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Canadian Arab Youth at the Border: Cultural Dissociation, Fear Management, and Disciplining Practices in Securitized Spaces

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Abstract In this paper, we explore what Canadian Arab youth do to navigate border and travel transit sites. Arab youth are the focus for this study because they are a neglected demographic of research in ethnic studies, compared to the more copious studies on Canadian Arabs. Our research empirically investigates the struggles that this youth demographic faces, and the efforts they undertake to manage their marginalization. Some of these efforts involve practices of cultural dissociation, fear management, and self-disciplining through behavioral self-surveillance. Drawing upon an existing body of research that recognizes the highly fraught and securitized nature of air travel and border transfer, particularly for Arab/Muslim populations, we use the findings from focus groups conducted in Kitchener-Waterloo to theoretically situate some of the real struggles of Canadian Arab youth. As prominent racialized and securitized identities in the War on Terror (WoT), Arab youth are often forced, or feel that they are forced to perform their Canadian-ness to substantiate their innocence, and in some cases, this requires minimalization, or even erasure of part of who they are.

Keywords Canadian Arab youth · Travel · Mobility · Culture · Fear management · Discipline · Borders

…there seems little doubt that mobility is one of the major resources of the 21st – century life and that it is the differential distribution of this resource that produces some of the starkest differences today (Cresswell 2010).

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Responding to a climate of xenophobia, Islamophobia, and racial profiling, Canadian Arab youth navigate border and travel transit sites by dissociating themselves from their cultures and actively managing their fears and anxieties through self-disciplining practices, such as behavioral self-surveillance. As prominent racialized and securitized identities in the War on Terror (WoT), Arab youth are often forced, or feel that they are forced to perform their Canadian-ness in order to substantiate their innocence: in some cases, this requires minimalization, or even erasure of part of who they are.

In this paper, we explore what Canadian Arab youth do to navigate border and travel transit sites. Arab youth are the focus for this study because, compared to more copious studies on Canadian Arabs, writ large (see Abu-Laban 1980; Zuhair 1991; Model and Lin 2002; Helly 2004; Hamdan 2007; Caidi and MacDonald 2008; Moghissi et al. 2009; Franjié 2012; Hennebry and Momani 2013; Kazemipur 2015), they remain a neglected demographic of research in ethnic studies (see, for example, Eid 2008; Paterson and Hakim-Larson 2012; Rasmi et al. 2012). Our research empirically investigates the struggles that this youth demographic faces as well as the efforts they undertake to manage their marginalization. Some of these efforts involve practices of cultural dissociation, fear management, and self-disciplining through behavioral self-surveillance. The travel practices of Canadian Arab youth include routinized behaviors related to the body, mentalities, use of objects, socialization, and background knowledge of issues, emotional states, and motivators (Reckwitz 2002). Their reiterative practices, we find, develop into travel performances (Cairns et al. 2014) for wider disciplining structures. Situated against the structural backdrop of whiteness as a cultural signifier for innocence in airport and other border spaces, Arab youth persevere through what is often an imbalance of social and political relations.

The airport is a significant site for this discussion because it had a profound presence in focus group discussions, and given its centrality as a locale for national security frameworks, border control, and the immobilization of racialized and securitized bodies. The airport is, in the words of Löfgren (1999), a stress laboratory, "a no man's land between the nation and the world, a surveillance machine for automated bodies, shepherded from control station to control state" (see also Salter 2008). Unlike the car, which offers personal space and a "zone of protection" from the "dangerous world of other cars," and the bus, which offers a good place to "zone out," a way to be "transported while switched off [where the traveler can feel] smooth, tranquil, undisturbed, relaxed," and unlike the train station, whose "architecture, design, overall ambience and emotions" surpass simple functionality (Cairns et al. 2014), the airport—and specifically its heightened security passages—is a place of stoppage, immobility, trepidation, insecurity, and control; a terminus in which the disciplining of travelers is put on overdrive. Airports are spaces where state agents (particularly following the events of September 11, 2001) operate with great power and discretion, thus putting many people on edge on how they must comport themselves (i.e., how they respond to surveillance and interrogation). Yet, securitized ethnic minorities confront a reality of questions, detainment, and harassment on a much more profound level, in which their individual identities are scrutinized, their travel choices questioned, their risk profiled, their bodies biometrically assessed, and even the rhythm of their gait analyzed in the State's bid to weed out "legitimate" from "suspect" travelers (Cresswell 2010; Nagra and Maurutto 2016).

The airport is therefore not just "a gateway to other places," a connection point between national and international destinations: it is also a site for extreme force, surveillance, social sorting, intensified policing, disciplining control and oversight, destabilization, ambiguity,

and constant movement (Löfgren 1999; Salter 2008). Airports are spaces where mobility is contingent on individual agreement to be surveilled and subjected to identity checks (Fuller and Harley 2004; Nagra and Maurutto 2016). This space is increasingly conceptualized as the final frontier where state accountability remains in a state of ambiguity and abeyance. It is in airport space—and other sites of physical and social transition—that authorities, acting on national security grounds, are empowered to engineer infrastructure and train personnel for the sorting, separating, and isolating of individuals seen as undesirable or dangerous, and where abuses are frequently left un-litigated by travelers fearing the revocation or curtailment of their mobility rights. Airports, and other border sites, are spaces of exception (Agamben 1998) where the state ultimately retains (and exercises) the power to suspend and amend constitutional rights, legal protections, and regulations on search and seizure, and to engage in the (racial) profiling of what it deems suspect identities. In this regard, differences between individual states in (i.e., Canadian law vs. American law) matter less than the authority of the state itself to enforce its own security laws and protocols against perceived threats. Scholars, indeed, have demonstrated how invasive security procedures in airports, border zones, refugee camps, and migrant transit zones are rationalized through a "discourse of exception" (Amoore 2013; Andreas 2003; Coleman 2007; Fuller and Harley 2004; Mountz et al. 2013; Salter 2007). In many cases, heightened surveillance, aggressive securitization of traveler's bodies and belongings, and the physical and emotional subjugation of "othered" classes of travelers occur within a defined geographic space and/or a given geopolitical moment, and are regarded as imperative to the protection of state security. We argue that security surveillance, control, and management at travel transit and border sites force many Canadian Arab youth to dissociate themselves from their Arab-ness, and to rationalize the management of their behavior and fears. Many Canadian Arab youth see themselves as second-class citizens when they travel, and both the thought and act of traveling across borders and/or by air often cause them significant levels of fear, insecurity, and frustration.

Airport officials are empowered by the national security system to reveal the extralegal dimension of governmentality; individual officers enjoy considerable discretion in classifying a passenger as dangerous or suspicious, and this discretion can be cited as the sole justification for invasive procedures (Butler 2004). The literature on racial profiling widely documents how people from non-Anglo-Saxon backgrounds perceive their foreignness as inescapable. Moreover, travelers' perceived foreignness, and their experiences being treated as foreigners, lead many to self-surveillance and self-policing at the airport in order to avoid being treated as suspicious subjects (Salter 2007). Drawing upon an existing body of research that recognizes the highly fraught and securitized nature of air travel and border transfer, particularly for Arab/Muslim populations (Abu-Laban and Bakan 2012; Hennebry and Momani 2013; Nagra and Maurutto 2016; Stasiulis and Ross 2006), we use the findings from focus groups conducted in Kitchener-Waterloo and Hamilton, Ontario, to theoretically situate some of the real struggles of Canadian Arab youth.

The Politics of Borders and Airports

Borders have traditionally been viewed as the demarcation boundaries of the nation-state: the nation-state is seen as a container, and borders are the walls that hold the

contents of the state in and keep everything else out. Borders therefore demarcate territory, and the parameters of inclusion and exclusion. Today, borders are everywhere and the "airports are clearly borders in vertical space" (Rumford 2006; Cresswell 2010: 26). The state's inside/outside also exists in gendered and racialized expressions of traveler self-disclosure and self-surveillance (Bahdi 2003). Drawing on the insights of other theorists, Nagra and Maurutto summarize the border as the place of banishment, state of exception, suspended rule of law, as the "legal manifestation of white hegemony," and the locale of citizenship depletion (Nagra and Maurutto 2016; see also Aas 2011; Agamben 2005; Butler 2004; Muller 2004; Said 1985; Salter 2008; Thobani 2007). The border, in other words, is imposed on the bodies it seeks to control and Arab youth are an important demographic for control.

In the name of protecting national security, states spend inordinate amounts of money securing borders. For instance, the United States' Transportation Security Administration (TSA) receives, on average, about $7 billion (Schneier 2015). Airport security measures are designed to ensure that dangerous (i.e., explosive) materials do not make their way on airplanes, and yet recent "red team" tests have revealed that the TSA missed 95% of guns and explosives (Schneier 2015). Security measures therefore heighten inconvenience, frustration, and discrimination for people crossing borders, while providing travelers with no actual guarantee on their physical security.

Researchers have documented the significance of border crossings, particularly airports, as sites of marginalization, racialization, securitization, and exceptionalism. The border is a focus because it is seen as the site for security protection and crime control (Andreas and Nadelmann 2006; Pickering and Weber 2006). The changing nature of borders, the occupation of the border space, and border crossing increasingly brings the very nature of the state, and the state system, into question, and has prompted critical forays into discussions of sovereignty and the terrain of traditional international relations (Pickering and Weber 2006).

This paper conceptualizes the airport as an exceptional space in which the rule of law can be suspended or contorted to reintroduce sovereignty through the creation of rules and procedures (Agamben 1998; Lyon 2008; Butler 2004). Within this context, Foucauldian notions on knowledge, power, and governmentality are particularly useful in examining the in/exclusion and surveillance of particular citizens. According to Michel Foucault, the practices of state control over populaces, identifiable in the governmentalities of the airport, work to create "docile bodies" (Foucault 1977). Foucault was interested in the ways in which neoliberal governmentality is embodied in the subjects being governed, how people re-affirm and re-entrench capitalist governance by the way they physically inhabit and move through spaces—how, in other words, they give permission to the state to control and manage them. Rachel Hall (2015) has examined how security surveillance infrastructure and practices create "docile bodies" and "transparent travelers" within a culture of submission to surveillance. This paper shows that Canadian Arab youth submit to airport structures and cultures as "self-disclosing" citizens in the face of border control confessionalism (Salter 2007), but that they also engage in (a sometimes futile effort) to minimize their differences as racial minorities (their "opaqueness," to use Hall's (2015) concept in a system that demands transparency), and therefore self-present as safe bodies to security apparatuses and fellow travelers in order to mitigate the stress of discrimination. In this paper, we theoretically and empirically investigate how Canadian Arab youth modify

or adopt categorizations of control, and to what extent have they become "docile" subjects—the degree to which they submit to state control and management of their bodies and identities—through practices of cultural dissociation, fear management, and self-disciplining through behavioral management.

Methodology: Waterloo Case Study

Semi-structured focus groups are the qualitative methodological approach adopted for this research study (Morgan 1997; Babbie and Benaquisto 2014). We held focus groups with university students in an effort to begin the process of demarcating the views of Canadian Arab youth generally. Ours is not a representative sample of Canadian Arab youth, but rather a focused investigation with one segment of this demographic capable of succinctly capturing experiences at border sites. Additionally, while we conducted focus groups with Christian and Muslim Arabs without attempting to build a representative sample of either faith group—and we do discuss some differences in the practices and thinking of Christian and Muslim Arabs—systematically comparing/contrasting these experiences along inter-faith lines is not a focus of this paper. Focus groups are appropriate for situations where participants are more likely to talk openly with one another, and where conversations with peers are more likely to elicit candid and reflective responses than in one-on-one interviews; focus groups are particularly valuable when the topic of study concerns deeply embedded attitudes (Babbie and Benaquisto 2014: 334). This is particularly the case when focus groups are created on the basis of shared characteristics (e.g., Arab youth), or when the phenomenon of study is one that is shared by a particular population or subgroup (traveling in a post/911 context). Like Nagra and Maurutto's (2016) approach with their interview data, our focus group data is treated as evidence of real societal practices, not just the subjective accounting of isolated experiences. The stories that Canadian Arab youth tell point to broader social patterns, much like those identified in the Nagra and Maurutto's (2016) study on Canadian Muslim youth at border sites.

Sixty-five Arab youth from the University of Waterloo were recruited to participate in this study through two stages. During the first recruitment stage, Arab youth were contacted through advertisements to students at the University of Waterloo, as well as through announcements in 20 classes across campus, in both the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Science. In addition, participants were recruited via advertisements with Arab student association groups at the University of Waterloo campus. In the second stage, participants were recruited in common student areas on campus (e.g., eating areas and common study areas). Focus groups were then held in private, secure meeting rooms nearby. For these semi-structured focus groups, Arab youth participation was incentivized through the provision of raffle prizes, food, and gift cards. In both stages, snowball sampling techniques were employed to reach potential participants, including the use of social media by participants to recruit fellow Arab students.

Focus groups consisted of no more than 5 or 6 youth at a time in order to ensure more intimate and fluid conversation, reduce the possibility of individual participants dominating conversation, and to enable the full participation of all. A total of 12 focus groups were held and 65 youth ranging from ages 18 to 22 participated. Each focus group lasted approximately one hour and a half. The semi-structured questions used to

guide conversation centered around four primary thematic areas pertaining to travel: (1) Experience: When you travel, does your Arab background shape your travel experiences?; (2) Scrutiny: When you travel, do you feel that you undergo particular scrutiny?; (3) Planning: Do you alter or change your travel plans because of your Arab identity?; and (4) Recommendations: What do you think could be done to address these issues (individually, as a group, by the government, etc.)? In each case, the topic was elaborated and participants were encouraged to explain their perspectives.

Research was conducted in the Kitchener-Waterloo area, a region of twin cities with a combined population of nearly half a million people (2011 Census), two universities, and a college that attract students from across southern Ontario. Within Kitchener-Waterloo, 4415 individuals reported that Arabic was a language spoken in the home (nearly 1% of the population). This proportion of Arab residents is also reflective of the national average. Canada's population in 2011 was 33 million, with 327,870 (at 1%) reporting Arabic as a language spoken in the home. Kitchener-Waterloo residents identify their ethnic ancestry from across the 22 Arab states, but with slightly less North African Arabs, who tend to settle in Francophone Quebec. The Kitchener-Waterloo area has both Muslim and Christian communities represented, as evidenced by the presence of a number of mosques and churches serving the Arab communities, including the Muslim Society of Waterloo and Wellington Counties Mosque, Kitchener Muslim Association of Canada Masjid, the Christian Arabic Church of Kitchener, and St. Mary's Coptic Orthodox Church.

Our Findings

There are three main aspects to mobility: (1) physically moving from one place to another, (2) representations of movement that give it meaning, and (3) "the experienced and embodied practice of movement" (Cresswell 2010). In moving or not moving, people can embody the social relations inherent in the border and border security relations. Beyond the physical processes involved in mobility, then, what does it mean to be mobile (e.g., adventuring, facing tedium, being educated, enjoying freedom, or being modern and/or threatening)—a question that is contentiously dealt with in the phrases "driving/walking while black" or "flying while Arab/Muslim"—and how are mobilities practiced or impaired? (Cresswell 2010). Movement and mobility are basic human rights enshrined in international law through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN General Assembly 1948 Art. 13), in subsequent conventions and treaties, and in the national legislation of many countries. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms assures that "every citizen of Canada has the right to enter, remain in and leave Canada" (Canadian Charter 1982). However, assurances of mobility in documents protecting Canadian citizens from arbitrary search and seizure, inequality, and restrictions on movement seem blunted when judicial interpretations of these Charter freedoms are examined: laws put in place by the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2015 seem to make surveillance and intelligence de facto public goods, while recent rulings have raised the bar in terms of claims for racial profiling. For example, the Supreme Court of Canada argued in Quebec (*Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse*) *v. Bombardier Inc.* (*Bombardier Aerospace Training Center* [2015]) that social context and the appearance of discrimination does *not* amount to evidence of discrimination (Dias 2015).

Current travel restrictions that use racial profiling, the othering of the Arab identity on security grounds when there are no grounds for suspicion and no evidence of illegal behavior, and that therefore lead to costs, delays, and other impediments to mobility contradict basic rights to mobility. In trying to get from place to place, people who cross borders, even minorities traveling domestically, are often subject to numerous security checks, police stops, and similar disruptions to their movement, including short- and long-term detainment. In the current era of xenophobia and Islamophobia, and as a consequence of the racism pervading the training of security and law enforcement in many countries (Hall 2015), which assures people with Arab- or Muslim-sounding names will be treated with heightened suspicion, the legal right to mobility, freedom of movement, and protection from illegal detention is not assured for traveling Arab youth (Bahdi 2003).

We investigate some of the lengths Canadian Arab youth go to minimize their visibility as a minority group. We examine the effects of heightened security precautions and the impact that securitization and racialization of Arab-ness has on their thinking and behavior while traveling.

Navigating Racialization at the Border Via Cultural Dissociation

Racialization involves a way of thinking that attributes social and political significance to certain "biological (usually phenotypical) human features, on the basis of which those people possessing those characteristics are designated as a distinct collectivity" (Miles 1989: 74, as noted in Dhamoon and Abu-Laban 2009: 167). As Dhamoon and Abu-Laban argue, racialization is a process through which ideas about race are socially and politically produced with manifold effects; put differently, "racialization refers to the socially constructed work of race-thinking" (Dhamoon and Abu-Laban 2009: 167). Police and security personnel treat race-thinking as a method to increase capture rates among criminal elements in targeted minorities. Canadian Arab youth can differentiate the markers of whiteness and the markers of Canadian secularism (e.g., dress) from markers of traditional and modern Arab culture and/or religious self-presentation. For some, being white is defined by skin color, and they often express relief because of their white coloring and/or ability to blend in an all-white crowd. For others, being white, where they may be unable to "be white" by virtue of their skin color, means they have to perform white-ness by dressing and acting like "typical" university student, such as wearing baseball caps, hoodies, pants, and carrying baggage with university logos.

According to Tajfel and Turner (1986), people of maligned ethnic groups will attempt to improve their status by renegotiating their identities in three ways: (1) individual mobility: they will abandon or dissociate themselves from the group which leads to negative psychological outcomes. Dissociation, however, is often not possible for those who are racially distinct, in which case they will psychologically divest themselves to get away from the negative views; (2) social creativity: they develop pride in an attribute that makes them superior, re-define a disparaged aspect of their identity group from negative to positive, or compare themselves with a low-status group; (3) social competition: they create or emphasize a characteristic of their group that positively distinguishes it from other groups (Tajfel and Turner 1986, as noted in Fakih 2014, 19). Throughout our research, we found a very prominent tendency in

Canadian Arab youth to dissociate themselves from what makes them distinct as Arabs, racially and culturally.

The pressure to assimilate is one significant way in which Arab youth are forced to choose between inclusion in, especially white Anglo-Saxon western culture (Ajrouch and Jamal 2007), or exclusion from the protections of (authentic) Canadian citizenship, such as the Charter freedoms of mobility and equality, because they hold onto markers of Arab identity and culture which are maligned by security practices and mentalities that link the control of Arab bodies with a mitigation of terrorism in the world. Arab and Muslim civil rights have been challenged by parties seeking their assimilation where the pressure to assimilate, as an always present societal expectation (Peek 2005), varies in degree depending on the context, and is imposed to advance the goals of the War on Terror (e.g., in blunting Islamic expressionism). In Europe and Quebec, for example, the hijab is deemed problematic because it evinces an unwillingness of the wearer to assimilate with the larger laicist culture, it represents a possible security threat physically in permitting wearers to covertly hide items under it, and it points to heightened religiosity, which implies to many a vulnerability to radicalization (Fekete 2004; Rice and Parkin 2010).

Arab youth feel pressure to curb expressions of their Arab identity because such expressions make them feel less safe and accepted during travel. This demographic is aware that discrimination exposes them from arbitrary search and seizure (which they jokingly referred to as the "random checks"), and as a result find psychological tactics to resist such exclusions. Some youth felt compelled to change something about themselves or their identity to avoid or mitigate unwanted delays in border zones. Most Arab youth from Muslim backgrounds noted that it is difficult to avoid the unwanted gaze of others when traveling with their Muslim family members, especially those who wear the visible identifiers of Islam such as the hijab, compared to traveling alone. This finding challenges the assumption that single travelers face greater profiling by security services than nuclear families. In our discussions with Arab youth, we found that they felt more conscious of their Arab identity when traveling with their family than when traveling alone.

In asking Arab youth about their travel experiences, we often heard that they measured discrimination based on visible markers of "Arab-ness," like color of skin, name, and clothing. As one youth noted: "My father and I look white, Caucasian, when we are alone we don't experience anything." Another youth added, "I look white but my sisters wear a hijab." For those who claimed they did not experience discrimination or face challenges when traveling, they often noted that they appeared "Caucasian or white" and so travel was at times less challenging. Nevertheless, many of the same Arab youth complained that when a family member wore the hijab, they expected to be treated differently. As one young person noted, "My mother wears hijab [and] feels way more racism when she is with me versus traveling alone." Some Arab youth noted that they had not personally experienced racism during travel, but that they have a sibling or parent that had experienced racism or securitization because they look "more Arab." Another youth added, "Maybe if I looked a little more Arab I would get more harassed." For some Arab youth, consciousness of looking Arab meant they needed to alter their behavior or speak up for the excluded. For example, one young man noted: "My sister wore the hijab, [so] I would usually ask simple questions for her like when her food order was wrong on the plane just for her to avoid unnecessary attention."

When external appearances or visible markers of Muslim or Arab identity were not a concern, Arab youth were extremely conscious of how their name was or would be perceived. Two youths succinctly assessed the Arab/security nexus. One said: "My dad's name is Mohammad, it always raises suspicions," whereas another said: "I can easily pass as a Latino (e.g., Mexican) [in the way that I look], the only thing really acting as an obstacle is my name." Even the Arab youth who did not have "Arab-sounding" names were conscious of the privilege this gave them during travel. "I don't fit the characteristic [for profiling] I don't speak Arabic [and] my name is not Arab." Arab youth provided numerous examples of how they try to navigate challenges of having Arabic names. One youth noted: "I try to say my family members' names as 'white' as possible…For example, Sara can be pronounced in an Arab or White way." Another youth added: "My cousin's name is Jihad, I would never yell that out in the airport. I refer to him as Chad." For a number of Arab youth, the insecurities and fears associated with having an Arabic-sounding name prompted them to reflect on what names they would give to their future children. For example, one youth stated, "I would never name my child something too Arab…although the names are beautiful (e.g., Abdel-Rahman, Abdel-Aziz)." Some Arab Christians who have names that could be perceived as Anglo-Saxon, but who still looked Arab or who wanted to reduce unnecessary gaze, claimed that they wore crosses when traveling so as to not be mistaken for a Muslim and/or to dissociate themselves from the trappings of being seen as Arab.

Navigating Securitization at the Border Via Behavior Management

Canadian Arab youth experience real and perceived securitization at border crossings or while traveling. In a well-known study, Barry Buzan et al. (1998) argued that securitization is the process by which a referent object (e.g., state/national security) is deemed threatened and, as a consequence, emergency responses and policies are mobilized to mitigate that threat. In the context of the post-9/11 War on Terror, states engage in heightened risk management strategies in the name of national security. Of those strategies, racial profiling is not an express or official practice, but rather a method for criminal capture instantiated by individual law enforcement or security personnel perceptions that associate Arab/Muslim identities with political violence (Bahdi 2003). These perceptions are perpetuated and sustained by media reportage on global security and terrorism events involving Arabs and Muslims.

The state manages risk through practices of racial profiling; concomitantly individual Arab travelers manage their own risk by managing their behavior. Katheryrn Russell-Brown (Russell 1998) discovered that African-American communities teach and apply behavioral management strategies to reduce or mitigate the risks of police stops from racial profiling. We have found similar behavioral management strategies in the actions of the Canadian Arab youth we interviewed: both youth and adults teach and apply techniques to avoid heightened scrutiny when traveling by air (domestically and internationally), and traveling across borders.

One behavioral management technique (and cultural dissociation practice, for that matter) used by Arab youth is to minimize their use of the Arabic language. A number of youth participants in our study reported that they would make efforts to avoid

speaking Arabic among their family members when traveling. Specifically, one youth noted, "I avoid speaking Arabic despite being with family [and] wait until I am past security. [It's] frustrating that we have to conceal who we are." Hiding the Arabic language is a practice documented by other researchers in this field. Barbara Perry and Morgan (2009) found that Arabs that spoke Arabic in public after the 9/11 attacks were perceived to be un-American, terrorists, or terrorist sympathizers, and therefore dangerous. Louise A. Cainkar (2009) found that young Arabs internalized that reality, claiming that they made efforts to avoid speaking in Arabic in public to avoid the negative attention it would draw. These findings are supported by recent high-profile incidents of Arabs, Arab-speaking individuals, or even non-Arabs being removed from planes for talking in Arabic (Wang 2016), reading Arabic books, reading books on the Middle East while appearing Arab/Muslim (Cain 2016), and working in the field of economic theory, whose formulas were perceived to be Arabic script (Rampell 2016). In the case of Khairuldeen Makhzoomi, who was removed from a Southwest Airlines flight for speaking Arabic, a Southwest Arabic-speaking agent told him: "Why would you speak Arabic on the airplane? It's dangerous. You know the environment around the airport. You understand what's going on in this country" (Wang 2016).

Some Arab youth in our study were conscious of needing to alter their behavior or appearance in order to mitigate the untoward scrutiny of security and border officials. Young men we spoke to often reflected on their facial hair as a key marker of Arab or Muslim identity. A number noted that they purposely shaved their beards prior to travel. Interestingly enough, a number noted that the "hipster" or "lumberjack" cultural movement that has recently made beards fashionable has made the choice to wear a beard easier. Nevertheless, many reported having shaved beards before traveling. Young men also reported modifying their choice of clothing in order to blend in with mainstream culture or to look friendlier and unthreatening. One young Arab man stated, "I trim my beard to avoid the "terrorist look." I try to wear a sports team baseball cap or my university sweater to add a look of fitting within the norm." Another young man noted his father similarly alters his appearance when traveling: "My father usually wears a galabiya…[he] has one pair of jeans and one t-shirt, [and] saves them for when he's traveling at an airport." These findings were keeping in with Cainkar (2009) who discovered that "Arabs and Muslims in the United States lived with a lurking fear that any impropriety committed at any time in their lives might be brought forth to impugn them. Their behavior needed to meet a standard of perfection reserved for profiled groups: full stops at all stop signs, turn signals on all turns" (4). In our study, the standard of perfection appears to be the perceived congruity of young people's behavior and dress to White, Anglo-Saxon culture.

We also found that young Arab women experienced significant forms of racial profiling, and that they frequently alter their appearances for travel. Many young Arab women who are observant Muslims wearing a hijab made conscious efforts to minimize gaze upon them. For example, many young women reported wearing make-up, colorful clothing, toting baggage with university emblems, and wrapping hijab in a back bun to be more stylish in an attempt to minimize potential stares toward them. A number of Arab women managed the securitization of their identity with great trepidation and discomfort. In some cases, security precautions required young women to violate their personal sense of bodily integrity and/or religious standards. In Islamic culture, men are not supposed to touch non-relative women, and in some very

traditional circles, the hijab cannot be removed among non-Muslim women (though many do in security situations because of fear, or wanting to avoid reprisals or delays). One woman in our focus groups noted: "[They] will take extra precautions just because of my hijab…Was asked to take off my scarf in London—made me extremely uncomfortable to do so in public and have someone touch me."

"Flying While Arab": the Fear/Travel Nexus

The complicated relationship Arab youth have to the process of traveling is accentuated in their expressions of fear and anxiety about racial profiling and harassment by security personnel. The literature on racial profiling and "driving while black" points to a number of conclusions that are relevant for a study examining the effects of "flying while Arab." According to Ramirez et al. (2003), racial profiling is the "inappropriate use of race, ethnicity, or national origin rather than behavior or individualized suspicion to focus on an individual for additional investigation" (1205). Just as African-Americans face heightened scrutiny while driving—according to one New Jersey-based study, they are 4.85 times more likely to be stopped and searched by police forces and 16.5 times more likely to be arrested than other drivers (Lamberth 2010)—so too do Arabs face similar heightened scrutiny while traveling across and within borders, especially by air (Bahdi 2003).

Paulhamus et al. (2010) argue that profiling involves a process, not an outcome, where race is used "as a proximate indicator of criminal involvement" (241). It is an embedded expectation in police work that profiling will help curb criminal misconduct. In many instances, police are expected to make quick judgments about anything that deviates from what is considered "normal" (Paulhamus et al. 2010). These guided reactions, in practice, reveal what Jones-Brown suggests is a near Pavlovian response to a suspect's minority status (Jones-Brown 2007). Who and what constitutes the "dangerous class" in society shifts with changing social and political conditions (Paulhamus et al. 2010). In the case of Arabs, many police and security personnel disproportionately screen them because they are deemed the "dangerous class" in a highly flux geopolitical environment produced by the ubiquitous War on Terror.

Flying or traveling while Arab often means that Arabs do not experience the full benefits of Canadian citizenship (it was not long ago that Canadians only needed a driver's license to cross the border into the USA) and experience great confusion about how to manage their exclusion from these benefits. Often, the only way that Arab youth know how to manage the politics of (un)belonging is to avoid places where discrimination and racial profiling are previously experienced or perceived as inevitable.

Arab youth suggested that they made conscious efforts to alter their travel plans in order to avoid undue scrutiny, adding a logistical layer of self-disciplining practice or behavioral management to their lives. While many of the youth noted a long list of countries that they would either avoid or had apprehensions about traveling to, one common thread was how prominent a particular country or city was in the media limelight for acts of terror, relationships with minorities, and systemic racism. For example, one youth noted: "During [the] Paris attacks [I] would certainly not go to France…or any country where anything of that sort happened." In another focus group,

a youth added: "France has always been the perfect transit/midway point as we can quickly do some sightseeing…Over the past year, since the attacks, we've avoided it." According to another youth in a different focus group: "When we do get the opportunity, we try not to travel via France." Similarly, one youth stated, "[Regarding the] shooting in Ottawa, I would avoid traveling there the next day—[I] would not [even] briefly appear."

While many Arab youth avoided locations outright, others were strategic in choosing transit locations. For example, one youth noted: "Usually for the past years I've had to transit in London, UK or Paris, France…But now, we avoid Europe to be on the safe side, avoid any flight that transits in Europe and specifically search for transits in Turkey as it is similar to Arab [countries]." Another youth noted: "[I] would avoid the Netherlands…[and, I think] Nordic countries [as well] tend to be more racist." Another added: "I purposely bought a ticket that was $100 more to avoid a transit location, chose going to Seattle via Vancouver as opposed to via Chicago—thankfully [my] flight was by Air Canada. I avoid Delta airlines." Similarly: "I try to transit via Middle Eastern countries as they tend to know who I truly am and understand that there is no harm."

Many of the Arab youth in the focus groups experienced racism and prejudice directly as a result of travel. A one youth pointed out: "Racism in Germany was terrible, no one would answer my questions." According to another: "I am not a huge fan of traveling to America…I always witness things that I don't like. Why would I visit your country if you don't welcome my people?" One group member added: "[I was] harassed so much in California for that one week than I have my entire life that I will not go back." Another stated: "In the [United] States I always experience dirty looks. Security asks me where I'm from, even though I have a Canadian passport…Name clearly sounds Arab [and then says again] 'where are you *really* from?'" One Arab youth was singled out by security services in what he felt was a discrimination case: "I was sent to a room with no indication of what it was about."

Many Arab youth also had an impending sense of discrimination. They feared or had apprehensions about traveling because of the potential discrimination they believed they would have to endure: "I always get anxious while driving at the American border…[I have] no idea why." Another added: "[I'm] more scared or hesitant, I feel like I would get in trouble and hassled more than anyone else just because I'm Arab." For many Arab youth, there were plenty of community stories and experiences that also shaped their negative perceptions of travel. One youth noted: "You hear of Arabs getting stopped at the border for no reason." Evidence of behavioral modification in anticipation of real or perceived prejudice was often expressed: "I feel like I need to be *extra* nice to airport security personnel and ask them how their day is going and carry a big smile…I feel this extra urge to sound normal." Another youth added: "I have yet to master hiding my nervousness."

Rarer still, a few female students noted fears about travel as a result of discrimination: "There are times I am scared to be alone [while traveling because I], don't feel safe." We heard a great deal of skepticism about traveling to Europe, where significant media attention to the issue of Arabs' treatment in society is trending. For example, one youth noted: "Poland, France, [I am] terrified of going. I don't think I would stay alive, something would happen and I would be unable to come back home."

Avenues for Further Research

Experiencing discrimination can have a very negative effect on psychological outcomes. One study found that a person's unexpected outcomes from interactions with authorities ("agents of social control") often led to negative emotions, which were exacerbated when subjects of the study perceived that they were not responsible for the difference between the expected outcome and the actual outcome of the interaction (Hegtvedt and Markovsky 1995; Rice and Parkin 2010). Perceptions among people that they are being deprived or scrutinized unfairly also produce negative psychological outcomes. Upsets of this nature and anger over the perceived injustice associated with discrimination increase perception of injury and cloud people's abilities to acquire the necessary information to resolve the situation. Scholarship on the effects of discrimination contend that those who have experienced discrimination may be pushed toward anti-social behavior, may have reduced respect for the system, and be more likely question legitimacy of law enforcement (Agnew 2006; Tyler and Huo 2002).

Rand Ramadan Fakih (2014) conducted an extensive study on ethnic identity among Arab Americans. She notes that discrimination has a profound impact upon the psychology of minority groups. Discrimination is associated with lower self-esteem, increased psychological distress, depression, and lower academic functioning. Fakih also notes that studies consistently affirm that ethnic identity (specifically, the extent to which an individual seeks to explore, commit to, adopt the behaviors of, affirm, or invest belonging in ethnic identity) plays a critical role as a "protective resource"—a buffer that mitigates the negative consequences of discrimination and the perceived downsides of identity membership (2014: 8–12). A balanced sense of and investment in ethnic identity is positively "associated with emotional well-being, intrinsic motivation for learning, academic success, and abilities to cope with racism and discrimination" (15). A fruitful avenue for future scholarship therefore would be to study how Canadian Arab youth negatively and positively manage discrimination, and how discrimination comparatively causes them to doubt the system, or find creative ways to overcome their exclusions in the system.

Conclusion

When we asked Canadian Arab youth what they felt was the cause of discrimination and racism, the most common answer was that of the media. Youth said things like: "I feel as though the news is forcing a mentality against Arabs," "the news changes everything—makes it easier for people to voice and spread racism," and [few have] "ever seen a discussion on white people [being security concerns]…[I always] pray to God when a story [about terrorism] appears on TV that it wasn't an Arab," and "we [the youth] are aware of the bias in the media…Adults do not question anything, [they] accept it. Youth, however, question everything."

Although it was common for Arab youth to recognize the role of the media and to wish for fair news reportage, others wanted fairer due processes or legal systems: "Why isn't there transparency? Why are we never told what's going on [when traveling and being detained]?" Another recognized that their perceived limited powers to question law and security enforcement personnel were source of insecurity and fear for them: "if

Arabs had the right to ask why they're stopped—that would be a substantial change." On this point, another youth asked: "what does protocol really mean and why is that used as a justification for being pulled aside." According to another: "airports need to be fair, don't just stop Arabs—stop everyone and question everyone not just a specific race…or simply just have a reason and explain." On numerous occasions, some Arab youth expressed resiliency: "Sometimes I want to respond back to the stares or comments, but there is no reason for me to defend myself—I've done nothing!"

Canadian Arab youth are cognizant that "flying while Arab" will expose them to racial profiling and often go to great lengths to minimize their Arab identity in order to avoid inconvenience or unwanted attention at borders or travel hubs. Our work has uncovered a tendency among Canadian Arab youth to mitigate discrimination by dissociating from their Arab identity and managing their behavior to be as non-threatening as possible in a high security-focused environment. Part of this process involves personal erasure or minimalization, in which Arab youth attribute their relationship to white-ness as the marker or signifier of an identity deemed "safe to travel." Canadian Arab youth measure the potential for discrimination by "how Arab one might look" or "how Arab-sounding a name is." Further, Arab youth in our study altered travel plans in response to geopolitical and local events that they believed heightened discrimination against Arabs. Participants in the study noted instances of treatment at the border or immigration posts, as well as encounters with airline personnel that caused them a great deal of fear and anxiety, which in turn complicated their experiences traveling. This fear has a number of consequences for youth, such as undermining their psychological well-being and sense of belonging, as well as for Canadian communities that need to be further investigated by future research.

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