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BOSNIAN REFUGEES IN BOWLING GREEN, KENTUCKY: REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT AND COMMUNITY BASED RESEARCH

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Sociology
Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green Kentucky

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for the Degree
Master of Arts

By
Elcin Celik

August 2012

BOSNIAN REFUGEES IN BOWLING GREEN, KENTUCKY: REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT AND COMMUNITY BASED RESEARCH

Date Recommended May 9, 2012

Jerry Daday, Director of Thesis

Kumiko Nemoto

Courte Voorhees

Dean, Graduate Studies and Research 8/20/12 Date

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LIST OF ABBREVATIONS

BNAC	Building the New American Community Initiative
CWS/IRP	Church World Service Immigration and Refugee Program
ELL	English Language Learner
ESL	English as a Second Language
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GCIR	Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees
IABNA	Islamic Association of Bosniaks in North America
ICSR	Institute for Citizenship and Social Responsibility
IDP	Integrated Design Project
IIRIRA	Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act
IRCA	Immigration Reform and Control Act
JNA	Yugoslav People's Army
KSDC	Kentucky State Data Center
LYC	League of Communists of Yugoslavia
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-profit Organization
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PRC	People's Republic of China
RS	Republika Srpska
RDC	Research and Documentation Centre in Sarajevo

SDS	Serb Democratic Party
USCRI	U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants
PRM	U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migrations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UN	United Nations
USDOS	U.S. Department of State
WKRMAA	Western Kentucky Refugee Mutual Assistance Association, Inc.

BOSNIAN REFUGEES IN BOWLING GREEN, KENTUCKY: REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT AND COMMUNITY BASED RESEARCH

Elcin Celik August 2012 Pages 112

Directed By: Jerry Daday, Kumiko Nemoto, Courte Voorhees

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To understand the reasons for the increase in recent years of the Bosnian population in Bowling Green, Kentucky and their adaptation problems as refugees in their host country, this study focused upon the Bosnian community in Bowling Green and addressed what the role of their challenges is in the shaping of refugees' new life in their host country. Extensive literature review helped to emerge that for an understanding of the situation of the refugees, their interaction in the host country is more meaningful topic for research.

This study employed qualitative research methods, drawing from existing empirical studies addressing resettlement in the context of the informants' wartime experiences. Initially, the researcher approached patrons at Bosnian restaurants and worshipers at local mosques to find Bosnian people. Snowball sampling used to identify Bosnian refugees living in the Bowling Green community.

Twenty-five in-depth interviews were conducted for needs assessment and issue identification. The interviews were transcribed and analyzed in an attempt to understand the difficulties of adaptation among Bosnian refugees living in Bowling Green.

A qualitative case study approach was chosen because it was the most effective way to gain knowledge of refugees' experiences and perceptions in the context of the societies in which they resettled.

Findings revealed that interviewed group struggled with mostly language and employment challenges to integration. Social support was provided through organizations that included Americans aided integration and the families resettled before as they provided significant support is directing resettlement.

Banki's (2004) and Jacobsen's (2001) indicators of refugee integration were used to in order to determine to the extent to which this sample of Bosnian refugees are integrated into their host county.

CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION

Over the centuries, numerous civilizations have existed all over the world. These civilizations have interrelated socially and culturally with each other. In other words, they have exchanged aspects of their civilizations among each other. Values, beliefs, and traditions vary from country to country as well as within the same country. Thus, there have been unavoidable historical, cultural, and ethnic differences among societies and nations. In some cases these differences may turn into struggles and conflict. An examination of human history shows countless incidents of ethnic struggles that have led to wars between and within nation states.

Following the end of World War II in 1945, the politics of the world have changed in a variety of political, technological, and ideological ways. The war brought the Soviets and the Americans militarily and diplomatically deep into Europe and also changed their relations with each other. This transformation was also revealed in their relations outside Europe where various conflicts developed. While the Cold War had its origin in Europe, it spread rapidly, with massive consequences for countries and people around the world.

For 46 years, the Cold War was a period of East-West competition, tension, and conflict, informed by mutual perceptions of hostile intention between military-political confederations or blocs. With the breakdown of this bipolar world order in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the configuration of a new world order formed.

The end of the Cold War also was followed by the end of one of the two main participants in that conflict, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In some cases the cold war involving the superpowers helped bring about change. In others, where the super powers became directly involved, the intensification and extension of the conflict resulted.

Relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and its Eastern European partners, with the People's Republic of China (PRC), and with various radical movements and governments in the third world have been crucial issues in world politics, as well as key factors in Soviet-American relationships. The Bosnian War that occurred between the years of 1992-1995 was one of the results of this conflict, and it was a consequence of mistakes and misperceptions by political leaders. In this case, ethnic, religious, and national issues played a decisive role. This conflict in the Former Yugoslavian republic not only negatively impacted the main resources of the country, but it also destroyed millions of people's lives. Even though 17 years have passed since the end of Bosnian War, the effects of the issue are still being explored by many social scholars (Hunt, 2010; Bell 2006; Young, Zeulow, & Sturm, 2007; MacDonald, 2008).

The movement of peoples from one part of the world to another has occurred during all times in human history on variable scales and under an immense array of circumstances. The reasons behind such movements may be the result of climatic political or religious changes, but the forces of human migration continue to reconfigure the social worlds from which people leave and the locations where they arrive. According to the most current World Refuge Survey conducted by U.S. Committee for Refugees and

Immigrants, wars and armed conflicts around the world have forced more than 13 million people from their countries of origin, producing a humanitarian crisis of enormous proportions (USCRI, 2009b). The plight of Bosnians is an important example.

This study focused on Bosnian refugee resettlement and integration in Bowling Green, Kentucky. Resettlement is the processes in which refugees are given permanent legal residency in a host country and are given the major benefits and prerogatives held by citizens of the host country, and have the right to apply for citizenship after a defined period of time. Permanent resettlement is used when there are vital pressures to a refugee's life, liberty, safety, health, or other essential human rights, either in the country of temporary asylum or the country of origin (Korac, 2001).

This research particularly focuses on refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter referred to as Bosnia) who fled after nearly four years of war as the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia collapsed and produced more than 1 million refugees who experienced extreme brutality in the conflict areas. Bosnians were chosen as a strategic case group because (i) they were one of the major ethnic groups who recently resettled in Bowling Green, Kentucky; (ii) their memories of home as well as their experiences of resettlement were fairly recent; (iii) the researcher wanted to investigate to what extent the displacement impacted the resettlement of the Bosnian refugees in their host country.

Chapter One continues below with a brief history of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This includes an examination of the history of the country from the time of the invasion by the Serbs until the post-war time. This shows that the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina is one of repeated domination by outside powers, and also of the co-existence of members of

different religious beliefs. The circumstances leading to the war are briefly outlined, and an analysis of the causes of the war is made. This is followed in the same chapter by an examination of the Bosnian families in resettlement; including resettlement policies and the way those policies were implemented.

Chapter Two present the literature in which this research project is situated. This part includes previous studies conducted about the challenges of Bosnian refugees in different countries, including the United States. Research questions are given in the same chapter.

Chapter Three exhibits the methodological basis for this study and the methods used. As will become clear from this chapter, I have drawn on my experiences working with refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina in this study. I have also used qualitative methods including interviews and the processes are described.

Chapter Four summarizes the analyses of this research and its context between literature review sections.

Chapter Five presents the conclusions that can be drawn about the interaction of Bosnian refugees with Bowling Green society and the challenges that they experienced in first few months in this city.

Brief History of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia was created in 1945, with communist guerrilla fighter Josip Broz Tito, better known as Marshal Tito, in overall control. Until Tito's death in 1980, all six of Yugoslavia's semi-independent republics, which included Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia, had a peaceful coexistence. After Tito's death, the communist party lost power and the position

of a central president began rotating once a year among those six semi-independent republics.

Bosnia-Herzegovina is a more complex region because it is surrounded by the more powerful nation states of Croatia and Serbia. While both of these countries have populations that are overwhelmingly Christian, Croatia's population is predominately Catholic, while Serbia is predominately Eastern Orthodox. Bosnia, on the other hand, was a more mixed society, and for most of its history, it had been deeply segmented, with Muslims, Serbs, and Croats organized into distinct communities. Before the war began in 1992, the largest proportion of the Bosnian population was Muslim (43%), but there was a sizable Serb (35%) and Croat (17%) population that peacefully coexisted with the Bosnian Muslims (also referred to as Bosniaks) throughout the Cold War. While Bosnia lies sandwiched between Serbia and Croatia, its geography makes it significant. Bosnia is a land of rugged mountains, valleys, dense forest and fast moving rivers, which carve the terrain into a particular region that separates it from neighboring Croatia to the north, south, and west and from Serbia to the east (Neuffer, 2001). Yugoslavia has been the most politically complex country in the Balkans. Even though the communist party was still dominant after the death of Tito, religious and national freedoms were expanded. Beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, movements for independence and democratic reforms materialized within the six republics. The political disorder in Bosnia in the late 1980s was the first of much stagnation and it opened the way for the extensive triumph of the nationalist parties in 1990.

At the end of the 1980s, Slobodan Milosevic, who was president of Serbia, held control of Serbian political organizations and assumed the leadership of a growing Serb

nationalist movement that influenced nationalist fervor in the other republics of the former Yugoslavia, including the three largest religious/ethnic groups living in Bosnia. Mass meetings intended at exiling the communist elites in Kosovo, Montenegro, and Vojvodina left the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LYC) in total disorder (Burg & Shoup, 1999). The period 1987-1991 saw a deep change in Yugoslav society, manifested by the end of one-party rule, the polarization of public views along national and ethnic lines, and growing demands by Slovenia and Croatia for independence.

Croatia was scheduled to occupy the rotating presidency in 1991, but Serbia prevented this as it desired to position itself as the leader over the other Yugoslavian republics and establish a "Greater Serbia". Thus, Serbian nationalism took hold in Serbia and among those ethnic Serbs living in Croatia and Bosnia (Judth, 2005).

As the Yugoslav republics of Slovenia, Croatia, and later Bosnia moved toward independence in early 1990s, Milosevic, declared that Serbian national politics would dominate during his administration. His use of nationalist politics and the state-controlled broadcast media greatly influenced Serb minorities in Croatia and Bosnia, which ultimately triggered a hostile attitude toward Muslims (Braubaker, 1995). These developments influenced Bosnia in numerous ways. Although the communist political elite was under attack from internal and external forces, it was united in opposing the Serb nationalist operation. Serb nationalism threatened to disengage the Bosnian social contract, which was built on loyalty to Titoism. Moreover, it threatened to polarize Bosnian society along ethnic lines. Burg and Shoup (1999) noted that the Bosnian political party (Bonansca Stranka) could not only change its place as the communist party of Serbia. At the same time it did under Milosevic administration because its

memberships were multi-ethnic. Even though Serbs contained 42.8 percent of the party, the largest single group in the party, Muslims and Croats together totaled more (35.0 and 11.9 percent). Moreover, the communist elite was itself technically tri-ethnic and openly opposed to nationalism. On the other hand, the rank and file Serb party members in Bosnia conducted themselves quiet inversely. They changed sides in large numbers to the nationalist Serb Democratic Party (SDS). Milosevic designed an agreement with the SDS. The familiar formation, by which increasing Serb and Croat nationalisms engendered growing Muslim animosity, penetrated once again (Braubaker, 1995). The Muslims confronted two choices: either coming together with Serbia or Croatia as the means by which to protect the territorial reliability of Bosnia, or building a wall between its two more powerful neighbors. A third choice now also seemed possible: following the lead of Slovenia and Croatia and declaring independence from the former Yugoslavia.

Friedman (1996) argued that Milosevic took advantage of this situation and gave provocative speeches to the public and to members of his political party in Serbia with the intent of inspiring Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia to resist the calls for independence in these countries. On the other hand, nationalist Serbians living in Croatia and Bosnia claimed that they were not represented equally in their respective parliaments and pressured to have a greater role in government. Milosevic officially introduced his intention to create a greater Serbia in 1990. In order to draw Greater Serbia's boundaries, Serbia sought to include within its territorial boundaries all of Bosnia as well as some regions where Serbs lived in Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, and west Macedonia.

The Onset of War

Between December 1990 and April 1992, the destiny of Bosnia was postponed in the stability. The first democratic elections in the history of the republic created an extremely separated political system. When war erupted in Croatia in summer 1991, Croats and Serbs from Bosnia joined in the fight. The Croats began training Muslims for war in Bosnia. Burg and Shoup (1999) stated that the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) taught and armed Serb militias throughout Bosnia. In the fall, the JNA sent militias from Montenegro, attacking across Bosnia. In other locations of the country, Bosnia was a region of relative peace, surrounded on three sides by war, violence, ethnic cleansing, and destruction. In addition, the Bosnian media disseminated the idea that Bosnian's traditions of national clemency would help it avoid war.

However, by the end of March 1992, Bosnia was in disorder. A disagreement between the Bosnian government and the Serbs took place on April 4, when Bosnian President Izetbegovic strategically organized the mobilization of all police and militias in Sarajevo, and the SDS delivered a hidden call for the Serbs to abandon the city. On April 6, the Serbs began the shelling of Sarajevo. On April 7 and 8, following international recognition of Bosnia, Serb armies crossed the Drina River from Serbia proper and surrounded to the Muslim cities of Zvornic, Visegrad, and Foca. By mid-April, all of Bosnia was engaged in war (Friedman, 1996). At the same time, outside of Sarajevo, the riches of the Serbian soldiers varied dramatically during the first year of the war. Furthermore, Magas and Zanic (2001) wrote that within a matter of months, the Serbs had conquered the Muslim-majority cities beside the Drina and Sava rivers and ethnically cleansed the Bosnia Muslim population.

During the summer of 1992, a growing humanitarian crisis in Bosnia led to the placement of United Nations (UN) peacekeepers to facilitate the transport of humanitarian relief because Serbs paramilitary forces working in Northern Bosnia set up concentration camps for Muslims. As the Serbs ethnically cleansed towns and villages in this region of Bosnia, the Muslim population was sent to these concentration camps. Crimes against humanity were committed in the camps, especially rapes of women. Women and female children were deported from these camps to Muslim areas of Bosnia while many of the men and young boys were killed. All of this happened in the summer of 1992 when The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the UN were still trying to figure out what to do with Bosnia. In addition, Franz (2005) noted that the UN enforced a no-fly zone over Bosnia in October 1992 in an effort to protect civilians from military air strikes committed against Bosnian Muslims by the Serbs. Moreover, UN peacekeepers were proactively positioned to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) in 1993 in an attempt to protect civilians. In May 1993, the UN declared Sarajevo and five other Muslim territories "safe areas" under UN protection: Srebrenica, Bihac, Tuzla, Zepa, and Gorazde. NATO decided in June to use air power to protect UN forces if attacked. In August, NATO declared its willingness to respond with air strikes, in coordination with the UN, in the event that UN safe areas, including Sarajevo, came under blockade by Serb forces. This decision suspended the shelling for Sarajevo for a short period of time.

In January 1994, fighting erupted between Croat and Muslim armies in central Bosnia. The Muslims found themselves in a multi-front war against two opponents. The causes of the conflict between the Muslims and the Croats were related to the division of

Bosnia anticipated under the dominant powers. Burg and Shoup (1999) noted that in February 1994, in response to a Bosnian Serb attack that killed 68 civilians in a Sarajevo square, NATO announced a demand that if Bosnian Serb weapons were not retreated from UN regions around the capital, Bosnian Serb militarizes would be the target of air strikes. In early 1994, with UN-EU political efforts delayed over regional issues, the United States began more active efforts to encourage a settlement to the conflict. In March 1994, U.S. arbitration formed an agreement between the Bosnian government, Bosnian Croats, and the government of Croatia to establish a federation between Muslims and Croats in Bosnia. Aggression between the Croats and Bosniaks ended.

In the spring of 1995, Bosnian Serb aggression on the so-called safe areas led to a massacre of Bosnian Muslim men and young boys in Srebrenica and encouraged U.S. President Clinton to demand that NATO and the UN make good on their obligation to protect the remaining safe areas. The Allies threatened broad-based air strikes if the safe areas were attacked again. When the Bosnian Serbs ignored this threat, NATO assumed a rigorous month-long bombing operation. The United States-led arbitration formed an agreement by the parties to basic principles of a settlement as well as a cease-fire. Peace meetings toward a settlement of the conflict began in Dayton, Ohio on November 1. The parties agreed to the Dayton compromise on November 2, and the terms of the agreement were signed in Paris on December 14, 1995. This represented the formal end of hostilities in the Bosnian war and the start of a long period of UN peacekeeping and peace building.

Since the Dayton Accord, peacekeepers, civil police, human rights activists, democratic experts, engineers, logisticians, and others have flooded into Bosnia. The country's infrastructure was destroyed after three years of war. After the killing stopped,

the facilities of normal life returned to many parts of the country, including opening of shops, active schools, open roads, and working public utilities.

Still, the country is impoverished economically, its ethnic communities are not pulling together, and country's law enforcement agency is protested outside administration. Encountering more struggle than collaboration, the civilian agencies face discouraging problems in implementing those features of the Dayton framework that promote the country's rehabilitation.

Bosnian Families in Resettlement

The lives of Bosnian Muslims changed dramatically beginning in April of 1992. People who were identified as being Muslim were ethnically cleansed from their towns, villages, and communities. Others were killed, especially men and boys, because they lived in a towns such as Srebrenica, located near the border of Serbia. Still others escaped death or injury by chance, as a result of an early escape over the border to another country. Numerous Bosnians migrated to different countries in the world, in particular, to Germany and the United States between the 1990s and 2000s.

Global refugees living in the United States increased from 9.6 million in 1970 to 28.4 million in 2000 (Coughlan & Owens-Manley, 2006). Historically, America has been a land of immigrants, although the number and ratio of refugees in the population has fluctuated over time. The percentage of the total population of the United States that is non-native born widened from 4.7 percent in 1970 to 10.4 percent in 2000 (Coughlan & Owens-Manley, 2006). While most of this increase was the result of immigration from

Latin America and Asia, 15 percent originated from Europe. This included more than 100,000 Bosnians who escaped the conf icts in the Balkans in the 1990s (UNHCR, 2000).

According to the 1951 United Nations Convention concerning to Status of Refugees, formal refugee status was limited to persons who became refugees because of actions that occurred before January 1, 1951. This date primarily addressed the needs of European refugees from World War II. The 1967 Protocol concerning to the Status of Refugees took off the time limitation. The Protocol involves conditions to reach a decision to apply Articles 2 through 34 of the 1951 Refugee Convention to all persons covered by the refugee definition without reference to time or geographic limitations (UNHCR, 2000). One hundred and forty-two countries signed the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol. Guarantors recognize persons as refugees based on the definitions limited in these and other regional causes such as war or civil conflict.

In 1951, the United Nations (OHCHR, 1951) defined "refugee" as,

> a person who is outside his or her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his or her nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his or her former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

The Bosnians who fled their homeland between 1992 and 1995 clearly fall under this definition.

The American government has established some organizations in order to cope with the increasing refugee population. Kennedy (1981) notes that in March 1980, Congress completed the last action on The Federal Refugee Act of 1980 which was the first large scale reform of the refugee statutes of American immigration law.

In the Federal Refugee Act of 1980, Congress gave new legal authority to the United States' protracted undertaking of human rights and its traditional humanitarian concern for refugees around the world. The Act also sought to provide full and adequate federal support for refugee resettlement programs by authorizing constant funding for state, local and voluntary agency projects.

In order to qualify for resettlement in the U.S. a person must be meet the U.S. definition of a refugee as stated in Section 101(a)(42) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, which is also closely associated with the definition in the 1951 U.N Convention. Moreover, a refugee must meet the these criteria: (i) be among those refugees determined by the President to be of special humanitarian concern to the United States; (ii) be otherwise acceptable under U.S. law; and (iii) not be decisively resettled in any third country (UNHCR, 1998).

Five main parts of the regulation have significantly influenced the existing state of refugee resettlement in the Unites States: (i) the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, (ii) the Refugee Act of 1980, (iii) the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986, (iv) the Immigration Act of 1990, and (v) the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996. Although these acts cover protections for persons fleeing oppression, they were planned to help keep newcomers out rather than to open opportunities for entrance into the USA.

Additionally, ten national volunteer agencies work under agreements with the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migrations (PRM) to sponsor and provide first resettlement services for those refugees found eligible for resettlement in the United States. Before arriving in the United States, the refugees and their primary family members undergo health and security clearances and attend cultural orientation sessions (USDOS, 2001).

The Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) offers per capita funding to provide refuges with cash, health, and housing assistance based on their needs (U.S. Government, 2004). The general thought is that the support should be short-term in order to prevent dependent abuse of the system of public support. Refugees are enabled to receive cash assistance for up to 8 months in the USA. The main objective of the U.S. Resettlement Program is for refugees to obtain economic self-sufficiency as rapidly as possible. This objective significantly impacts states' duties concerning refugee resettlement.

Van Selm (2003) noted that since 1981, cash and medical assistance for refugees has decreased from 36 months to 8 months. This cutback has passed the costs of refugee resettlement from the federal level to the state and the local levels. At the federal level, PRM directs the refugee resettlement program in combination with the Citizenship and Immigration Services of the Department of Homeland Security and the Office of Refugee Resettlement of the Department of Health and Human Services. These federal units have an agreement with local volunteer organizations and offer financial support to partially cover refugees' reception and settlement expenses (U.S. Government, 2001). The volunteer agencies have the commitment of providing resettlement services as well as

information and allocations about employment opportunities, vocational training, education, language classes, personal safety, public facilities, health care, and information about legal status, citizenship, and family reintegration procedures, for a minimum of 90 days after the refugees' arrival.

In the case under investigation, Bosnians abandoned their country of origin following the war that tore apart the former Federation of Yugoslavia. In order to understand the context in which Bosnians arrived, adapted, and moved forward, it is important to consider the resettlement process and refugees' integration problems in their host country at the local level. At first, it is an example of the influence of cultural differences, the language barrier, lack of job opportunities, and problems accessing health care facilities and other institutional services. This may also cause problems and conflict between the refugees and the residents of the host country.

The U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants conducted a World Refugee Survey in 2009, which showed that 60,191 refugees from different counties resettled in the United States, a small number relative to the total U.S. population of 304,500,000 in 2009 (USCRI, 2009). This number is also equal to one in five of the total population in the United States in 2009.

According to 2010 Census Data, the total population of Bowling Green, Kentucky is 58,067 (KSDC, 2010). However, there is no exact count of Bosnian residents within the census data. Some Bosnians in Bowling Green believe that as much as 10% of the population in Bowling Green is Bosnian. This percentage may continue to increase each year because of the higher birth rate that exists in the Bosnian community. The Bosnian community represents just one of the numerous ethnic groups which have a sizable

population residing in Bowling Green, including individuals from Pakistan, India, Egypt, Myanmar, Somalia, Nigeria, Afghanistan, Morocco and Iraq (Mattingly, 2010). At this juncture, the size of Bosnian community is quite significant in utilization of Bosnians as a case study. Furthermore, this study is important to be in terms of refugee integration centered and local level research in Bowling Green, Kentucky.

CHAPTER II:

LITERATURE REVIEW

Political, economic, and social tensions have created numerous refugee crises across the globe since the mid-1950s. Refugees are an outcome of conflicts in international, national, and regional politics, and the greeting of refugees in host countries is also influenced by international, national, and regional politics.

The area of "refugee studies" has increased significantly over the last part of the twentieth century, in parallel with the significance of the phenomenon of forced migration itself. However, limited resources have existed in refugee studies. In addition, "most studies of refugees remain under the rubric of 'immigrant' studies, sometimes even non-immigrant minority studies" (Mosselson, 2006, p. 20).

In recent years there has been a sequence of studies on refugee integration, and these have enhanced our knowledge of what happens when a large influx of refugees takes places; but there is still a lack of knowledge on the issue. In order to understand the process of refugee integration, one must define the concept of integration itself. Established in 1946, the Church World Service Immigration and Refugee Program (CWS/IRP), which is one of the ten volunteer agencies that partners with federal agencies in the United States to resettle refugees, defines refugee integration as "a long-term process, through which refugees and host communities communicate effectively, function together and enrich each other, expand employment options and create economic

opportunities, and have mutual respect and understanding among people of different cultures" (Dwyer, 2010).

In Refugee Resettlement: An International Handbook to Guide Reception and Integration (2002), the UNHCR states that integration is

> a mutual, dynamic, multifaceted, and ongoing process. From a refugee perspective, integration requires a preparedness to adapt to the lifestyle of the host society without having to lose one's own cultural identity. From the point of view of the host society, it requires willingness for communities to be welcoming and responsive to refugees and for public institutions to meet the needs of a diverse population.

The UNHCR (2008) stated three dimensions to the process of local integration: legal, economic, and socio-cultural. The legal dimension consists of the host state allowing refugees a progressively wider range of rights and entitlements that are largely in line with those enjoyed by its own people. The economic dimension involves enabling refugees to create sustainable livelihoods and a standard of living comparable to their host community. The UNHCR also noted that they worked in organization with host governments in a number of countries to facilitate economic integration, self-reliance and private enterprise programs, which benefit the local community as well as refugees. Finally, the social and cultural dimension of integration places responsibility on the refugees to make meticulous efforts to adapt to the local environment and understand the new cultures and lifestyles in which they find themselves. Effective integration should be sustainable and profit both the refugees and the local communities where they settle.

Jacobsen (2001) claimed that refugees are integrated effectively when (i) they are not in physical danger and do not live under the threat; (ii) they are socially integrated into the host community, so that intermarriage is common, formalities such as weddings and funerals are attended by everyone, and there is little difference between refugees' and hosts' level of living. It should be noted that integration is fairly different from assimilation; (iii) they are not restrained to camps or placements, and have the right of returning to their home country; (iv) they are able to make a living through contact to land or employment and can support themselves and their families; and (v) they have access to education or vocational training, health facilities, and housing.

Banki (2004) defined a number of points that could be used to describe and measure stages of refugee integration in their host countries. These are that (i) refugees are not restrained in their movements; (ii) refugees are able to access their own land; (iii) refugees take part in the local economy; (iv) refugees are moving in the way of self-sufficiency; (v) refugees are able to access local services such as health facilities; (vi) refugee children attend local schools; and (vii) refugees are disseminated among the local population. Even though she juxtaposed numerous possible features that explain different levels of refugee integration in host countries, importantly, not every factor will necessarily exist in each and every refugee hosting country. She also classified the factors into four different categories. Banki began with the political factors that arise on a national level and usually take into account strategic security and internal, cross-country relations. She suggested that these would be dominant "when host governments are influenced by global opinion, interaction with sending countries, and geo-strategic issues" (2004, p. 5). From there, Banki moved on to security factors which arise as a

result of the host country's wish to protect its citizens from threats, or apparent threats, such as rebels or criminals.

Subsequently, Banki identified economic factors that take a market view of the situation. For instance, in this context the refugees would be seen either as a valuable worker or a threat to their domestic opponents. She noted social factors are also important such as those dealing with ethnicity, religion and language. Banki offered that refugees who are socially similar are better able to integrate into their host communities.

Physical factors are also essential and Banki divided these into four categorizations. First are geographic factors, including the ability of a refugee to easily cross the border. She suggested that the more permeable border could blend the refugees more easily into local population. Second are the physical or temporal factors. At this point, the coming time of the refugee and the amount of time a refugee spends in a host country are the two key determinants. Third, Banki gave weight to the size of the refugee population, both in amount to the host country and in terms of how quickly the refugees arrived. The greater the inflow of refugees into a host country, the more likely they will receive a hostile greeting from governments and locals alike. Fourth, Banki identified the individual refugee as an important physical factor in determining their own personal level of integration, suggesting that refugees are often able to integrate despite political, economic and social determinants

The fourth and final factor that Banki identified as having a major significance on levels of refugee integration is the domestic legal system in which refugees find themselves. Banki notes that "legal factors can be presumed to prevail when official legal status and high levels of integration go hand in hand" (2004, p. 5).

While Banki's factors of refugee integration dominantly based on the host country The Building the New American Community Initiative addressed four principles of successful integration that based on refugees themselves and host country-centered: (i) new Americans must be included in decision-making procedures; (ii) integration is a two-way practice that contains and profits both new Americans and receiving community members; (iii) associations are among the vehicles that can encourage operative and significant relationships in order to deal with the several challenges and occasions related with socio-economic, cultural and demographic change; these include public-private partnerships that reach across levels of government and include a broad range of non-governmental organizations, as well as institutions and individuals from many different stratifications of society; and finally (iv) resources must be assigned to integration-centered interferences, as well as association building and training occasions, which cause systemic transformation (BNAC, 2004).

Other comparable definitions also put together factors of refugees themselves and host country. For instance, Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees (GCIR, 2008) defined immigrant integration as "a dynamic, two way process in which newcomers and the receiving society works together to build secure, vibrant and cohesive communities." Correspondingly, Harrell-Bond (1986) suggested that refugee integration refers to "a situation in which host and refugee communities are able to co-exist, sharing the same resources - both economic and social - with no greater mutual conflict than that which exists within the host community" (p. 7). Overall, these definitions and categorizations demonstrate that the integration process of refugees is multi-dimensional long term and grueling.

In recent years, an increasing amount of research has offered examples of the ways in which integration can be functional to the economies of receiver countries. Kuhlman (1994) recommended there is a common agreement from experimental research that a development approach rather than liberation is vital for confirming that the survival energies of refugees are used as resources for development. By failing to distinguish the capitals which refugees themselves bring to the situation, the liberation model constrains the mobilization of these capitals and networks for the profit of both the refugees and the local economy. As Jacobsen (2002, p.1) noted, "When refugees are allowed to gain access to resources, have freedom of movement and can work alongside their hosts to pursue productive lives, they will be less dependent on aid, and better able to overcome the sources of tension and conflict in their host communities."

Jacobsen (2002) indicated that refugees have an extender effect by increasing the capability and productivity of the receipt region's economy through occupation and the growth of markets. They bring physical wealth from their home countries, scaling from gold to trucks to computers. For the present study, majority of Bosnian refugees are known to work in some truck company as a driver or patrons of the company. Moreover, estimated numbers of Bosnian tracking company is twenty-five in Bowling Green, Kentucky. Considering the City of Bowling Green’s annual growth rate of the last decade, important to say that this number is a great deal of high. Additionally, new marketplaces derive and many goods can be found that were inaccessible in the region before. Resettled refugees can offer economic contributions for the receiving community, both at the local level when they first arrive, and in the long run, as refugees move profounder into the host country. She reported when they are allowed to take part in the

local economy, refugees contribute their human capital, in the form of education, new technologies and abilities, or desired labor. Some host countries have promoted economically from refugees as a result of agricultural extension or magnification made potential by refugee labor. Local farmers can assistance when where is increased request by refugees for local food as opposite to unaccustomed or undesirable food service.

Jacobsen (2001) offered a detailed investigation of the interests of all the numerous participants involved in encouraging self-sufficiency and local integration of urban refugees. With the effective formation of partnerships, international donors, non-profit organizations (NGOs) and the UNHCR will see a better use of their liberation resources and the protection of refugee rights, while host governments and the local population will see increased local economic development, a reduced problem on community resources and the environment, and improved relations with both supporters and the sending country. Another important thing, the refugees will have better security and protection of rights, while transforming self-supporting. Crisp (2003) stated that the political climate is not ultimate for such an effort at the moment, but the principle that refugees should like fruitful lives and contribute to the development of the areas where they have resettled needs to be recovered.

Refugee studies have a dual face in terms of the work of academics in identifying and studying the problems refugees experience as well as the ability of community members and organizations to respond to these problems. The first international organization particularly established towards the study of refugees – The Association for the Study of the World- was created in Liechtenstein in 1950 following the creation of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The academic work on

refugee issues arose primarily after the migration that occurred to the United States following the Vietnam war in the late 1970s (Black, 2001).

In subsequent years many social scientists have studied refugee issues including political scientists, sociologists, psychologists, and social workers. Specifically after the war in Bosnia between 1992 and 1995, the subject of forced migration attracted social scientists. Although they were interested in different parts of the Bosnian War issue, this study represents a local level community based research project.

Bosnian Refugees Resettlement in Different Countries

One hundred forty- two countries signed on to the 1951 Geneva Convention, which positioned the foundation for all international advantages to protect refuges. However, signing onto the Convention did not legally obligate a country to resettle refugees. Only slight numbers of co-signer states do regularly, sharing budgets, formulating programs, and providing annual resettlement places. This is mainly due to the expense of resettlement. Resettlement expenses include: (i) assembling international transport; (ii) obtaining income support for a certain period of time; (iii) assisting to integrate the refugees into the host country; and (iv) in some cases, obtaining medical treatment and counseling (UNCHR, 1998).

Since World War II, there has been an enormous movement of refugees in Europe who were of European origin. The dissolution of Yugoslavia that started with the separation of Croatia and Slovenia in 1991 generated a movement of refugees from Yugoslavia towards the rest of Europe. This exodus resulted in the rise in asylum applications for Europe as a whole in 1991 and 1992. Marshall (1996) stated that by the end of 1992, approximately two million people had been exiled from their homes in

Yugoslavia. Most stayed within the territory of former Yugoslavia, but increasing numbers were seeking asylum in the rest of Europe. Kelly (2003) reported that in Britain, the government alleged that it was replying efficiently to the Yugoslav problem, even though it was unwilling to accept applications from Germany for a division of responsibility for asylum applications. Britain's unwillingness to accept refugees from the former Yugoslavia became even more apparent on November 5, 1992, when visa limitations were announced. This effectively ended legal entry to Britain for refugees from the former Yugoslavia (Kushner & Knox, 1999). Under enforcement from UNHCR, the government decided that it would admit certain numbers of refugees. However, instead of entering under the normal asylum policies, these refugees were provided with a new status that represented temporary protection. In Britain it was called the Bosnian Project (Shah, 2000).

As mentioned above, after the war, the Bosnian people splintered to different countries as refugees. Kelly (2003) indicated that Bosnian refugees arrived in Britain as part of the UNHCR program in December of 1992. Her research investigated the way Bosnian refugees settled in Britain and the factors that affected that settlement. In the case of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina who arrived as part of the Bosnian Project, procedures were implemented at an early stage, which made assumptions about community and group support, but which also affected community development. She examined five Bosnian associations and found some difficulties that Bosnian refugees experienced. Initially, limited groups of people were available to explain the systems and practices in Britain to the Bosnians, which would suggest that there would be a struggle

with forming and sustaining Bosnian associations. Also the members had different class, economic, and educational backgrounds and originated from different regions of Bosnia.

Another difficulty Kelly found was that individuals who arrived in Britain rarely maintained links to family or friends. Even though some Bosnians found that their family members were also permitted to travel to Britain, most Bosnians found that their pre-war kinship and friendship links were brutally interrupted or totally destroyed. On arrival in Britain, it was difficult to build a community when kinship and friendship links had been shattered. Dissemination of Bosnians through Britain and Europe meant that many people had few relatives or friends from before the wartime near them, and they needed to make new friends. Even though these new friendships were occasionally close, Bosnians in Britain had a much looser circle of friends than they had in Bosnia, and Kelly found that their closest friends in Britain were those who had been their friends before the war. She added that there was frequently an unwillingness to be very friendly with others because new friendships were improbable to continue after returning to Bosnia.

In the 1990s, massive numbers of Bosnians were displaced from their home country. Many were placed in neighboring Croatia and Serbia as refugees, and many were subsequently granted temporary asylum in European countries, the largest number in Germany. Bosnian refugees were later forced to move on and either return to Bosnia or permanently resettle in overseas countries such as the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Peisker (2003) noted that an estimated 4,000 to 5,000 Bosnian refugees settled in Perth, Western Australia and between 12,000 and 14,000 in Sydney and surrounding areas of New South Wales where his research has been conducted. He investigated the process of Australian resettlement of Bosnians in terms of identity, community, and re-

establishing normal life using refugee narratives. He found that language and cultural barriers extremely impacted the resettlement of Bosnian refugees in Australia, particularly when people from rural regions were involved. Conversely, many Bosnians among them found their way around these difficulties by clinging to their ethnic communities for identity rebuilding and practical support. He also found that in the case of specialists, there were various difficulties of the language and cultural barriers, and this was specifically serious in the form of downward mobility. Frequently, their qualifications were not accepted or only partly accepted in Australia, and with the language barrier intervening in skills transfer, insufficient labor market outcomes, such as unemployment, underemployment, and occupational demotion, were very common. Additionally, Peisker (2003) stated that age was an important factor in these consequences, with middle-aged Bosnian professionals being most influenced. Lacking work-related status usually meant loss of identity for these people, and the result may have been a deep discontent with their Australian lives.

While a majority of studies focused on the refugees' adaptation problems in the host country, some studies examined the returning of refugees to their homelands. Eastmond (2006) indicated that 50,000 Bosnian refugees were settled in permanent residence in Sweden, in a scope of decision in 1993, whereas the introduction of new restricting policies nearly ended the outflow of refugees from the Balkans. In addition, Eastmond stated that as in many other host countries, Swedish policy on refugees moved at the time to encourage return to the homeland as the desired solution over permanent settlement in Sweden. The return of Bosnians was encouraged as part of the contract to the rebuilding of post-war Bosnia. Eastmond investigated the Bosnian refugees living in

Sweden during the 1990s. Her study demonstrated that there were other ways for refugees to return and maintain a presence in their home country besides the permanent, one-time event typically assumed in repatriation policies. She suggested that the return of refugees was better when it was a dynamic and open-ended process rather than dependent upon mobility between places and keeping options in different places based on the transnational strategies that were reported in her study. To the refugees themselves, these may also have been more sustainable alternatives than official programs of permanent return could provide and as such were also more agreeable to rebuilding and peace building. She reported that the results of the international community's incentive of return, particularly minority return, in Bosnia, had been discouraging. Also, the number of individuals who returned was smaller than anticipated and that those who did return experienced problems that did not yield a long lasting solution. Like other similar international activities, they brought into question the effectiveness of return programs which are formed more by political concerns than they are by livelihood and other significant factors for the returning population. In her study, she reported that the pre-war societies in the Republika Srpska did not offer them prospects of returning to normal life. For those who returned on their own, continuing active ties to the country of asylum, especially through citizenship there, offered a sense of security and contact to resources elsewhere. For the majority of Bosnian refugees in Sweden, it seemed that returns were ideally periodic, today enabled by dual citizenship and by holding a house in Bosnia. According to Eastmond's determination, younger families were likely to prefer replacement or return to other areas in Bosnia or stay abroad. In most cases, going back

was a risky attempt. Most cases of going back appeared to take place outside of the official programs of the host government and international organizations.

Bosnian Refugees Resettlement in the United States

Today the majority of Bosnian refugees have settled throughout the United States of America. Literature shows that large numbers of Bosnian refugees live in New York. Owens-Manley and Coughlan (2002) indicated that New York State was home to more than 12,000 of these refugees who were spread across thirty-nine counties. They studied the lives and experiences of a sample of 100 Bosnian families who lived in an upstate New York City. Coughlan dealt with ethnic conflict and the origins of the war and the Bosnians' understanding of what the war was about as a sociologist. Owens-Manley was interested in psychological trauma, which focused on the displacement, mental health issues, and the effect for both refugees and the community in adapting to a new culture. In their study, even though some Bosnian refugees reported that the United States was a place that has offered support and opportunity, some Bosnian refugees who had lived in Germany for several years reported that their lives were more comfortable and better in Germany compared to the United States.

In regards to family adjustments, refugees in the Owens-Manley and Coughlan study continued to struggle with separation from family members who were still in Bosnia, Croatia, or in some cases, other countries abroad. This frequently created feelings of homesickness, worry about family still dealing with poor economic circumstances, and interior conflicts about having left them behind. Many refugees were still struggling to bring family to New York in a race against time as immigration rules increasingly restricted who could be admitted to the United States.

Owens-Manley and Coughlan (2002) found that language was one of the biggest barriers to integration for Bosnians. Therefore, English as a second language was a significant factor of successful resettlement. They found correlations between wage rates and English skill level. The average income of males increased directly with English skill level. Bosnians considered as beginners were earning $8.07, while intermediates were earning $8.66, and advanced English speakers were earning $9.95 per hour. Another essential part of adjustment difficulties that they indicated in their study focused on the determination of trauma and displacement experiences and the symptoms of depression and anxiety that are common to those experiences.

In general, local level community based research is conducted by social workers or sometimes supported by collaborative studies. Hansen (2003) investigated the Bosnian refugees' resettlement issue in Grand Forks, North Dakota. He found that economic self-sufficiency, language acquisition, and employment opportunities are adjustment issues that affected the Bosnian refugee group in Grand Forks, North Dakota.

The informants reported that the Center for New Americans, the Grand Forks Refugee Resettlement Coalition, and some Bosnian families who had already arrived in the community were most favorable in the resettlement process. Additionally, economic opportunities were considered very important because many refugees had to support both their families in Grand Forks and family members who still lived in Bosnia. Even though they were now skilled in English because of their time in Grand Forks and their knowledge of English before arriving in the U.S., learning English was essential to newly arriving refugees. Hansen stated that most new arrivals had a beginning level of English.

Additionally, Miller, Muzurovic, Worthington, Tipping, and Goldman (2002) conducted research with Bosnian refugees in Chicago. They found that Chicago was home to one of the largest communities of Bosnian refugees in the United States, estimated at approximately 21,000 at the time data were collected for their study in 2002. Based on their research, most of the refugees felt social isolation because their family, friends, and relatives were killed or far away from them. On another side, lack of adequate income and language barriers caused socialization problems. Also, the refugees' memories were still filled with images and the sensations of war, which continued to affect their everyday lives. Miller et al. (2002) highlighted the significance of exhaustive interventions that integrated trauma- focused treatment strategies with community based programs that (i) reduced loneliness and facilitated the enlargement of new social networks; (ii) fostered the development of environmental mastery so that program participants might more effectively have taken advantage of local resources that improved their physical well-being; and (iii) emphasized the identification and formation of meaningful social roles and new life developments.

As is evident from the discussion above, numerous scholars have examined related issues in the U.S and other countries. It can be said that the main purpose of this research investigated the challenges experienced by Bosnian refugees as they adjusted to living in their resettlement places. Additionally, it can be concluded that the findings of previous research and the current study's outcomes are related and parallel; however, this research is highly valuable because it represents an initial community based research project to study the Bosnian population within the city of Bowing Green.

Research Questions

The studies reviewed above provide a consistent account of refugee integration that included their difficulties, their cultural adjustment, and some attitudes or patterns of host communities. Also, some discuss high rates of refugee trauma. There is a need to replicate these findings with other refugee populations and to further examine the unique contribution of refugee resettlement in Bowling Green. In the majority of the above-mentioned studies, the focus of research was to document and further understand the specific challenges experienced by refugees and issues of refugee resettlement in their host country. In general, integration is a concept used to describe social, political, cultural and economic processes that occur when refugees arrive in a host country. This study examined demographic, socio-economic, ethno-cultural, and somewhat political aspects in terms of Bosnian refugees. Some of the applied researchers discussed above demonstrate that these dimensions mutually reinforce each other.

Thus the integration process should be considered as a whole. The central research question for this study is: What were the challenges experienced by Bosnian refugees in their first few months as they adjusted to living in Bowling Green, Kentucky? This study also addressed the following sub-questions: To what extent did displacement influence the socio-cultural integration of the Bosnian refugees in Bowling Green? What was the impact of the war conditions in Bosnia on the ability of the refugees to adapt to their new country and new community? What factors have influenced Bosnians to remain in Bowling Green?

CHAPTER III:

RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter is divided into six sections, covering the aims and techniques of the data collection for this study and socio-demographic data presentation. An attempt has also been made to discuss the justification for using such methods and the reliability and validity of the data.

Research Aims

The purpose of this research is to contribute to the body of literature that examines the current situation of the Bosnian refugees in the United States. It aims to draw attention to issues of forced removal and, more specifically, to those who suffer from its effects, among the relevant actors both in Bosnia and abroad. This research also assists in creating a better understanding of the situation faced by refugees among all of the local population, Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), national policy makers, and the broader research community. It hopes that in identifying the survival strategies and levels of integration of selected refugees and their underlying factors in Bosnia will be considered. In addition, the sustainability of integration as one possible alternative solution to their trouble will be assessed. It is within this context that this research investigates the livelihood strategies of a small number of refugees who have chosen to settle in the city of Bowling Green, Kentucky. More specifically, it aims to determine their levels of self-sufficiency and integration and the underlying factors behind that integration. To date no scholarly study has been published in the peer reviewed literature

that looks into the status, conditions, livelihoods, and integration levels of Bosnian refugees in Bowling Green. Thus, not only will this research be unique in its focus, but it is also an attempt to inform future studies relating to the challenges of refugees in Bosnia and consequently, the related policy-making processes. It is not to suggest that integration should be an exceptional alternative to refugees as a resolution for dealing with protracted refugee crises. Somewhat, given the much-delayed nature of the crisis and the accompanying challenges faced both the refugees' host country and the refugees themselves. It is the goal of this research to offer alternatives and to examine those complimentary, sturdy solutions that are not only necessary, but are also possible.

Specific Research Methods

The research was conducted over a nine-month period, with planning beginning in September, 2011; implementation beginning in February, 2012, with IRB approval; and ending in May, 2012. This research used a qualitative approach as the research methodology. Drawing from existing empiricial studies of the Bosnian War and refugee issues, the researcher conducted 25 open-ended in-depth interviews with members of the Bosnian community in Bowling Green. Seidman (1991) noted that open-ended interviews "provide access to the context of people's behaviour and thereby provide a way for researchers to understand the meaning of that behaviour" (p. 4). These types of interviews allow for extensive data to be gathered and provide the interviewer with the necessary freedom to ask questions for clarification. Berg (1998) defined the interview as a conversation with a purpose of using three kinds of interview techniques: the standardized interview, which uses a formally structured schedule of interview questions; the unstandardized interview, which does not utilize schedules of questions; and the

semi-standardized interview, which includes the application of a number of predetermined questions or particular topics. The semi-standardize interview technique was used for this research because the researcher needed to have the ability to ask follow-up questions. The researcher sought out informants who witnessed and experienced the period of war in Bosnia directly between 1992 and 1995.

The data were examined and grouped in relation to the agreements and disagreements between the respondents. The convergence points were used to draw conclusions, while explanations were sought for different responses. In this manner, the interview data enabled the researcher to "put behavior in context and access to understanding (the respondents) action" (Seidman, 1991, p.4). Thus, the primary objective is to understand and explain experiences and practices, rather than make predictions about future behavior.

Through interviewing social actors in the Bosnian community in Bowling Green, in particular those who witnessed war in 1992-1995, key insights were obtained regarding the challenges of remembering and the process of adaptation to a new life in the United States after the war. However, while participants provided useful information, it is important to keep in mind that the Western Kentucky Refugee Mutual Assistance Association, Inc. (WKRMAA) does not have current demographic information about the Bosnian community. In order to reach the informants for this qualitative study, the sampling technique was a combination of purposive sampling combined with a snowball sampling procedure. Initially, the researcher approached individuals from the Bosnian community who were known to be either self-employed, or who attended specific religious places of worship in Bowling Green.

All interviews were conducted in February. A voice recorder was used in all interviews to ensure valid data were collected and recorded; a video recorder was not used because it might make participants feel uncomfortable during the interview. The average length of the interviews was approximately 30 minutes.

Upon completion of the interview, audio recordings were sent to a professional transcriber. Thus the transcriber had access to audio recordings. The transcriber received the audio recording, transcribed the recording, and then provided the researcher with the original audio recordings and with an electronic file containing the transcription. Once recordings were transcribed, they were deleted. One transcription was made for each informant. After all interviews were completed and transcribed, transcriptions were randomly assigned participant numbers. It was at this point that transcriptions were sorted into the groups mentioned in the prior section for the purposes of analysis.

In order to depict contexts that related to the research questions stated previously, data analyses of the transcribed text were used. A qualitative coding matrix technique was used to reveal these contexts. Generally, coding is defined as marking the sections of data with signs, expressive words, or category names. Initially, transcribed data were read line by line, and the data were divided into meaningful analytical units. When the meaningful segments were located, they were labeled with a category name. This procedure continued until all of data were segmented. The categorization procedure divided the data into four different sections that were related to research questions used in this study. Please see Appendix D, E, F, G and H.

The identity of participants was intended only to be known by the interviewer and, in some situations, by referring other informants through the snowball sampling procedure. With the use of snowball sampling, anonymity of referred potential participants could not be kept from those participants or community members who refer.

Because age has been found to influence the degree of difficulty encountered in the resettlement process, a lower age limit of 20 was chosen in order to obtain information about employment and education experiences, two of the major challenges in resettlement. Older refugees were more likely to have traumatic stress symptoms that interfered with positive resettlement outcomes than younger refugees (Vojvoda, Weine, McGlashan, Becker, and Southwick, 2008). Fifty-two years of age was chosen as the upper boundary as these informants would have memories of the war between 1992 and 1995. Also, taking information from a wide age range of participants was ideal for this study in order to better understand the different levels of self-sufficiency and integration that refugees of numerous age groups had experienced.

Interview Procedure

All of interviews were conducted in English, thus this piece of research was limited to interviewing those who spoke English within the Bosnian community. Three informants who were initially selected by the researchers ultimately could not participate because of this restriction. The first two weeks of March were utilized for full transcription of the interviews and to reveal contexts that were relevant to the research questions stated above.

All of the participants in this study were refugees who originated from Bosnia and fled between 1996 and 2002 in their country's tragic and turbulent history. In this study

nearly three-fourths of Bosnian refugees were Muslim. This is explained by two factors. Firstly, as mentioned above, the snowballing technique of finding informants strongly biased this study towards those refugees who were friends and who shared something in common, namely their country of origin and their religion. Secondly, as mentioned in Chapter I, when the Serbs attempted to generate ethnically homogeneous regions in Bosnia, they gained control of some 70% of Bosnian territory and forced the displacement of the Muslim population both internally and abroad. Under these circumstances, it was unavoidable that this bias would exist. This bias, however, could be seen in a positive light since any findings that arise from this study can more possibly be applied to Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats refugees because even though their religious beliefs and ethnic identities are different, due to they share same tradition, cultural values, history and region it is expected to be their collective behaviors are related.

Description of the Interview

The in-depth interview technique with open-ended questions offered "exploration of the unexpected" in addition to navigation within known parameters of the refugee experience in resettlement (Breslow, Haines, Philipsen, and Williamson, 1997, p.32). In order to gather broad life experiences of refugees, in-depth interview technique with open-ended questions was used in this research. The interview schedule was composed of the explanatory, interpretative, and evaluative questions that focused on refugees' lives prior to moving to the host country and their initial and present resettlement experiences (Miller et al., 2002). Explanatory and interpretive interview questions were important for clarifying the points where life trajectories changed during the resettlement period and for

arbitrating between alternative situational theories. The interview questions were designed to elicit information about their prior self-definition and lived experiences and their own internal types related to resettlement. Questions relating to their lives in pre-war Bosnia were included to "permit a greater understanding of how memories and perceptions of the past have helped shape the day-to day experience of life in the present" (Miller, et al., 2002, p. 345). Additionally, questions delved into the type and quality of connections that the respondent had made with the larger Bosnian community as well as interactions with members of the host country. Evaluative questions focused on refugees' satisfaction with the services provided by the resettlement program as well as other community organizations and various acculturation issues experienced by the informants. This research was carried out in the form of semi-structured interviews. Initially, informants were given a sheet of 8 survey questions (see Appendix B) to collect some basic demographic information. Next, semi-structured interviews were used, and informants were given time to reflect on their answers to each of the qualitative questions. The informal nature of the interview allowed informants to feel comfortable enough to volunteer information that was never even asked of them. Secondly, informants did not have to worry about potential consequences of them being honest, which would have been a major worry in other designs, such as a focus group. Thirdly, by conducting oral interviews as contrasting to written questionnaires, this research was able to appreciate their personal stories that otherwise would have been missed. Moreover, all of the informants came from a wealthy oral tradition, making them much more comfortable in speaking than writing their answers.

Interviews were conducted in the informants' place of choosing. Eleven interviews were conducted in quiet local restaurants, eight interviews were at a mosque, three interviews were at the homes of the informants, and two interviews were at the informants' workplaces. In all cases, participants were encouraged to choose a location where they could speak at liberty and comfortably. This would ensure that their answers were as open as possible and thus valuable for research purposes.

In this research, quantitative techniques were used to present data on socio-demographic information, while the qualitative method was used to analyze data on the various livelihoods of the participants.

Data Presentation

This section presents the socio-demographic data collected from twenty-five Bosnian refugees in Bowling Green, Kentucky. The section is divided into six subsections: (i) sex and age distribution of the informants; (ii) educational background of the informants; (iii) distribution of religion and ethnic identity of informants; (iv) marital status of informants; (v) original region of informants and arrival years in Bowling Green; (vi) economic background of informants. Where appropriate, the researchers has noted empirical literature that is related to the statistics and information presented.

Socio Demographic Characteristics

This sub-section presents the data results of informants as they relate to sex, age, educational background, religion, ethnic identity, marital status, original region, number of years living in Bowling Green, and income level distribution.

Sex and Age Distribution

Table 1: Sex and age of informants

Sex of informants						
Age group	**Male**		**Female**		**Total**	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
20-24	2	15.38	3	25	5	20
25-29	1	7.8	2	16.67	3	12
30-34	4	30.77	3	25	7	28
35-39	2	15.38	0	0	2	8
40 +	4	30.77	4	33.33	8	32
Total	**13**	**100**	**12**	**100**	**25**	**100**

As seen above, the distribution of sex in this research is approximately equal, indicating that this research does not focus on one gender more than the other.

Age is an important variable in this study as it influences the informants' ability to integrate into their host country easily. In other words age is one of the barriers preventing refugees from integrating into a receiving community. In a prior study, Wong (2003) states that older refugees experience unique challenges to integration into a host country because they have an important role in maintaining cultural traditions and passing on folklore, customs and traditional practices to younger members of the community. This is particularly important where children grow up with little or no knowledge of their homeland. Older refugees also provide childcare and tend to people who are ill. Furthermore, older refugees provide leadership in resolving community conflicts and administering traditional justice practices. Although this study does not directly test this hypothesis, it shows that age is an important variable since it influences informants' ability to integrate into their host country.

Of the total 25 informants who were interviewed, 8 of them (32%) fell within the ages of 40 and above. This was followed by 7 interviewees (28%) within the ages 30 and 34, 5 of them (20%) from each of the ages of 20 and 24, 3 interviewees (12%) from each of the ages of 25 and 29. Finally, 2 of them (8%) fell within the 35 to 39 age group. The minimum age of the informants is 20 years whereas the maximum age of the informants is 52 years. The median age of the informants is 31 years. Of those informants stated that they were officially registered as refugees, the majority fell within the 30 to 34 and the 40 years and over age groups.

Table 2: Total population of Bowling Green by sex and age

	Sex of residents					
Age of residents	**Male**		**Female**		**Total**	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
19 and under	7,866	28.1	8,143	27	16,009	27.6
20-24	4,978	17.8	5,125	17.1	10,103	17.4
25-29	2,669	9.5	2,439	8.1	5,108	8.8
30-34	1,959	7.0	1,788	6.0	3,747	6.5
35-39	1,636	5.8	1,519	5.1	3,155	5.4
40-44	1,432	5.1	1,436	4.8	2,868	4.9
45-64	5,120	18.3	5,734	19.1	10,854	18.7
65 and over	2,366	8.4	3,857	12.8	6,223	10.7
Total	**28,026**	**100**	**30,041**	**100**	**58,067**	**100**

Source: U.S Census Bureau, 2010.

Even though the exact number of Bosnians and their distribution of sex within the Bosnian community cannot be counted among the total population of Bowling Green, Kentucky, many Bosnians people estimate that their number is 10% of the total population of the city.

In city of Bowling Green, the median age of the population is 26.9 years for men and 28.3 years for women. With 27.6 percent under the age of 19, and 61.7 percent between the ages of 20 and 64, there is only 10.7 percent of the population above 65 years.

Educational Background

Education is one of the most susceptible systems for every war-torn society; thus it suffered not only from physical destruction, but also from political, ideological, and nationalist enforcement compounded by the war. The educational system in Bosnia was interrupted by brutal war for four years.

Six of the republics of the former Yugoslavia became independent after the dissolution of the country started in 1990; each republic integrated their national identities, cultures and some part of the religious faith to their new educational system. In the occupied areas near by Serbia, returnees had to study a different language other than their own language and adjust to a different set of national values and norms.

Lack of education can cause irreversible consequences not only for returnees, but also for refugees who were forced to leave their home country in time of war. A large number of refugee students came to the U.S. with particular gaps in their educational background. This pattern is also found in the existing literature. Ruiz-de-Velasco and Fix (2000) stated that 12% of English language learner (ELL) students in middle schools and 20% of ELL students in high schools had missed two or more years of schooling since age six. Olsen, Jaramillo, McCall-Perez, and White (1999) found a difference of more than one year between what was considered to be age-appropriate grade placement and the number of years of schooling the refugee students had completed. Most of the

students in their study could not read or write in their native language, and they were more than three years below grade level in mathematics.

Table 3: Education level of informants

Education Level of Informants		
	Frequency	Percent
High school graduate	8	32
Trade/technical/vocational training	3	12
Associates degree	6	24
College graduate	8	32
Total	**25**	**100**

In this research, of the total 25 informants who were interviewed, 8 of them (32%) have a high school degree; another 8 informants (32%) have a college degree; 6 of them (24%) have an associate degree, and the last 3 informants (12%) have a trade/technical/vocational training degree. In addition, 10 out of 25 informants indicated that their education was interrupted by war conditions, and they were able to pursue their studying after a period of time. Eight informants reported that they were able to attend school without a break and 7 interviewees said that they could not continue their education with some various reasons.

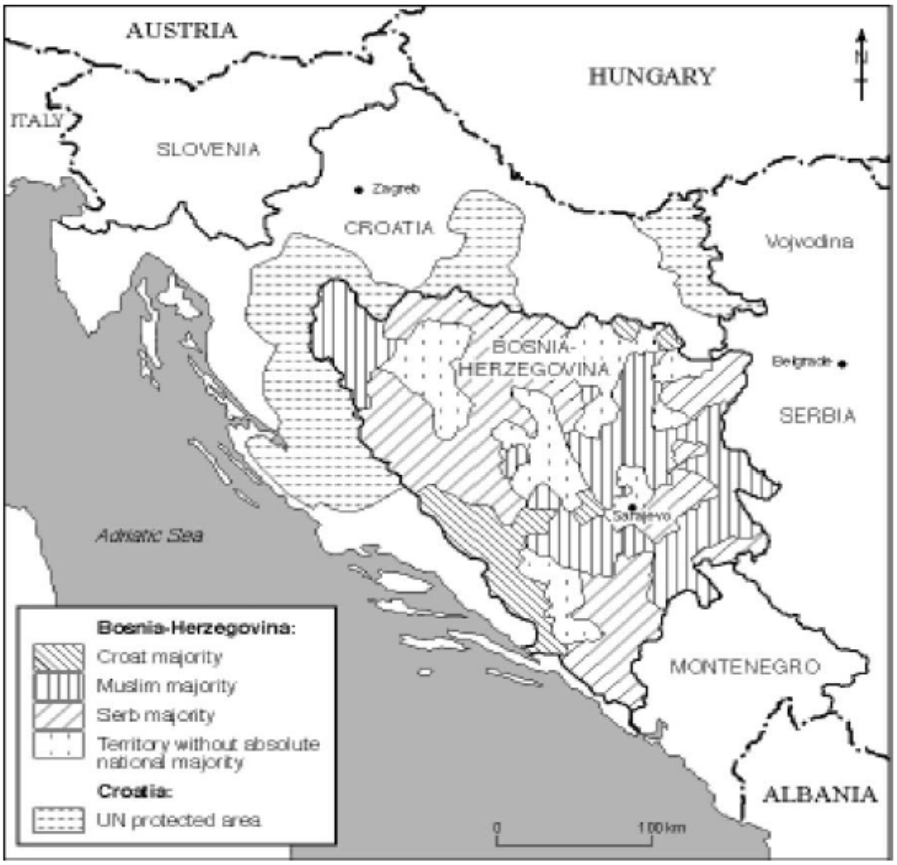
Also, Bosnian refugees who fled to Germany faced additional schooling challenges because of the differences between the German and American educational systems. Unaccredited credits can cause delays in starting schools.

Distribution of Religion and Ethnic Identity

Bosnia and Herzegovina is settled in the western part of the Balkan Peninsula in south Eastern Europe. Its geographic, ethnic, cultural and historical characteristics can cause a very complex, multiethnic, multi-linguistic and multicultural area with a very

tumultuous past and present as well. With the break-up of the former Socialist Federal Republics of Yugoslavia, the Balkans became even more complex, especially in the western region.

Figure 1: Ethnic diversity in Bosnia (based on the 1991 population census)



According to the 1991 Yugoslavia population census, Bosnia and Herzegovina had 43.47% Muslims (Bosniak), 31.21% Bosnian Serbs (Orthodox), 17.38% Bosnian Croats (Catholic), and 8.37% other ethnic minorities. As seen in Figure 2 below, this diversity changed dramatically after the war and genocide in Bosnia and the county was divided into several ethnic partitions, one controlled and occupied primarily by Bosnian Serbs and the other controlled and occupied by Bosnian Muslims and to a lesser extend

Croatian Catholics. The area controlled by the Serbs is called the Republic of Srpska, and the area controlled by the Bosnian Muslim and Croat populations is called the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Figure 2: Ethnic map after 1996

In Bosnia, the last population census was conducted in 1991. The majority of the country's population had fled throughout the conflict with additional 200,000 lives lost through war, ethnic cleansing, and genocide; many people looked abroad safety as refugees, but most of them were internally displaced. Today, there are no accurate population statistics; however, Bosnia-Herzegovina is planning to hold a new census in April 2013.

Table 4: Religion and ethnic identity of informants

Religious of informants	Ethnic identity of informants			Total
	Bosniak	Serb	Croat	
Roman Catholic	0	0	1	1
Muslim	19	0	0	19
Orthodox	0	4	0	4
Other	0	1	0	1
Total	**19**	**5**	**1**	**25**

The narrative inquiry of this study demonstrates that 19 out 25 informants who were interviewed are Muslim, and they define their ethnic identity as Bosniak; 5 out of 25 informants are Orthodox, and they describe their ethnic identity as Serb. One out of the 5 informants marks his religion as other, even though his ethnic identity is defined as being Serb; 1 out 25 informants is Catholic and describes himself as a Croat.

As mentioned before, the exact number of Bosnians in Bowling Green, Kentucky cannot be determined, and their distribution is based on religion and ethnic identity. If taking into account that Bosnian Muslims were the primary victims during the bloody war, it is possible to observe that numbers of displaced Bosnian Muslim refugees exceed the other two ethnic identities. The U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI, 2001) reported that 18,850 out of 34,377 ethnic Serbs registered as returnees in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina during 2000 include refugees and internally displaced persons. Of all the displaced people, 9,139 Croats, 5,765 Muslims, and 623 other minority group members returned to their places of origin. The USCRI report clarifies that the majority of Bosnian Muslims are still abroad. The same report indicates that nearly 250,000 Bosnian refugees remained abroad as of 2000.

Marital Status of Informants

During the years of 1991-1995, according to research conducted by the Research and Documentation Centre in Sarajevo (RDC, 2005), the death toll was reported as approximately 102,000 people in Bosnia, with men comprising the majority of this number. However, Power (2002) noted that the ethnic cleansing and genocide caused more than 200,000 Bosnian deaths. Thus, many Bosnian extended family ties have been destroyed, and many women had been deprived of their husbands, brothers, and fathers. Also, many people who resettled in host countries as refugees transformed their traditional family structure in the long run because of the new cultural differences and changing gender roles there.

Al-Ali (2002) has concluded that changing family dynamics plays a decisive role in shaping both gender relations and links to the home country. Bosnian refugee households in North America are more likely move away from more traditional extended family ties and usually create a strong core family unit.

Table 5: Distribution marital status of informants by sex

Marital status of informants	**Sex of informants**				**Total**	
	Male		**Female**			
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Single	6	24	4	16	10	40
Married	6	24	7	28	13	52
Divorced	1	4	1	4	2	8
Total	**13**	**52**	**12**	**48**	**25**	**100**

This research is not taking into account gender relations and family ties among Bosnian refugees in Bowling Green, Kentucky, but it describes a general view of informants' demographic characteristics. Table 5 illustrates that out of the 13 informants

who are male, 6 reported being either married (24% of the sample) or single (24%), and 1 informant reported himself to be divorced (4%). Likewise 7 female informants reported being married (28%) and 4 reported being single (16%). Only 1 female informant reported herself to be divorced (4%).

Original Region of Informants and Arrival Years in Bowling Green

Table 6 displays the region and cities in Bosnia from which the informants in this study came. Research informants came from throughout different parts of Bosnia Herzegovina. The majority of informants (10 out of 25, 40%) came from the eastern region of Bosnia, near the border of Serbia. Four informants (16%) came from the northwest, and the same number came from the central region of Bosnia. All of these regions were dominated by Bosnian Muslims settlements. (See Appendix J for a map of the area).

Table 6: Region of origin in Bosnia

Region (Cities)	**Total**
Northwest (Banja Luka, Prijador)	4 (16%)
North (Darventa, Doboj)	3 (12%)
Central (Zenica, Vitez, Teslic)	4 (16%)
Northeast (Tuzla)	1 (4%)
East (Zvornic, Vlesenica, Srebrenica, Bratunac)	10 (40%)
Southeast (Foca, Novi Pazar)	2 (8%)
South (Caplijina)	1 (4%)
Total	**25 (100%)**

Figure 3: Arrival years of informants

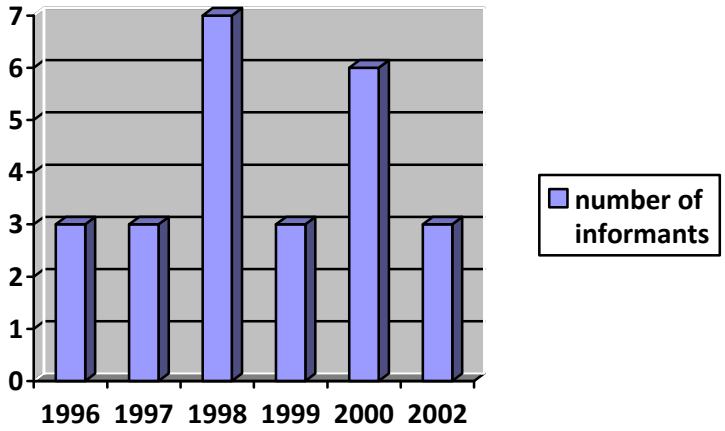


Figure 3 represents the year of arrival for the research informants. The majority of informants arrived in the U.S. in 1998 and 2000. Informants' minimum number of years living in Bowling Green is 10 while the maximum years of living in the city is 16.

Economic Background

Economic integration is likely the most apparent and the most often referenced dimension in resettlement. It is usually considered in terms of employment levels, labor force participation, and income levels. Forbes (1985) indicated that refugees experienced lower rates of employment and labor force participation and higher unemployment rates than the overall the United States population. Even though refugees had higher-level job positions and socioeconomic status in their home country, they were working mostly low-status or non-professional positions after they arrived and settled in the host countries because of the language barrier. Forbes (1985) noted that better employment evolved after a longer period of time in the United States, improved English proficiency, and the development of good job skills. When refugees arrived in the host community, however, the majority of them encountered the issue of unemployment or "downward occupational mobility" (Haines, 1996, p.43).

Table 7: Income level of informants

Income level	Frequency	Percent
Under $10,000	2	8.0
$10,000-$19,999	3	12.0
$20,000-$29,000	2	8.0
$30,000-$39,000	2	8.0
$40,000-$49,000	2	8.0
$50,000-$74,999	8	32.0
$75,000-$99,999	2	8.0
$100,000-$150,000	3	12.0
Over $150,000	1	4.0
Total	**25**	**100.0**

Table 7 represents the income level of 25 informants who answered the demographic survey for this project in Bowling Green, Kentucky. Distribution of income level seems substantially equal among them. The majority of informants (8 out of the 25, 32%) have a gross income between $50,000 and $74,000, and one informant (4%) has a gross income over $150,000. The majority of the study sample (64%) have an income over the median household income level in Bowling Green which is $33,362 based on 2010 United States Census Data.

As mentioned above, the informants in this study have lived in Bowling Green for a minimum of 10 years and a maximum of 16 years. Therefore, resettlement length of time, good knowledge of English, work experience, and having women in the labor force may influence the high rate of salary among Bosnian refugees in Bowling Green, Kentucky. All of these indicators accelerate the process of refugee integration in the host communities.

Refugee experiences will be mentioned with the subject of economic integration and other issues in following sections.

Ethical Considerations

It was this researcher's top priority to keep the identities of all participants confidential and their responses anonymous. Interviews were conducted in private locations or discreet public locations at the discretion of the informant. Informants were also advised of their rights and responsibilities prior to the interview via the informed consent form and through formal notification by the researcher. The informants were made aware that they could withdraw from the study at any time without penalty and that their participation was completely voluntary. During the interview, the researcher stayed as neutral as possible, allowing the participant to speak freely without interruption or challenge. No discrimination was made on the basis of age, color, ethnic group, gender, race, religion, or socio-economic status. Notes were taken without the names of any informants. Following the interview, all transcriptions and other printed materials were placed in sealed envelopes, marked by research title, and placed in a secure safety box, the code of which was known only to the researcher's adviser. Informants were given the contact information of the researcher in case they had any concerns about the use of their responses.

As many potential risks as possible were anticipated in advance of the interview. Because refugees are a vulnerable group and have lived through a traumatic experience, it was conceivable that interviews could further traumatize informants by making them relive their past. However, none of the informants seemed to experience the pain associated with trauma or disturbance from their memories of war during the interview. A further potential risk identified was that of stigmatization of participants within their own communities, which could occur as a result of their participation in this research. Thus,

informants were well informed of the purpose of the research and their roles in advance of the interview. They were also allowed to choose the location of the interview, and thus a place where they would feel secure and know that their information would be kept private.

The researcher disseminated the aggregate level findings and conclusions of this research to those who participated in the study and members of the Bosnian community who expressed an interest in learning more about the research project. On a large scale, research results could be applied to community associations' activities to facilitate the process of integration of refugees. The use of evidence-based practices has the potential to result in the increase of connection between community NGOs and new refugees. Such benefits can then expand to the greater city beyond to the bounds of different minorities, NGOs, and new coming refugees.

CHAPTER IV:

ANALYSES

The nature of this study is explanatory; it is meant to describe and understand the struggles and the challenges experienced by Bosnian refugees in their first few months as they adjusted to living in Bowling Green, Kentucky. The challenges that the refugees faced after their settlement also offer insight into the continuing struggles that Bosnian refugees face as a result of being displaced.

The purpose of this research is to assist in creating a better understanding of the situation faced by Bosnian refugees among all of the local population. The section is divided into four subsections: (i) an analysis of the challenges experienced by Bosnian refugees in their first few months as they adjusted to living in Bowling Green, Kentucky; (ii) an analysis of the conditions of the informants' lives after their arrival in Bowling Green, Kentucky; (iii) an analysis of the impact of the war conditions in Bosnia on the ability of the refugees to adapt to their new country and new community; (iv) an analysis of the factors that have influenced Bosnian refugees to remain in Bowling Green, Kentucky.

Resettlement Issues

The refugees entering the Unites States come from different countries while having a myriad of social, cultural, educational, economic, political, and language backgrounds. Currently, the U.S. resettlement community encountered manifold challenges because of the diversity of refugees living in the community.

The City of Bowling Green is one of the resettlement areas in Kentucky for the diverse group of refugees. The reason for choosing Bosnian refugees as a case study is that they constitute the highest number among ethnic minorities. The interviews were conducted to identify a number of common integration challenges that confront Bosnian refugees living in this city. The key challenges include the English language, economic self-sufficiency factors, cultural adjustment, and the manners and patterns of host communities.

Table 8: Resettlement issues of concern to informants

Resettlement issue of concern[1]	Number of informants (%)[2]
Language barrier	21 (84%)
Finding a job	7 (28%)
Transportation	7 (28%)
Culture Shock/ adjusting to a new country	6 (24%)
Disappointment	5 (20%)
Adapting the U.S laws	4 (16%)
Loneliness	2 (8%)
Missing their family members	2 (8%)
Climate	2 (8%)

[1] Informants could check all answers that apply

[2] Percentages reflect the percentage of informants who chose the type of issue.

The Challenges of Bosnian Refugees in Bowling Green

Eighty-four percent of the informants (21 out of the 25) indicated that they experienced language barrier difficulty in their first few months as they adjusted to living in Bowling Green, Kentucky. When asked "What were the difficulties or challenges when you arrived in Bowling Green in the first few months?" 21 out of 25 informants

gave some variations of "learning English" as their first answer. It is observed that for refugees who had previously been in Germany, their time of learning English is shorter when compared to the refugees who had never been in other countries before. Prior research has demonstrated that refugees who arrive from countries where English is taught as a second language, or who have some knowledge of English language have an easier time getting a start in the United States (Khoo, Pookong, Dang, and Shu, 1994). In this context, 13 informants (52%) had been in Germany nearly 5 or 6 years before they came to Bowling Green. One of the interviewees noted that his learning English took a short time after arriving from Germany:

> I did not know English much like now. You know, I was in Austria one year and Austria and Germany's languages, yes. I learned the German language over there and a lot of things before that I know from the English language, I forget. When I came over here it was hard for me, but I got it soon (Informant 5).

Another informant commented on the effect her multilingual experiences had on learning English.

> I learned French in school for almost twelve years. I was fluent in French and then in Germany, I learned to speak German. I never learned English until I came here. Refugee center offered some English classes and I attended those, but I quickly got it. They were like not enough for me, so I enrolled in Western Kentucky University to take some English classes (Informant 24).

However, learning English is mostly ignored by some Bosnian refugees because they had to work immediately in order to pursue their life in the United States. Some informants stated that in the beginning they worked two or three jobs at the same time and therefore

did not have time to learn English in school. This situation arises from the purpose of American resettlement programs. The aim of the American resettlement programs is teaching English within 60 days after their arrival; hence, resettlement programs focus on job placement as soon after their arrival as possible rather than on attaining English language proficiency. This situation was explained by one of the informants:

> Actually, I was just learning to talk to people because at that time I did not have time to go to the school to some English classes. Why? Because I was just work three or four jobs to make money for my family to survive and I was not able. Even after first shift, I go to work life second, third shift. I was working very very hard. This is the reason I am not went to do any English class. I just learn, just talking with people around (Informant 9).

Another informant mentioned the same issue:

> Three months it took [resettlement agency] find us job. They give us job because they do not want to give us any money to support us, so we had to go find a job to feed family. And after that I had to work and learn to try to communicate with people. That's how I learned the language after that (Informant 13).

Some informants pointed out that they gave up going to ESL classes due to the lack of the program's service. These agencies did not have the resources to divide the class by ability, age or language level. Thus, some refugees attended the classes for a short time when the classes were offered. Also, they stated that these classes were often inefficient because they would learn the English basics repetitively as new participants entered the class. One informant noted the repetitive, ineffectual nature of the agency's ESL course:

> Every day we are going on some place where they are working. They have one class but nothing helped me because all these come new people, just one teacher, and she always started again, again, A-B-C, A-B-C, A-B-C. For two months I just study A-B-C and a couple of words. That's it (Informant 20).

Another informant also complained about the same problem that she faced before and said:

> When I was there, like every two months it was the same things, like new people will come and they will start again, same thing so it started to get boring (Informant 4).

All informants agreed on the significance of learning English upon arrival and the necessity of knowing English for long-term economic and social well-being. Moreover, 7 out of 25 informants (28%) stated that finding a job was their primary challenge in Bowling Green during their first few months, and this challenge was exacerbated by the language barrier. It can be concluded that there is a strong relationship between knowing an advanced level of English and finding a better job. Some informants specified that when they arrived in the United States, they started to work lower levels jobs, including assembly work in factories or work in warehouses that did not require English proficiency. One of informants described his experiences in these words:

> I did not speak English then, but so automatically if you do not speak the language, you fall behind on job, you are not able to get a job that will pay you more. You automatically get a very low-pay job because you are not able to communicate, you do not know what to do. You not necessarily have to have the great work in the factory. Even in a factory, you get different scales of jobs- some

> are paid well, some are paid badly, automatically you are on the lowest scale and you start working. And that is exactly what happened to us- we started working at the worst job in the factory and then we worked our ways up (Informant 16).

A 35-year-old male from Bratunac noted that he found a better job after he accomplished the requirements of work:

> I finished my schooling in Bosnia, and the only education that I get here also was attending a free English class in a local community college, and also some OSHA test for my place where I work. They require for my job. So I was able to finish all of them that give me better job, too (Informant 3).

While some informants talked about the economic implications of limited language, some felt social restrictions, especially for their parents. Because acquiring a new language is easy for the young generation, they have to help their parents at the beginning. This situation generates double pressures on them. One of the young informants explained his experienced through these words:

> There has been plenty of times where, doctor's appointment and stuff like that, which is kind of difficult for them is going to a doctor here and not be able to tell the what's wrong personally, and you have to someone else tell them what's wrong for you. It is kind of a hassle (Informant 22).

A 20-year-old young woman from Bratunac also noted that her challenge of learning English gave her more stress because of her parents' lack of English knowledge. She said

> You would not believe this, I was in ELS only for about a month of my first year because I learned English, and I had to. My parents, like I said, they did not speak

> English, so somebody had to learn English to take of bills, to take care of everything.

Seven out of 25 informants (28%) stated the lack of transportation as the third common challenge among Bosnian refugees in their first few months in Bowling Green. This issue may arise from differences between resettlement places. Although, this study will not discuss differences between urban and suburban settlements, one informant said

> We had a job, we had an apartment even if it was the worst part of- well, they told us that was the worst street in Bowling Green, worst area (Informant 21).

A 30-year-old man from Teslic added

> There are not buses or trains. Even Bosnia having small cities, they used to have busses, but when I came to the U.S and I figured out Bowling Green does not have nothing but cabs that was pretty much expensive. We had to walk from stores to apartments. Anything we had to do, we had to walk for the first probably like six months. It was really hard.

One of the informants reported how hard it was to live with the lack of transportation and she explained:

> You do not have car. You have to go to shop in like grocery store and buy food and everything. You have to call somebody and ask can you take and that was really hard (Informant 14).

In the case of the Bosnian refugees, their culture shock was frequently identified in terms of the difference between a socialist society and a capitalist society, as well as between Europe and North America (Somach, 1995). In this research, 6 out of 25

informants (24%) stated that they experienced the culture shock as a challenge in their first few months. A 30-year-old man from Derventa stated

> I am missing from back in Bosnia and Germany. The social life, it is so hard here.
>
> The social life is more in Europe basically than here. You have more option do to.

Another interviewee mentioned that the quality of life and the prospects for leisure time in Europe is better compared to the United States:

> In Europe I had time for everything, here it is different. We just work and go home sleep, work and go home sleep (Informant 7).

Some of informants noted that working conditions are fairly intensive especially for manual laborers; therefore, they said they are not able to get involved in the social life in Bowling Green very often.

Five out of 25 informants (20%) expressed frustration in dealing with the high expectation of the Bosnians when they arrived in the United States for the first time. They noted that they were faced with a very different America than they had ever dreamed. A 38-year-old man from Vlasenica said

> The first few months when I came in Bowling Green, I was so upset, so sad because we did not see the picture of the United States as you see on the media.

Another informant added:

> I thought of America as you see the movies, I thought I was going to have a big old house, all these cars, people are going to taking me to school (Informant 8).

Four out of 25 informants (16%) stated that adapting to the Unites States laws was another challenge. Somach (1995) found that refugees expected more help with orientation to American style paperwork and bureaucracy. For example, written

agreements, including rental agreements, purchase agreements, loans, and others are enforceable by law, and some research has shown that a lack of knowledge in these areas hurt immigrant and refugee populations.

Two out of 25 informants (8%) expressed that they felt alone when they arrived in Bowling Green because they did not know anyone else here. Moreover, 2 out of 25 informants (8%) reported that they missed the other members of their family. Some of their relatives or parents remained in Bosnia, but the informants indicated that they are not able to visit Bosnia very often due to insufficient funds. Although some refugees used to resettle with their core families, many refugees' social networks had been decimated by war. Refugees deprived of social support can struggle with loneliness, isolation, and as a result, dissociation. Miller et al. (2002) found that refugees who had been used to several social connections and relationships on a daily basis struggled with their disintegration. A 32-year-old man from Zvornic said

> I like to find out about different cultures. I spend a lot of time with my Bosnian community too. We are blessed to have close to seven thousand Bosnians that live here, so there are events that are Bosnian. We just kind of still follow our traditions in a huge way.

Lastly, 2 out of the 25 informants (8%) stated that the weather is very different from the weather they were used to in their country. They said that they had never encountered tornadoes and humid weather before in Bosnia.

The most important barriers to refugee integration include the lack of ability to speak the language, lack of employment, and transportation, and cultural adjustment. In order to deal with these issues and facilitate the refugee integration some conditions must

be streamlined by the host country. Crisp (2003) stated that the potential for effective refugee integration and the formation of sustainable refugee maintenances occur where refugees have built durable social and economic relations in their host country; where they are granted legitimate status; and where they move into a place that is settled by people of the same ethnic origin.

Influences of Displacement on Refugee Integration

For numerous refugees, the first few months in the United States are the most challenging. As time goes on and they begin to build new lives, everything becomes more normal. Many Bosnians said that deciding to make a new life in Bowling Green accelerated the procedure because they did not have any chance to live another place or going back to their home country. Even though this adjustment period was very challenging in their first few months, some unfavorable living conditions led to be Bosnian refugees' integration more rapidly. Those who said they are going to return to live in their old homes in Bosnia, and those who are older, have a more difficult time adjusting to life in the US. However, this research identified some factors that facilitate refugees' socio-cultural integration in their host country.

Table 9: Facilitator factors of socio-cultural integration

Facilitator factors of socio cultural integration[1]	Number of informants (%)[2]
Have been in Europe	13 (52%)
Family ties	9 (36%)
Labor force participation	8 (32%)
Housing	4 (16%)
Schooling	3 (12%)

[1] Informants could check all answers that apply

[2] Percentages reflect the percentage of informants who chose the type of issue.

In this research, 13 out of 25 informants (52%) said that they had been in European countries before, predominantly Germany. At the same time, these informants noted that their lives in Germany were much more comfortable because Germany's social welfare system is fairly robust, public transportation existed, and Germany's federal government provided assistance to refugees until they found a job. In the United States, the federal government only provides support for three months. Informants indicated that their maximum time living in Germany was 6 years. Fokkema and De Haas (2011) found that the duration of residence abroad has a significant and positive impact on socio-cultural integration. One informant said

> I do not know everybody else but I adapt really easily to everyone, so I do not think so it was that hard. I think simply, I was already in different country, I was already in Germany and Germany is much modernized as it is. You know, when

> you are somewhere for such a long time, you are just too comfortable (Informant, 19).

Informants who are able to rely on family and friends already living in Bowling Green have had a much easier resettlement. They have a social network to rely on for help translating documents, directing social services systems, solving transportation problems, and in dealing with the numerous other challenges that are faced when establishing a new life. Nine out of 25 informants (36%) expressed that they came to Bowling Green through their relatives, friends and other contacts from the same country of origin. This factor accelerates socio-cultural integration of Bosnian refugees in Bowling Green. Erwin, Leung and Boban (2001) stated that Bosnian refugees integrated more easily when their family members settled in the host country before them. The same result was obtained for this research. One of informants noted

> My brother was here already. We did not have so many other troubles, like finding housing and stuff like that. He has been already; he actually had all that for us (Informant 11).

Likewise a 31-year-old woman from Bratunac said

> We have some friends and family in Germany, and they came to the U.S. They said we can come also. My father filled out application first and it was maybe 1997, in 1999 they approved us and we came to the U.S.

In addition, economic factors are assumed to be one of the dimensions of socio-cultural integration. Participation in the labor market is essential to a refugee's ability to be integrated economically and socially in the host country. Refugees who work have interaction with native-speaker coworkers. According to the research of Fokkema and De

Haas (2011), labor force participation has an extremely significant influence on socio-cultural integration. In the present study, 8 out of 25 (16%) informants reported that they had to work immediately after they arrived in the U.S. Labor force participation can be considered one of the ways of socialization, and meeting with natives is likely to increase social integration. Likewise, housing and school attendance, particularly for teen refugees, create the same effect. Heckmann (2006) stated that structural integration relates to having rights and status within the central organizations of the receiving society, such as employment, housing, education, political and citizenship rights. Four out of 25 (13%) informants stated that because they already have their own house and have established a life in Bowling Green, they feel that they are a part of the Bowling Green community. Moreover, 3 out of 25 (12%) informants said that because they had gone to school after they arrived in Bowling Green, they integrated into the Bowling Green society more easily.

Impact of the War Conditions on Refugee Integration

As mentioned above, war has multidimensional effects on human existence. One of the most important external effects of civil war is enormous population displacements and refugee movements across national boundaries. These movements have the potential to be massive. Those fleeing conflict and instability are rightly viewed as victims of atrocity and war, requiring humanitarian assistance, relief supplies and host-country protection. In particular, the war that occurred in Bosnia and Herzegovina had an intricate historical background. The violence during the Bosnian war contributed to the formation of an atmosphere of profound terror, hesitation and existential insecurity. Such terrors caused the flight of hundreds of thousands of people. The form of violence is used and its effect in terms of essential on the daily livelihood, survival and on social relations all

engendered to the socio-economic uncertainty and lack of security that happened during the conflict. The repercussions of war that lived in post-war time have influenced not only people who survived and still lived in their home country but also it has caused people to flee other countries as refugees. These results were formed that by war allowed to refugees to adapt their host country quickly because they would not be challenged with the same circumstance anymore.

Table 10: The consequences of the war conditions

The consequences of the war conditions[1]	**Number of informants (%)[2]**
Lack of job opportunity	11 (48%)
Survival	10 (43%)
Enforcement	8 (35%)
Lack of basic needs	5 (22%)
Lack of education	4 (17%)
Destroyed life	3 (13%)
Corruptions	1 (4%)
Feeling lost	1 (4%)

[1] Informants could check all answers that apply

[2] Percentages reflect the percentage of informants who chose the type of issue.

Table 10 presents categorization of the perceptions of the informants about post-war conditions in their home country. Eleven out of twenty-five informants (44%) stated that after the end of the war it was more difficult to find a job. According to World Bank records (2000) the gross national income was very low, about $1,290 per capita. The

Bosnian economy has a large informal sector, but there were limited formal employment opportunities. The World Bank predicted that the sector of informal employment was about 37% in 2001 and 42% in 2004. Approximately 40% of those working in the informal sector are employed in agriculture, 19% in construction, 9% in manufacturing and 9% in trade (World Bank, 2005). A 26-year-old man from Prijador said

> Just after the war Bosnia was not the same country. I was living in our enemy territory, so my parents did not have a job. Also it was hard going to school.

Ten informants (43%) noted that they feel lucky to still be alive, although they had horrible experiences and the majority lost their family members or relatives. The violence experienced included bombarding, destruction of houses, destruction of property, pillaging, and robbing; furthermore, they experienced forced exile from their homes, dislocation, deportation and detention (Demeny, 2011). A 47-year-old man from Banja Luca stated

> War! Killing, fighting. No food, no nothing pretty much. Taking everything away that they can take, rob you. Who survives, survives. One is really dirty war. I was lucky to be alive.

In addition, the majority of informants noted that in order to survive, they were forced to adapt more quickly in the new places because they did not have another alternative.

On the other hand, 8 informants (35%) noted that forced removal played a major role on their changing lives. Displaced people and refugees also comprise a section of the population that is vulnerable to socio-economic insecurity. The Global IDP Project of the Norwegian Refugee Council (2004) reported that at the end of the war in 1995, more than two million people in total had been relocated. Nearly one million fled across borders,

while one million became internally exiled. This project also reported that further displacement of over 60,000 people happened between 1996 and 1999 during the transfer of regions between the two units that now make up Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Republika Srpska (RS) and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. One of the interviewees summarized the situation in these words

> We did not know what we are going to eat next, or take a shower. We were moving like sheep basically around where ever we hear that is safer. -- After we left our home town and lived Tuzla, which is a bigger city, and in Bosnia they were not occupied by the Serbs. We were in a civic center with probably around three to four thousand people at that time, sleeping on the exercise mats for about fifteen days, and they started shelling and bombing that what they placement because they knew that we were there. We had to find a safer place because the civic center was not safe- it was a basketball court. It was not sturdy enough for the grenades, so they were shelling all around and then they would actually send paramilitary forces would drive by and shoot at the refugees. For some reason they wouldn't go to shoot other places in that city, but they would drive by and shoot those refugees. For some reason they felt like they had to do that – like they have not done enough to us by chasing us out of our houses and killing our neighbors and stuff like that (Informant 16).

In addition, the lack of basic necessities for survival including food, water, heating, shelter and medicines, led to socio-economic insecurity. Demeny (2011) mentioned that the brutality relied on factors associated with the violence itself. It was a direct aftermath of the violence, and in certain situations it was specifically organized by the Bosnian Serb

army. During the Bosnian war, the erosion of the socio-economic condition resulted in noble crises requiring international humanitarian relief.

In this study 5 informants indicated that during and following the war, they were deprived of basic necessities for survival. Most of them would not complain about their absence from their host country. Another informant reported the condition of the war time in these words

> The war officially done but really was not. There were still so many people without food, without place to live, without basic things they need for living. Basically war was over but it really was not over for us (Informant 11).

Deterioration has also occurred in the field of education during the war and in the post war years. According to Pasalic-Kreso (2002), problems originate particularly when displaced inhabitants begin returning to their small towns that had been ethnically cleansed during the war. In these groups, education strategies mainly reflect the dominance of the majority group over minorities. Minority children are provided an education curriculum that is organized to assist the needs of the ethnic majority in the area. Some members of the community are aggressive toward returnees and lock the doors of the schools. This type of behavior towards minorities reveals an unwillingness to accept life in a multiethnic community. The same conclusion can be reached from this research because 4 out of 25 (17%) informants stated that there was a lack of sufficient opportunity to pursue their education. They also added that they had a chance to continue their education after coming to the United States.

Furthermore, 3 out of 25 (13%) informants said that their life was destroyed, and they did not have any other chance to return to Bosnia. One expressed

> I came from the place that was occupied by the Serbs and I lost everything so I did not have anywhere to go (Informant 13).

One of the informants noted that he lost some relatives, real estate properties, and his job during the war. He identified himself as a loser. Another informant indicated that the level of corruption increased in Bosnia after the war. She added that even though they have a chance to go back in their home country, she and her family would prefer to stay in the United States.

Because of the conditions generated by the negative circumstances of the war time and the post-war years, many Bosnian refugees would not return in Bosnia. Also, these destroyed lives and negative conditions contribute to their staying in the United States.

Reasons for Remaining in the United States

As mentioned above, the informants in this research qualitative research project are refugees from Bosnia who have lived in Bowling Green for at least 10 years. It can be concluded that the length of time in the United States results in a more rapid adaptation in their host country. Geo-Jaja and Magnum (2007) noted that final stabilization happens only after seven to ten years and refugees established their new identities. In retrospect, they realize that the cultural integration process can frequently be excruciating, particularly for the refugees who did not choose to leave their own culture but were forced to depart from it. However, they have generally recognized their opportunity and have become acculturated.

Table 11: Influence factors for remaining in Bowling Green

Influence factors for remaining in Bowling Green[1]	Number of informants (%)[2]
Small and nice	14 (58%)
Good place to raise a family	10 (42%)
Having a regular life	8 (33%)
Low crime rate/safe	7 (29%)
Friendly people	4 (16%)
Peaceful/stress free	3 (12%)
Better education	2 (8%)
Growing/international city	2 (8%)

[1] Informants could check all answers that apply

[2] Percentages reflect the percentage of informants who chose the type of issue.

Informants were asked about their reasons for coming to Bowling Green and their willingness to remain in the same city for the rest of their lives. Fourteen informants (56%) indicated that they came to Bowling Green because of their relatives or friends. The rest of them came to the city of Bowling Green coincidentally.

Fourteen informants (58%) expressed that Bowling Green is a nice and small city, so they would like to continue to stay in the same place for the rest of their lives. One reported

> I love it; otherwise I would not be here. So far, it is excellent. It is not that big so right now it is perfect for family and for business (Informant 17).

Similarly, 10 informants said that Bowling Green is a good place to raise a family. One of the informants said

> It is a small town but you have everything you need and it is a kind of quiet and good for raising family and kids (Informant 24).

It is observed that Bosnian refugees in Bowling Green would like to maintain their traditional family structure. Bosnian refugees continue to be affected by traditional role models dominant throughout the twentieth century in the former Yugoslavia's patriarchal culture, in addition to prospects in their new host countries (Franz, 2003).

Moreover, 8 informants indicated that they already have a regular life in Bowling Green including housing, business, and a school for their children. They also reported that their lives are better here when compared to their home country.

Seven informants noted that the crime rate is very low in Bowling Green and this safe environment is one of the reasons for remaining in Bowling Green.

Four informants stated that Bowling Green natives are friendly, and they do not think they can find the same kind of friendship in a bigger city. A 50-year-old man from Zenica said

> The reason is I think all of Bowling Green population is friendly. So far, I have not had a bad experience. We are welcome by other people and I really do like it.

Three informants felt that the city of Bowling Green is peaceful and stress-free. One informant said

> We were in Houston, Texas. There were some Bosnians but here they are a few more. Texas was a lot bigger so everybody was scattered around, so it was not like a community like we have here (Informant 23).

This result can be explained by the fact that the Bosnian community would rather be together and affiliated with each other.

In addition, 2 informants noted that they would like to stay in Bowling Green because they think the American education system is better for their children's future life when compared with their home country's education system. Finally, two informants reported that another reason to stay in Bowling Green is that the city is a growing and is more of an international city compared to what it was 10 years ago.

Likewise, Hansen (2003) found similar results from his study in North Dakota. When asked if Bosnian refugees planned to stay in Grand Forks for the rest of their lives, the most often reported answers were affirmative because they have a regular life and a good place to raise a family. It can be emphasized that regardless of the places, the expectations of Bosnian refugees, their challenges and adjusting to a new culture resemble each other.

CHAPTER V:

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter presents: (i) a summary of the study's major findings, including the influences of language, employment and socio-cultural integration; (ii) a discussion of Banki and Jacobsen's factors of refugee integration in resettlement; and (iii) possibilities for further research.

When preparing for this study, there were several prospects for the refugees based on refugee resettlement literature, resettlement procedures, and current events. These included (i) the significant influences of the language barrier; (ii) employment was a challenge due to the host country's native language and differences in qualifications for certain positions; (iii) the facilitation factors of socio-cultural integration; (iv) interviews would include influences of displacement and impact of war conditions on refugee integration; and (v) the influence of various factors for remaining in Bowling Green and shaping refugee integration.

The study had two central purposes. First, it described the concept for analyzing the feasibility of integration as a solution to prospective refugees. Second, it applied that concept to a select group of Bosnian refugees in Bowling Green, analyzing their levels of self-sufficiency and integration.

Language

Khoo, et al. (1994) stated that newcomers who arrive from countries where English is taught as a second language or who have English-language backgrounds have an easier time starting off in the United States. In the case of Bosnians, informants who studied English in their home country and who had been previously in Germany reported that they adapted in the United States much easier compared to others. Those refugees who had taken English classes for a year at least spoke somewhat fluently or had functional knowledge of English and could communicate somewhat effectively, albeit haltingly. Those who did not complete the courses or who did not attend the courses at all spoke very limited English. American resettlement program materials noted that for refugees "one of their first goals will be to find a job" (Refugee Service Center, 2004, p.41) and that "English skills would improve through study and informal contacts with other Americans" (Refugee Service Center, 2004, p.42). It can be difficult to learn English at work because the refugees may lack the skills and confidence to even open channels of communication with co-workers (Mertus, Tesanovic, Metikos, & Boric, 1997). In addition, some informants stated that their first jobs were mainly manual work and did not require much speaking.

In the study of the stressors of exile among Bosnian refugees in Chicago, Miller, et al. (2002) found that the inability to speak English resulted in a lack of environmental mastery, stressing "the importance of linguistic competence in effectively negotiating the environment and particularly in gaining access to important educational and employment-related resources" (p. 349). Investigating English language learning of Bosnian refugees in the United States, Tollefson (1991) indicated that "the language policy which shaped

American ESL courses for refugees was designed to channel them into jobs in the peripheral economy" (p. 108). The current study's outcomes were similar as those refugees who were employed in low-wage work had either practically no participation in ESL courses because they had to work right away or participated in courses that were unproductive, leading to a partial involvement. Tollefson (1991) also claimed that policy-makers and other government officials felt that those who were accomplished in learning the language of the host country worked hard, while those who completed the language courses but did not learn the language or those who did not join at all were considered to be unenthusiastic and thus responsible for their own separation and isolation. Furthermore, from that same perspective, responsibility should not lie at the feet of "charity, employers, or the state, but with autonomous individuals taking charge of their lives" (Katz, 2001, p.31). Namely, some informants reported that especially elderly Bosnians tend to speak mostly their own language and were unwilling to learn English.

Employment

Employment was both an economic and social necessity for participants. Having employment contributed to the progress toward a new identity in the host country by influencing their general state of well-being and giving their lives structure and meaning (Lavik, Hauff, Scrondal, & Solberg, 1996). Kivelae (1997) stated that employment also encouraged individual proficiency and self-worth. Among the Bosnian refugees who were interviewed for this study, only a small minority reported having jobs that had a positive impact on their lives, and these same refugees reported being more integrated into the host community. For the rest of the employed, there was relative dissatisfaction with employment. Particularly, they complained about long working hours

and improper work conditions. As Korac (2003) found in her study of refugees from the former Yugoslavia who had resettled in Rome, employment was one of the most difficult challenges due to a number of factors, including the stringency of the labor market in the host country, policies that intentionally excluded most refugees from positions or areas of expertise which they had held in their countries of origin, and the refugees' language proficiency. In another study, Korac (2003b) also noted that regardless of educational background or area of expertise, refugees in Italy most often found work in the lowest paying sectors. This result was consistent with other studies investigating refugee employment in Canada, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States, which found that unless there was some arbitration, such as what happened with congregational sponsors in the United States, most refugees with little or no English proficiency would end up in low-skill, low-wage labor from which there is minimal upward movement.

Socio-Cultural Integration

The studies of Korac illustrated the theme of integration as an interactive, reciprocally adaptable phenomenon. These studies revealed the importance of social support within the Bosnian community. Social support on the individual level has been found to be a key element in confirming refugees' well-being in resettlement. This study's conclusions are consistent with the prior research in this respect as well. There were several examples of social support among the Bosnian participants in this study, which were essential to their sentimental and economic well-being. In this case, Bosnian refugees helped each other with everything from finding housing to completing immigration paperwork to getting jobs in Bowling Green. Community members knew about Bosnians' needs and responded accordingly. Kelly (2003) indicated Bosnian

refugees continued kinship groups, friendships, and networks, but found "no community and no feeling of obligations to others" (p. 46). Regardless of the level of support given by the exile community, however, study findings revealed that in order for social support to be effective in integration, the support had to be positive, constant, and interactive with members of the host country.

The maximum contribution to resettlement was the support of religious congregations in the form of sponsorship. Sponsors offer critical material, information, references for jobs, and economic and sentimental support to refugees beginning soon after arrival. In this research, non-Muslim informants stated that they received assistance from some faith-based organizations or local churches in the first few months. In the United States, Breslow, et al. (1997) found sponsorship to be critical to the success of resettlement for Cambodian refugees resettling in Richmond, Virginia, offering material and emotional support. In the current study, especially attending the local mosques was used as a way to be more social as much as perform their religious rituals. Through the interviews conducted for this study, none of informants mentioned that they confronted xenophobia and racial discrimination. The Muslim population has been subjected to a heightened level of suspicion since the attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States, but the Bosnian Muslim population in this study did not report any discrimination or racism as a barrier to their integration in Bowling Green. Moreover, the Islamic Association of Bosniaks in North America (IABNA) organizes and sponsors a Convention of Bosniaks in North America every year to help Bosniaks network and come together. The first convention was held in Toronto, Canada in 1996, and it will be organized in Bowling Green, Kentucky in 2012. This convention is an indicator of the

Bosnian community's commitment to each other. Moreover, the influence of sponsorship was felt in every field of participation for those sponsored refugees, supporting the accomplishment of integration. When sponsored, refugees were connected with a temporary social network until they were able to develop one of their own. Based on this finding, the factor of social support was divided into two different factors: (i) intergroup social support and (ii) intragroup social support. Refugee researchers have argued intergroup relationships in resettlement in the restricted context of how challenging it can be to create these associates because of stereotypes and other forms of discrimination. This was illustrated in an American case where Korac (2001) found inter-group relationships to be "important to [refugees'] feelings of connection to and incorporation into the host community and receiving society" (p. 13). In her study, however, these relationships were restricted to the social arena and did not include refugees' participation in other fields as the sponsoring relationships had in the USA.

Implementing Factors of Refugee Integration

In order to fully comprehend the puzzle of refugee integration, Banki (2004) and Jacobsen's (2001) categorizations of refugee integration were extended through greater attention to multilevel factors affecting integration. As explained and detailed in Chapter 2, it is necessary to take into account their dissection of what refugee integration means in actuality, how it can be measured, and what the causal factors are behind it.

When assembling Banki (2004) and Jacobsen's (2001) categorization and the UNHCR (2008) dimensions of refuge integration, the current study generated more expansive information through research findings in order to understand successful refugee integration in their host community, in this case in Bowling Green, Kentucky.

Table 12 presents the categorization of Banki and Jacobsen's dimensions of refugee integration as comparatively.

Table 12: Indicators of refugee integration

Banki (2004)	Jacobsen (2001)
Refugees have freedom of movement Refugees have official access to land Refugees participate in the local economy Refugees are moving towards self-sufficiency Refugees have access to local schools and services Refugees are dispersed among the local population	Refugees are under no physical threat Refugees are not confined to camps Refugees are able to sustain livelihoods (access to land, jobs), and support themselves Refugees have access to education / health services / housing Refugees are socially networked

In the legal dimension of integration, the United Stated has granted refugees a wide range of rights that are broadly appropriate with those enjoyed by its own citizens. According to research findings, Bosnian refugees were not restricted in their movements. They already have legal citizenship status and could go back to their home country, but generally they would rather not because the standard of living is mostly higher in the United States. All of the informants in this study had legal citizenship status, including suffrage. Employed informants indicated that they could use the health services of their employers, and even if they were unemployed, they could still benefit from the health

services of Medicare. In this context, it is possible to say that the informants of this study were already legally integrated into Bowling Green society.

In the economic dimension of integration, the United States has granted refugees the right to work, and indeed, the large majority of informants had taken advantage of this. All of the informants were employed and most had their own houses and some had their own businesses. Only seven informants stated that their gross income was below the median household income level in Bowling Green. Numerous informants had access to education services, both ESL classes and higher degree levels. Also, young informants were able to support themselves, and they noted that they were employed part-time, sometimes working two part-time jobs at the same time.

In the social and cultural dimension of integration, both informants and the local population have verified particularly customizable and are found to be, in many cases, deeply disseminated among the local population. Especially young informants stated that they adapted to American culture much easier than their parents and they have American and Bosnian friends, while middle age informants noted that they prefer to come together with their Bosnian friends.

In order to measure the extent to which this sample of Bosnian refugees was integrated into their host communities, this study suggested the criteria listed in Table 13.

Table 13: Criteria of refugee integration for this study

Legal Dimension
Refugees are not restricted in their movements Refugees have the right to land and jobs Refugees have the right to health and education services
Economic Dimension
Refugees have access to jobs Refugees have access to health and education services Refugees are able to support themselves or have prospects of soon being able to
Socio-Cultural Dimension
Refugees are permeated among the local population

Using these criteria, this research suggested identifying the level of integration of the Bosnian refugees who participated in this study. Once the level of integration was identified, it was essential to evaluate the causes of that integration. Thus, this thesis returned to Banki's (2004) assessment of factors affecting refugee integration as outlined in Table 14.

Table 14: Factors effecting refugee integration levels

Government-Side	Refugee-Side
Political Tactical security Internal, cross-country relations Interaction with sending countries Global opinion Geo-strategic issues **Security** Protection of citizens **Economic** Labor market Domestic economy **Legal** Status Rights	**Social** Ethnicity Religion Language **Physical** Geography Timing of Arrival Size of refugee population Individual traits

Source: Banki (2004)

Overall, the significant integration of these Bosnian refugees can be mainly classified into legal and social factors. Attending school for the children of refugees and working in the city, they have the chance to maximize their abilities as they choose. With significant differences in ethnicity, language, and cultural customs to the host country, this group, interestingly, had little trouble adapting to their new environments at the beginning. While the timing of their arrival in Bowling Green proved to have little significance on integration levels, the individual characters of risk-taking and persistence seemed a common factor that also assisted in their integration, especially among those who arrived earlier. In this case, it can be concluded that Bosnian refugees' story is fairly successful because they have lived in Bowling Green for at least ten years, and they have already integrated widely into the host community.

Informants continued to face a number of problems influencing their livelihoods, including difficulties learning the English language, lack of employment opportunities, and low wages. Still, this study has demonstrated that despite these challenges and despite receiving limited official support, they have managed to become active agents in looking after their own needs. They had not necessarily been crippled by their status as refugees, nor had they become a drain on the society around them. Indeed, they had invested much of the support they received from resettlement agencies to make it on their own.

In conclusion, this study has shown that the staggered achievement of self-sufficiency gives a suggestion of the extent to which legal, economic, and social integration has been attained among this group of Bosnian refugees in Bowling Green and offers itself to the opening up of new opportunities in the quest for a sustainable solution, particularly for new refugees who continue to arrive from different countries. Thus, this research is important in terms of comprehending the refugee issue on the local level.

Suggestions for Further Research

It can be concluded that there are several suggestions for resettlement agencies and local NGOs to offer enhanced service for newcomers. Bowling Green is a growing city, and the number of new arrivals has increased every year, both for immigrants and refugees. This study revealed some issues and challenges that Bosnian refugees experienced.

This study has shown that insufficient and unproductive English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) classes prevent refugees from continuing their language training. ESL

classes should be expanded and other local level NGOs and faith-based organizations should consider sharing this responsibility with local resettlement agencies.

Another significant challenge is the employment issue for Bosnian refugees. Numerous informants stated that they started to work low-wage jobs due to their lack of English proficiency. If refugees were supported for a longer time, they could begin to work at a higher wage job being more fluent in English.

With the highest population intensity on the American continent and an already severe housing deficiency, the United States may not be a country that can afford to implement a catch-all strategy of refugee self-reliance and integration. Muradlihara (2006, p. 1) stated that "affordable public housing has been an issue at the forefront of public policy in the United States since the Great Depression era. The social, political, and economic benefit of adequate housing for citizens at all income-levels has long been recognized." Indeed, the houses that were offered to the refugees early on had miserable conditions, but after a couple of years, the refugees were able to reach a normal standard of living. Still, as this study has shown, integration of refugees can also have its place alongside the traditional response. The Bosnian refugees interviewed for this study were all found to be skilled, ready and willing to contribute, and had already achieved a significant level of integration despite the deficiency of official support. In addition some informants stated that they were qualified employees and blue collar workers in Bosnia but after they fled the abroad they could not take place higher level job opportunity because of the language barrier. However, some informants noted that they were able to pursue their profession after came to Bowling Green.

In light of these findings, it would seem that particular opportunities exist for the investors involved to maximize the potential of integration as one point of a multifaceted response to situations for solving refugee issues. Upon arrival in transit centers, refugees' profiles should be examined to determine whether local integration might be a feasible solution. If this procedure began early enough, it would help minimize any threat of extended situations. Factors to take into account include, among others, age, skills, and dependents. While the United States has provided legal rights for refugees, a responsibility falls on the international community to guarantee the capacities to help refugees achieve self-sufficiency. Increased funding could be made available for projects that benefit both refugees and local members of the community, including income generation and micro-finance activities, job-oriented skills training, and education grants or scholarships. This would also go to scatter any stereotypes that refugees are a drain on the society and encourage a view of refugees as accomplished in both supporting themselves and contributing to society. Finally, increased training should be made available to refugees, especially informing them of their rights and responsibilities, in order that they might take advantage of all the opportunities open to them.

APPENDIX A

Interview Guide

1) How long have you been in Bowling Green?
2) What is your job? How did you get your job(s)?
3) How did you come to the United States, then Bowling Green? What were the circumstances that brought to Bowling Green? Could you tell me a little bit about it?
4) Did you receive assistance from any local agencies when you came in Bowling Green? What kind of assistance did you receive?
5) In your opinion what were the difficulties/challenges when you arrived in Bowling Green in the first few months? Could you tell me a little about it?
6) After setting in the community of Bowling Green that very first year, what additional difficulties/challenges did you experience?
7) How have you continued your education after you came in Bowling Green? Could you tell me a little bit about it?
8) Are you involved in the social life in Bowling Green?
9) Do you get any financial assistance from U.S. Federal Government?
10) Are you pleased to live in Bowling Green? Do you wish to continue living in Bowling Green? Why or why not?
11) Do you have any suggestions to make your life or the lives of Bosnians better in Bowling Green?

APPENDIX B

Survey Questions

1) What is your gender?

   a. Male b. Female

2) What is your age? _____ (in years)

3) What is the highest level of education you completed?

   a. Some high school b. High school graduate c. Trade/technical/vocational training d. Associates Degree e. College graduate f. Graduate Level Degree

4) What is your religious preference?

   a. Protestant b. Roman Catholic c. Muslim d. An Orthodox Church such as Greek or Russian Orthodox Church e. Jewish d. Other

5) Which of the following options best describes your ethnic identity?

   a. Bosniak b. Serb c. Croat d. None of the them

6) Where are you from originally in Bosnia? _____ (please write town/city)

7) What is your marital status?

   a. Single b. Married c. Separated d. Divorced e. Widowed

8) What is your current household income in U.S dollars?

   a. Under $10,000 d. $ 30,000-$ 39,999 g. $ 75,000- $ 99,999

   b. $10,000- $19,999 e. $40,000-$49,000 h. $100,000- $150,000

   c. $20,000- $29,000 f. $50,000- $74,999 i. Over $150,000

APPENDIX C

Summary of Informants' Socio-Demographic Characteristics

ID	Religious	Ethnic Identity	Occupation	Income level
1	Muslim	Bosniak	Unemployed	under $10,000
2	Muslim	Bosniak	Technician	$50,000-$74,999
3	Muslim	Bosniak	Technician	$30,000-$39,000
4	Muslim	Bosniak	Arabic teacher	$30,000-$39,000
5	Muslim	Bosniak	Temporary employee	$10,000-$19,999
6	Other	Serb	Restaurant owner	$40,000-$49,000
7	Muslim	Bosniak	Restaurant owner	$100,000-$150,000
8	Muslim	Bosniak	Waitress (household income)	$100,000-$150,000
9	Roman Catholic	Croat	Restaurant owner	$75,000-$99,999
10	Muslim	Bosniak	Waitress	$20,000-$29,000
11	Muslim	Bosniak	Accountant	$50,000-$74,999
12	Muslim	Bosniak	Math tutor	under $10,000
13	Muslim	Bosniak	Factory laborer	$50,000-$74,999
14	Muslim	Bosniak	Factory laborer	$50,000-$74,999
15	Muslim	Bosniak	Waitress (household income)	$75,000-$99,999
16	Muslim	Bosniak	Restaurant owner	$100,000-$150,000
17	Orthodox	Serb	Restaurant owner	$50,000-$74,999
18	Muslim	Bosniak	Security officer	$40,000-$49,000
19	Muslim	Bosniak	Student (household income)	Over $150,000
20	Orthodox	Serb	Temporary employee	$10,000-$19,999
21	Muslim	Bosniak	Kindergarten teacher	$50,000-$74,999
22	Muslim	Bosniak	Temporary employee	$10,000-$19,999
23	Muslim	Bosniak	Waitress (household income)	$50,000-$74,999
24	Orthodox	Serb	Librarian	$50,000-$74,999
25	Orthodox	Serb	Factory laborer	$20,000-$29,000

APPENDIX D

Coding List of Challenges of Informants

Category (Difficulties/Challenges)		
ID	**Code**	**Narrative**
1	LB, SI, D	You don't know anybody, you don't know English, you feel like you are from Mars, you feel lost.
2	D	I was so sad, so upset. We didn't see the picture of U.S. as we expected.
3	CS, LB, MF	Cultural shock. System is different in our country. The biggest challenge was language barrier and making friends.
4	MFM, AL, LB, TF	You miss your family, especially if you don't have anyone here. The rules, the government were different. There is a language barrier. The food was different.
5	LB	Just the language
6	LB, LT, AL	If you don't speak any English money doesn't really help a lot either. You have to buy car to go shopping. You have to learn everything like culture, rules. I like driving habits because I didn't drive a car here yet.
7	LB, CS	I didn't speak English. Culture is different where I came from.
8	D, LB	I thought of America as you see in the movies but it's not. I have no English. Other people made fun of you because you could not speak their language.
9	LB, CS	Everything was difficult. It is a different culture. I did not speak English at the beginning.
10	LT	There was not public transportation here. You have to buy a car to go shopping.
11	LB, LM	English was really difficult for me.You need basic stuff to live here and money to buy these needs.
12	LB, SI, D	Of course learning language. You kind of feel out of place. You get fun of from others.
13	LB, CS	Well, first was language. The U.S. is a little bit different Europe. If you travel to Europe you will see how the city looks different. Life we live in Europe is a little bit different than here some but that's all a beginning.
14	MFM, LT, LB	I left my whole family. I didn't have car. I didn't speak English.
15	LB	I don't think I faced any as a child but I remember that my family didn't speak English and I had to help them
16	LB, LM	I didn't speak English. We are starting working worst job.

17	LB, CS, AL	Just the language barrier. Adapt to American way of the life.
18	LB, LT, LM	Well, learning the language. Second was finding a job. They do not have buses or train.
19	LB	Not knowing the language. I was in Germany, so it was not too hard.
20	LT, LB	We did not have car. It was difficult for us because of the language.
21	LB, C, LM	That was the language barrier. Climate was different in Europe. We lived in worst part of BG in the first time.
22	LM	Difficulties were being financially stable.
23	LM, LM, CS	Language was a big challenge. Financially starting to settle down. I was taken away from everything that I knew before. I didn't speak English and it was difficult.
24	LT, LB, LM	Everybody needed a car, transportation. Speaking language and finding job were very hard part.
25	D, CS, AL, C, LT	I was depressed. Huge differences between Europe. We really didn't like the law. Weather is different. There is no transportation here.

APPENDIX E

Coding List of Influences of Displacement

Category (Influences of Displacement)		
ID	**Code**	**Narrative**
1	OW	After we came here we had to work to live
2	OW	I got the job. This is the first success in my life, I could get income to live.
3	BIE	I went to Holland in Europe and stay there about a year and a half.
4	NWM	My husband and I work different city. We cannot see each other, than we left the country.
5	BIE	I came here from Germany. Before that I went to Austria.
6	BIE	We moved to Germany in 1992 till 1997. We came here through one of international service.
7	BIE	We were in Germany for 6 years. We were not able to stay in there anymore in there because Germany government did not allow us to live as refugee.
8	GS, OW	I had to learn English and going to school because I was little child and my parents needed me. They couldn't speak English. They had to work at the same time.
9	OW	I had to work there or four jobs to make enough money for my family.
10	FT	The way we came here family ties. It's not a close family but they brought us here. We knew somebody here before.
11	FT	My brother came here first. After he settle down he sent us all of papers, then we applied and accepted.
12	BIE	I lived in Germany, and then they started sending people back to homelands.
13	FT, BIE	I have a sister that I came before I did. Also, I went to Germany before.
14	FT	My husband got some family here. They sent us some paper, so we accepted after that.
15	GS,OW	We came here better education and for my parents to find a job
16	BIE, OW	We emigrated from Bosnia to Germany. We walked to the border of Germany.
17	FT	My uncle was here two years before me. I just came and stayed with him.
18	BIE, OW	We flew Bosnia to Germany first. After Germany government denied us I applied to America. My family didn't come to here but after I got acceptance they joined me.
19	BIE, NWM	We moved to Croatia first, then Germany. After 5 years later we came to the United States not in BG.
20	BIE, NWM	I went to Slovakia for two and half years. After that we went to Germany. After Germany government denied us, I put my application and got acceptance.

21	BIE, NWM	I went to Germany and came back to Croatia to meet with my wife and son. We stayed refugee camp 6 months. So we applied the United States and got acceptance.
22	FT, OW	We had family here and they helped us to come here. We had to work, no exception.
23	FT, GS	We settled in Texas first. We heard that Bosnians are much in BG, and then we came to here. Living conditions are much better here.
24	BIE, FT	We lived in Germany for 6 years. My sister came to the US before us. We applied to entry and got approve.
25	BIE, FT	I came here from Germany. My ex-husband's cousins lived in BG, that's why US government sent us to here.

APPENDIX F

Coding List of Impact of the War Conditions on Adaptation

Category (Impact of the war conditions on adaptation)		
ID	**Code**	**Narrative**
1	LBN, SV	Everything got bad. No house to live, no money, no jobs.
2	SV, LJO, LBN	It's very hard to find a job and apartment to live. Bosnia was struggle about disease and no medicine.
3	DL, LE	The country pretty much destroyed. We came here for bright future.
4	DL	After war our lives were destroyed.
5	F, SV	The Serbian army had attacked Bosnia and they took my city. I didn't have chance, so I had to leave.
6	DL, LJO	Crisis and war were destroyed the country. No jobs there at that time.
7	CAW, LJO	It was corruption and no jobs over there.
8	LE	My father thinks coming to the states is going to be better for our future. He wanted us to get better education.
9	F, SV	It was hard because there were not the many people get approve just to go in there.
10	LJO, LE	My parents did not have job. It was hard going to school.
11	LBN	So many people without food, without place to live, without like basic things.
12	LJO	The economy was not as well as it's here.
13	FL, F, SV	My city was occupied by the Serbs and I lost everything.
14	LJO	My husband did not work. It was really hard to live over there.
15	F, LJO, LE	We did not have out home. My parents did not work. The school was very hard to go.
16	F, SV, LBN	We did not know what we are going to eat next. We were moving like sheep basically around wherever we heard that is safer.
17	LJO, LE	Global recession is messing up everything. To find a job little bit harder. No future, no opportunity for me. I came here for better life.
18	LJO, SV	The economy was all the way down. We started from nothing.
19	MV	It was a bad situation. I'd not to talk about this part.
20	MV	That was difficult. Yugoslavia took wrong people and they made war. People still like each other.
21	F, SV, LBN	War! Killing, fighting. No food. I was lucky to be alive.
22	LJO, BE	Jobs were not available for everyone. My mom wanted to come over for a better opportunity.
23	LJO, BE	Where I lived it was pretty normal. After the war it was though.
24	F, SV	We escaped the war in Bosnia in 1992 or 1993.
25	F, SV	My country was destroyed in war. It was horrible.

APPENDIX G

Coding List of Effective Factors of Remaining

Category (Effective factors of remaining)		
ID	**Code**	**Narrative**
1	FC	I have kids and they were born here. Here is good for them.
2	BE	My kids want to go to college. I want to support them.
3	P, S, FC, FP	It's nice and peaceful. Good place to raise family. It's safe and people are friendly.
4	SN, IC	It is small community but you have everything. 27 different national communities here and it is nice place.
5	SN	Nice and small. It's not hard to live over here.
6	SN, FC, LCR	Calm and small city. Good place to raise family. No crimes here.
7	HRL	We have house and own business here.
8	SN, SF	It's such a calming, nice, and stress free city.
9	SN, FP	This is nice and small town, people are friendly.
10	GC, SN, FC	Great community. Town is growing. Small town and it's good for family.
11	SN, S, HRL	It is small town, and safe. We have everything we need here.
12	FC, LCR	It's good place to raise a family. Not that much crime out.
13	SN, HRL	It's a small city. I have house and everything here.
14	BE, HRL	My kids are going to school here, I work here. I have everything here and I am citizen now.
15	SN, FC	It's nice and small town. Good town for family.
16	SN, LCR, FP	Beautiful town. Crime rate is low. People are friendly and housing is good.
17	HRL	I love here. My wife's family and my own business are here.
18	SN, FC	There is a little community. You can raise a family with no problem.
19	MV	I love water and everything. I'd move to Chicago.
20	P, HRL, LCR, FP	I have everything here. There is not too much crime. I like people here and it's peaceful.
21	SN, FC	It's nice and quiet. Nice place for the family life.
22	HRL	My family is here and we have everything now. It's very stable community.
23	SN	It's nice place to live. Kind of good community.
24	SN, HRL, FC	It's a small town but we have everything we need. Good for raising family and kids.
25	FC, S	Safety and quiet. It's good place for families.

APPENDIX H

Categories of Coding List

Categories			
Difficulties/challenges	**Influence of displacement**	**Impact of war condition on adaption**	**Effective factors of remaining**
Language barrier (LB)	Obligation to Work (OW)	Forcing (F)	Small and Nice (SN)
Lack of Transportation (LT)	Going to School (GS)	Survive (SV)	Family City (FC)
Lack of Money (LM)	Not Wanting Move Anymore (NWM)	Lack of Job Opportunity (LJO)	Having a Regular Life (HRL)
Cultural Shock (CS)	Family Ties (FT)	Destroyed Life (DL)	Law Crime Rate (LCR)
Disappointment (D)	Being in Europe First (BIE)	Corruptions After War (CAW)	Friendly People (FP)
Adapting Laws (AL)		Lack of Education (LE)	Better Education (BE)
Social Isolation (SI)		Lack of Basic Needs (LBN)	Peaceful (P)
Climate (C.)		Feeling Lost (FL)	Safe (S)
Missing Family Members (MFM)		Missing Value (MV)	International City (IC)
Taste of Food (TF)			Stress Free (SF)
			Growing City (GC)
			Missing Value (MV)

APPENDIX I

Informant Consent Document

Project Title: Bosnian Immigrants in Bowling Green, Kentucky: Immigrant Resettlement and Community Based Research

Investigator: Elcin Celik.

Department of Sociology

(270) 303-3352

You are being asked to participate in a project conducted through Western Kentucky University. The University requires that you give your signed agreement to participate in this project.

The investigator will explain to you in detail the purpose of the project, the procedures to be used, and the potential benefits and possible risks of participation. You may ask her any questions you have to help you understand the project. A basic explanation of the project is written below. Please read this explanation and discuss with the researcher any questions you may have.

If you then decide to participate in the project, please sign on the last page of this form in the presence of the person who explained the project to you. You should be given a copy of this form to keep.

1. **Nature and Purpose of the Project:**

The project for which you are consenting seeks to identify the most significant challenges of Bosnian immigrants to the United States after they fled the war in

Yugoslavia. The primary purpose of this research is to identify issues/problems associated with their integration/adaptation process in Bowling Green and also to offer some suggestions to non-profit organizations to eliminate the shortcomings for future immigrant groups. The information gathered will be used to instruct community organizations and practitioners about interventions that can be used to connect other minorities in Bowling Green.

2. **Explanation of Procedures:**

I am seeking to interview a total of 25 immigrants from Bosnia who live in the Bowling Green area. I am contacting you because you own a Bosnian restaurant in Bowling Green, you attend a place of worship or a community center where Bosnian immigrants are known to congregate, or another individual in the community gave me your name as a potential informant for my research. This interview should take no less than 30 minutes and no more than 2 hours, and shall only occur once. Interviews will be conducted at a time and location that is mutually convenient. Interviews will be audio-recorded for the purpose of obtaining accurate information. I will transcribe these interviews and analyze the data for my Master of Arts Thesis in the Department of Sociology at Western Kentucky University.

3. **Discomfort and Risks:**

As I stated above, this research is an attempt to understand the experiences of Bosnian immigrants to the United States after they fled their homeland following the Yugoslavian Wars of the early 1990s. Some informants may have experienced or witnessed traumatic events in Bosnia during this period of time, and discussing these experiences may lead to a variety of negative emotions, such as anxiety, fear, anger, etc.

If you experience any discomfort discussing these experiences with me, please know that you do not have to answer any of my questions if you do not wish to do so, and you may withdraw from this research and stop participating at any time. I do appreciate your time and efforts with this research.

It is important to keep in mind that your identity will not appear on any transcribed materials and will not be shared with some other informants. I am the only individual who will know your true identity. The data collected for this research will remain in a locked file cabinet in a locked office in the Department of Sociology at Western Kentucky University for period of three years after which time all data associated with this project will be destroyed.

4. **Benefits:**

The findings from this research will be disseminated through the researcher's Master's thesis and through several presentations that will be made to non-profit organizations. However, your name and any personal identifying information will not be revealed in the thesis or in any public presentations. Dissemination of conclusions drawn from research data to those who participated has the potential to provide evidence-based knowledge regarding best and the least effective practices for helping new Bosnian immigrants assimilate in the community of Bowling Green. Such information could influence future decision making when helping future immigrants who will come to Bowling Green. Time can be better spent knowing that certain practices have proven effective for other immigrants.

On a large scale, research conclusion may disseminate to community organizations and immigrant groups. The use of evidence-based practices has the

potential to result in the increase of connection between community non-profit organizations and new coming immigrants. Such benefits can then expand to the greater city beyond to the bounds of different minorities.

5. **Confidentiality:**

Your identity only will be known by me and in some situations by referring informants (for instances, one informant may refer me to another potential informant through the snowball sampling procedure). With the use of snowball sampling, anonymity of referred potential informants cannot be kept from those informants or community members who refer.

Every effort will be made to keep information provided in the interviews confidential and to protect the anonymity of the informants.

After all interviews are completed and transcribed, transcriptions will be randomly assigned participant numbers. In addition, transcribed materials will be password protected and all materials will be locked in a secure file cabinet in the sociology department for a period of three years. Moreover informants name will not appear on any transcribed materials and will not share with some other people.

Once data has been analyzed and conclusions drawn, I will transfer the files Dr. Jerry Daday's computer and any interview notes and printed materials will remain in a locked file cabinet in his office for a period of three years after which these data will be destroyed.

6. **Refusal/Withdrawal:**

Refusal to participate in this study will have no effect on any future services you may be entitled to from the University. Anyone who agrees to participate in this study is

free to withdraw from the study at any time with no penalty.

You understand also that it is not possible to identify all potential risks in an experimental procedure, and you believe that reasonable safeguards have been taken to minimize both the known and potential but unknown risks.

_____ _____

Signature of Participant Date

_____ _____

Witness Date

I also consent to the following activities being audio recorded.

_____ _____

Signature of Participant Date

THE DATED APPROVAL ON THIS CONSENT FORM INDICATES THAT

THIS PROJECT HAS BEEN REVIEWED AND APPROVED BY

THE WESTERN KENTUCKY UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

Paul Mooney, Human Protections Administrator

TELEPHONE: (270) 745-465

APPENDIX J

Map of Bosnia-Herzegovina

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