnessed a post on Twitter© about Palestine...not being legitimate...and
> you know…I cracked open books, I went through online…directory…searching
> through all the files...that were to be…looked through…as of Google…on
> Palestine. (Interview 1)

In this excerpt Bassem is explaining the posts he typically gets involved in, which is related to

his culture. I later asked him why he engages with people on social media regarding his ethnic

culture. In his response, Bassem communicated a sense of in-group favoritism (e.g., pride),

which prompted him to feel empowered to protect his culture:

> **Bassem:** Because if I don't protect my culture, who is? 'cuz I mean...I can look
> through the comments and see people saying you shouldn't judge them like
> that...you shouldn't say this…you shouldn't say that…but telling someone not to
> do this…or that...isn't really gonna change it…you have to like…tell them how it
> is…change them through conversation not just a comment on Instagram©...like I
> usually pull people aside in a PM [private message] and talk to them about it…so
> I don't just leave them….just stupid…I don't leave them alone like that....usually
> I tell them how it is…(Interview 1)

While Mirna was less likely to share or comment on social media, she was actively involved in

the community and invested her time reading and commenting on current events, which was

evidenced in her interviews and journals.

> **Mirna:** Here was a stabbing in Portland, Oregon of some men who were
> defending an Arab girl from a White supremacist. Made me very hurt, and very
> upset, to hear that two great people died because someone couldn't fathom
> coexisting with another race. (Journal, Week Two)

When she would comment or share an online post, Mirna had strong responses towards current

events related to her culture. In week two of her Journal, Mirna discussed how she felt " Anger,

anger, and more anger. It's incomprehensible", regarding the Portland, Oregon stabbings. In

contrast, the other five participants perceived little discrimination and were often not as emotionally reactive to perceiving any form of discrimination. For instance, Malek, who oriented more towards the American culture, stated that when he would watch YouTube© videos he would not be as affected:

> **Malek:** Personally, I honestly don't care it...I mean…people…some people take it seriously, like they'd……their lifestyle is threatened and they have to change but I don't take it seriously. (Interview 1)

While Malek acknowledged that other Arab-Americans may have different reactions, he does not take discrimination personally or as seriously as others. This was a consistent response style, displaying a detached intellectual response to discrimination. While this may be a defensive response, it may also be related to being less attached to his ethnic heritage, in comparison to his peers. Other participants, such as Hassan and Kareem, who also had low ethnic identity, reported less perceived discrimination and weaker responses to discrimination. It may be however, that this could be due to Hassan's and Kareem's ethnic identity development being still in the early stages in contrast to Malek who may be more advanced in his ethnic identity development.   Alia explicitly stated that she orients towards the American culture, with that in mind, it was no surprise that she experienced less discrimination in comparison to her peers.

Religion

Although not an explicitly discussed form of discrimination, religion was woven throughout the discussions about discrimination. Participants often described discrimination in relation to being Muslim. For instance, these participants below discussed how being Muslim was one reason for why Arabs in general, or they, personally, experienced discrimination:

> **Mirna:** Yes. Unfortunately, there was a bombing in Manchester at an Ariana Grande concert, and the perpetrator was an Arab Muslim. Now, anti-Arab and anti-Muslim sentiment is popping up in even higher quantities and in even more places. (Journal, Week 1)

146

Nada: …. I noticed a man with a "Make America Great Again" hat, and I tried to avoid him, and any possible confrontations. We met again when I went to go stand in line, and he kept staring specifically at me, most likely because I was wearing a headscarf. I felt I should try to act happier and more "normal" so he could cast his attention somewhere else. The whole situation made me feel ashamed. I constantly want to disprove people's misconceptions about me, and I find difficulty in accepting the fact that I can't do it by faking a smile. To make myself feel better, I reassure myself that the reason I put on my scarf is between me and God, and no one forced me to do it, so nobody's opinion should impact how I chose to practice a small, but significant part of my religion. (Journal, Week 3)

Alia: Because the terrorist make us look bad...because they claim they're Muslim even though they're not…and then…they just go out killing people...and claim them under our name…which makes everyone else think we're terrorist.
R: That makes sense...like the…its...generalizes…people are like…the terrorist are the ones that are really every single Arab look bad and that affects you?
Alia: Yeah. usually with other Arab people...when I go to their houses...they're very nice, welcoming, they don't care, they'll let you do whatever they want at their own house…and then even at Lebanon…and people go to…across the world somewhere else…the Arabs are nice… I'm not saying all Arabs are nice but the majority of Arabs are nice…(Interview 1)

While participants did not explicitly state that they were experiencing religious discrimination in these examples, participants perceived that being Muslim was one of the reasons why they were perceiving discrimination. At times, religion was woven into the language used throughout the interviews, casually interchanging "Muslim" and "Arab," as seen with Alia's example. It appeared that being Arab has negative connotations for others because it is equated with being Muslim which for many, is the same as being a terrorist. It appeared that being Muslim is the primary basis for discrimination and being Arab was incidental to that. For example, two participants directly discussed discrimination related to religion. This was, however, conflated with ethnic identity. As shown in the previous section both Nada and Sarah reported that people "automatically assume you're Arab, you're Muslim" (Nada, Interview 1) or "...they're unable to differentiate between like a religion and like a culture...from…just bad people" (Sarah, Interview 1). It appeared that being Muslim was the primary basis for which participants perceived

discrimination. They perceived that the discrimination targeted at Arabs also was targeted at

Muslims, which may make them feel "double discrimination." That is, they may perceive

discrimination from being Arab as well as discrimination from being Muslim.

Gender

Lastly, gender was a theme that appeared in four of the five female participants'

interviews and none of the male responses. The four female participants discussed how being a

girl often led to fewer privileges within the Arab culture. To them, being a girl meant that there

were more restrictions in comparison to male siblings or peers:

> **Mirna:** Well...because I'm a girl I have less privileges than say, my
> brother…which is also something that comes with being an Arab…
> like if you are an Arab girl…you cannot expect the same amount of
> freedom as your brother...that's just the norm…so that kinda bugs me…
> **Mirna:** …It's like…in the Arab culture...girls are almost like...these untouchable
> things...fragile...they're destined to one life…so…they're trying to almost
> like...train these girls to be ready…like you know? so they have to protect them
> from…the dangers of society…the impurities...that...anything that will make them
> impure… (Interview 1)

Mirna's second half of her response highlighted the potential cultural roots of these differences,

indicating that girls are often seen as fragile and pure, in need of protection. This underlying

message of fragility sent another message of male superiority, that Celine highlighted:

> **Celine:** No, I think the guy's opinion that men are superior to women. They always have
> this view…like oh we should always be the first...on top of everyone...so...yeah.
> **R:** Can you give me an example besides them cutting in line...or something.
> **Celine:** They...always think...last time I heard…oh we should be able to cuss. and I don't
> think girls should do it...it's trashy...I thought it...I think it's so unfair…so sometimes
> they think they're so superior. (Interview 1)

In this example, Celine not only discusses how males perceive themselves to be superior, but she

also provides another example of girls expected to be "pure" through the avoidance of obscene

language. It appears that within the Arab culture, the adolescents are perceiving gender

inequalities rooted in the perception of male superiority and gender roles. These messages have

been reported to have made their way into seemingly light-hearted jokes made by male peers at school:

> **Nada:** At school they'll make fun of it ...but they won't do anything like...like a girl was running against my friend for president and my friend is a guy and he's like "we all know girls can't be president," as a joke...I'm like shut up that's not funny…but like other than that...they'll make dumb jokes…but nothing really serious. (Interview 1)

These examples indicated that these female adolescents felt disempowered or discriminated on the basis of gender.   It was not specific to one setting, but rather, viewed as cultural and integrated into their norms and expectations. If the girls were to violate these norms or roles it would be perceived as "shameful...or wrong.." (Sarah, Interview 1) and affecting "their reputation" (Mirna, Interview 2). Sarah discussed an incident in the community where another girl had violated a norm and how it shamed the family. Sarah felt angry about how people treated this girl's family but refused to step outside of the gender role, although she was against them.

> **Sarah:** I've once brought it up you know…I've told my parents...like you know it's probably not fair to ridicule her 'cuz it's her life...but then I normally don't...it's…also...even a bigger more...shame…or people look weird at you...if you try to defend the person...if you try to say...you know why do you care… 'cuz they'll think...automatically in their head "oh you're going to end up like that person" which to them…is a bad thing...for you to be more independent…(Interview 2)

Her reluctance spoke to her need to protect her family from shame and thus, found herself reluctantly adhering to them. Many of the girls often felt "stuck" in these norms, feeling powerless to change because their behavior and maintenance of these roles also appeared to reflect their family's honor. It appeared that Sarah was not only navigating her heritage culture and mainstream culture but also, something that is more commonly seen with adolescents—a navigation between traditional and modern cultures.

Discussion

Intersectionality also emerged as a theme across participants. Intersectionality is the

fifth tenet of CRT, which takes into consideration the overlap of multiple identities (Delgado, & Stefancic, 2001). One such identity is ethnic identity. About half of the participants who exhibited high ethnic identity exhibited more perceived discrimination, and had greater sensitivity/reactivity to discriminatory events. In general, research has shown that ethnic identity is associated with greater levels of discrimination, even with Arab-Americans (Ahmed, Kia-Keating & Tsai, 2011; Amer & Hovey, 2007; Britto & Amer, 2007; Read, 2003; Umaña-Taylor, & Updegraff, 2007). Other research has also shown that ethnic social activism is related to people's ethnic identity (Cronin, Levin, Branscombe, van Laar, & Tropp, 2012; Nagel, 1995; Sidanius, Van Laar, Levin, & Sinclair, 2004; Simon et al., 1998) and discrimination. In the presence of discrimination, people with greater ethnic identification are more likely to engage in ethnic social activism. One explanation for this is through the Identification-Rejection Model discussed previously (Branscombe et al., 1999). When faced with discrimination, participants strengthened their ethnic identity, by strengthening their pride, attachment, and sense of belongingness to their group, which typically leads to heightened self-esteem. Through this identification, participants may be more likely to engage in activism on behalf of their ethnic group or vice versa. In the present study, participants who exhibited higher ethnic identity were also more likely to respond more actively to discrimination, such as engaging themselves in conversations on social media. Further, there has been some research indicating that ethnic identity can affect one's sensitivity or reaction to discrimination (Mason, Maduro, Derlega, Hacker, Winstead, & Haywood, 2017). This was evident with Mirna and Malek. Mirna, who appeared to have a stronger ethnic identity, responded more strongly to current events centered on racism/discrimination that targeted her ethnic group (e.g., Portland, Oregon train stabbings) in comparison to Malek, who displayed an indifferent or detached response to examples of

150

discrimination on YouTube©. Thus, the strength of ethnic identity appeared to shape the lived experiences of Arab-American adolescents, providing some evidence for intersectionality.

Further, in the present study, the adolescents viewed non-Arabs as conflating religion with ethnic identity. Research has shown that within the Arab culture ethnic identity and religion are in fact, highly interrelated (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009; Ahmed, Kia-Keating, & Tsai, 2011; Ali, 2006). This may be because the Arab culture is grounded in Islam (Read, 2003). Further, since 9/11 there has been a greater increase in discrimination against Muslims, highlighting the relationship between negative associations and Islam (ADC, 2008). Two participants discussed perceiving this conflation in relation to discrimination. For instance, they stated that people associated "Arab" with "Muslim" and "Muslim" with "terrorist." Both participants also wore the hijab, making their religion more salient, which could propel them into the spotlight (Budescu, 2012). Research has shown that Arab-Muslims are more likely than Arab Christians to perceive discrimination due to the saliency of their religious attire (Awad, 2010). In this study, it may be that participants were more aware of this association between Arab, Muslim, and "terrorist", because they may have experienced it or were more likely to perceive it, due to their religious attire making their religious identity more salient in their everyday lives,. In general, their discussion about these associations appeared to highlight cultural discrimination, indicating that they experienced "double discrimination," for being Arab, and for being Muslim. This conflation also appeared to highlight a feeling of being misunderstood, both on an ethnic and religious level.

Four participants, all of whom were female, discussed feeling discriminated against due to gender. They experienced the majority of discrimination within their ethnic community. Research has shown that gender can also place a person at risk for perceiving discrimination

(Ahmed et al. 2011; Byrd & Carter-Andrews, 2016; Knight, & Zeiders, 2011; Clark & Nguyen, 2012;).

As stated in Chapter II, Arab culture is highly gendered, with females and males often adhering to traditional gender roles (Al-Harahsheh, 2011). Additionally, the Arab culture is grounded in Islam (Ahmed et al., 2011), and thus, a person's ethnic identity or religious commitment may affect gender role adherence (Read, 2003). Therefore, females may also feel additional pressure to adhere to the traditional gender roles, as it is perceived as a way to carry the culture and religious beliefs (Amer & Hovey, 2007; Read, 2003). Females are expected to uphold family cohesion and honor, by behaving in a socially acceptable way (Al-Harahsheh, 2011; Haboush, 2007; Hakim-Larson, Kamoo, Nassar-McMillan, Porcerelli, 2007). Females can bring shame to the family by breaking the traditional gender roles, such as engaging in risky behavior (e.g., staying out too late), dressing provocatively, or engaging in premarital sex (Abu-Ras, 2007). Within the current study, participants discussed how they often felt a perception that females are fragile or pure. Another message often received is the idea of male superiority. This was exhibited through discussions of perception of differentiation treatment between boys and girls (from the family) and explicit discussion of male superiority (e.g., Celine: "No I think the guy's opinion that men are superior to women;" Interview 1). The Arab culture is highly patriarchal (Haboush, 2007), with the patriarchy rooted in male superiority (Abu-Ras, 2007). Yet, while many participants acknowledged these gender roles and, to an extent, adhered to them, they felt "stuck," indicating that they wanted to transcend these perceived restrictions and integrate more egalitarian values, found in the US. This may also be a function of their bi-cultural ethnic identity; as they attempt to balance values from both cultures, tensions between conflicting expectations may arise (Sirin et al., 2008), producing feelings of being helpless or

152

powerless.

However, in Sarah's example, there seemed to be a conflict between the heritage and mainstream culture in relation to the beliefs on gender. Research has shown that this conflict tends to be occur between immigrant families and their children due to acculturative (thereby, cultural) differences (Chung, 2001; Lim, Yeh, Liang, Lau, & McCabe, 2008; Ying, & Han, 2007. Further, some of this research has highlighted that this generational conflict occurs more often for females than for males (Chung, 2001), which may be due to greater pressures for females to adhere to and maintain the traditional culture. This conflict may be amplified due to another similar and intersecting generational conflict between traditional and modern cultures. Literature has shown that there are typical cohort or generational conflicts between the "modern generation" and the traditional generation (Lu, & Yang, 2006) These conflicts arise from shifting norms and values and can be especially salient during adolescence, especially adolescent females, as they are attempting to seek individuation from their parents gendered restrictions (Chung, 2001; Rumbaut, 1996).

Thus, in the present study, being an Arab-American female may place them at greater risk of perceiving gender-based discrimination in addition to race/ethnic-based discrimination, making them a "double-minority." Additionally, it highlights how Arab-American adolescents attempt to navigate conflicting ideologies and how these ideologies are associated with their gender and ethnic identity.

Racist Nativism

Racist nativism was another theme that was generated under the superordinate theme of Race Consciousness. Racist nativism occurs when nativity becomes restricted to a specific race (i.e. White) in a country with other races being perceived as "other" or "foreigners" (Huber,

153

2010). Racist nativism was seen throughout the majority of the participants (n = 7). Participants

spoke about feeling like they were "foreigners," and simultaneously spoke directly and indirectly

about the American identity as being restricted to White Americans. In regard to being seen as

foreigners, two participants briefly discussed how they often got messages that they were

"foreigners in their own land". For instance, Nada talked about an experience after commenting

on a social media post:

> **Nada:** Yeah...um…with the presidential election…I would like…if Donald
> Trump tweeted another crazy tweet that day…I'd like…reply "wow another one"
> or something...and someone would reply "Donald Trump is just trying to get you
> terrorist out of the country and keep us safe" for example. (Interview 1)

This experience highlighted not only the discrimination and stereotypes she faced, embedded in

the current socio-political climate but also the message of "foreigner." This was seen when the

commenter stated "just trying to get you terrorists out of the country," sending the message to

Nada that she is not only not an American who does not belong here, but is also a terrorist, which

reflects racism at multiple levels. Samer also discussed this message of feeling that other

Americans do not want him in the country:

> **Samer:** Well…like I said there are some people...that don't want us here, that
> want us to get out…they want the Arabs to go out...

In Samer's response the idea of "foreigner" is embedded in his statement of "they don't want us

here." These two responses indicated that the American identity (and the right to live in the

country) excludes Arabs, which may preserve White people's sense of nativism, dominance,

safety, and security.

Ironically, racist nativism and the view that American identity was restricted to Whites,

was also embedded in the language used by the youth. Text analysis showed that Arab-American

participants would often use "American" as synonymous with "White," which was exemplified

154

in the following examples:

> **Sarah:** I remember there was a girl who asked me…once she's like...if you're born in in a country…does that just make you that national—what you are...she was...American…she asked that if I was born in Lebanon...would I be an Arab. (Interview 1)

> **Hassan's Mother:** No, never did he come and tell me about something like that…no, never, because his school is mostly Arab…like if you want to talk about Arab-Americans…all his friends are Arab…he doesn't have an American friend…the majority of his school is filled with Arabs. (Interview 1)

> **Alia:** Yeah because everybody here is Arab. Well, most people. And even the Americans here…we're friends with them...and my dad treats them really well…so…its…they're like used to being around us...they don't consider us…disrespectful…or dirty… (Interview 1)

> **Mirna:** Yeah... for example like, Arabs generally...I don't want to stereotype...but generally they don't let their kids go on spring break vacation...like that makes sense…but more American families…will give their kids more freedom. (Interview 1)

These examples all indicated that "American" was synonymous with "White", even among Arab-American youth and parents. When prompted about what they meant by their use of "American" they often indicated that they were referring to the White culture; For instance, in the previous section on Colorism, Alia explicitly confirmed "Americans" association to "White". Malek highlighted that not only is it embedded in the language but that the participants on some conscious level perceive a difference between "Arab" and "American:"

> **Malek:** I guess more people when they look at you…like…they...this comes into the whole terrorism thing and I guess being racist...but when people look at Arab-Americans they don't look at the American side of it...they just pushing towards the Arab…they're basically stereotype you for Arab people. (Interview 1)

Malek highlights the American identity's exclusivity, excluding Arabs from identifying with it by delegating the participants to one foreign identity, the Arab identity. Thus, it appeared that while participants may have a pre-conscious knowledge of racist nativism, they have internalized it, unaware that they were engaging in and reinforcing their own exclusion of American

155

identity. Lastly, Celine's earlier discussion of the media also exemplifies racist nativism:

> **Celine:** It's always on the media...it's never White people that are looked at badly...it's mostly other cultures that are shaped negatively. (Interview 1)

Celine was discussing how Arabs and other minorities are often portrayed differently via the media. She further discusses this point:

> **Celine:** No its similar to what they hear on the media...everyone follows it...and says it to other people…and so it affects people…the media…like shapes people to be who they're not…so that other people believe it because they're gullible... that's what happens…(Interview 1)

Celine explicitly discusses the media's influence in people's perceptions of ethnic minorities by "shaping" or distorting their perceptions towards others.

Discussion

Racist Nativism, taken from LatCRT, is exemplified in the current study. Racist nativism occurs when nativity becomes restricted to a specific race (i.e. White) in a country with other races being perceived as "other" or "foreigners" (Huber, 2010). Within the current study, participants often stated how they were perceived as foreigners or un-American, which indicated a restriction of American identity to only people of European Ancestry. There have been some studies that have examined racist nativism (Huber, 2009; Schildkraut, 2002; Schueths, 2014). For instance, as discussed in Chapter I, one study that investigated Racist Nativism found that after September 11, 2001 the American identity was restricted to those of European Ancestry, barring Arab-Americans from any sense of legitimacy to claiming an American identity (Schildkraut, 2002).

In the present study, the participants' responses also indicated that the American identity (and the right to live in the country) not only excludes Arabs, but served to preserve White people's sense of nativism, dominance, safety, and security (Huber, 2010). Interestingly, text

analysis indicated that this restriction of American identity was also found within the participants' usage of the word "American." Participants often used "American" as a synonym for "White." Through this differentiation the participants had appeared to have internalized the concept of racist nativism, exhibiting the view that the "true" American identity belongs to Whites. This is not uncommon for ethnic minorities to internalize messages regarding what is considered "American" (Huber, 2010). Moreover, the media may also play a role in perpetuating racist nativism and the internalization of racist nativism within participants. As stated before, the media has significant power in shaping perceptions and maintaining power and dominance of the mainstream culture. The media's bias in showing Arabs as "terrorists" or portraying ethnic minorities negatively, can be understood through racist nativism. Specifically, if the message of Arabs as "terrorists" is being perpetuated by the media (Alsultany, 2012; Fahrenthold & DelReal, 2015; Weaver, 2013), it sends the message that Arabs are a threat, which serves to continue the narrative of who belongs in the U.S. and who does not (Huber, 2010).

CHAPTER VII:

LIVING IN AN ETHNIC ENCLAVE AND PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION

Living in a "Bubble"

The majority of participants did not experience any direct interpersonal discrimination from other people outside of their race/ethnicity (n = 8), suggesting that the community created a protective homogenous "bubble." When asked about why they may have not perceived any discrimination within their community, participants stated that it was because they lived around people of the same race/culture, implicitly sending the message that it is "the other" that typically engages in discrimination. That is, people from other cultures were viewed as typically being the perpetrators of discrimination against Arab-Americans. It is this homogeneity that decreases the chances of discrimination, as Malek aptly stated:

> **Malek:** Maybe because the community I live in...if you look hard enough you might find it…people discriminate against other people...but if you live in a community with all the same culture…all the same religion…you won't find people discriminating against each other. (Interview 1)

The enclave appears to provide the participants a shield of protection against discrimination, housing them in a protective homogenous "bubble". To some participants, discrimination is more likely to occur if you leave the enclave:

> **R:** Do you think other Arab-American kids your age...in [enclave] experience...unfair treatment or discrimination?
> **Kareem:** probably…because they probably travel...to like…places…like I never really travel.   (Interview 1)

Sarah adds to this, providing the more explicit use of the theme:

> **Sarah:** Yeah…like if I'm ever in need I have these people...and it's a feeling a bit of home…I guess you can say...it's kind of like…it's comfortable…like leaving here…leaving our little bubble gets a bit scary.. 'cuz you know...there are people who aren't going to share the ideas that I'm gonna share…like the views…people who might not ..not educated...but may see world in a different view...in a more hated view…and it's...it's a feeling of security. (Interview 1)

Kareem provides some evidence that while the enclave offers some support in shielding participants from discrimination, this shield has its limitations and boundaries. For Sarah, it provides her a feeling of safety and security—similar to the feeling of "home." She too, perceives leaving the community as potentially threatening, as she is leaving a community that shields her from "hated views." It appears that the community offers protection from these views or different views, as she is surrounded by people that share similar worldviews.

In addition, the enclave may also provide the participants with the psychosocial supports, which may buffer against the stress when participants do perceive discrimination. While there was no direct evidence that identified the psychosocial supports in a buffering role, participants did speak of homogeneity, cohesion, and relatedness as being positive factors in their lives. Overall, living in this "bubble" provides a sense of homogeneity, cohesion, and relatedness; it is an enclave, separated from other communities and operating within its own structure and norms. Thus, these characteristics of this bubble may help adolescents by shielding them from and/or buffering against perceived discrimination by restricting exposure and offering positive supports.

Pores and Cracks in the Community

Although some participants stated that they did not perceive any discrimination from other people, some were aware of discrimination that occurred among Arab-Americans. As stated previously, within-group discrimination is nuanced based on national origin, acculturation, and skin-tone. This was all prevalent within the community. These differences produced discrimination among Arab-Americans, which generated "cracks" within the community. In

other words, while the community operates as a "bubble" or an enclave, with psychosocial

supports, such as similarity, relatedness, and social cohesion that may offer some protections

against discrimination, a closer look revealed that despite these supports, there were still

instances of discrimination. Specifically, there were experiences of discrimination that were not

just based on the three aforementioned characteristics, but were possibly embedded in

a hierarchy of status, with people from the Lebanese heritage being at the highest level and

accordingly having more power.

Community Level Discrimination

Another "crack" in the community is when people from the "outside" seep into the

community and engage in discrimination. While community level discrimination was discussed

in the previous chapters it will be briefly reiterated here. Some participants, such as Sarah and

Bassem discussed that although they may not see discrimination occur very often within the

community, when they do see it is usually done by others who come into the city. For instance,

Bassem discussed Terry Jones, an infamous protestor who traveled to the enclave in June 2011,

to hold an anti-Islam rally:

> **Bassem:** What happens in [enclave name] is known by [enclave name]...when
> something like this happens…everyone knows about it…when I think…6 or 7
> years ago when Terry Jones started burning the prayer rugs…everyone knew
> about that. Even the non-Muslim non-Arab communities were lashing out at Terry
> Jones and the people who were supporting him because what he did was wrong.
> (Interview 1)

In this example, Bassem highlights that not only do people like Terry Jones come in and create

cracks that open up the community to outsiders (e.g., media, protesters aligned and against

Jones), but that these cracks are seen and felt by all members of the community.

There are also the "pores" in the community that made the community more permeable to

the outside world, in both directions. As discussed in the previous chapter on discrimination,

participants experienced a significant amount of discrimination from social media and other places online. These were considered "pores" within the community, because while the youth were still relatively "shielded" from interpersonal discrimination, they virtually "left" the community when they logged onto Twitter©, YouTube©, Facebook© or other online social media accounts. It is through these pores that various forms of discrimination seeped in. Although these pores indicated a risk for adolescents, they often discussed how they felt that they had a unique community that offered them a place of safety and comfort, indicating that despite the risks, the community continues to provide support.

Discussion

Results indicated that the community did play a significant role in Arab-American adolescents' experiences with discrimination. In general, results indicated that Arab-American adolescents rarely faced discrimination from people from different races/ethnicities in-person because of limited exposure, rather they were more likely to face discrimination from people within their culture. The results from this study underscore the importance of considering the ethnic density hypothesis and the role of the social context. In regard to the ethnic density hypothesis, research has shown that ethnically dense communities can not only reduce exposure to discrimination but provide psychosocial resources that may help ameliorate or buffer against discrimination (Bécares, 2014; Halpern & Nazroo; 2000). In the present study, both of these protective processes may be playing a role in Arab-American adolescents' experiences with discrimination. Specifically, adolescents stated that they felt protected because of the density of Arab-Americans living within the enclave. Research has found similar results indicating that the denser the enclave the less discrimination participants had perceived (Bécares, Nazroo, & Stafford, 2009). One reason for this density effect could be that members of the community have

161

less contact with people from other cultures who may discriminate against them. The enclave was dubbed a "homogenous bubble" by participants, with many endorsing that the reason they haven't experienced much interpersonal discrimination is because they are in an enclosed community with people from the same culture. Thus, it appears that the enclave in which they live, acts as a protective factor by reducing exposure to individuals who do not understand the Arab culture and may hold prejudiced views, thus, shielding them from discrimination.

Ethnic enclaves have been shown to also provide psychosocial resources that can buffer the stress against discrimination (Bécares, 2014; Halpern & Nazroo; 2000) Provision of social cohesion and social support can also play a significant role in how people experience discrimination. For instance, social support can provide positive experiences and socially stable roles. Providing people with these roles and positive experiences can lead to better affect, self-worth, and sense of stability, which can not only lead to better well-being but can buffer against discrimination (Cohen & Wills, 1985). Another reason could be their perception of social cohesion. Research has demonstrated that when individuals (both adults and adolescents) perceive social cohesion, they are more likely to have better well-being, even in the face of stressors like discrimination (Aneshensel & Sucoff, 1996; Camfield & Skevington, 2008; Echeverría, Diez-Roux, Shea, Borrell, & Jackson, 2008). These aforementioned studies have shown that social cohesion may offer psychological resources that help people cope with stressors. These resources, in turn, can increase positive affect and efficacy (both self and collective), ultimately boosting well-being (Echeverría et al., 2008; Lee & Liechty, 2014).

In regard to community-level discrimination, an out-group member coming into an enclave may heighten the saliency of the community member's ethnicity, which may then lead to bolstering in-group identification. This rejection-identification model, states that when an ethnic

minority faces a threat or rejection (e.g., discrimination) their ethnic identity is strengthened (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). Through this in-group identification, participants, like Bassem, may start to appraise these community-level discriminatory events as perpetrated by out-groups, rather than internalizing the prejudice. This may speak to the psychosocial resources provided within the community that can aid in facilitating this type of appraisal. Other literature that has investigated group-level (in this case, community level) discrimination and found that people perceived discrimination as a "group" and are often felt by all members of the community—which may aid in buffering against the stress from discrimination, as it provides a sense of cohesion and solidarity (Bourguignon, Seron, Yzerbyt, & Herman, 2006).

CHAPTER VIII:

PERCEIVED RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

In the previous chapters, adolescents' awareness, perception, and construction of racism and discrimination and racial/ethnic identity. In the following chapter, adolescents responses to perceived racial discrimination will be reported and discussed. Specifically, adolescents adaptive and maladaptive responses to perceived discrimination are discussed. Adolescents responded in four major ways: active and adaptive, active and maladaptive, passive and adaptive, and passive and maladaptive. This chapter will also discuss adolescents' definition of positive psychological well-being, such as defining their well-being through positive daily activities.

Responses to Perceived Racial Discrimination

Participants reported engaging in various forms of coping responses. One way of coping was active coping, which was observed when participants engaged in behavioral or psychological strategies that helped to ameliorate their levels of stress. Active coping strategies, such as engaging in social media activism, or actively "defending the defenseless"—in person, appeared to help reduce discomfort and to empower them, and reducing stress. Other examples of active coping included seeking social support or using humor to manage stressful experiences. These strategies are discussed below.

Adaptive and Active Responses to Racial Discrimination

For participants who coped using social media, this was often done via sharing posts or commenting on social media posts. Sharing social media posts provided a safe way to express personal lived experiences by sharing something relevant to their lived experience but not directly personal. For Nada, she was more likely to share out a post related to discrimination

than discuss her personal experiences with discrimination:

> **Nada:** ...Just...I just want more people to see the video…so I might re-tweet it or something…but if it's just about my experience or seeing something I won't really share it…I feel like that's more private…where something like…a video that's already up there...retweeting that…and giving more publicity to that is definitely...[non-verbal language indicates she means that it's ok].
> **R:** So, when you re-share…you feel like you're helping. Can you expand on that a bit?
> **Nada:** So, when I said I'm helping…I mean…that person...obviously posted it to get the word around to get people more aware…so when I retweet it for example and I get notification that that person liked it...or this person retweeted what you retweeted. I feel like I helped okay...like I did my part...trying to get people more aware about whatever it is the tweet was about.
> **Nada:** Well, I think about twice…am I being too annoying by always retweeting this stuff? like a lot of people are…a lot of people will hate on people that like...stand up for what they believe in on twitter… like "oh what do you think you're going to change it by tweeting about it?" No... but...I'm…opening people minds...some people really don't know what's going on...until they see that video or something.
> **R:** So do you…when you do that...do you feel a sense of?
> **Nada:** I'm helping…(Interview 1)

Through this exchange, Nada provides insight into her rationale for sharing posts on social media. To her, sharing posts rather than sharing her own personal experiences allows her to stay away from the spotlight and shine the spotlight on where she wants. She perceives that sharing her own experiences would be dismissed as "attention seeking." However, sharing posts that are related to discrimination helped provide her a vicarious way of coping with her experiences with discrimination. This distal sharing of posts may have been safer for Nada. When she does share the post, it appears to provide her with a sense of agency in facilitating change by raising awareness and educating others. By engaging in sharing posts, it helps promote a sense of efficacy and control and/or empowerment by promoting social justice (e.g., by "opening people minds"), which may also result in positive affect (i.e. "feeling good").

Commenting on Social Media Posts. While Nada found it more beneficial to share posts, Sarah found it beneficial to engage in a dialogue through social media. For Sarah, she

engages in these dialogues with a sense of prevention in mind. Psychologically, she aims to

determine the other person's intent. Prior to engaging with the person online, Sarah "screens"

them to see if they are "worth talking to." This screening is exemplified in the following

excerpt:

> **Sarah:** It's usually like…you can tell based off what the person says...whether
> they are worth talking to…and usually if they start off right away with an
> insult...and it's also something I learned with a friend who...you know...is
> completely...invested…starting political fights...you know…you can right away
> tell a person's ideals...like how they're going to behave...based off of the first
> thing they tell you. So if they start with an insult...you know that that person...you
> know no matter what they say...it's not gonna get through their head.
> **R:** So what do you?
> **Sarah:** You just ignore them...usually they'll just give up…let them think what
> they want... 'cuz no one is gonna win in the end...if they just keep arguing you. Or
> you know...if they get too much...just block them...there's a block button for a
> reason. (Interview 1)

In this excerpt, Sarah highlights a two-way process in determining whether she engages with

someone online. If she perceives the person as hostile or volatile, then she is less likely to engage

with them or blocks them. In this instance, this preventative "screening" approach serves as an

active way of protecting herself against people who may provide added stress. The second part of

this process is exemplified in this excerpt:

> **Sarah:** It was something like I said...I only ever engage if I feel...if the person is
> worth talking too...if they are going to have an educated conversation with
> you...and it's kind of in the hope that you can at least change one person's mind…
> 'cuz the whole mindset that only one person doesn't make a difference…
> **Sarah:**...One person…leads to two or more...like I said...hate isn't born or
> taught…so that one person can have kids and they could raise them to be more
> accepting or have a different view…
> **R:** And it just multiplies from there
> **Sarah:** Yeah (Interview 2)

The second part of this process is engaging in a conversation if Sarah perceives the person to be

more "open" to having a civil or educated conversation. It is through this discussion that she

believes she can change a person's mind. Through Sarah's perspective, changing a person's

mind has multiplicative effects, with one person moving onward and teaching another person. This in turn, swells into a movement until one day a small act can influence the future (i.e. teaching future children to be more accepting). For Sarah, this perception of how small actions can "snowball" to have a larger impact provides her a sense of hope.

Offline Social Activism. Outside of social media, one participant, Mirna stood up for others in-person when she witnessed others being the target of discrimination. Mirna engaged in this style of coping in two ways, through clubs and by educating others in-person.

> **Mirna:** Well I'm in the anti-bullying club and their motto is to defend the
> defenseless...so...if I see discrimination...happening...in…school...I will …so in
> Arabic in class...kids making fun of kids…I'll stand up and say stop…it's like
> when I see discrimination I can't stand it...although there's situations I can do
> more about it...that I just don't do anything…I try to do my best...but I can do
> more…but it's not like I do nothing...so it's kinda like...I'm almost there…but I'm
> not there yet...so I have to get there…
> **R:** So right now…you're doing the best you can by defending the defenseless...by
> joining these clubs and being as active as you can… (Interview 1)

Mirna perceives that her role in these clubs fosters a feeling that she is protecting others. It elicits positive affect by facilitating a positive sense of helping and providing support to vulnerable persons. The clubs may provide a socially acceptable way to engage in active forms of defending others with minimal risk to sense of self.

In contrast, when Mirna was the target of discrimination, she was more likely to dismiss her personal experiences and, at times, conform to the expectations and norms of her social settings to avoid peer sanctions. She often discussed how she feared that if she stood up for herself, it would turn into an argument or rejection by her peers:

> **Mirna:** I feel conflicted because I want to step up and say don't say that but if
> you stand up for something like that you're automatically marked as this radical
> person who's trying to change everything and considered that person for the rest
> of your high school life (Interview 1)

Thus, it could be that clubs give her an outlet to stand up for others (and herself) without the fear

of backlash. However, Mirna was more likely to take social risks and stand up for her friends than for herself. Mirna discussed how she was more likely to stand up for her friends after her experience with her friends telling her that her use of the word "scarfie" was derogatory and hurtful:

> **R:** What are some thoughts that went through your head when your friends told you they don't like that word?
> **Mirna:** It was like an awakening…I was like wow...thank you for expressing that to me…I had no idea...they say ignorance is bliss…but you need to know these things...or you sound ignorant...and you don't know what you're doing to these people when you're saying these things...because people interpret things how they want to…but now this is one less thing that is up to interpretation… If you stop saying that word...you just eliminate even the chance of offending someone…so I was grateful they told me...I was sad that they felt this way...and they didn't tell anyone…but at the end I was like…thank you…that it's made me like...makes me feel better about what I speak...how I sound to people...so now I can like...I don't sound stupid in front of people and I don't say the word.
> **R:** how do you feel when you shut that down when you hear it? (Interview 2)
>
> **Mirna:** I feel like I awakened another person...like I am paying it forward…and that soon maybe...then...girls wearing hijabs…stop feeling so…low from the word… 'cuz people would have stopped saying it... 'cuz you tell one person then they'll tell the next person... 'cuz talking is the best form of communication…you have to say it...and it'll just naturally spread. (Interview 2)

Mirna was more likely to take an active stance and defending her friends rather than others, indicating a possible attachment towards her peer group. Standing up against the word "scarfie" provided her the positive feelings of feeling more culturally sensitive and provided her a sense of agency through her raising awareness and educating others on the negative implications associated with calling people "scarfie" (i.e., seen as a dehumanizing term). Mirna, just like Nada, hoped that her action will have ripple effects that can change how people communicate with one another.

Self-Preservation. Nada and Sarah both engaged in self-preservation, an active and adaptive style of coping. Self-preservation was defined by the data as protecting the self from

harm or stress. Both participants deleted social media comments or removed themselves from the situation when they perceived the conversation had become toxic:

> **Nada:** ... 'cuz once I did comment back...and other people kept replying and replying and you know what I don't want any more comments…so most of the time I'll just delete the first thing I tweeted…or the first comment I posted…I'll deleted it…I don't want any more drama or anything…I just cut it off all together… for other people to comment back...like do I really want this right now? So…(Interview 1)

Nada felt overwhelmed with the comments she received online that target her and her race/ethnicity. Rather than engaging with the comments, she deletes them in attempts to cut off the source of stress. Cutting off the source of stress is taking an active stance to emotionally and psychologically protect herself. I had asked Nada if she felt that her voice was being taken away, she disagreed; she did not believe it to be silencing her. In fact, she believes that it is within her control and volition to remove herself from the situation:

> **R:** Do you feel like your voice (when she deletes her comment) is oppressed because you're like 'oh I have to delete my stuff now because there's so much drama behind it?'
> **Nada:** Yes and no. Because I made the choice to delete it…and that's just 'cuz I don't want any drama...but if I wanted to fight back and fire back I would…not really…I do it to myself.
> **R:** So at the same time it's almost out of self-protection because you don't want that drama
> **Nada:** Yeah (Interview 2)

Thus, she does not see it as oppressive, she perceives it as exercising her autonomy in protecting herself. Nada's experience was similar to Sarah's response, where she would delete them in attempts to get them "out of sight out of mind" (Sarah, Interview One). For Sarah, it too was out of self-protection, preventing the emotional effect it may have on her by blocking hostile commentators. This response produced slight feelings of "annoyance" in Nada or produce rationalizations from Sarah but no significant emotional or psychological reactions, indicating

that it was an adaptive response.

Social Support. Other participants engaged in more straightforward coping skills, such as seeking social support or engaging in emotion-focused coping skills, such as using humor. When Kareem experienced vicarious discrimination by watching a famous YouTube© star on YouTube© get escorted off an airplane, Kareem sought out support from his brother:

> **R:** So who did you talk to...you said you talk to somebody about it?
> **Kareem:** I think it was my brother.
> **Kareem [when asked how he felt after talking to his brother]:** I felt like um…I felt like…what's it called…like...better 'cuz like...I was like oh well that's messed up, I was mad but then I came back to normal… 'cuz I thought he probably said other things too. (Interview 1)

For Kareem, it was a straightforward process, seeking support from a family member when perceiving a form of stress, which produced positive feelings afterwards, indicating that that support was helpful.

Maladaptive and Active Responses to Racial Discrimination

Not all active ways of coping resulted in adaptive outcomes. For Bassem, his active style of commenting and engaging himself within social media resulted in a maladaptive way of coping. Specifically, Bassem would at times engage in out-group denigration, commenting back with hurtful or dismissive comments:

> **Bassem:** It's kinda funny to shut them down immediately with a couple words...um, it bothers them a lot...but I enjoy bothering them back because that's what they do to me…they're very sensitive...and I think it's the same dynamic as bullies in high school…and other school procedural…areas…whether it's primary or secondary school...the bully is always someone who is being bullied themselves...so sometimes I feel like it's kinda pathetic that you're coming after me, you probably have your own problems that you should worry about…um. and usually when I say that…and I try to say it in the most condescending way possible, they usually just respond with "don't worry about my life, I'm worried about yours"—it's none of your business…I'm doing fine, are you doing fine….is the question…(Interview 1)

While this technically produced positive affect for Bassem and allowed him to bolster his self-

esteem this was categorized as maladaptive because of his actions towards others were socially

maladjusted. That is, he often displaced his anger onto others. Bassem often vacillated between

feelings of desensitization (discussed in the next section) and heightened emotional activation via

defending his culture through this type of social media commentary. Thus, it appeared that even

though Bassem displayed in-group pride and out-group denigration, which appeared to bolster

his self-esteem in the moment, it did not provide long lasting effects, which led to later feelings

of apathy or desensitization. It is important to note some nuance to Bassem's response:

> **R:** But sitting behind a computer…
> **Bassem:** Everyone feels a lot safer sitting behind a computer …that's why I try
> not to use derogatory terms…I definitely try not to threaten anyone or make
> anyone feel threatened...because once I make someone feel threatened...or I say
> something derogatory…I'm no better than them…so that's the thing…by default I
> am better than them...because they jump straight to name calling and the attacks
> on my character...it's…not fair...but that's how it is. (Interview 1)

Thus, while he may say comments in a "condescending" way there appears to be a hierarchy of

what is deemed "acceptable" defensive behavior. For Bassem, the line is crossed if he starts to

threaten or say something derogatory, as it then makes him feel that he is no better than the

people who do engage in such behavior.

Adaptive and Passive Responses to Racial Discrimination

Four of the participants also discussed an adaptive and passive response to

their experiences with discrimination. One response was exhibited with participants trying to

understand why people would discriminate against them (i.e., rationalizing the other). The

participants who rationalized the discrimination ended up with less stress in the face of

discrimination, as they could cognitively dismiss comments using rationalization. For instance:

> **Nada:** I'm just shocked...do they really have nothing else to do but to comment
> …to reply to my comment with such hateful things that they really…are not
> educated on the subject...they're just...they're just spewing words they've seen on
> TV…or seen someone say some time ago...so yeah it annoys me. (Interview 1)

171

In this example Nada rationalized the comments she received on Facebook by dismissing it as

"ignorance" This was similar to Sarah's responses to an experience she had with her teacher, "…

I don't know if it was meant to be insulting but I had a teacher who...based off her ignorance…"

as she went on to explain the experience. Moreover, Nada added an additional source to their

ignorance, the media. That is, some of the responsibility for this behavior was attributed to the

messages sent through the media. For Bassem, he rationalized the other as being a "bully:"

> **Bassem:** The bully is always someone who is being bullied themselves…so sometimes I feel like it's kinda pathetic that you're coming after me, you probably have your own problems that you should worry about…(Interview 1)

For Bassem, explaining away behavior as "bullying" helped him bolster his own self-esteem, as

he realized that it was a reflection on the other person rather than himself. For Samer, he

rationalized his experience with institutional discrimination as due to President Trump's policy

and not the particular immigration and border control agents.

> **Samer:** That Trump is an idiot and shouldn't have put up the ban in the first place.
> **R:** So you're really focused on…
> **Samer:** Trump…because…before that man was put in that position, I could go see my cousins whenever I wanted to...but since I'm *ARAB*, all the Arabs I seen that got pulled over for like 17 hours… for no reason. (Interview 1)

Rather than placing blame on himself or the border patrol agents, Samer shifted the blame onto

policy. In other words, he rationalized the customs agents by implying that they were acting on

orders given by the policy. While this experience still affected Samer, perceiving it as being due

to a policy and not due to the person appeared to ease the intensity of the emotions and stress. In

general, rationalizing the other provides a psychological way of lessening the stress perceived

from discrimination. It appears that participants' attributions for why they are discriminated

against can have important consequences for their emotions and self-perceptions, as external

causal attributions may have given them more perceived control, rather than wading through ambiguity and uncertainty.

Maladaptive and Passive Responses to Racial Discrimination

While some participants engaged in adaptive responses to discrimination, sometimes the same participants also engaged in maladaptive and passive responses to their experiences with discrimination. The first response was a feeling of desensitization, a negative affect experienced by half of the participants. Feeling desensitized was maladaptive because it often produced a feeling of apathy, helplessness, or hopelessness. However, this was categorized as "moderate" stress because desensitization appeared to be used as a shield to temper down strong negative affect. Even though they still felt negative emotions, such as apathy or hopelessness, they did not perceive or experience high emotional reactivity to racism/discrimination. As seen in the previous sections, participants perceived racism as normal and embedded in society. Many of the participants who spoke about racism as being a normal everyday occurrence in their life also exhibited a feeling of being desensitized. For Mirna, this desensitization occurred due to the within-group discrimination she experiences:

> **Mirna:** It's not frustration…It's more like...I've become more apathetic to it…like I don't even notice that I do it anymore...it's...I'm almost immune to it now...like…this...I'll switch how I speak…or...how I'm acting...or my mood...just because who I'm with…and that's not good...I shouldn't do that...I should be myself...I know that…(Interview 1)

In this example, Mirna describes the negative affect generated from feeling "immune" and diminishing her Arab identity and to "pass" as White. Specifically, she showed an indifference— and in a way relinquished a part of herself. That is, she appeared to give up a part of her identity, which left her feeling apathetic and powerless. The notion of powerlessness here is not as evident, however, Mirna submitting to the expectations of her peers to avoid confrontation may

indicate a sense of powerlessness to change. However, these sentiments were shared by other

participants who experienced out-group discrimination:

> **Malek:** Like I said before...if you see that one thing going wrong...you know that there's going to be something bigger and bigger…to another thing...so again…you know…to me…I don't really care. I just know…things are going down…it's very bad...you can't really do anything about it. (Interview 1)

Malek often appeared to not be emotionally engaged when discussing his experiences with

discrimination. To him, it was a normal everyday occurrence that occurred throughout the

country. To him this was nothing "new" or remarkable. Thus, he appeared to be desensitized to

racism/discrimination. Yet, although he stated throughout the interview that he does not "care"

he sometimes indicated a sense of powerlessness through statements, such as, "you can't really

do anything about it." Lastly, Bassem provided a metaphor that summed up many participant's

experiences:

> **Bassem:**...Kind of like…we swatted this mosquito for now…let's just wait till the other one comes… I mean that's probably the best analogy for it…they keep trying to suck your blood or in this case they keep trying to suck your dignity away and it's not working. (Interview 1)

Bassem uses this metaphor to explain the pervasiveness of discrimination and the feeling of

constantly having to respond to discrimination. In general, the mosquito metaphor also

highlights the belief that discrimination is so pervasive that he is also anticipating for it to occur

again. This understanding that discrimination is normal, coupled with the expectation of

discrimination occurring again in the future produced a form of "armor" via the feeling of

desensitization. In addition, Bassem feels that these experiences with discrimination take

something vital away from him—his dignity. He may feel that his identity and sense of self are

being threatened by racist/discriminatory comments, which may prompt him to emotionally

detach, which may lead to feelings of desensitization. This detachment and desensitization is

exemplified below:

> **Bassem:** Yeah and I hate the fact that it is desensitized because it shouldn't be but at this point …it works out...for the best—that I don't feel this uh...dragging down pain, you know. (Interview 1)

Overall, desensitization, while offering up some form of "shield" from "dragging down pain" also indicates maladaptive responses of powerlessness, apathy, and hopelessness, all of which are negative emotions that are associated with poorer well-being. Similar to the findings reported in other sections, participants engaged in other forms of maladaptive and passive forms of coping. These other ways of passively coping with discrimination appeared to produce further emotional and cognitive reactivity to discrimination, which included "letting it go." For instance, two participants, Alia and Celine discussed how in both of their experiences, whether it was perceiving discrimination from a teacher or perceiving a friend get discriminated against, they both felt that the appropriate response was to "let it go."

> **Celine [when asked about what people should do about discrimination in general]:** The one thing is to stay calm...and be able to control yourself when someone does something because at the end of the day there will always be racist people…that are in the world...that you can't really do anything about it..
> Another example from Celine is:
> **R:** Right. how does...do you react…do you say anything when your friend gets stared at?
> **Celine:** No, it's not worth it…at the end of the day...it's their opinion…no matter what you can't make yourself look worse...they'll think of you as violent if you react…so it better if you make them look bad...and make yourself look like the better person and a bigger person. (Interview 1)

Celine's response highlights that: (1) racism is normal; (2) a sense of powerlessness; (3) sense of hopelessness; (4) a sense of internal locus of control. To her, "letting go" is the most cautious choice because any other response would threaten her sense of self and will portray her culture in a negative light. For Celine, she perceives herself as acting on behalf of her ethnicity. This may be the reason why she chooses to let it go. For Alia, her reasoning appeared to be more

straightforward: to avoid disrespecting the teacher. She used her emotional regulation skills to avoid a confrontation. Despite her reasoning for "letting it go", this way of coping generated negative affect and cognition in both participants.

> **R:** Ok that's fair. Um. So you let it go…so how did you feel after you let it go?
> **Alia:** Like I regret…I could have said...like 'no that's not fair..'
> **R:** So has there been any other…in that moment...how did that make you feel?
> **Alia:** Unwanted.
> **R:** Unwanted…by the teacher?
> **Alia:** Yeah (Interview 1)

For Alia, "letting it go" generated feelings of rejection and regret and beliefs of injustice. In Celine's case, she felt blatantly hurt and exhibited feelings of powerlessness:

> **R**:...But how do you feel when that [discrimination] happens?
> **Celine:** its hurts...because…I really can't do anything to change their mind…
> **R:** It almost sounds like…you feel hurt…because…
> **Celine:** Because you can't do anything to change it. (Interview 1)

For Celine, who felt "hurt" by discrimination, "letting it go" seemed like her only option, but it also reinforced her feelings of powerlessness. In general, both of these participants indicated that their passive responses generated a heightened emotional response through feelings of rejection, regret, helplessness, and sadness. In addition to a sense of futility, participants were troubled by a sense of injustice.

Lastly, Nada engaged in rumination with her experience of interpersonal in-person discrimination. This experience was jarring to her, as it happened in her community at a time she was not expecting it:

> **Nada:** Well at first I was just shocked…like did that just really happen in [enclave]? like I literally go to [insert consistent term from above Historical Park] every single year. I was...at first I was shocked but then I was like whatever...I rubbed it off …after I was…when I was really thinking about it I was like Wow…that really…just made me angry…like how did I just let him pass by...I should have said something… (Interview 1)

Nada stated that after the initial shock of the experience, she continued to replay the experience

in her mind and think about how she could have responded differently. Additionally, Nada displayed some regret and anger over her own ineffectual response, which was indicative of heightened emotional reactivity. Her emotional reactivity and rumination was further evidenced by the following excerpt:

> **Nada:** I think more about it. I think ok what if right now…I like I…think of so many situations in my head...what if right now this person said this to me—what would I say back? like I'm constantly thinking of like…like a rescue plan…like if this happened to me what would I do? where would I go? What would I say? I'm always thinking about that.
> **R:** That must be exhausting
> **Nada:** I'm used to it. (Interview 1)

Nada is "constantly" thinking about what she would do if she experienced discrimination in-person again. She appeared to become hypervigilant after her experience, anticipating discrimination and thinking of various "rescue plans." Her use of "rescue plans" may be possible evidence that a passive coping strategy may develop into an active coping strategy. Nada also hinted at some desensitization through her statement of "I'm used to it," which may be a defense in attempts to ameliorate some of her stress, by adapting to the discrimination. However, adaptation through desensitization only left her ruminating, regretful, and hypervigilant, all of which are maladaptive, negative emotions, and has potential for Nada to feel resentful, anxious, and depressed as well.

Humor. Using humor as a way to cope was more complex. While for some, humor only helped defend against the negative affect they were experiencing, for others it was used to diminish the discriminatory event's power. For instance, Sarah used humor when her teacher made a joke about Arab names. Sarah discussed how she "laughed it off" in that moment but felt disappointed by the experience. Humor appeared to be used as a way to deflect attention from the "serious matter"; it's a way to reduce discomfort, at least in the moment. The negative

experience however, lingers and continues to trouble the youth as evidenced by their vivid recall

of these incidents. Malek also demonstrated this, illuminating that humor may be used as an

avoidant strategy, rather than an adaptive coping strategy:

> **Malek:** Um, I guess…I really don't take things ..like serious matters
> seriously. So when taking a serious matter like discrimination...I kind of joke
> about it…and I don't really talk about how others talk about it.
> **R:** So when something serious comes up you sort of joke about it…
> **Malek:** It's sort of a way to deal with it…So I don't have to speak about it.
> **R:** It's like a way to cope?
> **Malek:** Yeah. (Interview 1)

Malek's responses were similar to Samer's experiences when he watched border patrol agents

handcuff his step-father. Samer laughed because it was, to him, too "ridiculous" of a situation,

and this humorous response helped him to cope. In this case, humor appeared to be used to

manage the stress of discrimination and cover up any negative affect. Regardless of their

motivation, humor appeared to reduce the immediate stress in these situations by deflecting

attention away from the discrimination incident. Although this may have lessened the immediate

discomfort, the participants clearly experienced the encounters as jarring and disappointing.

Discussion

Participants responded to discrimination in different ways. In many cases,

participants displayed both adaptive and maladaptive responses to the same phenomenon.

Many participants also engaged in more active coping strategies than passive coping

strategies. These active coping strategies were connected with positive psychological well-being

and resiliency, which is consistent with the literature (Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Steinhardt, &

Dolbier, 2008). For example, one study found that college students who engaged in an

intervention that focused on the use of active coping strategies exhibited less depressive

symptoms, negative affect, and perceived stress as well as exhibited greater resiliency in

comparison to college students who did not engage in the intervention (Steinhardt, & Dolbier, 2008). Interestingly, many of the adaptive strategies observed in the present study were in response to electronic forms of discrimination. While speculative, these results suggest that experiencing discrimination online provides more time, space, distance and/or control for participants to generate an appropriate response to discrimination than in face-to-face encounters. Participants do not have to respond right away to discriminatory comments, they could easily escape the situation by ignoring or deleting the comments. Adaptively responding is more difficult to do in-person when people feel caught off guard, powerless, or trapped by a perpetrator (Tynes et al., 2008). This may help to explain why participants generally responded more maladaptively when they experienced some form of discrimination in-person, whether it was direct or vicarious.   At the same time, however, because online commentary or activity is more permanent and hard to remove, people may experience the same incident repeatedly in comparison to in-person experiences, which can be intentionally set aside (Palfrey & Gasser, 2008). This repeated exposure online can lead to rumination, poorer well-being, and ultimately, affect the participants resilience (Min, Yu, Lee, & Chae, 2013; Morrison, & O'Connor, 2005; Umaña-Taylor, Tynes, Toomey, Williams, & Mitchell, 2015).

Thus, despite displaying varying coping strategies, discrimination in any form, negatively affected almost all the participants. This was evident through their emotional responses, feeling sad, hurt, apathetic, powerless, wary, and angry. Other negative emotions were often in response to their daily perceptions of the sociopolitical climate, such as worry or apprehension about the 2017 "Travel Ban" (as seen in previous sections) or feeling belittled by another Arab-American for being, acting, and/or looking "too White." These negative emotions indicated poorer well-being, at least in that moment. Yet, what appears to be pervasive are the feelings of sadness,

179

apathy, and powerlessness in their maladaptive responses to discrimination. It is important to

note that resilience can still be achieved even when experiencing negative affect, and it is not

always indicative of long-lasting poorer psychological well-being. People can show resilience

even when experiencing negative affect, by learning to tolerate negative affect and learning to

effectively cope with the stress from negative affect (Olsson, Bond, Burns, Vella-Brodrick, &

Sawyer, 2003). However, if adolescents are unable to tolerate or effectively cope with negative

affect, it can become a risk factor for resilience, ultimately leading to poor well-being (Patterson,

2002; Tugade, & Fredrickson, 2004). In this study, participants exhibited negative affect that

indicated poorer well-being in that moment, however, it may be transient, as they adjust and

adapt, leading to resilience.

Participants' use of active and passive coping when faced with discrimination can be

understood in terms of their appraisal of the situation, based on the Transactional Model of Stress

(TMS: Oliver & Brough, 2002; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). TMS outlines people's reactions to

stress in terms of primary and secondary appraisals. The primary appraisal determines whether

the event is stressful and could affect a person's well-being. The person could appraise it as non-

stressful, benign-positive, or as a stressful event. If the event is deemed to be stressful then

people move towards a sub-process, where they appraise the stressful event. In a stressful event

people determine if the event will cause harm/loss, threat, and/or a challenge (Oliver & Brough,

2002). After people have determined that an event is stressful and moved through the sub-

process, they move to the second portion of the process, the secondary

appraisal. Secondary appraisal is where a course of action is determined, including how to cope.

In general, this model has been used to study the participants' appraisals of a stressor and

their responses or coping strategies used in relation to their psychological well-being

(Laubmeier, Zakowski, & Bair, 2004; Oliver & Brough, 2002).   In the current study, all participants who perceived discrimination experienced it as a stressful event to varying degrees and engaged in active and passive forms of coping. Those who engaged in active coping in the face of discrimination tended to have less stress than those who engaged in passive coping. Research has shown that active coping can help reduce stress in comparison to other coping strategies (e.g., passive coping; Noh & Kaspar, 2003). Participants engaged in active coping strategies, such as engaging in social activism via social media and in-person, and seeking out social support. These coping strategies appeared to serve as protective factors, as they aided in alleviating some stress garnered from perceiving discrimination. Further, it appeared that adolescents were also engaging in the sub-process of the primary appraisal in TMS. For instance, Sarah, before engaging in commentary on social media, engaged in an extra-step to determine whether the event will be stressful; that is, she engaged in a "screening" process to determine whether or not the other person was going to be hostile or volatile. If she did perceive them as such, she would still engage in active coping (by blocking them and protecting herself from psychological harm).   Sarah displayed the TMS sub-process of the primary appraisal by assessing whether the interaction was a threat or a challenge to her sense of self.   This was similar to Mirna's response to discrimination. Mirna engaged in "defending the defenseless" through clubs, a socially acceptable way of engaging in activism, with little threat to social status. Mirna was concerned about whether her social status at school would be affected if she stood up for others. In this instance, Mirna judged that defending others would lead to harm or loss (in social status), thus, she engaged in activism through extracurricular activities. This sub-process is further exemplified by participants who engaged in self-preservation strategies, such as deleting comments off social media.

Some participants also engaged in social support. Social support has been shown to universally lead to less stress and better psychological well-being (Karademas, 2006; Phinney & Flores, 2002). Moreover, this strategy has been found to be protective, offering up various psychosocial resources, such as a sense of belongingness, less anxiety, and greater self-esteem (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Kuiper, Grimshaw, Leite, & Kirsh, 2004). In general, participants who engaged in activism, via sharing or commenting on social media posts, standing up for others in person, or engaging in self-preservation tactics (i.e. deleting comments on social media), experienced less stress and greater feelings of agency, autonomy, and positive affect, all of which are associated with resiliency (Tugade, Fredrickson, & Feldman Barrett, 2004; Masten, Burt, Roisman, Obradović, Long, & Tellegen, 2004). Thus, it appeared that through this process, participants displayed greater resiliency in the face of discrimination.

In contrast to the literature, however, not all active coping was adaptive. Bassem, whose engagement in activism on social media, yielded positive affect and bolstered his self-esteem, also engaged in social commentary that was aggressive and demeaning. Specifically, Bassem perceived others to be easy "victims" or perceived a situation to be potentially less harmful to his sense of self, then he engaged in this type of strategy in attempts to bolster his self-esteem (Book, Volk, & Hosker, 2012). This is consistent with the literature and research on bullying. Some research has indicated that for adolescent bullies, it can be adaptive and indicates no harm to the adolescent bully's psychological well-being (Book, Volk, & Hosker, 2012; Ireland, 2005), yet it is obviously can harm others (Hawker, & Boulton, 2000).

Engaging in social exchanges online can facilitate this "cyberbullying" by providing him with a safe distance and a sense of anonymity. People are more likely to express their opinions, bully, or harass others because the internet can uphold anonymity (Glaser, & Kahn, 2005; Kahn,

Spencer, & Glaser, 2013). Therefore, while Bassem may generally feel desensitized (which will be discussed below), at times he may engage in efforts to promote his well-being and sense of self, via out-group denigration (Oyserman, Kemmelmeier, Fryberg, Brosh, & Hart-Johnson, 2003; Sidanius, Pratto, & Mitchell, 1994).

Moreover, participants also engaged in adaptive responses through passive coping strategies. This typically led to minimal levels of stress as evidenced by lessening the intensity of the emotions and stress. This contrasts with previous research, which has found that passive coping tends to be associated with a greater likelihood of poorer well-being and lower resiliency in comparison to participants who engage in active coping strategies (Kim, Han, Shaw, McTavish, & Gustafson, 2010; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Skinner, & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007). It is unclear and beyond the scope of this study to discern whether the adaptive active and passive coping strategies differed in terms of stress levels, but both appeared to function to reduce immediate stress for the participants.

In this study, it appeared that some passive coping strategies may provide an avenue for to promote minimal stress and positive well-being. One common strategy that the participants engaged in was through rationalization or "rationalization of the other." Rationalization is a defense, often using logic or excuses to explain a situation (CTI Reviews, 2006). Studies have shown that rationalization can lead to better well-being (Faber, Mirsalimi, Williams, & McDaniel, 2003). Further, some studies have shown that engaging in rationalization is a passive-avoidance strategy (Boeschen, Koss, M. P., Figueredo, & Coan, 2001), avoiding the truth or avoiding another more threatening explanation for certain behaviors or events. By engaging in this defense, it allows them to reduce the negative effects associated with discrimination, making the experience more tolerable (CTI Reviews, 2006). In general, participants' attributions to

discriminatory events mattered. That is, the way they understood discrimination were associated with their subsequent affect. Attribution theory describes people's psychological process in explaining events (Weiner, 1985). They are characterized by three dimensions: locus, stability, and controllability. Locus (of causality), refers to whether the event is caused by internal or external factors. Stability pertains to whether an event is likely to stay the same and likely to occur again. Controllability refers to the participants' perceptions of their control over situations or events (Weiner, 1985). In the present study, these examples of "rationalizations" are external, unstable and probably viewed as uncontrollable, which makes it less likely to lead to feelings of shame, pessimism, helplessness (Schmitt & Branscombe, 1999).

Some participants engaged in maladaptive and passive responses to discrimination. Passive responses included accepting discrimination as "normal," "letting it go"/ignoring the discriminatory event, and rumination. These coping strategies elicited a feeling of desensitization, a negative affect experienced by half of the participants. These coping strategies were maladaptive because it often produced a feeling of apathy, helplessness, or hopelessness. This is consistent with the literature, indicating that passive coping can often lead to negative affect and poorer well-being, because it produces feelings of powerlessness, helplessness, and hopelessness (Holmes & Stevenson, 1990; Kim, Han, Shaw, McTavish & Gustafson, 2010; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Puffer, Watt, Sikkema, Ogwang-Odhiambo, & Broverman, 2012). Desensitization or this feeling of being "numb" has been associated with racism/discrimination throughout the research literature (Carter, 2007; Lewis, Mendenhall, Harwood, & Huntt, 2013; Newhill, 1990). It is a self-protective strategy aimed at protecting against the costs of experiencing chronic discrimination. Desensitization speaks to the racism as a normal occurrence tenet of CRT. That is, racism has become so normalized and ordinary that

an occurrence of racism/discrimination produces little emotional reactivity (i.e. desensitization). Further, it may be indicative of the power the dominant culture has within US society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). The power imbalance may not only have led to the maintenance of racism and discrimination but may have also elicited feelings of powerlessness, hopelessness/helplessness. That is, Arab-American adolescents' perception of the social power based on race, may have led to them perceiving racism as unchangeable, persistent, and enduring.

Ignoring instances of discrimination was also a response some participants engaged in, such as preferring to "let it go." Those who "let it go" did so because they perceived the event to be out of their control. Further, they did not want to engage in behaviors that perpetuated the stereotypes associated with their culture (e.g., violent). These results suggested that some participants had external locus of control. Collectivistic cultures, such as the Arab culture, has been shown to orient towards external locus of control (Bierbrauer, 1992; Haboush, 2007; Sayed, 2003), indicating that Arabs perceive situations as happening due to external factors (e.g., fate). Some research has found that people who are from collectivistic cultures not only have an external locus of control but are also high self-monitors. High self-monitors are people whose self-presentation is dependent on the environment and on others and are likely to change their behavior and self-presentation adapt to their environment (Hamid, 2004). Through these two characteristics, someone from a collectivistic culture, may be more likely to pay attention to maintaining their ethnic/racial group integrity, especially when faced with a threat (Ellemers Spears, & Doosje, 2002; Hamid, 2004). In the current study, Celine's self-monitoring and managing behavior may be a function of attempting to avoid perpetuating stereotypes associated with her own ethnicity/race, thus maintaining group integrity.

185

Lastly, some participants engaged in humor as a coping strategy. However, while some literature, including risk and resiliency literature, has highlighted the protective effects of humor (Boyden, & Mann, 2005; Rizzolo, Zipp, Stiskal, & Simpkins, 2009) humor appeared to function as an avoidant strategy. Some research has shown that humor can be an avoidant strategy, which is related to poorer well-being (Kuiper et al., 2004; Martin, Puhlik-Doris, Larsen, Gray, & Weir, 2003).   For instance, Malek's use of humor appeared to be his attempts at avoiding a "serious matter." While it deflected attention from the issue and produces less anxiety related to discrimination, it placed him in a state of denial or avoidance of a situation. This can pose as a risk factor for his psychological well-being, as his state of denial or avoidance can perpetuate the feeling of discomfort or anxiety (Dymond, & Roche, 2009). Therefore, avoiding the situation (i.e. passive form of coping) yielded a less adaptive way of coping, especially over the long-term.

Arab-American Adolescents' Definition of Positive Psychological Well-being

In contrast, while not directly assessed, participants indirectly defined their well-being through positive daily activities (as seen in participant profiles). Many participants engaged in sports, video games, the community, or extracurricular activities at school. For participants who engaged in sports (n = 5) many expressed sense of pleasure, mastery, and/or enjoyed the communal nature of being on a team. For participants who played video games (n = 4), they stated that it gave them an escape and gives them a sense of mastery. In regard to community involvement, one participant (i.e. Nada) discussed how it gave her a feeling of social cohesion, sense of pleasure, and reduced her worries. Another participant, Mirna, discussed how extracurricular activities often gave her a sense of purpose and autonomy. These daily activities may have acted as protective factors that may have helped to offset some of the risks

186

associated with perceiving discrimination, ultimately promoting their resiliency. Similarly, other

supports were social support and religion. The majority of participants spoke about their

relationships with their friends (n = 8) and the feelings of acceptance, safety, trust, and

meaningfulness that friendship provided. Similarly, six participants discussed how important the

role of family was for them, providing them with similar feelings of safety and cohesion. Lastly,

the majority of participants discussed religion (n = 8).   Three out of the eight expressed high

religiosity. Having high religiosity was defined as actively using religion to cope, actively

involved in the mosque or religious traditions/holidays, displaying private religious practices,

showing understanding and commitment to values and beliefs, and feeling a sense

of meaningfulness garnered from religion. While the majority of participants participated in

Ramadan, which occurred during data collection, only a handful perceived religion as salient in

their lives.

> **R:** How much does religion play a role in your life you think
> **Nada:** Well of course a lot because I pray five times a day ..like
> this...past…couple weeks...it's been Ramadan so...I'm fasting...and uh...that's
> affecting my schedule...and when I do my homework...when I sleep…when I
> eat…
> **R:** What does it do for you...having that religion?
> **Nada:** I don't know what I'd do without it...honestly...it's so prominent in my
> life…I feel like I'd be lost without it…it's like my structure…it keeps me stable.
> (Interview 2)

For Nada, the benefits of religion are quite clear, it is part of her daily experiences, playing a

significant role in her identity, providing her a sense of direction, structure, and stability. These

benefits can yield a positive well-being. Other participants showed pride and engagement in

internal and external displays of religiosity:

> **Kareem:** Yes there was experiences this week that made me proud of being an
> Arab. Just like going to the mosque and praying for my own religion. That made
> me proud. (Online Journal, Week 1, 2017)

187

Kareem, along with Samer, both displayed pride in their religion. They also both saw it as a means to an end—heaven, which ultimately gave them a sense of purpose. In general, religion can be seen as a protective factor for Arab-American adolescents. Another way psychological well-being could have been defined by the participants is through their active and adaptive responses towards discrimination. This includes social activism (online or in-person), which provided participants a sense of agency and feelings of empowerment (that they can elicit change), seeking social support, or using humor as a way to bolster their well-being. Essentially, participants tried to avoid negative affect and responses that led to negative affect or diminished sense of self/self-esteem. Their actions were generally aimed at bolstering their sense of self, while minimizing discomfort or negative feelings. Thus, participants' "positive-well-being" was multi-dimensional, encompassing positive daily activities, social support, religion, social activism, humor, and positive self-esteem.

Discussion

Although not directly assessed, the definition of psychological well-being was interpreted by the participants' discussion of individual pursuits during their free time, social interactions, and their faith. The outcomes of their coping strategies discussed above also yielded some insight into their definitions of psychological well-being. Specifically, those who engaged in active coping strategies often engaged in them because it appeared to provide them with a sense of agency, autonomy, and positive affect, all of which have been linked to positive psychological well-being (Deiner et al., 2009). Further, within this study, participants discussed positive daily activities that they enjoyed. These activities appeared to provide them with a sense of purpose, competency, and efficacy in their lives, which is consistent positive psychological well-being (Diener et al., 2009). Interestingly, psychological well-being for participants appeared to align

more with individualistic conceptions of well-being, with a greater focus on an individual person's efficacy and happiness (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). Similarly, some participants reported poorer well-being when their individual interests, preferences, or beliefs had to be suppressed in favor of adhering to the collectivist and/or family values, indicating further evidence of individualistic conceptions of well-being.   These results were surprising as literature has shown that Arab-Americans may be more likely to define their psychological well-being differently than typical Western conceptualizations of psychological well-being. Specifically, it contrasts with research that showed that Arabs are also likely to define their well-being based on family satisfaction or family well-being (Ajrouch, 2007; Al-Krenawi & Graham, 1999).

One reason for this could be due to the adolescent's developmental stage and being immersed in a larger individualistic culture. During adolescence, there is a greater focus on autonomy and differentiation from caregivers and family (Kagitcibasi, 2005; Murphy, 2008). Therefore, it may be that in attempts to differentiation from family or caregivers, adolescents may have focused more on their individual psychological well-being, rather than their family's satisfaction. Another reason for this could be that Arab-American adolescents are living in a broader culture that orients towards individualism (Sirin & Fine, 2008). Within this study, Arab-American adolescents identified as bi-cultural, identifying with both "Arab" and "American" culture. However, in relation to psychological well-being, it may be that Arab-American adolescents oriented towards the American individualistic culture. This makes sense when understood within the context of their developmental stage. At a time where they may be seeking autonomy and differentiation from their family (physically and psychologically), they may be more likely to orient more towards American individualism orientation. That is, in

attempts to differentiate and seek autonomy Arab-American adolescents may be less likely to perceive family satisfaction as salient to their psychological well-being.

Social support also played a role in participants' psychological well-being and was an active coping strategy that adolescents used. Research has shown that having rewarding relationships has been found to be protective (Masten, 2001) and a significant factor in psychological well-being (Diener et al., 2009). In the current study, some participants discussed using social support to help them cope and/or generally discussed friends and family as playing a positive role in their life. Arab-American adolescents appeared to have substantial and fulfilling relationships in their lives that contributed to their well-being.

Lastly, religiosity was observed among three of the participants. Having high religiosity was defined as actively using religion to cope, actively involved in the mosque or religious traditions/holidays, displaying private religious practices, showing understanding and commitment to values and beliefs, and feeling a sense of meaningfulness garnered from religion (Fetzer Institute, 2003). Research has shown that religiosity is associated with positive psychological well-being (Ahmed, Kia-Keating, & Tsai 2011; Stevens, Vollebergh, Pels & Crijnen, 2005). It has been shown to provide people with a sense of meaning, security, and purpose (Davis, Kerr, Robinson, & Kurpius, 2003). In this study three participants discussed religion as being significant to their lives—they showed a sense of pride and engagement, engaging in internal (e.g., private prayer) and external (e.g., doing to the mosque) displays of religiosity. Further, it appeared to provide them with a sense of structure and direction, which may provide a sense of security and purpose, which may help promote their resiliency and well-being.

In general, the results suggest that participants' psychological well-being is multi-

dimensional for Arab-American adolescents, encompassing multiple components of subjective well-being: positive affect, self-esteem, purpose/meaning, relationships, autonomy, agency, and competency (Deci & Ryan, 2010; Deiner, 2009; Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999; Ryff, 1989; 2008). These components are part of an individualistic definition of psychological well-being. Regardless, they appear to be protective factors that may help alleviate stress experienced from daily stressors, including (but not limited to), discrimination.

CHAPTER IX:

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

The present study explored three main research questions: 1) How do Arab American adolescents experience racial discrimination?; 2) How does racial discrimination relate to their well-being?; and 3) How do Arab American adolescents define "well-being"? One of the key findings of this dissertation was that the sociopolitical context played an important role in experiences of discrimination. This research was completed at a unique time in history. Arab-Americans are in the national spotlight and routinely being asked to prove their citizenship and patriotism. The Arab-American adolescents in the study were racially and ethnically conscious and aware of how prevalent racism was within the U.S. These adolescents were able to describe the effects of the sociopolitical climate and its normalization, desensitization, and anticipation of racism. The sociopolitical climate seeped into all dimensions of discrimination (e.g., sources, modes, and types) and played a role in the participants' adaptive or maladaptive responses to discrimination. The pervasiveness of the theme of the sociopolitical climate throughout the results has several key implications.

First, these findings suggest that it is critical for psychologists to recognize and consider the influence of the sociopolitical climate on mental health, as it can play a multifaceted role in Arab-American adolescents' experiences with discrimination and psychological well-being. This study highlights the importance of awareness and understanding of how the sociopolitical climate can "seep" into Arab-American adolescents' worldviews and contribute to internalized racism. Psychologists should be aware of how current events can shape Arab-American adolescents' worldviews and potential internalized racism, when assessing their psychological well-being. It is important to also understand that Arab-American youth experience

discrimination when they leave the enclave, where they come in contact with people who have absorbed the negative messages and worldviews from the sociopolitical climate. This can pose a significant risk factor that can engender not only direct or indirect discrimination but also anticipated discrimination.

Furthermore, Arab-American adolescents can also experience discrimination within the enclave through "pores", by which the larger society seeps in via the internet, government policies, and current events. This study showed that when this occurs, Arab-American adolescents reported greater negative well-being and maladaptive coping strategies, exhibiting negative affect, such as worry or fear. Thus, it is important to be aware of the potential negative implications these "pores" can have for Arab-American adolescents' well-being, even within an ethnic enclave. Specifically, it is important to understand the risks associated with the sociopolitical climate, such as fostering desensitization to prejudice or discrimination or rumination among Arab-American adolescents. It is vital to understand the risks related to the direct and indirect exposure to discrimination because the stress from experiences of discrimination resulting from the current sociopolitical climate could have cumulative effects and has the potential to affect Arab-American adolescents into the future.

To offset some of this risk, incorporating discussions regarding the sociopolitical climate in schools or with parents, where students have an opportunity to discuss the broader cultural forces, may provide an outlet for students to process and understand their social environment. For instance, Nada stated how after the election she experienced sympathy from teachers. "they were sympathetic…they…I know…one teacher literally started crying...she's like 'if you guys ever need anything…let me know…' stuff like that…they were...all nice about it…no one really…no one really added on to the hate." That extra support for students may go a long way

in helping to prevent any additional stress. Further, strengthening the supports found within the

enclave or in the Arab-American adolescents' life (e.g., social support, relatedness, ethnic

identity) can also help to buffer the stress from the sociopolitical climate. Future research should

investigate Arab-American adolescents' experiences directly associated with the current

sociopolitical culture and policies and the relationship to psychological well-

being. Understanding this relation can further the research on discrimination and the societal

structures and policies that perpetuate it.   Thus, psychologists should pay close attention to

policy, current events, and political institutions, as they could provide information that could

inform culturally sensitive assessment and intervention with Arab-American adolescents. This

study may also extend the RR framework, by illustrating how the sociopolitical climate could

also serve as a risk factor that may affect well-being and hinder resiliency.

The study's main research question was, how do Arab-American adolescents experience

racial discrimination? Results indicated that adolescents experienced various sources, modes,

and types of discrimination. The main sources of discrimination were teachers and peers, many

of whom, perpetuated cultural stereotypes. Teachers and peers may be unaware of these

stereotypes due to their White Privilege, which perpetuates discrimination and oppression. Arab-

American adolescents also experienced discrimination through electronic media (i.e. online), via

social media, YouTube ©, text messages, and video games. Online discrimination appeared to be

the main mode of discrimination. With the pervasiveness of technology and adolescents

spending approximately nine hours a day on electronic media, online communities and social

media pose threats to well-being by providing anonymity to perpetrators and opportunities to

assert power and dominance through discrimination. Psychologists, parents, and teachers may

use or apply this information by supervising adolescents' online activity. Moreover, these results

could help with racial socialization practices that can help better prepare adolescents to face discrimination. Yet, little research has been done regarding Arab-American adolescents' experiences with online discrimination. Future research should be conducted on online discrimination in Arab-American adolescents thoroughly investigating the content, frequency, and sources typically associated with high levels of perceived discrimination.

There were multiple types of discrimination experienced by Arab-American adolescents, such as within-group discrimination, anticipated discrimination, cultural discrimination, institutional discrimination, and vicarious discrimination. Minimal studies have investigated these types of discrimination, such as within-group discrimination in Arab-American adolescents. This is important as Arab-American adolescents spoke of within-group discrimination on the basis of national origin, acculturation, and skin color. The reasoning for the basis of within-group discrimination may vary from reasons rooted to colonization, internalized racism, or colorism. Psychologists must be aware of potential internalized racism that is perpetuated by the dominant culture. This is important to consider as it could destabilize Arab-American adolescents' feelings of belongingness to their ethnic group, as they become marginalized or rejected by their own group. These various types (and sources above) of discrimination have implications for RR theory; specifically, the study helps to highlight not just that discrimination is a risk factor, but, also identified the forms and sources of these risk factors. Understanding specific forms and sources related to the lived experiences of Arab-American adolescents can help to promote a more precise understanding of the risk factors associated with their resiliency. Future research should not only investigate within-group discrimination (and other types of discrimination) in Arab-American adolescents but also further investigate the underlying mechanisms that perpetuate within-group discrimination.

Anticipated discrimination was also experienced by the participants, which was partly rooted in the current socio-political climate. Anticipated discrimination may have also emerged as theme, as adolescents are also future oriented. Yet, little research has investigated anticipated discrimination. This dearth in literature is significant, as this information can help parents' racial socializations with Arab-American adolescents, preparing them for future discrimination, which has been shown to be protective (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006). Future research should investigate anticipated discrimination more thoroughly, and its relationship to Arab-American adolescents' well-being. Understanding the role of anticipated discrimination in Arab-American adolescents is imperative if one aims to garner a more holistic picture of experiences and consequences of perceived discrimination. Moreover, Arab-American adolescents experienced cultural discrimination, specifically stereotypes, such as terrorist, violent/dangerous, and perception of homogeneity. Relatively surprising, was the minimal direct experiences of discrimination with institutions. This result may have been due to adolescents limited mobility—the participants in the study were less likely to travel outside the enclave. Future research should investigate why this may have occurred and the extent to which the ethnic enclave played a role. Further, these results raise awareness related to the Arab-American related stereotypes. Raising awareness of these stereotypes can help adolescents, school staff, and psychologists start to provide counter narratives and highlight Arab-American adolescents' unique voices of color. The awareness of these stereotypes could help psychologists address the discrimination rooted in stereotypes from teachers, peers, or other school staff.

Lastly, vicarious discrimination also emerged as a type of discrimination Arab-American adolescents experienced. Today the power of vicarious experiences is becoming more widely

recognized (e.g., the fear generated by the school shootings, the fear of deportation as immigrants observe people in similar circumstances deported). For Arab-Americans adolescents, vicarious discrimination occurred through witnessing other Arab-Americans experiencing discrimination via the Travel Ban, YouTube, other community members, and in news reports. Psychologists should be aware of the various ways, especially electronically, of which Arab-American adolescents can experience vicarious discrimination.

The results from these studies highlight the importance of how psychologists and society, as a whole, should be more attuned to adolescents' perceptions of what others have experienced and understand its consequences on psychological well-being (e.g., desensitization, worry, fear). This could also help psychologists in assessment, by gathering data on vicarious discrimination and its effect on Arab-American adolescents. This study also highlighted the importance of understanding and being aware of the role of ethnic identity and its association with vicarious discrimination. It did appear that participants with a stronger ethnic identity were more sensitive and reactionary to vicarious discrimination.   Thus, results underscore an important research and practical implication—that the strength of ethnic identity is related to vicarious discrimination by placing them at further risk for not just experiencing discrimination but experiencing it more strongly than Arab-American adolescents with a weaker sense of ethnic identity. Arab-American adolescents were more likely to personalize discrimination that occurred to ethnic-group members, because they too are members of that group. Future research should investigate the degree to which ethnic group membership is associated with vicarious discrimination. Vicarious discrimination should also be included in socialization practices or discussions within the home or school. All too often, vicarious discrimination may be set aside and is seen as an experience that is likely to produce little to no consequence on well-being. Thus, as a society we are not

attuned to the deleterious consequences it can have on well-being. Engaging and incorporating vicarious discrimination into conversations about racism and discrimination can help adolescents feel validated and could help promote resiliency.

Furthermore, Arab-American adolescents experienced discrimination due to having a critical race consciousness. Results suggested that participants provided evidence of White privilege, colorism, racism as a normal occurrence, intersectionality, and racist nativism. These results suggested that within society, there is a normalized systemic racial bias that offers various social, legal, and economic benefits of being White; these benefits can lead to within-group discrimination, where ethnic group members start to idealize lighter skin color and White culture/ideals (i.e. colorism).   This study has raised awareness of the saliency of racism in Arab-American adolescents' experiences of discrimination through their experiences of White privilege, colorism, intersectionality, and racist nativism. Further, the results not only highlighted the benefits of being White but the costs (i.e., within-group discrimination) in attempts to gain those benefits. This information can help psychologists promote critical race consciousness in Arab-American adolescents, which could aid students, parents, psychologists etc., in navigating their experiences of racism. Promoting critical race consciousness has been found to be promotive in students' resiliency (Carter Andrews, 2005). Furthermore, this study promotes social justice, as it highlights Arab-American adolescents' unique voices of color, highlighting the injustice and oppression that Arab-American adolescents face on a daily basis. Future quantitative studies could help to delineate the strength of these relationships and under what settings these relationships emerge.

Intersectionality emerged as an important theme within the study. Specifically results showed that that ethnic identity, religion, and gender were all salient aspects of Arab-American

adolescents' identity. For Arab-American adolescents with higher ethnic identity, they were more likely to be racially conscious, perceive discrimination, and have a higher reactivity to discrimination. Religion was conflated with ethnic identity, indicating that if a participant was an Arab Muslim, he/she also were likely to perceive discrimination. Further, Arab-American females also were likely to experience discrimination. These identities placed Arab-American adolescents at risk for perceiving "double" or even "triple" discrimination, as all of these identities are minority identities oppressed within the US. These results help psychologists recognize the importance of considering multiple identities (in assessment, consultation, or intervention) in Arab-American adolescents. Further, it can aid psychologists recognize that multiple identities may place some adolescents at greater risk for perceiving discrimination. Lastly, Arab-American adolescents described their experiences of being perceived as "foreigners" in their own country, exemplifying racist nativism. Racist nativism helps perpetuate the status quo of White dominance and security, by promoting the narrative that "American" equals "White." These results highlight the prevalence of racist nativism within the Arab-American population. Further, this research extended the research and theory beyond Latino populations and LatCRT showing applicability within the Arab-American population.   Understanding the role of racist nativism in Arab-Americans' experiences could help psychologists recognize exclusionary messages Arab-American adolescents may be receiving from the sociopolitical culture and/or people in their lives. Furthermore, these results showed that internalizing racist nativism is possible through the self-exclusion from the American identity (i.e., using the word "American" to mean the dominant White culture). Research should continue to explore the restriction of American identity and its relationship to discrimination and well-being.

A subset of the first research question investigated the following question: How do Arab-American adolescents describe and understand their lived experiences with perceived racial discrimination in communities where the majority of the population is Arab-American? Results indicated that the community did appear to play a role in participants' experiences with discrimination. Participants described their community like "living in a 'bubble," which appeared to protect them from discrimination by shielding them from direct contact with other racial or ethnic groups and by providing psychosocial resources to offset the risk from discrimination, such as social support and social cohesion. However, participants were still at risk for perceiving within-group and community level discrimination. Psychologists, teachers, community members, and community leaders should be mindful of the potential within-group discrimination that may occur among Arab-American adolescents in various modalities (in-person or online). With this knowledge clinicians, staff, and community members can take preventative and supportive steps to help minimize the frequency and effect of the problem. Further, psychologists should be mindful of the effect of community-level discrimination. While it may appear broad and distal, Arab-American adolescents were aware and felt the effects from it. Helping to bolster some of the psychosocial supports sometimes found within enclaves could help offset the stress from both types of discrimination.

This study highlighted important protective factors associated with ethnic enclaves. School psychologists who work with diverse populations in ethnic enclaves can use protective factors (e.g., social cohesion and social support) to help support the work that they do to better provide culturally sensitive services. For instance, a psychologist, when conducting a needs analysis can take into consideration the protective factors. Future research should compare experiences of discrimination of Arab-American adolescents living in a community where they

are the majority versus living in a community where they are a minority; investigating this can help underscore the importance of the ethnic enclaves' role in Arab-American adolescents' resiliency.

This study may extend the ethnic density hypothesis, which, states that enclaves can help protect and buffer the stress from discrimination.   While this study showed that the enclave can be protective it can also be simultaneously porous, with discrimination seeping into the enclave. Thus, it is not a utopian bubble that offers a clear break from discriminatory experiences; a closer look challenges the assumptions about enclaves and reveals pores and cracks that place Arab-American adolescents at risk for perceiving discrimination. The findings of this study indicate that Arab-American adolescents who live in enclaves are not completely shielded from discrimination, and that the ethnic density hypothesis should be applied and understood with greater nuance.

Lastly, the second research question and sub-questions were: How does racial discrimination relate to their well-being? And How do Arab-American adolescents respond to their experiences of perceived racial discrimination? Results showed that participants engaged in various responses to discrimination, such as adaptive and active, adaptive and passive, maladaptive and active, and maladaptive and passive coping responses. Adaptive and active coping appeared to be the most adaptive, where participants engaged in social activism, defending others, or sought out social support, providing them with a sense agency, autonomy and positive affect. Participants also engaged in adaptive and passive responses, such as "rationalizing the other." "Rationalizing the other," was one way where participants attributed discrimination as external, unstable, and uncontrollable, which led to a more adaptive response. Maladaptive active responses were similar to cyberbullying, which may bolster self-

esteem but denigrate others at a cost. Maladaptive passive responses were accepting it as normal, ignoring it, ruminating, and engaging in self-defeating humor which generated feelings of apathy, helplessness, or powerlessness. In general, these were strategies that produced the greatest negative affect. These results can aid psychologists to recognize some adaptive and maladaptive responses. Furthermore, it can help psychologists support students by promoting adaptive responses to discrimination in the school or in a clinical setting. Psychologists can also help students recognize the negative effects maladaptive responses can have on their psychological well-being. This study extends the research on active and passive coping strategies. It also extends the literature on the TMS model and how it played a role in Arab-American adolescents appraisals of discrimination. Future research should use the TMS model to investigate responses to discrimination as it captures greater nuance in how participants may process the stress experienced from perceiving discrimination. These results also helped extend the risk and resiliency framework, highlighting that some passive coping strategies can be adaptive and promote resiliency. Future research should investigate defense mechanisms, such as rationalization, and how they can provide adaptive strategies that promote resiliency in the face of various stressors.

Lastly, the third question, how do Arab American adolescents define "well-being"? was investigated. Results showed that participants defined their psychological well-being via an individualistic lens, such as having positive daily activities, social support, and religiosity. Additionally, coping strategies, such as using an active coping style, indicated a more individualistic conceptualization of psychological well-being, where adolescents focused on strategies that promoted a sense of personal control and agency, both of which are related to the independent self. These results were explained as a possible result of Arab-American

adolescents' developmental stage and individualistic orientation. Psychologists may also find these results relevant for adolescents with whom they work, which could help facilitate the use of active coping strategies, by providing options for extracurricular activities or building the Arab adolescents' social support network.

Challenges of the Study

Due to the current sociopolitical climate, I anticipated having a difficult time finding willing participants. Currently, the sociopolitical climate is extraordinary and unprecedented (e.g., The Executive Order called "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States"). These current circumstances and potential future sociopolitical actions may have affected the content and process of my research. I hope however, that by situating myself within the community, revealing my own Arab-American background, and building relationships with community members that individuals were more willing to participate.

There were multiple limitations within the current study. One limitation was with a participant that was an "outlier." Hassan, a 13-year-old Arab-American male was highly guarded and provided an outlook that was not racially conscious. In fact, his worldview was idealistic, viewing the United States as safe and non-discriminatory. Hassan's different worldview may be related to his acculturation; he was the only one that appeared to be less acculturated than his same-aged peers. Some literature has stated that people who are less acculturated may be more likely to have the perception that the United States is equal and fair and therefore perceive less acculturation (Pérez, Fortuna, & Alegria, 2008). In this case, Hassan may have reported less discrimination because he is less acculturated in comparison to the other participants. Another limitation regarding participants is that all of the participants were Lebanese and Muslim, therefore this study excludes the lived experiences of Arab Christians and Arabs from different

nationalities, which may have yielded different data.

Another limitation was related to the methods. Specifically, triangulation was difficult to achieve, as all of the parents reported that their adolescents did not perceive discrimination. This was a striking finding and suggested that parents and their children have discrepant views of discrimination experiences. It would be important to follow this up with research that examines why this may be the case, whether this is related to generational, acculturation, response bias, parent-child relationships, or other factors. It also raises the question of how parents prepare their adolescents for coping with discrimination and for the adolescents' well-being, if parents have inaccurate understandings of their experiences. While unexpected, the results may have been due to the participants' developmental period. Adolescence is a time when youth strive for autonomy (Steinberg, & Morris, 2001); thus, it may be that participants withheld this information from their parents in an attempt to achieve emotional and behavioral autonomy. Another reason could be that there may be differences in acculturation levels. Differing acculturation levels between the parent and child may promote generational dissonance between the parent and child, which may affect communication (Kim, Chen, Li, Huang, & Moon, 2009; Schofield, Parke, Kim, & Coltrane, 2008). This generational dissonance may have led to the participants withholding their experiences of discrimination from their parents. Thus, the lack of triangulation due to limited parent input on adolescents' experiences with discrimination may have affected the credibility of the study.

Parents may have also had a response bias when interacting with me. The parents may have withheld information or provided positively skewed information for fear of being perceived as a "bad parent." For instance:

> R: Last two questions...have you ever...discussed what you…hear...in terms of discrimination…with your daughter?

Parent: I mean maybe I have I can't remember...conversations would have come up…
R: So...um…why do you think you didn't?
Parent: You want me to talk about my list of short comings? hahah…I just...I don't know...again…it's one thing I realize I have to work more is doing dinner table discussion...but we did that briefly…but I can't remember the discussion we had…
R: It's okay.
Parent: I'm still working on that Danielle.

Lastly, the adolescents may have withheld information from their parents out of concern for the well-being of parents. That is, they may perceive it as not wanting to burden them. This type of reaction is consistent with some literature that states that some adolescents do not discuss instances of discrimination out of concern for their parents (Juang & Syed, 2014). In this study, there was some data that indicated that this may have occurred with some adolescents. For instance, Malek stated:

R: Do you ever talk to your mom about what you see on YouTube©?
Malek: [shakes head no]
R: How come?
Malek: Mostly because…I don't know why I just don't like talking about things...
R: Is it more like privacy…Like you want to do your own thing?
Malek: it's not privacy...it's just…like…it's a sort of...it's kind of like you don't want them to worry

In this example, Malek explicitly states that one of the reasons he keeps his observations of discrimination to himself is because he wants to protect his mother's well-being, he does not want her to worry. It may be the case that other participants may have felt the same way.
The lack of triangulation speaks to an overall limited communication between parent and child about discrimination. Literature on racial socialization indicates that the communication that occurs between parent and child about discrimination can be protective, providing adolescents with the awareness and skills to navigate discriminatory experiences (Hughes et al., 2006). Promoting more open and intentional communication about discrimination between parent and child may be essential for adolescents' well-being and buffering the stress from discrimination.

The data collection methods (e.g. interviews and journals) relied on participants' ability to expressive themselves verbally or in writing. This affected the thick description that I strove to achieve to establish credibility (and validity). For instance, the journals provided some data, however, adolescents found it difficult to update every week. One participant had difficulty expressing himself in writing each week and needed to use the dictation accommodation. Further, some participants did not finish within the six weeks, and thus, there was some missing or incomplete data, ultimately effecting the credibility of the study. Data on who completed the interviews and weekly entries are displayed in Table 2.

There were also some limitations regarding my interactions with the participants and the data. As stated before, as a researcher, there were insider advantages and disadvantages. One disadvantage that I did anticipate was being perceived as an outsider. While it proved to be somewhat advantageous to be perceived as an outsider (e.g., participants felt comfortable or safer talking about the community or community members to a non-community member), there was still some "distance" between me and the participants. For instance, participants and their families often asked about my knowledge of the Arab culture. For instance, they would help clarify what Ramadan is or they would provide unprompted definitions of certain words or phrases. Sometimes they assumed that I did not speak Arabic. These assumptions affected the interviewer-interviewee relationship because it may have created a "wall" between us, as they may have perceived me as an outsider. That is, they may have seen me as "too White," which may have engendered perceptions of someone who is less racially aware or less loyal to the heritage culture.

Further, I noticed my own cultural orientation and acculturation playing a role in how I interacted with the participants. I am more assimilated and oriented towards the American

culture in comparison to the participants. This may have created a slight bias in my interactions

with the participants, recruitment, data-collection, and interpretation of the data. For instance, in

my autobiographical journal I had remarked:

> **R:** Today I realized that I did bring in my own bias on what is expected from a
> female stranger. I had worn a hat to cover up my hair 'just in case' and the
> participant's parent asked why I was wearing a hat in the middle of summer…I
> said, 'oh just out of respect' and the parent looked confused… and I realized it
> was unnecessary for me to do. I realized I had made a religious assumption.

Further, being Lebanese myself, may have also biased the recruitment, where I may

inadvertently recruited participants from the same in-group (i.e., Lebanese-Arabs), as we both

may have established greater trust and rapport on the basis of our shared nationality than if it

were someone from a different nationality. Similarly, having this shared nationality may have

affected my data collection and interpretation. For data collection, being Lebanese I may have

made some assumptions about the participants that may have affected the types of follow-up

questions I asked or their responses, thereby potentially limiting the breadth or depth of topics

covered. For instance, the Arab culture's communication is regarded as "high-context," meaning

that there is a lot of ambiguity in the Arab language, where context is necessary to comprehend

meaning, rather than a more direct and explicit way of communicating (Nelson, Batal, & Bakary,

2002). This indirect communication may have affected how I collected and interpreted the data,

as the ambiguity provided more room for error and assumption. Participants may have also been

more likely to highlight and bolster their ethnic identity in attempts to bond or relate to me,

thereby affecting the data collected. The interpretation of the data may have also been biased due

to sharing the same nationality. For instance, I hold a privileged position in the Arab culture,

being from a culture that is regarded as "higher status." This may have affected how I perceived

the ethnic enclave, where I perceived it as more supportive than if I were Iraqi or Yemeni, where

I may have experienced more discrimination.

Through my own biases, I could have also created distance in the relationship between the participants and me. Although I took steps to limit my preconceived notions, such as keeping an autobiographical journal, from significantly biasing the results, it is not possible to prevent my worldviews and biases from shaping how I interpret data. Similarly, whether it is through my interactions or the nature of the study there could have been demand characteristics, where the participants could have modified their responses to be more socially acceptable. Although I cannot "control" for these types of responses, I tried to minimize potential biases through follow-up interviews and triangulation of the data. Lastly, because IPA involves and appreciates the researcher as being part of the analytical process it also means that it is limited to my own knowledge and skills, which could limit my interpretations. Generally, the limitations imposed through my own interpretations may pose a risk to the rigor of the study. I may not have been able to pick up on nuances related to teenage counterculture or cultural nuances or phases specific to national origin. Engaging in follow-up interviews, member checks, and peer debriefing may have helped to check my understanding of these nuances. Lastly, this study is context specific, meaning a specific group in a specific setting described their experiences and thus, *specific* experiences about participants cannot be generalized.

In general, engaging in qualitative research has been a transformative experience. Despite the challenges that the participants and I had to navigate, the participants welcomed me into their homes and into their lives. They allowed themselves to be vulnerable and honest with themselves and me. My relationship with the participants grew stronger across the few months that we worked together, with many sharing their triumphs of school or extracurricular activities with me. or discussing the intricacies of their video games. In a way, these adolescents were just

like any adolescents, navigating this developmental period haphazardly, balancing school, family, extracurricular activities, and their future. Yet, in many ways these adolescents were extraordinary, challenging me to think about my own culture differently; specifically, I came to view Arab-Americans in a more balanced way—a more integrated way, rather than viewing Arab-Americans as binary (i.e., either separated or assimilated). Their narratives found their way into my life, as I empathized and sympathized with their fears, their worries, and their pain. These adolescents represent only a small portion of the Arab-culture, yet they were able to tell their story in their own way. I was privileged to be part of that process.

Arab-American adolescents have much to teach us about what it is like to be living in today's United States of America. Their stories revealed how Arab-American adolescents' experiences with discrimination are complex and nuanced. Their different experiences with discrimination yielded distinctive stories with unique voices that counter the dominant culture's notions and perceptions.   While the current study has provided some insights, it also provided these Arab-American adolescents with a megaphone—allowing their voices to be heard in a culture that has tried to take their voices away.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:

Background Form

CODE NAME:_____

Background Questionnaire

Please only fill out this questionnaire if you have <u>consented/assented to participate in the study. This information will be kept confidential and is for research purposes only. The information will not be shared with third parties.</u>

1. Parent completing this form:

   Mother _____   Father _____   Grandparent _____   Guardian _____

2. City in which you live _____

3. Number of years living in the city_____

4. Age of your adolescent child _____ Year of birth _____

5. Language(s) spoken_____

6. School Grade _____

7. What is your gender? (Check one)

8.   Male _____   Female _____   Other (Please specify) _____

Were you born in the United States? _____

   a. If you answered "No", since what age have you been living in the United States?
       _____

9. What is your country of origin? _____

10. Are you a U.S. citizen? _____

11. Race (Check all that apply):

   a. Caucasian/white   _____

   b. African American/Black   _____

12.   c. Asian American   _____
How
        d. American Indian/Native American   _____

        e. Multi-racial   _____

would you describe yourself? Check all that apply.

        a. Arab
           Afghanistan   _____

           Iraqi   _____

           Jordanian   _____

           Lebanese   _____

           Pakistani   _____

           Palestinian   _____

           Saudi Arabian   _____

           Syrian   _____

           Turkish   _____

           Yemeni   _____

           Egypt   _____

           Other (please specify)   _____

13) What is your spiritual affiliation? (Check one)

        a. Christian   _____
        b. Jewish   _____
        c. Muslim   _____
        d. Buddhist   _____
        e. Hindu   _____
        f. Atheist   _____
        g. Agnostic   _____

h. Other (Please Specify) _____

i. None _____

APPENDIX B:

Letter of Invitation, Consent, and Assent Form

Name of the Study	Understanding Arab American Adolescents' Experiences with Discrimination: A Phenomenological Approach
Institution	Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan
Researchers	Dr. Evelyn R. Oka, Associate Professor School Psychology & Educational Psychology College of Education
	Danielle Balaghi, M.A., School Psychology Doctoral Candidate College of Education
Address and Contact Information	Michigan State University 620 Farm Lane, room 439 East Lansing, MI, 48824-1034 balaghid@msu.edu, (734) 776-8458

MICHIGAN STATE
U N I V E R S I T Y

CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

Dear Parent/Guardian,

My name is Danielle Balaghi and I am an Arab American doctoral student at Michigan State University in the School Psychology program. I am studying Arab American adolescents' experiences with discrimination in the United States and am inviting you and your 13-17 year old adolescent child to participate in this research.

Purpose of Research: The goal of this study is to better understand Arab American adolescents' experiences with discrimination and how it may affect their well-being. As discrimination has become more common, it is important to understand Arab American adolescents' experiences and ways of coping. A total of 10 to 12 adolescents and one or both of their parents will be selected from those returning consent forms to take part in this study.

What you will do: You and your adolescent child's participation would involve completing a background questionnaire, and individual interviews. In addition, your adolescents would completing an online journal for 6 weeks. To determine your eligibility for the study and to provide participant information, parents first complete a one-page background survey that takes about five minutes. You and your adolescent would also participate in separate individual interviews. These interviews will ask you and your adolescent to describe your experiences with discrimination, such as how, when, and where it occurred and how you responded. The interviews will each take about an hour and will be at a location of your choice (for example, I can come to your home or arrange to meet in a room at a local library, church, or community center). The interviews will be audiotaped and later transcribed using code names. You will receive a total of $30 for participating in the first and follow-up interviews and your adolescent

will receive a total of $50 for completing the interview, follow-up interview, and journal entries. When interviewing your adolescent, I ask that you be on site, nearby in the same building. If you would feel more comfortable being in the room during the interview with your adolescent, you are welcome to do so. Your adolescent would also participate in a follow-up interview to obtain additional information and seek clarification. This will take approximately 45 minutes. All interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed with identifying information removed.

Your adolescent will also be completing an online journal. I will be asking your adolescent to record their answers to questions in a secure, password protected, online journal for six weeks. Each journal entry will ask three to four questions; for each of those questions it is expected that a response would be a minimum of three sentences in length. They will be asked to describe any discriminatory events that occur throughout the study or to provide additional information about their experiences with discrimination. At the end of each week I will discuss the responses with your adolescent within the online document or via phone or video conference. You and your adolescent may opt out of any question, interview, or part of the study at any time.

Privacy and Confidentiality: Your identities will be kept confidential. Your name will be removed and replaced with a code in reporting information from your interviews/journals. The key that links that code to your name will be securely kept separately from the data. You and your adolescent will be assigned an ID code which will be used in the interviews and journal. We make every effort to keep your data confidential to the maximum extent possible according to law, but there are certain situations where we have to disclose your data such as threats of harm to self or others. To protect your confidentiality, all data will be kept in locked files and on computers that are password protected in the researcher's home office for a minimum of three years after the close of the project. Only the appointed researchers and the Human Research Protection Program (HRPP) will have access to the research data. The contact information will be kept separate from the interview responses and destroyed when data collection is completed. These steps will be taken so that no one except the researcher and university staff, whose job is to ensure appropriate research practices, can have access to information that links your name with the data. The results of this study may be published or presented at professional meetings, but the identities of all research participants will remain confidential.

Potential Benefits and Risks: This study has several potential benefits. This research can increase adolescents' self-awareness about challenging experiences related to being Arab American and sources of coping. The study gives them an opportunity to record and share their stories about discrimination in the United States and can draw attention to the positive ways in which they cope. There is minimal risk to you and your adolescent from participating in the study, however, questions about discrimination may produce discomfort or negative emotions as you or adolescent think about and discuss these experiences. If you or your adolescent needs to talk with someone about these reactions, a list of counseling resources will be provided at the end of the interviews. I would be happy to talk with you further should you have questions about your adolescent's participation in the study.

Your Right to Participate or Withdraw: Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. This means that you are free to choose whether or not you want to participate in the study, and that you are free to withdraw your participation at any time without consequence. You may also

refuse to answer certain questions without consequence.

Costs and Compensation for Participating: There is no cost to participate in this study. If you and your child decide to participate, the participating parent will receive a total of $30 and your adolescent child will receive a total of $50 over the course of the study. The participating parent will receive $15 after the first parent interview and the adolescents will receive a $10 gift card after the first adolescent interview. After each of the 6 weeks I will mail or email the participating adolescent a $5 gift card for completing the weekly questions in the online journal. After completing the follow-up interviews, the participating parent will receive $15 and the adolescent will receive $10 dollars for their time and effort.

Contact Information for Questions or Concerns:

If you have any questions about the study that you feel the researchers cannot answer, please contact them at Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program at 517-355-2180, Fax 571-432-4503, or email irb@msu.edu or regular mail at 207 Olds Hall, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824.

If you have concerns or questions about this study, such as scientific issues, how to do any part of it, or to report an injury (i.e., physical, psychological, social, financial, or otherwise), please contact the researchers: Danielle Balaghi, M.A., email: balaghid@msu.edu or balaghidresearch@gmail.com or Evelyn Oka, Ph.D., evoka@msu.edu.; phone: 517-432-0843; mail: 620 Farm Lane, Room 439, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824.

If I may be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to contact me or Dr. Oka.

Sincerely,

Danielle Balaghi, M.A.
Doctoral Candidate, School Psychology
Department of Counseling, Educational Psychology, and Special Education
College of Education
Michigan State University

DOCUMENTATION OF INFORMED CONSENT AND ASSENT

If you are willing to participate, please sign this consent form. I will mail you a copy for your records.

Your signature below means that you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

_____   _____
Parent's Name (printed)   Relation to Child (Mother, Father, Guardian)

_____   _____
Parent's Consenting Signature   Date

_____   _____
Adolescent Child's Name (Printed)

_____   _____
Signature of Assenting Child (13-17 years old)   Date

Contact Information (Will not be shared; for communication about research only)

_____

_____

_____
Mailing Address

_____   _____
Phone   Email Address

MICHIGAN STATE
U N I V E R S I T Y

ASSENT SCRIPT FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

Hi. My name is Danielle Balaghi. I'm a student at Michigan State University. Right now, I'm trying to learn about Arab American adolescents' experiences with discrimination in the United States. I would like to ask you to help me by being in a study, but before I do I want to explain what will happen if you decide to help me.

First, I am going to interview you and ask you some questions to learn about your experiences and what you think. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions; this is not a test. It will take about an hour to complete and I will be audio-recording your responses and taking notes. When we finish, I will give you a $10 gift card. Second, you will complete a journal online each week for six weeks. Each journal entry will ask you three to four questions; for each of those questions it is expected that a response would be a minimum of three sentences in length. The online journal is a secure Google document made just for you and will ask you similar questions that I asked you in the interview. After each week I will mail you a $5 gift card for a total of $30 (six $5 gift cards) if you complete the journal entries for each of the six weeks. Third, we'll meet one more time so that I can ask you some follow-up questions. This follow-up interview will take about 45 minutes. After this second interview, I will give you a $10 gift card. By being in this study you will help me to understand how Arab American adolescents experience discrimination in the United States.

When I interview you, I will ask one of your parents to be at home if we meet there, or in the same building if we meet in the community. I will not be telling your parents how you answered the questions, but you can tell them if you'd like. When I tell other people about my study, I will not use your name, and no one will be able to tell who I'm talking about. I will make every effort to keep your responses confidential, but if you tell me about threats of harm to yourself or others, I have to report that.

Your mom/dad/guardian has given me permission for you to be in my study, but if you don't want to participate, you don't have to. What you decide won't make any difference in how people think about you. I won't get upset, and no one else will be upset, if you don't want to be in the study. If you want to be in the study now, but change your mind later, that's okay. You can stop at any time. If there is anything you don't understand, please let me know and I can explain it to you.

You can ask me questions about the study. If you have a question later that you don't think of now, you can write me in your journal or ask your parents to call me or send me an email.

Do you have any questions for me now?

Would you like to be in my study?

Name of Child: _____

Child's Voluntary Response to Participation: ☐ Yes ☐ No

Signature of Child: _____ Date: _____

Printed Name of Child: _____

Signature of Researcher: _____ Date: _____

Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

Preface: Hi! My name is Danielle Balaghi. In the U.S. people have many different beliefs, ideas, and values. Sometimes this can lead to something called "discrimination". Do you know what that is? [allow participant to explain] That's right. Discrimination is when people are treated differently and unfairly because of specific characteristics, like what they look like, or because of groups they belong to. Sometimes discrimination can be actions, how people act toward you, or, it can be what people say to you or how they say it. The goal of this study is to understand how kids like you experience and respond to discrimination. Does this make sense? Do you have any questions for me?
Do you agree to participate in this study? (see assent script)

Thank you for participating in this study! First I'm going to ask you a few questions to get to know you better and then questions about your experiences with discrimination. Some of these questions may be difficult to answer, but you do not have to answer any questions that you do not feel comfortable answering. Also, you can stop the interview at any time. Do you have any questions for me? Are you ready to begin?

Type	Questions
Rapport Questions	**Let's start by getting to know each other a little. We're going to take turns answering some questions.** • First, tell me a little bit about yourself. • What do you like to do in your free time? • When people want to know about you, how do you usually describe yourself to them?

Grand Tour questions/context questions	**Context**
	• Where do you live?
	• What is it like to live in_____ (please describe where you live.)?
	  o How long have you lived here?
	    ▪ Have you always lived here?
	      • If no: Where else have you lived?
	  o What do you like about living there?(their community)
	  o What do you not like about living there? Are there things you don't like about____
	• Where do you spend your free time **outside of school**?
	  o What do you like about those places?
	  o What do you like about those places? What do not like about those places?
	• How did your family come to live in this_____? (Have you ever been told why your family decided to live in

	this _____?) Has that ever been talked about in your family? o Have you been told your family history and about who the first person was in your family to come to the U.S. to live?

Meaning of Being Arab American	• There are some people who describe themselves as being Arab American---How does that fit with how you think about yourself?
	 • What does being an _____ mean to you?
	 • What do you think are some of the good things about being Arab American?
	       • What makes these things (specify) good?
	    o What do you think are some of the things that *aren't* so good about being Arab American?
	       • What makes these things not so good?
	
	 • How do you think people view AA in the US?

General Definition of Discrimination	**General Definition of Discrimination:** • In the U.S. there many people who differ in terms of their backgrounds and beliefs. • Do you think that everyone is treated equally and fairly in the U.S? • **BRIDGE TO NEXT SECTION:** You have seen that people are not treated fairly. That is something we call discrimination. Then lead into the next section).

General Experience with discrimination	**General Perceptions/Experiences of Discrimination**
	
	 Ok now I'm going to ask you some questions about your (own) experiences with discrimination. I know it can be pretty sensitive topic and there are a lot of different opinions on it too. I have had experience with discrimination, but I'd like to know what it's like for teenagers.
	
	    o Have you personally had experiences with being treated unfairly for any reason?
	       • If so, why do think (What are the main reasons) you were treated unfairly?
	
	       • Where have you been treated unfairly?

		Could you tell me all of the places you have experienced unfair treatment? (If they are having a hard time coming up with something follow up with examples, such as: For instance, places like Facebook, your neighborhood, school, mall, library, movie theatre, sports, etc..)
		• How often would you say you experience unfair treatment? Once a week? Everyday?
		• Where do you experience it the most? The mall? School? Home?
		• Without telling me their names, who were the people that treated you unfairly? Were they teachers? Store workers? Other kids your age? Police?
		▪ Have the way people treated you changed since the election? How so?
		o If not: So you haven't experienced any unfair treatment right? Why do you think that is?
		Behavior and outcome questions:
		• When you have felt that you were treated unfairly, could you please describe to me how you reacted to it?
		o How did it make you feel?
		o What were you thinking?
		o Why do you think you did that?
		o What did you do or say?
		▪ How did you feel after you responded?
		o Why do you think that you were treated this way?
		o Has anything changed for you since the presidential election?
		o Do you feel or think differently (about anything specific?) than before the election? How so?
		o What did you do or say after you found out about the election results?
		o How did you feel after you responded? To?
		o So stepping back from everything and thinking about the big picture, what do you do now? If anything?

Discrimination within the community	• Have you seen any unfair treatment to others or to you in your community?
	o Would you describe what happened? If I were there, what would I see or hear?
	o Are there ways in which living in debo makes it easier (or difficult) to be an Arab American?
	o Do you think other Arab American kids your age in your ___ experience/not experience unfair treatment or discrimination?
Discrimination for Arab Americans **(if it is not naturally brought up from above)**	o If this has not been brought up through the question about discrimination above: There are some people who say that Arab Americans are facing a lot of discrimination in the U.S. today—What do you think?
	o If they don't explain state but agree: could you describe to me what sorts of unfair treatment Arab Americans are experiencing in our country?
	▪ Without being specific, could you list who you think would usually treat Arab Americans differently?
	Perceptions/Experiences of <u>Ethnic</u> Discrimination:
	• I'm an Arab American who has had some experience with discrimination because I was Arab American but I would like to know what it is like for teenagers.
	• Have you ever experienced a situation (online or in-person), where you felt disrespected, stereotyped (if they do not know what "stereotyped" means, define: when people have a belief that people have certain traits, characteristics, or behaviors, just because they are part of a certain group) or put down or told that you don't belong because you are Arab American?
	• Have you ever experienced a situation (online or in-person, where you felt that your heritage and culture in general was being disrespected, stereotyped, or put down?
	▪ If so, where have you encountered this unfair treatment? Could you tell me all of

	the places you have experienced disrespect/stereotype/put down? (If they are having a hard time coming up with something follow up with examples, such as: For instance, places like Facebook, your neighborhood, school, mall, library, movie theatre, sports, etc..)
	- How often would you say you experience unfair treatment? Once a week? Everyday? - Where do you experience it the most? The mall? School? Home? - Without telling me their names, who were the people that discriminated against you? Were they teachers? Store workers? Other kids your age? Police? - Why do (What are the main reasons) you think it happened? ▪ Is your experience different than before the election? How so? o **If not:** So you haven't experienced unfair treatment right? Why do you think that is? **Behavior questions:** - How did it make you feel? - What were you thinking? - Why do you think you did that? - What did you do or say? ▪ How did you feel after you responded? - Why do you think that you were treated this way? - Do you feel or think differently than before the election? How so? - What did you do or say after the election? - How did you feel after you responded? - So stepping back from everything, what do you do now? If anything?
IF THEY DO NOT EXPERIENCE	**IF NOT/ Perception/Experiences of Other People Experiencing Discrimination:**

ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION:	• If not, have you ever noticed discrimination (online or in-person) happening to other Arab Americans who are around the same age as you?
	• Have you seen any friends, family, and/or neighbors be treated unfairly and/or insulted (online or in-person) because they are Arab American?
	   o What are some examples where you have seen friends, family, and/or neighbors be treated unfairly and/or insulted (online or in-person) because they are Arab American?
	      ■ If I were there, what would I see or hear? Who was with you?
	      ■ Where did you see this happening?
	      ■ How long ago was this?
	   o How often do you see or hear other Arab Americans being treated unfairly? Every day? Once a week? Once a month?
	
	"IF NOT" Perception/Experiences of Other People Experiencing Discrimination Behavior questions
	• If you personally have not experienced discrimination, could you please describe to me how you react when you see other people, like family or friends, get treated unfairly or insulted or discriminated against in other ways?
	   o What sorts of feelings and thoughts have you had when you've seen or heard other people being treated unfairly?
	   o How have you reacted? What have you done after seeing this?
	      o What did you do or say?
	         ■ How did you feel after you responded?

Discrimination within the community against Arab Americans (if it does not naturally come up)	o Have you seen any unfair treatment in your community against Arab Americans?
	      o Would you describe what happened? If I were there, what would I see or hear?
	      o Are there ways in which living in ____ makes it easier (or difficult) to be an Arab American?
	      o Do you think other Arab American kids your age in your ___ experience/not experience unfair treatment or discrimination because they were Arab American?

Intersectionality	• Earlier, you told some times you have felt others discriminated/stereotyped/disrespected unfairly treated

	you. (If they only listed being discriminated against because of their ethnicity ask: have you ever been treated unfairly because of any other group you belong to or any thing else about you?). • (If they don't say it prompt them with this): Sometimes people feel like they are treated unfairly because they are a girl or Muslim or not being born in the U.S. have you ever been treated unfairly because of some of these things or anything else about you?

Summary statement/reflective question: So today, I have learned (summarize main ideas from the interview). Is there anything that you'd like to tell me/add that I didn't ask?
Is it okay to follow up with you at a later time to go over some questions?

APPENDIX D:

Follow-up Protocol-Revised

1. Pertaining to online journal prompts:
    a. Why did you write about this?
    b. What does post or picture that you shared with me mean to you?
    c. How did you respond to this experience?
    d. What did you do when this happened?
    e. How did it make you feel/think/do?
    f. What helped to make you feel better?
2. Pertaining to the in-person interview:
    a. Could you tell me more about this particular experience with being treated unfairly?
        i. What happened?
        ii. How did you respond?
            1. What sort of thoughts/feelings did you have?
            2. How did these thoughts/feelings affect your behavior?
            3. What helped to make you feel better?
    b. Do you ever tell your parents about any experiences with being treated unfairly?
    c. What do you mean by _____?
    d. How would you interpret this_____?
3. Have you ever noticed discrimination (online or in-person) happening to other Arab Americans who are around the same age as you?
4. Have you seen any friends, family, and/or neighbors be treated unfairly and/or insulted (online or in-person) because they are Arab American?
5. What are some examples where you have seen friends, family, and/or neighbors be treated unfairly and/or insulted (online or in-person) because they are Arab American?
    a. If I were there, what would I see or hear?
    b. Who was with you?
    c. Where did you see this happening?
    d. How long ago was this?
    e. How often do you see or hear other Arab Americans being treated unfairly? Every day? Once a week? Once a month?

6. If you personally have not experienced discrimination, could you please describe to me how you react when you see other people, like family or friends, get treated unfairly or insulted or discriminated against in other ways?
    a. What sorts of feelings and thoughts have you had when you've seen or heard other people being treated unfairly?
    b. How have you reacted? What have you done after seeing this?

     c.   What did you do or say?

     d.   How did you feel after you responded?

For Parents

7. Have you ever discussed your experiences with discrimination/being treated unfairly with your son/daughter?

8. If so, do you find these discussions helpful or unhelpful? How come?

APPENDIX E:

Journal Prompt

Thank you for participating in the interview and sharing your experiences with me. For each week in the next six weeks please write or share any instances of discrimination that have occurred in-person or online. Please write a journal entry that answers the questions and helps to understand your experience with discrimination. Discrimination is when you experience unfair treatment because of specific characteristics or groups you belong to. Sometimes these can be actions, while sometimes it can be negative words or messages said to you.

Each week, I will be contacting you by phone or in your journal on Google docs (by commenting in the document or via google chat) to discuss the prompts. You will access the journal prompts through Google docs. You will be provided with a Gmail address (and password) specifically for this study to access your journal in Google docs. Your first task is to **create a code name to use in your journal. It could be something like Aza74 or Sam** and enter it in the Journal Title: Sam's Journal**. Please do not use your real name.** The journals are strictly confidential, are password protected, and are private so that only I will be able to view the journals.

Please answer the journal questions in the Google doc each week for 6 weeks. **Please date each entry.** Google docs automatically saves your work. Please respond to each of the questions with a minimum of 3 sentences. Feel free to insert any photos or Facebook/twitter/Instagram/social media posts in your responses to the prompts.

Did you think of any other experiences that you forgot to tell me about at the interview?
- Over this past week, were there any experiences that made you feel happy or proud to be an Arab American?
- Over this past week were there any experiences that made you feel uncomfortable (angry, embarrassed, humiliated, upset, etc.), to be an Arab American?
  - 2a. These experiences can be in-person, online, on social media, or in texts.

- Describe to me how you have reacted to it.

   3a. How did it make you feel? What sorts of feelings have you experienced when you've felt discriminated against?

   3b. What did you think about it? What sorts of thoughts have you had when you've felt discriminated against?

   3c. Why do you think that you were treated this way?

   3d. What did you do?

   3e. Why do you think you did that?
      - How did you feel after you responded?
      - Was there anything you did afterwards that made you feel better?

- The last week the following question will be asked: If you had one piece of advice for another Arab American kid your age about how to handle experiences with discrimination what would you tell them?

APPENDIX F:

Screenshot of Journal Format

[Your Code Name]'s Journal.

Week 1/Entry 1: [Insert date journal prompt completed]

Appendix E

Journal Prompt

Thank you for participating in the interview and sharing your experiences with me. For each week in the next six weeks please write or share any instances of discrimination that have occurred in-person or online. Please write a journal entry that answers the questions and helps to understand your experience with discrimination. Discrimination is when you experience unfair treatment because of specific characteristics or groups you belong to. Sometimes these can be actions, while sometimes it can be negative words or messages said to you.

Each week, I will be contacting you by phone or in your journal on Google docs (by commenting in the document or via google chat) to discuss the prompts. You will access the journal prompts through Google docs. You will be provided with a Gmail address (and password) specifically for this study to access your journal in Google docs. Your first task is to **create a code name to use in your journal. It could be something like Aza74 or Sam** and enter it in the Journal Title: Sam's Journal. **Please do not use your real name.** The journals are strictly confidential, are password protected, and are private so that only I will be able to view the journals.

Please answer the journal questions in the Google doc each week for 6 weeks. **Please date each entry.** Google docs automatically saves your work. Please respond to each of the questions with a minimum of 3 sentences.

Feel free to insert any photos or Facebook/twitter/Instagram/social media posts in your responses to the prompts.

Did you think of any other experiences that you forgot to tell me about at the interview?
1. Over this past week, were there any experiences that made you feel happy or proud to be an Arab American?
2. Over this past week were there any experiences that made you feel uncomfortable (angry, embarrassed, humiliated, upset, etc.), to be an Arab American?
     2a. These experiences can be in-person, online, on social media, or in texts.
3. Describe to me how you have reacted to it.
     3a. How did it make you feel? What sorts of feelings have you experienced when you've felt discriminated against?
     3b. What did you think about it? What sorts of thoughts have you had when you've felt discriminated against?
     3c. Why do you think that you were treated this way?
     3d. What did you do?
     3e. Why do you think you did that?
        ▪ How did you feel after you responded?
        ▪ Was there anything you did afterwards that made you feel better?

APPENDIX G:

Caregiver/Parent Interview Protocol

Preface: Hi! My name is Danielle Balaghi. In the U.S. people have many different beliefs, ideas, and values. Sometimes, this can lead to discrimination, when people experience unfair treatment because of specific characteristics or groups they belong to. Sometimes this can be actions, how people act toward you, or it can be what people say to you or how they say it. This study is to help researchers understand your son's/daughter's experiences with discrimination. Does this make sense? Do you have any questions for me?

Thank you for participating in this study! First I'm going to ask you a few questions to get to know you better and then questions about your experiences with discrimination. Next, I'm going to ask you a few questions about your son/daughter's experiences with discrimination. Some of these questions may be uncomfortable, but you do not have to answer any questions you do not feel comfortable answering. Also, you can stop the interview at any time. Do you have any questions for me? Are you ready to begin?

	Introduction. First, let me introduce myself a little more and then you can tell me a little bit about yourself.
	
	Context
	• Where do you live?
	• What is it like to live in_____ (please describe where you live.)
	   o How long have you lived here?
	      ▪ Have you always lived here?
	         • If no: Where else have you lived?
	   o What do you like about living there?(their community)
	   o What do you not like about living there? Are there things you don't like about____
	• Where does your son/daughter spend their free time **outside of school**?
	   o What do they like about those places?
	   o What do they like about those places? What do not like about those places?
	• How did your family come to live in this_____? (Have you ever been told why your family decided to live in this _____?) Has that ever been talked about in your family?
	   o Have you been told your family history and about who the first person was in your family to come to the U.S. to live?

Meaning of Being Arab American for the Parents	• There are some people who describe themselves as being Arab American---How does that fit with how you think about yourself?
	 • What does being an _____ mean to you?
	 • What do you think are some of the good things about being Arab American?
	       ▪ What makes these things (specify) good?
	     ○ What do you think are some of the things that *aren't* so good about being Arab American?
	       ▪ What makes these things not so good?
	
	• How do you think people view AA in the US?

Definition of Discrimination	**General Definition of Discrimination:** • In the US there many people who differ in terms of their backgrounds and beliefs. • Do you think that everyone is treated equally and fairly in the U.S? • **BRIDGE TO NEXT SECTION:** You have seen that people are not treated fairly. That is something we call discrimination. Then lead into the next section).

Parent Experiences with General Discrimination	**Parent Experiences with General Discrimination**
	 General Perceptions/Experiences of Discrimination
	
	 Ok now I'm going to ask you some questions about your (own) experiences with discrimination. I know it can be pretty sensitive topic and there are a lot of different opinions on it too. I have had experience with discrimination, but I'd like to know what it's like for teenagers.
	
	     ○ Have you personally had experiences with being treated unfairly for any reason?
	       ▪ If so, why do think (What are the main reasons) you were treated unfairly?
	
	       ▪ Where have you been treated unfairly? Could you tell me all of the places you have experienced unfair treatment? (If they are having a hard time coming up with something follow up with examples, such as: For instance, places like facebook, your neighborhood, school,

	mall, library, movie theatre, sports, etc..)
	• How often would you say you experience unfair treatment? Once a week? Everyday?
	• Where do you experience it the most? The mall? School? Home?
	• Without telling me their names, who were the people that treated you unfairly? Were they teachers? Store workers? Other kids your age? Police?
	▪ Have the way people treated you changed since the election? How so?
	o If not: So you haven't experienced any unfair treatment right? Why do you think that is?
	Behavior and outcome questions:
	• When you have felt that you were treated unfairly, could you please describe to me how you reacted to it?
	o How did it make you feel?
	o What were you thinking?
	o Why do you think you did that?
	o What did you do or say?
	▪ How did you feel after you responded?
	o Why do you think that you were treated this way?
	o Has anything changed for you since the presidential election?
	o Do you feel or think differently (about anything specific?) than before the election? How so?
	o What did you do or say after you found out about the election results?
	o How did you feel after you responded? To?
	o So stepping back from everything and thinking about the big picture, what do you do now? If anything?
Parents experiences with discrimination	• Have you seen any unfair treatment to others or to you in your community?
	o Would you describe what happened? If I were

within the community	there, what would I see or hear?
	○ Are there ways in which living in debo makes it easier (or difficult) to be an Arab American?
	○ Do you think other Arab American kids your age in your ___ experience/not experience unfair treatment or discrimination?

Discrimination for Arab Americans **(if it is not naturally brought up from above)**	○ If this has not been brought up through the question about discrimination above: There are some people who say that Arab Americans are facing a lot of discrimination in the U.S. today—What do you think?
	○ If they don't explain state but agree: could you describe to me what sorts of unfair treatment Arab Americans are experiencing in our country?
	▪ Without being specific, could you list who you think would usually treat Arab Americans differently?
	Perceptions/Experiences of <u>Ethnic</u> Discrimination:
	• I'm an Arab American who has had some experience with discrimination because I was Arab American but I would like to know what it is like for teenagers.
	• Have you ever experienced a situation (online or in-person), where you felt disrespected, stereotyped (if they do not know what "stereotyped" means, define: when people have a belief that people have certain traits, characteristics, or behaviors, just because they are part of a certain group) or put down or told that you don't belong because you are Arab American?
	• Have you ever experienced a situation (online or in-person, where you felt that your heritage and culture in general was being disrespected, stereotyped, or put down?
	▪ If so, where have you encountered this unfair treatment? Could you tell me all of the places you have experienced disrespect/stereotype/put down? (If they are having a hard time coming up with

<table>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>

something follow up with examples, such as: For instance, places like facebook, your neighborhood, school, mall, library, movie theatre, sports, etc..)

- How often would you say you experience unfair treatment? Once a week? Everyday?
- Where do you experience it the most? The mall? School? Home?
- Without telling me their names, who were the people that discriminated against you? Were they teachers? Store workers? Other kids your age? Police?
- Why do (What are the main reasons) you think it happened?
  - Is your experience different than before the election? How so?

- **If not:** So you haven't experienced unfair treatment right? Why do you think that is?

Behavior questions:
- How did it make you feel?
- What did you think about it? OR, what were you thinking? (this seems less reflected and more descriptive)
- Why do you think you did that?
- What did you do or say?

  - How did you feel after you responded?
- Why do you think that you were treated this way?
- Do you feel or think differently than before the election? How so?
- What did you do or say after the election?
- How did you feel after you responded?
- So stepping back from everything, what do you do now? If anything?

</td>
</tr>
</table>

| IF THEY DO NOT EXPERIENCE ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION: | **IF NOT/ Perception/Experiences of Other People Experiencing Discrimination:**
• If not, have you ever noticed discrimination (online or in-person) happening to other Arab Americans who are around the same age as you?
• Have you seen any friends, family, and/or neighbors be treated unfairly and/or insulted (online or in-person) because they are Arab American?
    o What are some examples where you have seen friends, family, and/or neighbors be treated unfairly and/or insulted (online or in-person) because they are Arab American?
        ▪ If I were there, what would I see or hear? Who was with you?
        ▪ Where did you see this happening?
        ▪ How long ago was this?
    o How often do you see or hear other Arab Americans being treated unfairly? Every day? Once a week? Once a month?

"IF NOT" Perception/Experiences of Other People Experiencing Discrimination Behavior questions
• If you personally have not experienced discrimination, could you please describe to me how you react when you see other people, like family or friends, get treated unfairly or insulted or discriminated against in other ways?
    o What sorts of feelings and thoughts have you had when you've seen or heard other people being treated unfairly?
    o How have you reacted? What have you done after seeing this?
    o What did you do or say?
        ▪ How did you feel after you responded? |
| Discrimination within the community against Arab Americans (if it does not naturally come up) | o Have you seen any unfair treatment in your community against Arab Americans?
    o Would you describe what happened? If I were there, what would I see or hear?
    o Are there ways in which living in ____ makes it easier (or difficult) to be an Arab American?
    o Do you think other Arab American kids your age in your ___ experience/not experience |

	unfair treatment or discrimination because they were Arab American?

Parent Perceptions of Son/Daughter's **General** Discrimination Experiences	**Parent Perceptions of Son/Daughter's General Discrimination Experiences**
	
	Ok now I'm going to ask you some questions about your son/daughter's experiences with discrimination. Again, I know it can be pretty sensitive topic but I'd like to know what it's like for teenagers.
	
	  o Has your son/daughter personally had experiences with being treated unfairly for any reason?
	    ▪ If so, why do think (What are the main reasons) they were treated unfairly?
	
	    ▪ Where have they been treated unfairly? Could you tell me all of the places they have experienced unfair treatment? (If they are having a hard time coming up with something follow up with examples, such as: For instance, places like Facebook, your neighborhood, school, mall, library, movie theatre, sports, etc..)
	      • How often would you say they experience unfair treatment? Once a week? Everyday?
	      • Where do they experience it the most? The mall? School? Home?
	      • Without telling me their names, who were the people that treated your son/daughter unfairly? Were they teachers? Store workers? Other kids your age? Police?
	    ▪ Has the way people treated your son/daughter changed since the election? How so?
	  o If not: So you haven't experienced any unfair treatment right? Why do you think that is?
	
	Behavior and outcome questions:
	  • When your son/daughter has felt that he/she was treated unfairly, could you please describe to me how he/she reacted to it?
	    o How did it make them feel?

	○ What were he/she thinking? ○ Why do you think he/she did that? ○ What did he/she do or say? ▪ How did he/she feel after you responded? ○ Why do you think that he/she was treated this way? ○ Has anything changed for them since the presidential election? ○ Does he/she feel or think differently (about anything specific?) than before the election? How so? ○ What did he/she do or say after he/she found out about the election results? ○ How did he/she feel after he/she responded? **IF NOT:** • If not, why do you think your son/daughter has never felt mistreated?
Son/Daughter Discrimination within the community	**Parent Perception of Son/Daughter's Experiences with General Discrimination in the Community:** • Have your son/daughter seen other people experience any unfair treatment? Has he/she experienced unfair treatment in your community? ○ Would you describe what happened? If I were there, what would I see or hear? ○ Are there ways in which living in ____ makes it easier (or difficult) to be an Arab American? ○ Do you think other Arab American kids your son/daughter's age in your ___ experience/not experience unfair treatment or discrimination?
Son/Daughter's experiences with ethnic discrimination	**Parent Perception of Child's experiences with Ethnic Discrimination** • Has your son/daughter ever experienced a situation (online or in-person), where he/she felt disrespected, stereotyped (if they do not know what "stereotyped" means, define: when people have a belief that people have certain traits, characteristics, or behaviors, just because they are part of a certain group) or put down or told that he/she does not belong because he/she is an

	Arab American?

	• Has your son/daughter ever experienced a situation (online or in-person, where you felt that your heritage and culture in general was being disrespected, stereotyped, or put down?
	
	    ▪ If so, where has your son/daughter encountered this unfair treatment? Could you tell me all of the places he/she has experienced disrespect/stereotype/put down? (If they are having a hard time coming up with something follow up with examples, such as: For instance, places like Facebook, your neighborhood, school, mall, library, movie theatre, sports, etc..)
	        • How often would you say he/she experience unfair treatment? Once a week? Everyday?
	        • Where does your son/daughter experience it the most? The mall? School? Home?
	        • Without telling me their names, who were the people that discriminated against your son/daughter? Were they teachers? Store workers? Other kids your age? Police?
	        • Why do (What are the main reasons) you think it happened?
	    ▪ Is your son/daughter's experience different than before the election? How so?
	
	    o **If not:** So you haven't experienced unfair treatment right? Why do you think that is?
	
	Behavior questions:
	    o How did it make your son/daughter feel?
	    o What was he/she thinking?
	    o Why do you think he/she did that?
	    o What did he/she do or say?

	▪ How did he/she feel after he/she responded?
	o Why do you think that he/she was treated this way?
	o Does your son/daughter feel or think differently than before the election? How so?
	o What did he/she do or say after the election?
	o How did he/she feel after he/she responded?

IF SON/DAUGHTER HAS NOT experienced personal ethnic discrimination	**IF NOT/Perceptions of Son/Daughter Experiencing other Arab Americans Experience Discrimination:**
	• If not, has your son/daughter ever noticed discrimination (online or in-person) happening to other Arab Americans who are around the same age as your son/daughter?
	• Has your son/daughter seen any friends, family, and/or neighbors be treated unfairly and/or insulted (online or in-person) because they are Arab American?
	   o What are some examples where he/she has seen friends, family, and/or neighbors be treated unfairly and/or insulted (online or in-person) because they are Arab American?
	      ▪ If I were there, what would I see or hear?
	      ▪ Who was with him/her?
	      ▪ Where did he/she see this happening?
	      ▪ How long ago was this?
	   o How often does your son/daughter see or hear other Arab Americans being treated unfairly? Every day? Once a week? Once a month?
	
	"IF NOT" Perception/Experiences of Other People Experiencing Discrimination Behavior questions
	• If your son/daughter personally has not experienced discrimination, could you please describe to me how your son/daughter reacts when he/she sees other people, like family or friends, get treated unfairly or insulted or discriminated against?
	   o What sorts of feelings and thoughts has your son/daughter had when he/she has seen or heard other people being treated unfairly?
	   o How does he/she react? What has he/she done after seeing this?
	      o What did he/she do or say?

	▪ How did he/she feel after you responded?

Discrimination within the community against Arab Americans (if it does not naturally come up)	**Parent Perceptions of their Son/Daughter's Experiences with Discrimination within the Community:**
	o Has your son/daughter seen any unfair treatment in your community against Arab Americans?
	    o Would you describe what happened? If I were there, what would I see or hear?
	    o Are there ways in which living in ____ makes it easier (or difficult) to be an Arab American?
	    o Do you think other Arab American kids your son/daughters age in your ___ experience/not experience unfair treatment or discrimination because they were Arab American?

Intersectionality	• Has your son/daughter ever been treated unfairly because of any other group you belong to or any thing else about him/her?). • (If they don't say it prompt them with this): Sometimes people feel like they are treated unfairly because they are a girl or Muslim or not being born in the U.S. have you ever been treated unfairly because of some of these things or anything else about you?

Summary statement/reflective question: So today, I have learned (summarize main ideas from the interview). Is there anything that you'd like to tell me/add that I didn't ask?
Is it okay to follow up with you at a later time to go over some questions?

APPENDIX H:

Packet Instructions

Dear Parent/Guardian,

Thank you for taking the time to read the letter of consent and asking your adolescent child to read the letter of assent. If you and your child agree to participate, please sign both forms. Once the forms are signed, please fill out the background questionnaire to the best of your ability. Once finished with the background questionnaire, please place both the consent and the background questionnaire in the pre-stamped and pre-addressed envelope provided for you in the packet and mail it back to me.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me, Danielle Balaghi.

Thank you!

Danielle Balaghi
Email: Balaghid@msu.edu
Cell Phone: (734) 776-8458

Counseling and Hotline Resources

If you feel uncomfortable or become distressed for any reason due to the interviews and/or journal please contact any of the following:

Counseling Centers:
Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS)
2651 Saulino Court
Dearborn, MI 48120
Phone: (313) 842-7010
Fax: (313) 842-5150

Henry Ford Behavioral Health
Address: 5111 Auto Club Dr, Dearborn, MI 48126
Phone:(313) 317-2000

Domestic Violence Coalition and Prevention Program
ACCESS
6451 Schaefer
Dearborn, MI
Phone: 313-945-8380
Website: www.accesscommunity.org

Hotlines:

National Alliance on Mental Illness
1-800-950-6264

National Suicide Prevention Lifeline
1-800-273-8255

National Domestic Violence Hotline
1-800-799-7233 or 1-800-787-3224 (TTY)

Resources for More Information:

American Psychological Association:
Discrimination: What it is, and how to cope
http://www.apa.org/helpcenter/discrimination.aspx

Southern Poverty Law Center
Ten Ways to Fight Hate: A Community Response Guide
https://www.splcenter.org/20100216/ten-ways-fight-hate-community-response-guide

Gift from Within
(Not a hotline. A helpful link for survivors of trauma and victimization)
http://www.giftfromwithin.org/

National Institute of Mental Health
https://www.nimh.nih.gov/health/find-help/index.shtml

American Civil Liberties Union
https://www.aclu.org/know-your-rights

APPENDIX J:

Table 1

Participant Demographics

Names	Ages	Gender	Ethnicity	Religion	Ethnic Heritage
Samer	16	Male	Arab American	Muslim	Lebanon
Alia	13	Female	Arab American	Muslim	Lebanon
Nada	15	Female	Arab American	Muslim	Lebanon
Malek	13	Male	Arab American	Muslim	Lebanon
Mirna	15	Female	Arab American	Muslim	Lebanon
Celine	14	Female	Arab American	Muslim	Syrian and Turkish
Bassem	16	Male	Arab American	Muslim	Lebanon
Hassan	13	Male	Arab American	Muslim	Lebanon
Sarah	15	Female	Arab American	Muslim	Lebanon & Iraq
Kareem	13	Male	Arab American	Muslim	Lebanon

Table 2

Completion of Interviews and Journals

Participant	# of journal entries completed	# of interviews completed (Max: 2)	Parent
Samer	6 (needed assistance to type: used dictation)	2	Mother
Alia	6	2	Father
Nada	6	2	Mother
Malek	6	2	Mother
Mirna	6	2	Mother
Celine	6	2	Mother
Bassem	3	2	Mother
Hassan	6	2	Mother
Sarah	6	2	Mother
Kareem	6	2	Father

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

Abdelrazek, A. T. (2007). *Contemporary Arab American women writers: Hyphenated identities and border crossings*. Youngstown, NY: Cambria Press.

Abdulrahim, S., James, S. A., Yamout, R., & Baker, W. (2012). Discrimination and psychological distress: Does Whiteness matter for Arab Americans?. *Social science & medicine*, *75*, 2116-2123.

Abi-Hashem, N. (2008). Arab Americans: Understanding their challenges, needs, and struggles. In *Ethnocultural perspectives on disaster and trauma*. New York, NY: Springer New York.

Abu-Raiya, H., Pargament, K. I., & Mahoney, A. (2011). Examining coping methods with stressful interpersonal events experienced by Muslims living in the United States following the 9/11 attacks. *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality*, *3*, 1-14.

Adegbembo, A. O., Tomar, S. L., & Logan, H. L. (2006). Perception of racism explains the difference between Blacks' and Whites' level of healthcare trust. *Ethnicity & disease*, *16*, 792-798.

Ahmed, S. R., Kia-Keating, M., & Tsai, K. H. (2011). A structural model of racial discrimination, acculturative stress, and cultural resources among Arab American adolescents. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 48,* 181-192.

Ajrouch, K.J. (2000). Place, age, and culture: Community living and ethnic identity among Lebanese American adolescents. *Small Group Research, 31,* 447– 469

Ajrouch, K. J. (2007). Resources and well-being among Arab-American elders. *Journal of cross-cultural gerontology*, *22,* 167-182.

Al-Abdul-Jabbar, J., & Al-Issa, I. (2000). Psychotherapy in Islamic society. In I. Al-Issa (Ed.), Al-junun: *Mental illness in the Islamic world*, (pp. 277-293). Madison, CT: International Universities Press.

Al-Krenawi, A. (1999). Explanations of mental health symptoms by the Bedouin-Arabs of the Negev. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, *45*, 56-64.

Al-Krenawi, A., Graham, J. R., & Maoz, B. (1996). The healing significance of the Negev's Bedouin Dervish. *Social Science & Medicine*, *43*, 13-21.

Alsultany, E. (2012). *Arabs and Muslims in the Media: Race and Representation after 9/11*. nyu Press.

Amer, M., Hovey, J. (2007). Socio-demographic differences in acculturation and mental health For a sample of 2nd generation/early immigrant Arab Americans. *Journal of Immigrant Minority Health, 9,* 335-347.

Amin, A. H. (2000). *Cultural adaptation and psychosocial adjustment among Arab American college students*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Digital Dissertations.

Aneshensel, C. S., & Sucoff, C. A. (1996). The neighborhood context of adolescent mental health. *Journal of health and social behavior, 37,* 293-310.

Arab-American National Museum, n.d. Arab Americans an integral part of American society. Retrieved from: http://www.arabamericanmuseum.org/umages/pdfs/resource_booklets/AANM-ArabAmericansBooklet-web.pdf

Arab-American Institute. (2012). Demographics. Retrieved from: http://www.aaiusa.org/demographics.

Artz L.W., Pollock, M.A., (1997). Limiting the options: Anti-Arab images in U.S. media coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis. In Y. R. Kamalipour (Ed.), *The U.S. media and the Middle East: Image and perception* (pp. 119-135). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Asmar, C. (2003). A community on campus. In A. Saeed & S. Akbarzadeh (Eds.).

Muslim communities in Australia (2nd printing; pp. 139–160). Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press.

Astell-Burt, T., Maynard, M. J., Lenguerrand, E., & Harding, S. (2012). Racism, ethnic density and psychological well-being through adolescence: evidence from the Determinants of Adolescent Social well-being and Health longitudinal study. *Ethnicity & Health*, *17*, 71–87. http://doi.org/10.1080/13557858.2011.645153

Atkinson, D. R., Morten, G. E., & Sue, D. W. E. (1998). *Counseling American minorities*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Awad, G. H. (2010). The impact of acculturation and religious identification on perceived discrimination for Arab/Middle Eastern Americans. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *16*, 59-67.

Arcury, T., & Quandt, S. (1999). Participant recruitment for qualitative research: A site-based approach to community research in complex societies. *Human Organization*, *58*, 128-133.

Baker, E. (2002). Flying While Arab-Racial Profiling and Air Travel Security. J*ournal of Air Law and Commerce 67*, 1375-1403.

Baker, W., Howell, S., Jamal, A., Lin, A. C., Shryock, A., Stockton, R., & Tessler, M. (2004).

Preliminary findings from the Detroit Arab American study. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Institute of Social Research.

Bal, S., Crombez, G., Van Oost, P., & Debourdeaudhuij, I. (2003). The role of social support in well-being and coping with self-reported stressful events in adolescents. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 27,* 1377-1395.

Barlow, E. (Ed.). (1994). Evaluation of secondary-level textbooks for coverage of the Middle East and North Africa (3rd Ed.). Ann Arbor, MI/Tuscon, AZ: Middle East Studies Association/ Middle East Outreach Council.

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological bulletin, 117*, 497.

Bécares, L., Nazroo, J., & Stafford, M. (2009). The buffering effects of ethnic density on experienced racism and health. *Health & Place*, *15*, 700–708. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2008.10.008

Bécares, L. (2014). Ethnic density effects on psychological distress among Latino ethnic groups: An examination of hypothesized pathways. *Health & Place*, *30*, 177–186. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2014.09.010

Bierbrauer, G. (1992). Reactions to violation of normative standards: A cross-cultural analysis of shame and guilt. *International Journal of Psychology*, *27*, 181-193.

Birman, D., Simon, C. D., Chan, W. Y., & Tran, N. (2014). A life domains perspective on acculturation and psychological adjustment: A study of refugees from the former Soviet Union. *American journal of community psychology*, *53*, 60-72.

Blakemore, S. J., & Choudhury, S. (2006). Development of the adolescent brain: implications for executive function and social cognition. *Journal of child psychology and psychiatry*, *47*, 296-312.

Book, A. S., Volk, A. A., & Hosker, A. (2012). Adolescent bullying and personality: An adaptive approach. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *52*, 218-223.

Boeschen, L. E., Koss, M. P., Figueredo, A. J., & Coan, J. A. (2001). Experiential avoidance and post-traumatic stress disorder: A cognitive mediational model of rape recovery. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, *4*, 211-245.

Boyden, J., & Mann, G. (2005). Children's risk, resilience, and coping in extreme situations. *Handbook for working with children and youth: Pathways to resilience across cultures and contexts*, *3*, 26.

Bourguignon, D., Seron, E., Yzerbyt, V., & Herman, G. (2006). Perceived group and personal discrimination: differential effects on personal self-esteem. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *36*, 773-789.

Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. (1999). Perceiving pervasive discrimination among African Americans: Implications for group identification and well-being. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *77*, 135.

Brondolo, E., Kelly, K. P., Coakley, V., Gordon, T., Thompson, S., Levy, E., ... & Contrada, R. J. (2005). The Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire: Development and Preliminary Validation of a Community Version1. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *35*, 335-365.

Budescu, M. (2012). *Systemic racism: Perceptions, stress, and coping among African American college students*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Temple University, Philadelphia, PA.

Byrd, C. M., & Andrews, D. J. C. (2016). Variations in students' perceived reasons for, sources of, and forms of in-school discrimination: A latent class analysis. *Journal of school psychology*, *57*, 1-14.

Camfield, L., & Skevington, S. M. (2008). On subjective well-being and quality of life. *Journal of Health Psychology, 13,* 764-775.

Carter, D. J. (2008). Cultivating a critical race consciousness for African American school success. *The Journal of Educational Foundations*, *22*, 11.

Casey, B. J., & Jones, R. M. (2010). Neurobiology of the adolescent brain and behavior: implications for substance use disorders. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, *49*, 1189-1201.

Cho, W. K. T., Gimpel, J. G., & Wu, T. (2006). Clarifying the role of SES in political participation: Policy threat and Arab American mobilization. *Journal of Politics*, *68*, 977-991.

Chu, P. S., Saucier, D. A., & Hafner, E. (2010). Meta-analysis of the relationships between social support and well-being in children and adolescents. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 29,* 624-645.

Chung, R. H. (2001). Gender, ethnicity, and acculturation in intergenerational conflict of Asian American college students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *7*, 376.

Clark, T. T., & Nguyen, A. B. (2012). Family factors and mediators of substance use among African American adolescents. *Journal of drug issues*, *42*, 358-372.

Cohen, S., & Wills, T. A. (1985). Stress, social support, and the buffering hypothesis. *Psychological bulletin, 98,* 310.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2014). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage publications.

Córdova, D., & Cervantes, R. C. (2010). Intergroup and within-group perceived discrimination among US-born and foreign-born Latino youth. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *32*, 259-274.

Crenshaw, K. W. (1988). Race, reform, and retrenchment: Transformation and legitimation in antidiscrimination law. *Harvard Law Review, 101,* 1331-1387.

Cronin, T. J., Levin, S., Branscombe, N. R., van Laar, C., & Tropp, L. R. (2012). Ethnic identification in response to perceived discrimination protects well-being and promotes activism: A longitudinal study of Latino college students. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *15*, 393-407.

Czopp, Alexander M.; Mark, Aimee Y.; Walzer, Amy S. (2014). Prejudice and racism. Leong, Frederick T. L. (Ed); Comas-Díaz, Lillian (Ed); Nagayama Hall, Gordon C. (Ed); McLoyd, Vonnie C. (Ed); Trimble, Joseph E. (Ed). *APA handbook of multicultural psychology: Theory and research.* , (pp. 361-377). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.

Czopp, A. M., & Monteith, M. J. (2006). Thinking well of African Americans: Measuring complimentary stereotypes and negative prejudice. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, *28*, 233-250.

Davis, T. L., Kerr, B. A., & Kurpius, S. E. R. (2003). Meaning, purpose, and religiosity in at-risk youth: The relationship between anxiety and spirituality. *Journal of psychology and theology*.

Deaux, K., & Martin, D. (2003). Interpersonal networks and social categories: Specifying levels of context in identity processes. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 66,* 101-117.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2010). *Self-determination*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc..

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Diener, E., Diener, M., & Diener, C. (1995). Factors predicting the subjective well-being of nations. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *69*, 851.

Diener, E., Suh, E., Lucas, R. E., & Smith, H. L. (1999). Subjective well-being: Three decades of progress. *Psychological Bulletin*, *125*, 276-302.

Dymond, S., & Roche, B. (2009). A contemporary behavior analysis of anxiety and avoidance. *The Behavior Analyst*, *32*, 7-27.

Eccles, J. S., Midgley, C., & Adler, T. (1984). Grade-related changes in the school environment. *The development of achievement motivation*, 238-331.

Eccles, J. S., Wong, C. A., & Peck, S. C. (2006). Ethnicity as a social context for the development of African-American adolescents. *Journal of School Psychology*, *44*, 407-426.

Echeverría, S., Diez-Roux, A. V., Shea, S., Borrell, L. N., & Jackson, S. (2008). Associations of neighborhood problems and neighborhood social cohesion with mental health and health behaviors: the Multi-Ethnic Study of Atherosclerosis. *Health & place, 14,* 853-865.

Ellemers, N., Spears, R., & Doosje, B. (2002). Self and social identity. *Annual review of psychology*, *53*, 161-186.

El-Sayed, A. M., Tracy, M., Scarborough, P., & Galea, S. (2011). Suicide among Arab-Americans. *PloS one, 6,* 1-6.

Erickson, C. D., & Al-Timimi, N. R. (2001). Providing mental health services to Arab Americans: Recommendations and considerations. *Cultural diversity and ethnic minority psychology*, *7*, 308.

Fahrenthold, D. & DelReal, J. (2015, November, 19). Rabid' dogs and closing mosques: Anti-Islam rhetoric grows in GOP. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved From: https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/rabid-dogs-and-muslim-id-cards-anti-islam-rhetoric-grows-in-gop/2015/11/19/1cdf9f04-8ee5-11e5-baf4-bdf37355da0c_story.html

Fisher, C. B., Wallace, S. A., & Fenton, R. E. (2000). Discrimination distress during adolescence. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, *29*, 679-695.

Fraser, M. W., Galinsky, M. J., & Richman, J. M. (1999). Risk, protection, and resilience: Toward a conceptual framework for social work practice. *Social Work Research*, *23*, 131-143.

Gee, G. C. (2002). A multilevel analysis of the relationship between institutional and individual racial discrimination and health status. *American Journal of Public Health, 92,* 615-623.

Glaser, J., & Kahn, K. (2005). Prejudice, discrimination, and the Internet. In Y. Amichai-Hamburger (Ed.), *The social net: Understanding human behavior in cyberspace* (pp. 247–274). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Gorkin, M., Masalha, S., & Yatziv, G. (1985). Psychotherapy of Israeli-Arab patients: Some cultural considerations. *Journal of Psychoanalytic Anthropology, 8,* 215-230.

Greene, M. L., Way, N., & Pahl, K. (2006). Trajectories of perceived adult and peer discrimination among Black, Latino, and Asian American adolescents: patterns and psychological correlates. *Developmental psychology*, *42*, 218.

Haboush, K. L. (2007). Working with Arab American families: Culturally competent practice for school psychologists. *Psychology in the Schools*, *44*, 183.

Haboush, K. L. (2005). Lebanese and Syrian families. *Ethnicity and family therapy*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Hakim-Larson, J., Kamoo, R., Nassar-McMillan, S. C., & Porcerelli, J. H. (2007). Counseling Arab and Chaldean American families. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling, 29,* 301-321.

Halpern, D., & Nazroo, J. (2000). The ethnic density effect: results from a national community survey of England and Wales. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, *46*, 34–46.

Harris, A. M. G., Henderson, G. R., & Williams, J. D. (2005). Courting customers: Assessing consumer racial profiling and other marketplace discrimination. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, *24*, 163-171.

Haq, F. (1995). "United States: Terrorism Fears Put Muslims on the Alert," *Inter Press Service.*

Hawker, D. S., & Boulton, M. J. (2000). Twenty years' research on peer victimization and psychosocial maladjustment: A meta-analytic review of cross-sectional studies. *The Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry and Allied Disciplines*, *41*, 441-455.

Holmes, J. A., & Stevenson, C. A. (1990). Differential effects of avoidant and attentional coping strategies on adaptation to chronic and recent-onset pain. *Health Psychology*, *9*, 577.

Huber, L. P. (2009). Challenging racist nativist framing: Acknowledging the community cultural wealth of undocumented Chicana college students to reframe the immigration debate. *Harvard Educational Review*, *79*, 704-730.

Huber, L. P. (2010). Using Latina/o critical race theory (LatCrit) and racist nativism to explore intersectionality in the educational experiences of undocumented Chicana college students. *The Journal of Educational Foundations*, *24*, 77.

Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental psychology*, *42*, 747.

Hunter, M. (2007). The persistent problem of colorism: Skin tone, status, and inequality. *Sociology Compass*, *1*, 237-254.

Hwang, W. C., & Goto, S. (2009). The impact of perceived racial discrimination on the mental health of Asian American and Latino college students. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 1,* 15-18.

Inzlicht, M., McKay, L., & Aronson, J. (2006). Stigma as ego depletion how being the target of prejudice affects self-control. *Psychological Science*, *17*, 262-269.

Ireland, J. L. (2005). Psychological health and bullying behavior among adolescent prisoners: A study of young and juvenile offenders. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *36*, 236-243.

Jasperse, M., Ward, C., & Jose, P. E. (2012). Identity, perceived religious discrimination, and psychological well-being in Muslim immigrant women. *Applied Psychology*, *61*, 250-271.

Juang, L. P., & Alvarez, A. N. (2011). Family, school, and neighborhood: Links to Chinese American adolescent perceptions of racial/ethnic discrimination. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *2*, 1.

Juang, L. P., Nguyen, H. H., & Lin, Y. (2006). The ethnic identity, other-group attitudes, and psychosocial functioning of Asian American emerging adults from two contexts. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 21,* 542-568.

Juang, L. P., & Syed, M. (2014). Sharing stories of discrimination with parents. *Journal of adolescence*, *37*, 303-312.

Jurcik, T., Ahmed, R., Yakobov, E., Solopieieva-Jurcikova, I., & Ryder, A. G. (2013). Underderstanding the role of the ethnic density effect: Issues of acculturation, discrimination, and social support. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *41*, 662–678. http://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.21563.

Kagitcibasi, C. (2005). Autonomy and relatedness in cultural context: Implications for self and family. *Journal of cross-cultural psychology*, *36*, 403-422.

Kahn, K. B., Spencer, K., & Glaser, J. (2013). Online prejudice and discrimination: From dating to hating. In Amichai-Hamburger (Eds), *The social net: Understanding our online behavior (201-210)*. Great Clarendon Street, Oxford: United Kingdom.

Karademas, E. C. (2006). Self-efficacy, social support and well-being: The mediating role of optimism. *Personality and individual differences*, *40*, 1281-1290.

Kaufman, A. (2004). 'Tell Us Our History': Charles Corm, Mount Lebanon and Lebanese Nationalism. *Middle Eastern Studies*, *40*, 1-28.

Kawachi, I., & Berkman, L. F. (2001). Social ties and mental health. *Journal of Urban health, 78,* 458-467.

Kayyali, R. (2013). US Census classifications and Arab Americans: contestations and definitions of identity markers. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *39*, 1299-1318.

Kessler, R. C., Mickelson, K. D., & Williams, D. R. (1999). The prevalence, distribution, and mental health correlates of perceived discrimination in the United States. *Journal of health and social behavior, 40,* 208-230.

Kim, S. Y., Chen, Q., Li, J., Huang, X., & Moon, U. J. (2009). Parent–child acculturation, parenting, and adolescent depressive symptoms in Chinese immigrant families. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *23*, 426.

Kim, J., Han, J. Y., Shaw, B., McTavish, F., & Gustafson, D. (2010). The roles of social support and coping strategies in predicting breast cancer patients' emotional well-being: testing mediation and moderation models. *Journal of health psychology*, *15*, 543-552.

Kim, A., & Yeh, C. J. (2002). Stereotypes of Asian American Students. ERIC Digest. Retrieved from: http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED462510

Knies, G., Nandi, A., & Platt, L. (2014). *Life satisfaction, ethnicity and neighbourhoods: is there an effect of neighbourhood ethnic composition on life satisfaction*? Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration (CReAM), Department of Economics, London: United Kingdom.

Krieger, N., & Sidney, S. (1996). Racial discrimination and blood pressure: the CARDIA Study of young black and white adults. *American journal of public health*, *86*, 1370-1378.

Krieger, N., Waterman, P. D., Hartman, C., Bates, L. M., Stoddard, A. M., Quinn, M. M., ... & Barbeau, E. M. (2006). Social hazards on the job: workplace abuse, sexual harassment, and racial discrimination—a study of black, Latino, and white low-income women and men workers in the United States. *International Journal of Health Services*, *36*, 51-85.

Krogstad, J.M., (2014). Census Bureau explores new Middle East/North Africa ethnic category. Retrieved from: http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/03/24/census-bureau-explores-new-middle-eastnorth-africa-ethnic-category/

Kuiper, N. A., Grimshaw, M., Leite, C., & Kirsh, G. (2004). Humor is not always the best medicine: Specific components of sense of humor and psychological well-being. *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research*.

Kumar, R., Seay, N., & Karabenick, S. A. (2015). Immigrant Arab adolescents in ethnic enclaves: Physical and phenomenological contexts of identity negotiation. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 21,* 201.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education?. *International journal of qualitative studies in education*, *11*, 7-24.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2000). Racialized discourses and ethnic epistemologies. *Handbook of qualitative research*, *2*, 257-277.

Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate W. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College Record, 97,* 47-68

Laubmeier, K. K., Zakowski, S. G., & Bair, J. P. (2004). The role of spirituality in the psychological adjustment to cancer: A test of the transactional model of stress and coping. *International Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, *11*, 48.

Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). Coping and adaptation. *The handbook of behavioral medicine*, 282-325.

Lee, M. J., & Liechty, J. M. (2014). Longitudinal Associations Between Immigrant Ethnic Density, Neighborhood Processes, and Latino Immigrant Youth Depression. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 17*, 1-9.

Lewis, J. A., Mendenhall, R., Harwood, S. A., & Huntt, M. B. (2013). Coping with gendered racial microaggressions among Black women college students. *Journal of African American Studies*, *17*, 51-73.

Lerner, S. (1986). "Terror Against Arabs in America: No More Looking the Other Way," *New Republic*.

Lim, S. L., Yeh, M., Liang, J., Lau, A. S., & McCabe, K. (2008). Acculturation gap, intergenerational conflict, parenting style, and youth distress in immigrant Chinese American families. *Marriage & Family Review*, *45*, 84-106.

MacCarthy, B., & Craissati, J. (1989). Ethnic differences in response to adversity. *Social psychiatry and psychiatric epidemiology*, *24*, 196-196.

Marcuse, P. (2005). Enclaves yes, ghettos no. Desegregating the city: Ghettos, enclaves, and inequality. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Martin, R. A., Puhlik-Doris, P., Larsen, G., Gray, J., & Weir, K. (2003). Individual differences in uses of humor and their relation to psychological well-being: Development of the Humor Styles Questionnaire. *Journal of research in personality*, *37*, 48-75.

Masko, A. L. (2005). "I Think About It All The Time": A 12-Year-Old Girl's Internal Crisis With Racism and the Effects on her Mental Health. *The Urban Review*, *37*, 329-350.

Mason, T. B., Maduro, R. S., Derlega, V. J., Hacker, D. S., Winstead, B. A., & Haywood, J. E. (2017). Individual differences in the impact of vicarious racism: African American students react to the George Zimmerman trial. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *23*, 174.

Masten, A. S. (2001). Ordinary magic: Resilience processes in development. *American psychologist*, *56*, 227-238.

Masten, A. S., Burt, K. B., Roisman, G. I., Obradović, J., Long, J. D., & Tellegen, A. (2004). Resources and resilience in the transition to adulthood: Continuity and change. *Development and psychopathology*, *16*, 1071-1094.

Maxwell, J. A. (2012). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach: An interactive approach*. Sage.

McAuliffe, G. (2008). *Culturally alert counseling: A comprehensive introduction*. Thousands Oak, California: Sage.

McIntosh, P. (1990). Unpacking the knapsack of white privilege. *Independent School*, *49*, 31-36.

Merikangas, K. R., He, J. P., Burstein, M., Swanson, S. A., Avenevoli, S., Cui, L., ... & Swendsen, J. (2010). Lifetime prevalence of mental disorders in US adolescents: results from the National Comorbidity Survey Replication–Adolescent Supplement (NCS-A). *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, *49*, 980-989.

Mesch, G. S., Turjeman, H., & Fishman, G. (2008). Perceived discrimination and the well-being of immigrant adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *37*, 592-604.

Mokhiber, A. (1992). "American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee News Conference," National Press Club: Washington, D.C., Federal News Service.

Moradi, B., & Hasan, N. T. (2004). Arab American persons' reported experiences of discrimination and mental health: The mediating role of personal control. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *51*, 418.

Morrison, R., & O'Connor, R. C. (2005). Predicting psychological distress in college students: The role of rumination and stress. *Journal of clinical psychology*, *61*, 447-460.

Min, J. A., Yu, J. J., Lee, C. U., & Chae, J. H. (2013). Cognitive emotion regulation strategies contributing to resilience in patients with depression and/or anxiety disorders. *Comprehensive psychiatry*, *54*, 1190-1197.

Mulvaney-Day, N. E., Alegria, M., & Sribney, W. (2007). Social cohesion, social support, and health among Latinos in the United States. *Social science & medicine, 64,* 477-495.

Murphy, L. (2008). Supporting learner autonomy: Developing practice through the production of courses for distance learners of French, German and Spanish. *Language Teaching Research*, *12*, 83-102.

Nadal, K. L., Griffin, K. E., Hamit, S., Leon, J., Tobio, M., & Rivera, D. P. (2012). Subtle and overt forms of Islamophobia: Microaggressions toward Muslim Americans. *Journal of Muslim Mental Health*, *6*, 15-37.

Nadal, K. L., Wong, Y., Griffin, K., Sriken, J., Vargas, V., Wideman, M., & Kolawole, A. (2011). Microaggressions and the multiracial experience. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, *1*, 36-44.

Nassar-McMillan, S. C., Ajrouch, K. J., & Hakim-Larson, J. (2014). Biopsychosocial Perspectives on Arab Americans. New York, NY: Springer.

Neblett, E. W., Rivas-Drake, D., & Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2012). The promise of racial and ethnic protective factors in promoting ethnic minority youth development. *Child Development Perspectives*, *6*, 295-303.

Nelson, G. L., Al Batal, M., & El Bakary, W. (2002). Directness vs. indirectness: Egyptian Arabic and US English communication style. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *26*, 39-57.

Newhill, C. E. (1990). The role of culture in the development of paranoid symptomatology. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *60*, 176.

Noh, S., & Kaspar, V. (2003). Perceived discrimination and depression: Moderating effects of coping, acculturation, and ethnic support. *American Journal of Public Health*, *93*, 232-238.

Nurmi, J. E. (1989). Development of orientation to the future during early adolescence: a four-year longitudinal study and two cross-sectional comparisons. *International Journal of Psychology*, *24*, 195-214.

Oliver, J., & Brough, P. (2002). Cognitive appraisal, negative affectivity and psychological well-being. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, *31*, 2.

Olsson, C. A., Bond, L., Burns, J. M., Vella-Brodrick, D. A., & Sawyer, S. M. (2003). Adolescent resilience: A concept analysis. *Journal of adolescence*, *26*, 1-11.

Outten, H. R., Schmitt, M. T., Garcia, D. M., & Branscombe, N. R. (2009). Coping options: missing links between minority group identification and psychological well-being. *Applied Psychology, 58,* 146-170.

Padela, A. I., & Heisler, M. (2010). The association of perceived abuse and discrimination after September 11, 2001, with psychological distress, level of happiness, and health status among Arab Americans. *American Journal of Public Health*, *100*, 284-291.

Paradies, Y. (2006). A systematic review of empirical research on self-reported racism and health. *international Journal of Epidemiology*, *35*, 888-901.

Pascoe, E. A., & Smart Richman, L. (2009). Perceived discrimination and health: a meta-analytic review. *Psychological bulletin, 135,* 531-554.

Patterson, J. M. (2002). Understanding family resilience. *Journal of clinical psychology*, *58*(3), 233-246.

Pachter, L. M., Bernstein, B. A., Szalacha, L. A., & Coll, C. G. (2010). Perceived racism and discrimination in children and youths: An exploratory study. *Health & social work*, *35*, 61-69.

Pérez, D. J., Fortuna, L., & Alegria, M. (2008). Prevalence and correlates of everyday discrimination among US Latinos. *Journal of community psychology, 36,* 421.

Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: review of research. *Psychological bulletin*, *108*, 499-514.

Phinney, J. S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic identity measure a new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of adolescent research, 7,* 156-176.

Phinney, J. S., & Chavira, V. (1995). Parental ethnic socialization and adolescent coping with problems related to ethnicity. *Journal of research on adolescence*, *5*, 31-53.

Phinney JS, Flores J. (2002). Unpacking acculturation: Aspects of acculturation as predictors of traditional sex role attitudes. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 33*, 320–331.

Potochnick, S., Perreira, K. M., & Fuligni, A. (2012). Fitting In: The Roles of Social Acceptance and Discrimination in Shaping the Daily Psychological Well-Being of Latino Youth: Daily Psychological Well-Being of Latino Youth. *Social Science Quarterly*, *93*, 173–190. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6237.2011.00830.x

Puffer, E. S., Watt, M. H., Sikkema, K. J., Ogwang-Odhiambo, R. A., & Broverman, S. A. (2012). The protective role of religious coping in adolescents' responses to poverty and sexual decision-making in rural Kenya. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *22*, 1-7.

Qadeer, M., & Kumar, S. (2006). Ethnic enclaves and social cohesion. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, *15*, 1-17.

Oyserman, D., Coon, H. M., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses. *Psychological bulletin*, *128*, 3.

Oyserman, D., Kemmelmeier, M., Fryberg, S., Brosh, H., & Hart-Johnson, T. (2003). Racial-ethnic self-schemas. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 66,* 333-347.

Read, J. N. G., & Oselin, S. (2008). Gender and the education-employment paradox in ethnic and religious contexts: The case of Arab Americans. *American Sociological Review*, *73*, 296-313.

Ghazal Read, J. N. G. (2003). The sources of gender role attitudes among Christian and Muslim Arab-American women. *Sociology of Religion*, *64*, 207-222.

Remler, D. K., & Van Ryzin, G. G. (2010). *Research methods in practice: Strategies for description and causation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Rivera, D. P. (2012). *Microaggressions and health outcomes for Latina/o Americans: Understanding the influences of external characteristics and psychological resources*. Retrieved from ProQuest Digital Dissertations.

Rizzolo, D., Zipp, G. P., Stiskal, D., & Simpkins, S. (2009). Stress management strategies for students: The immediate effects of yoga, humor, and reading on stress. *Journal of College Teaching and Learning*, *6*, 79.

Roberts, R. E., Phinney, J. S., Masse, L. C., Chen, Y. R., Roberts, C. R., & Romero, A. (1999). The structure of ethnic identity of young adolescents from diverse ethnocultural groups. *The Journal of Early Adolescence, 19,* 301-322.

Romero, A. J., & Roberts, R. E. (1998). Perception of discrimination and ethnocultural variables in a diverse group of adolescents. *Journal of adolescence*, *21*, 641-656.

Rosenbloom, S. R., & Way, N. (2004). Experiences of discrimination among African American, Asian American, and Latino adolescents in an urban high school. *Youth & Society*, *35*, 420-451.

Ryff, C. D. (1989). Happiness is everything, or is it? Explorations on the meaning of psychological well-being. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *57*(6), 1069.

Sanchez-Hucles, J. V., & Davis, D. D. (2010). Women and women of color in leadership: Complexity, identity, and intersectionality. *American Psychologist*, *65*, 171.

Sandefur, G. D., Campbell, M. E., & Eggerling-Boeck, J. (2004). Racial and ethnic identification, official classifications, and health disparities. *Critical perspectives on racial and ethnic differences in health in late life*, 25-52.

Santos, S. J., Ortiz, A. M., Morales, A., & Rosales, M. (2007). The relationship between campus diversity, students' ethnic identity and college adjustment: A qualitative study. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *13*, 104.

Sawyer, P. J., Major, B., Casad, B. J., Townsend, S. S., & Mendes, W. B. (2012). Discrimination and the stress response: psychological and physiological consequences of anticipating

prejudice in interethnic interactions. *American Journal of Public Health*, *102*, 1020-1026.

Sayed, M. A. (2003). Conceptualization of mental illness within Arab cultures: Meeting challenges in cross-cultural settings. *Social Behavior and Personality: an international journal*, *31*, 333-341.

Seaton, E. K., Caldwell, C. H., Sellers, R. M., & Jackson, J. S. (2008). The prevalence of perceived discrimination among African American and Caribbean Black youth. *Developmental psychology*, *44*, 1288.

Seaton, E. K., & Yip, T. (2009). School and neighborhood contexts, perceptions of racial discrimination, and psychological well-being among African American adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *38*, 153-163.

Schueths, A. M. (2014). 'It's almost like white supremacy': interracial mixed-status couples facing racist nativism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *37*, 2438-2456.

Schmitt, M. T., & Branscombe, N. R. (2002). The meaning and consequences of perceived discrimination in disadvantaged and privileged social groups. *European review of social psychology*, *12*, 167-199.

Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., Postmes, T., & Garcia, A. (2014). The consequences of perceived discrimination for psychological well-being: a meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *140*, 921.

Schofield, T. J., Parke, R. D., Kim, Y., & Coltrane, S. (2008). Bridging the acculturation gap: Parent-child relationship quality as a moderator in Mexican American families. *Developmental Psychology*, *44*, 1190.

Schwartz, S. J., & Unger, J. B. (2010). Biculturalism and Context: What Is Biculturalism, and When Is It Adaptive?. *Human development, 53,* 26-32.

Seikaly, Z. A. (2001). At Risk of Prejudice. *Social Education, 65,* 349-351.

Shammas, D. S. (2009). Post-9/11 Arab and Muslim American community college students: Ethno-religious enclaves and perceived discrimination. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice, 33,* 283-308.

Shaw, R. J., Atkin, K., Bécares, L., Albor, C. B., Stafford, M., Kiernan, K. E., Nazroo, Wilkinson, & Pickett, K. E. (2012). Impact of ethnic density on adult mental disorders: narrative review. *The British Journal of Psychiatry, 201,* 11-19.

Sidanius, J., Pratto, F., & Mitchell, M. (1994). In-group identification, social dominance orientation, and differential intergroup social allocation. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *134*, 151-167.

Sidanius, J., Van Laar, C., Levin, S., & Sinclair, S. (2004). Ethnic enclaves and the dynamics of social identity on the college campus: the good, the bad, and the ugly. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *87*, 96.

Skinner, E. A., & Zimmer-Gembeck, M. J. (2007). The development of coping. *Annu. Rev. Psychol.*, *58*, 119-144.

Smith, J. A. (2004). Reflecting on the development of interpretative phenomenological analysis and its contribution to qualitative research in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, *1*, 39-54.

Smith, W. A., Allen, W. R., & Danley, L. L. (2007). "Assume the Position... You Fit the Description" Psychosocial Experiences and Racial Battle Fatigue Among African American Male College Students. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *51*, 551-578.

Smith, J., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Smith, J. A., & Osborn, M. (2007). Pain as an assault on the self: An interpretative phenomenological analysis of the psychological impact of chronic benign low back pain. *Psychology and health*, *22*(5), 517-534.

Smith, T. B., & Silva, L. (2011). Ethnic identity and personal well-being of people of color: a meta-analysis. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 58,* 42-60.

Smith, W. A., Yosso, T. J., & Solórzano, D. G. (2006). Challenging racial battle fatigue on historically White campuses: A critical race examination of race-related stress. In C. A. Stanley (Ed.), Faculty of color: Teaching in predominately White colleges and Universities (pp. 299-327). Boston, MA: Anker Publishing.

Solomona, R. P., Portelli, J. P., Daniel, B. J., & Campbell, A. (2005). The discourse of denial: How white teacher candidates construct race, racism and 'white privilege'. *Race ethnicity and education*, *8*, 147-169.

Solorzano, D. G. (1997). Images and words that wound: Critical race theory, racial stereotyping, and teacher education. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 24,* 5-19.

Stafford, M., Bécares, L., & Nazroo, J. (2010). Racial Discrimination and Health: Exploring the Possible Protective Effects of Ethnic Density. In J. Stillwell & M. van Ham (Eds.), *Ethnicity and Integration* (pp. 225–250). Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. Retrieved from http://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-90-481-9103-1_11

Steinberg, L., & Morris, A. S. (2001). Adolescent development. *Journal of Cognitive Education and Psychology*, *2*, 55-87.

Steinberg, L. (2005). Cognitive and affective development in adolescence. *Trends in cognitive sciences*, *9*, 69-74.

Steinhardt, M., & Dolbier, C. (2008). Evaluation of a resilience intervention to enhance coping strategies and protective factors and decrease symptomatology. *Journal of American college health*, *56*, 445-453.

Stepick, A., Grenier, G., Castro, M., & Dunn, M. (2003). This land is our land: Immigrants and power in Miami. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Stockton, R. (1994). Ethnic archetypes and the Arab image. In E. McCarus (Ed.), The development of Arab-American identity (pp. 119-153). Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., & Holder, A. (2008). Racial microaggressions in the life experience of Black Americans. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, *39*, 329.

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: implications for clinical practice. *American psychologist*, *62*, 271.

Syed, M., & Juan, M. J. D. (2012). Discrimination and psychological distress: Examining the moderating role of social context in a nationally representative sample of Asian American adults. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *3*, 104–120. http://doi.org/10.1037/a0025275

Tynes, B. M., Giang, M. T., Williams, D. R., & Thompson, G. N. (2008). Online racial discrimination and psychological adjustment among adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *43*, 565-569.

The Neilsen Company. (2013). *The teen transition: Adolescents of today, adults of tomorrow*. New York, NY: The Neilsen Company. Retrieved November 20, 2013, from http://www.nielsen.com/us/en/newswire/2013/the-teen-transition--adolescents-of-today--adults-of-tomorrow.html

Trimble, J. E., Scharrón-del Río, M., & Casillas, D. M. (2013). Ethical matters and contentions in the principled conduct of research with ethnocultural communities. In F. Leong(Eds.), APA Handbook of Multicultural Psychology: Vol. 1. Theory and Research, (59-81). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Tugade, M. M., & Fredrickson, B. L. (2004). Resilient individuals use positive emotions to bounce back from negative emotional experiences. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *86*, 320.

Tugade, M. M., Fredrickson, B. L., & Feldman Barrett, L. (2004). Psychological resilience and positive emotional granularity: Examining the benefits of positive emotions on coping

and health. *Journal of personality*, *72*, 1161-1190.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., & Updegraff, K. A. (2007). Latino adolescents' mental health: Exploring the interrelations among discrimination, ethnic identity, cultural orientation, self-esteem, and depressive symptoms. *Journal of adolescence, 30,* 549-567.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Tynes, B. M., Toomey, R. B., Williams, D. R., & Mitchell, K. J. (2015). Latino adolescents' perceived discrimination in online and offline settings: An examination of cultural risk and protective factors. *Developmental psychology*, *51*, 87.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). Fact Finder: General Population and Housing Characteristics. Retrieved October 14, 2015, from factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml

U.S. Census Bureau. (2014). 2014 American Community Survey 1-year Estimates. Retrieved October 14, 2015, from http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_14_1YR_S0201&prodType=table

US Congress (1993). Review of Federal Measurements of Race and Ethnicity. Washington, DC: House of Representatives. Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. Subcommittee on Census, Statistics and Postal Personnel, 103rd Congress, 1st session.

Vaught, S. E., & Castagno, A. E. (2008). "I don't think I'm a racist": Critical Race Theory, teacher attitudes, and structural racism. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *11*, 95-113.

Weaver, S. (2013). A rhetorical discourse analysis of online anti-Muslim and anti-Semitic jokes. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *36*, 483-499.

Weiner, B. (1985). An attributional theory of achievement motivation and emotion. *Psychological review*, *92*, 548.

Williams, D. R., & Mohammed, S. A. (2009). Discrimination and racial disparities in health: evidence and needed research. *Journal of behavioral medicine*, *32*, 20-47.

Wrobel, N. H., Farrag, M. F., & Hymes, R. W. (2009). Acculturative stress and depression in an elderly Arabic sample. *Journal of cross-cultural gerontology, 24,* 273-290.

Wong, C. A., Eccles, J. S., & Sameroff, A. (2003). The influence of ethnic discrimination and ethnic identification on African American adolescents' school and socioemotional adjustment. *Journal of personality*, *71*, 1197-1232.

Ying, Y. W., & Han, M. (2007). The longitudinal effect of intergenerational gap in acculturation on conflict and mental health in Southeast Asian American adolescents. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *77*, 61.

Zamudio, M., Russell, C., Rios, F., & Bridgeman, J. L. (2011). *Critical race theory matters: Education and ideology*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Zimmerman, M. A. (2013). Resiliency Theory A Strengths-Based Approach to Research and Practice for Adolescent Health. *Health Education & Behavior*, *40*, 381-383.

Zogby International. (2014). *Arab American Voters 2014: Their Identity and Political Concerns.*. Retrieved from:http://b.3cdn.net/aai/701da5a04425f92a58_1qm6btv55.pdf

Zogby, J., Bruce, J., Wittman, R. (2007) Arab Americans: An Identity Survey. Washington, DC: Zogby International.

Zogby, J. (2002). Profiling and prejudice: Arab American attitudes and behavior since September 11. Retrieved March 13, 2013, from http://aai.3cdn.net/d7083bd00cf4ce3240_wfm6ii8b7.pdf