

Syracuse University

SURFACE

Dissertations - ALL

SURFACE

6-1-2014

Ways to Refuge: Bosnians in Central New York in Ethnographic Perspective

Fethi Keles

Syracuse University, fkeles@syr.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://surface.syr.edu/etd>



Part of the [Social and Behavioral Sciences Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Keles, Fethi, "Ways to Refuge: Bosnians in Central New York in Ethnographic Perspective" (2014).

Dissertations - ALL. 54.

<https://surface.syr.edu/etd/54>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the SURFACE at SURFACE. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations - ALL by an authorized administrator of SURFACE. For more information, please contact surface@syr.edu.

Abstract

Ways to Refuge: Bosnians in Central New York in Ethnographic Perspective

This dissertation documents the resettlement experiences of Bosnian Muslims relocated to two urban locales in the north of New York State during and after the Bosnian War in the Balkans. To do so, it relies on ethnographic data gathered mainly through extensive interviews and participant-observation conducted over a period of fourteen months of fieldwork in a variety of places in Central New York.

The dissertation provides individual- and group-level descriptions and analyses of various aspects of the diasporic experiences of the Bosnians encountered in the research, in addition to laying bare the diversity and heterogeneity observed among those experiences. More specifically, it offers a nuanced treatment of commemorative practice in the context of refugehood by considering the ways in which that practice is embedded in pedagogy, religious performance, cultural critique, and entertainment. In addition, the dissertation relativizes bureaucratic knowledge, i.e. the legal definition of refugee in the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and offers an experiential notion of refugehood by identifying it as a cultural domain.

Furthermore, the dissertation foregrounds the discipline's public and engagement roles by reminding of the need to intervene in debates about the impending immigration reform in the United States. To help prevent the issue of humanitarian protection from falling through the cracks during public and private

negotiations over the reform, the dissertation brings the specificities of refugee migration to the fore by focusing on pre- and post-resettlement lives of Bosnians in the United States. Also, finding that several Bosnians interviewed in this project did not become U.S. citizens even though they were entitled to do so, the dissertation calls stakeholders responsible for the resettlement of refugees to more clearly communicate the value of citizenship as a civic virtue.

Additionally, this dissertation examines why similarly positioned refugee immigrants, Bosnians in Central New York, sometimes seem to have different resettlement experiences. Bosnians relocated to the region as a result of the armed violence in the Balkans in early 1990s, and are very similar or identical in terms of their ethnicity, reasons for displacement, context of resettlement, access to means of integration, rules and regulations of resettlement each followed. Despite this, a nostalgic, relatively non-entrepreneurial and only belatedly organizational discourse characterizes the resettlement experiences of several Bosnians in Syracuse. This discourse is nostalgic in that my interviews with Bosnians in this group commonly include statements desirous of return to where one came from; it is relatively non-entrepreneurial as manifested in my observations among this group of a lower degree of business establishment and ownership; and due to a variety of reasons discussed in the dissertation, the time span between arrival in the country of permanent resettlement –United States- and the creation of a local community organization is, comparatively

speaking, is a wide one. Whereas, a subsection of Bosnians in Utica is adopting the new place as their own and improving the local economy. Signs of this adoption include common interview responses desirous of making the United States into a home, much higher number of small-sized businesses owned and operated in the respective locale, as well as the remarkable coming-into-being of a community organization, the Bosnian Islamic Association of Utica, in such a short period of time as would astound the mayor of the city hosting the Bosnians in question. This dissertation examines how these differences may link to a number of factors including urban vs. rural backgrounds, differential wartime experiences, and the specifics of the resettlement locales. It concerns the transformations various individuals, who formally transitioned into America as refugees, are effecting and undergoing in the American metropolis.

The dissertation contributes to the scholarship on Bosnian diaspora, in particular to the literature addressing various aspects of Bosnians' post-war experiences in the United States. In addition, the dissertation adds to anthropological discussions of sociocultural change by introducing the conceptual tool of *supermobility*. Illustrated mainly with reference to the adaptive practices of a specific individual, this heuristic paves the way for a non-sedentary perspective toward adaptation and repositions mobility as a form of proactive choice. The dissertation foregrounds the role of refugee mobility as a generative and adaptive process in which refugee individuals act in ways that defy popular perceptions of them as helpless, public-resource-depleting, and

maladaptive guests. Furthermore, with its focus on a specific group of refugees in Central New York, this work additionally seeks to help reverse an unwelcome trend in social sciences, which is the dwindling number of scholarly works on refugees.

Ways to Refuge: Bosnians in Central New York in Ethnographic Perspective

By

Fethi Keleş

B.A. Boğaziçi University, 1999

M.A. Fatih University, 2002

M.A. Syracuse University, 2008

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology
in the Graduate School of Syracuse University

June 2014

Copyright 2014 Fethi Keleş

All rights reserved.

Acknowledgments

This dissertation, probably like many other dissertations, came into being after a lengthy yet rewarding journey. I have been privileged to enjoy the support, care, attention, friendship, constructive criticism, and the company of many individuals. I am grateful to all of them. Throughout, however, genuine and unconditional love came from two sources most importantly, and it is those two, my wife and my son, that I will thank first and foremost. As we went through the trials and tribulations of graduate school at the Maxwell School of Syracuse University together, my wife Havva, an accomplished political scientist in her own right, has been there with me and for me in every step of the doctoral journey. She has been the true picture of supportiveness and encouragement. I do not have the words to thank her enough. I consider myself extremely fortunate to have her by my side. My son Ömer has been nothing but a source of joy and inspiration. I cannot wait to see how he will reach much further than mom and dad have attempted. Sky is the limit, go boy! We will be with you in all of your just and fair endeavors. Your presence continues to inspire us both.

I greatly appreciate the support and attention I have received from all members of my dissertation committee. I must, however, express my particular gratitude to my advisor Dr. Robert Rubinstein. Ever since I first knocked on his door many years ago to inquire about the Language and Culture course he was teaching, I have always received sound advice and guidance from him. I thank him for all the wisdom and knowledge he

shared with me in and out of the classroom. Robert helped me keep my writing focused and to the point, encouraged me to dive into the world of publishing early on, tirelessly edited my cover letters and grant applications, and gave me fair and sound criticism when I needed it. His offer to cover an entire week of classes for me when I was an instructor at Cazenovia College when I was unsure whether I would have enough time to get back on my feet after the knee surgery I thought I would (but did not) have is simply unforgettable. I am indebted to him for all that he has done for me throughout my graduate years. I thank Dr. Ann G. Gold for introducing me to the study of memory as a cultural phenomenon and polishing my understanding of the topic in an independent study I took with her. The guidance and comments Dr. Gold gave me on my dissertation draft allowed me to think about memory and commemoration in novel ways. Dr. Arthur Paris has always been a pleasure to interact with. I am grateful to him for the many intellectual insights he shared with me about immigration in America in the class I took from him several years ago, as well as in many informal conversations afterwards. It has been a privilege to work with Dr. Felicia McMahon in the many programs she organized to showcase the talents and heritages of the various refugee communities in the Central New York area. Her humanism is obvious and inspirational. I thank Dr. Deborah Pellow for her helpful comments on a draft of this dissertation. The many suggestions she offered helped me improve the stylistic and theoretical aspects of that draft and render it more coherent as a whole. I also thank her for her leadership of

the Society for Urban, National and Transnational/Global Anthropology, where I served as a Student Councilor under her presidency. I look forward to having the chance to serve the discipline with her again. A member of my committee, Dr. Michael Freedman, passed away before I completed this dissertation. I am sorry that he cannot see the project in its final form. I appreciated his rigor and the helpful critique I received from him on my earlier writings. He was one of the best teachers I have ever seen, and I learned so much from him about the dos and don'ts of teaching.

I am grateful to my parents-in-law for their unending support for my wife's and my academic endeavors. Over the years, they have always watched our back in ways too numerous to list. I thank my own parents, in anticipation of what they might, someday, do to show they care about and value our legitimate pursuits. I will always consider myself lucky to have known, and enjoyed the support of, Dr. Şerafettin Özer and his family in İstanbul, Turkey. The hand they lent me in times of need will always be remembered.

Over the years, I had valuable discussions about various aspects of my work with several individuals. At the Maxwell School, I appreciated the friendship and wisdom of Dr. Jim Bennett of the Political Science Department. My fellow graduate students in the Anthropology Department offered good company, and I thank them all. Beyond the Maxwell School, I had useful exchanges about my project with the inaugural fellows of Settling-into-Motion Program of the Zeit Foundation which funded

our respective works with scholarships. I gratefully acknowledge Zeit Foundation's generous financial support and thank Dr. Peggy Levitt and Dr. Michael Werz for the feedback they offered during Zeit events in Germany and Spain. I also appreciate the exchanges, in person in Montreal, Canada and later over several e-mails, I had with Dr. David Haines of George Mason University as I familiarized myself with the broader refugee studies literature. I am thankful to Dr. Reed Coughlan of SUNY Empire State College in Utica. I learned much from his writings on Bosnians in Utica.

Over the course of my research and writing, I held teaching appointments in a number of fine institutions. I am grateful to Dr. Nancy Ries and Dr. Dan Monk of the Peace and Conflict Studies Program at Colgate University where I taught as a lecturer. The chili and soft drinks we enjoyed in a Mongolian *yurt* in Hamilton, NY shortly before the Spring 2010 semester began are unforgettable, as is the collegial and supportive environment PCON provided me with in that semester there. I thank Dr. Sharon Dettmer and Dr. Stewart Weisman for the friendly spirit with which they welcomed me into Cazenovia College where I served as a visiting instructor of international studies in Fall 2011. Finally, the Anthropology Department at Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania, where I taught as a visiting instructor in the 2013-2014 academic year, offered me a wonderful academic home away from home. I thank my fellow faculty members Dr. Conrad Quintyn, Dr. Faith Warner, Dr. Sue Dauria, Dr. DeeAnne Wymer, and Dr. Tom Aleto at Bloomsburg for their collegiality.

Members of the Turkish community in Syracuse were all a joy to interact with. I am happy to have known so many good friends who were supportive and encouraging throughout. In particular, I thank Tahir Coşkun, Mehmet Murat Baysal and Seher Baysal, Mehmet Yavuz and Nurcan Yavuz, Ahmet Sula and Esranur Sula, Hakan Partal and Sibel Partal, Kılıç Buğra Kanat, Salih Erden, Seçkin Arı and Aysun Arı, Murat Köse, Yavuz İlter and Ebru İlter for their friendship and helping out with the many challenges of life abroad. I am additionally grateful to Dr. Ehat Ercanlı and Dr. Yıldray Yıldırım, both of Syracuse University, for their guidance, hospitality, and mentorship over the years.

This work could not have come into being without the generosity of countless Bosnians living in Central New York. I thank the respective administrations of the Islamic Cultural Center of Bosniaks in Syracuse and the Bosnian Islamic Association of Utica for their welcoming and helpful spirit. I am privileged to have been invited into the lives of many Bosnians. Izet Andelija and Hanka Andelija, thank you for the company you have given me and my family. Hasan Boric and Mersa Boric, you have been amazing friends, I learned so much from you. Vahidin Zagorica, thanks for all the help you extended and your friendship. Mirza Tihic, I appreciate your enthusiasm to help the newcomers who are now in the shoes you were once in. You guys all make the world a better place. *Hvala!*

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	vii
List of Illustrative Materials	xiii
Dedication	xiv
Chapter 1 – Introduction	1
Chapter 2 – Transitions	26
Chapter 3 – At Home in the World	66
Chapter 4 – “Da vidiš, Da znaš, Da pamtiš”: The Uses of Commemoration	109
Chapter 5 – Ways to Refuge	146
Chapter 6 – “I want to break the contract and buy the interview from you”: Reflections on fieldwork among Bosnians in Central New York	189
Chapter 7 - Conclusion	227
Appendix	242
Works Cited	262
Vita	284

List of Illustrative Materials

Tables:

Table 1 – The global distribution of Bosnian emigration	53-54
Table 2 – Memory: Some Types and Their Characteristics	113

Images:

1 and 2: Mosques and names	23
3: The grill, as pictured in Huso Segic’s backyard	28
4: Bajram celebration in progress	69
5: Cevapis on the grill	69
6 and 7: Attendees inside IKCBS on 11 July 2009	119
8: Guest imam delivering his sermon	121
9 and 10: In and on the field; Bodily memory	124
11: Huso standing by his Volvo tractor	164
12: The accompaniment	166
13: Where there’s a will, there are ways: The world through Huso’s windshield	168

Maps:

Map 1: Dzemaal traversing the world	74
Map 2: Dzemaal traversing the U.S.	90

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my wife, my life companion, my best friend and my lifeline Havva Karakaş-Keleş, and to my beloved son Ömer Faruk Keleş who continues to amaze me everyday.

Introduction

This introductory chapter opens with the divergent stories of two Bosnian men who migrated to the United States as refugees. Beginning with a main goal of this dissertation –documenting the resettlement experiences of Bosnians- as such, the chapter then introduces broader the subject matter and the questions pursued, offering a brief foray into the literature on Bosnians in the United States as well as into anthropological scholarship on refugees in general along the way. It then continues by explaining some of the motivations behind the study. The dissertation’s various contributions are laid out, additional goals of the study are discussed, and an entrée is offered into the anthropology of forced or involuntary migration. This is followed by, among other things, a description of the theoretical commitments undertaken in this study concerning the role of memory in understanding resettlement and integration. The chapter closes with a section discussing my use of the identity terms Bosniak, Bosnian, and Bosnian Muslim throughout the dissertation. The closing section explains how the terms are used interchangeably and justifies this usage with reference to ethnographic data as well as relevant scholarly literature.

Američki Dreams

Whether you are a Caesar who has planned it to the minutest detail or simply a numbed foot-soldier ordered to follow others' plans, crossing the Rubicon is no funny business. And belonging is tough terrain to navigate. Whatever trails precursors may have blazed here and there for you to follow, making the path *just your* path takes a toll of its own. Such, generally, is the ordeal of modern-day refugees who go through major difficulties to venture daringly into terrains of uncertainty in search of places they want to call home. Such, specifically, is a toll tens of thousands of Bosnians, who left their homeland during and after the Bosnian War between 1992 and 1995, have been paying with buckets of sweat to call America, where they are now resettled, *home*.

Says sociologist Oscar Handlin in *The Uprooted*: "Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants *were* American history" (Handlin 1951:3). There are, one would think, myriad ways to make history, aren't there? This was Sulejman Talović's: as he entered Trolley Square mall in Salt Lake City on 12 February 2007, none would have anticipated the rampage soon to follow. Carrying two guns, Talović began a random shooting spree, leaving five bystanders dead before he was shot and killed by Kenneth Hammond, an off-duty police officer who happened to be in the mall at the time. On that fateful day, ordinary Americans saw their lives shattered by Talović, a Bosnian refugee from Former Yugoslavia who came to the U.S. in 1998 with his family to escape the war in his home

country. But then, as I said, there are other ways to make history, and this was Dzenan Selimović's: 10 August 2007 was a fateful day for him. He, too, was carrying a gun. But his was accompanied with a badge: Selimović graduated from the police academy and joined Syracuse Police Department in Syracuse, New York. On that day, Selimović, a Bosnian refugee from Former Yugoslavia who came to the U.S. in 1999 with his mom to escape the war that made Former Yugoslavia history, assumed a duty to protect and serve the American public. Both men have made themselves part of American history by crossing Rubicons of their own making. One did so as a refugee-turned-killer, the other as a refugee-turned-protector. Both witnessed the material and emotional destruction that befell their homeland, Bosnia. Both have ended up in the United States around the same time. Both belong in the same faith, Islam. They share the same ethnic identity, Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim). They were subject to the same rules and policies as far as resettlement in the United States is concerned. Both had similar chances of access to means of integration such as cash and medical assistance, housing, schooling, and jobs when each first arrived. One Bosnian refugee failed, while the other succeeded. *Američki* dreams, so to speak, have led to remarkably different paths that neither of them would, in all probability, have contemplated in advance.

This dissertation is built (among other things) on the premise that more is involved in this divergence in paths than potentially different personalities. I document the resettlement experiences of Bosnian Muslims relocated to two urban locales in the

north of New York State during and after the Bosnian War (1992-1995) in the Balkans. To do so, I rely mainly on ethnographic data gathered through participant-observation and extensive interviews conducted over a period of fourteen months of fieldwork in soccer fields, mosques, apartments, houses and their backyards, karate schools, firehouse-cum-event halls, public parks, movie theaters, college libraries, interstate highways, and myriad other places where I conversed with and came to know many Bosnians. The dissertation contributes to the scholarship on Bosnian diaspora, in particular to the rather slowly-developing literature addressing various aspects of Bosnians' post-war experiences in the United States (Hearings Before U.S. Committee on International Relations 1998; 1996; 1995). As to this literature, Erwin, Leung, and Boban (2001: 10) note: "What do we know about Bosnian refugees in the US? While there is much literature on the war in the Former Yugoslavia, and the US response thereto, little information exists about refugees from this war who have settled in the US. Systematic collection of this kind of information has been very limited. In 1995, national surveys of service providers and refugees were conducted. However, the focus was on assessing and improving an orientation program in Croatia that many refugees went through before emigrating to the US, and shed limited light on the state of Bosnian refugees in the US." A promising sign of the slow but steady increase in the attention in the literature to Bosnians in the U.S. can nevertheless be detected. Notable examples showing this increase include, among others, Ana Croegaert's (2011) work on

coffee consumption practices –and their nostalgic import- among Bosnian refugee women in Chicago, and on how public presentation devices (film, theater, newspapers etc.) in the United States rewrite the culturalist thesis (that imagines the Balkans as a land of perpetual hatred), leading to inaccurate and simplified views among the public on incidences of domestic violence, such that “...American troping of Bosnia and Bosnian immigrants did not include understandings of Bosnian wars, migration trajectories, and domestic conflict according to the people who had experienced them” (2010: 149); the volume edited by Valenta and Ramet (2011), *The Bosnian Diaspora: Integration in Transnational Communities*, featuring two chapters (out of a total of sixteen) on Bosnians in the U.S.; Mosselson’s (2006, 2007) work on schooling and education among Bosnian female refugees in New York City, as well as Hariz Halilovich’s (2013) remarkable transcontinental ethnography *Places of Pain: Forced Displacement, Popular Memory and Trans-local Identities in Bosnian War-torn Communities*, which discusses Bosnian refugee experiences in the United States particularly in its sixth chapter.

In addition, the dissertation adds to anthropological discussions of sociocultural change by introducing the conceptual tool of *supermobility* (see Chapter 3). Illustrated primarily with reference to the transnational (Al-Ali 2001; Levitt and Khagram 2007; Vertovec 2009) as well as intra-national practices of a resilient refugee individual, this heuristic repositions mobility as a form of proactive choice.

Next, the dissertation offers a nuanced treatment of commemorative practice (see Chapter 4) in the context of refugeehood and considers the ways in which that practice is embedded in pedagogy, religious performance, cultural critique, and entertainment. In this context, Marianne Hirsch's (2008) helpful concept of "postmemory" is borrowed to offer theoretical commentary on the erasure or minimization of the gap between two types of memory: the autobiographical and the historical. In addition, building on a disciplinary tradition of methodological cultural relativism, the dissertation puts into perspective (that is, relativizes) bureaucratic knowledge found in an instrument of international law, the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and offers a richer, ethnographically-informed notion of refugeehood.

Furthermore, the dissertation foregrounds the discipline's role as a public and engaged undertaking by pointing out the need to intervene anthropologically in ongoing policy debates about the impending immigration reform in the United States. To emphasize the importance of ensuring that adequate attention is paid to the specificities of refugee migration, the dissertation brings these specificities to the fore by focusing on pre- and post-resettlement lives of the Bosnians in my sample who entered the United States as refugees (see Chapter 5).

Based on the finding that several individuals consulted in this project did not become U.S. citizens even though they were entitled to do so, the dissertation also issues a call to stakeholders responsible for or variously involved in the resettlement of

refugees to take measures to more clearly communicate the value of citizenship as a civic virtue (see Chapter 5). In this regard, the heterogeneity of motivations behind the decision to become or not to become a citizen of the United States of America is described and analyzed based on interview data to contribute to anthropological studies of decision-making.

Understanding Refuge, Resettlement, Integration: Motivations for the Study

Refugees settling into urban contexts in the developed world follow varying paths of adaptation: Some hold on to traditional identities while strategically picking and choosing aspects of the dominant pattern as befits their short- and long-term educational, occupational, and political objectives; others melt in the pot, transforming themselves and their hosts in an adaptive process that produces various forms of hybridity; and yet others become like the native and totally immerse themselves in the prevailing culture (Ager 1999; Gordon 1964). It might be unsurprising to expect some degree of adaptive variation between culturally, nationally, religiously, and ethnically very different groups of refugees resettled in metropolitan locales. But one would likely be puzzled upon observing that two otherwise very similar refugee cohorts are indeed following divergent paths of adaptation, especially if they were displaced from their country of origin by the same cause, had undergone the same resettlement system, had

relocated to two urban areas that are similar across a number of dimensions, and had had similar chances of access to means of integration.

In addition to relativizing the bureaucratic category of the Convention refugee, describing and analyzing commemorative practice, and developing a long-term perspective toward integration, this dissertation describes and analyzes a variation of the type mentioned in the previous paragraph. Why does there seem to be variation in the resettlement experiences of Bosnians in Central New York, a new immigrant community whose members appear to be similarly positioned in a variety of ways? They have, after all, relocated to the region during and in the aftermath of the armed violence in the Balkans in early 1990s, and are very similar or identical in terms of their ethnicity, reasons for displacement, context of resettlement, access to means of integration, rules and regulations of resettlement they followed. Despite this, a nostalgic, relatively non-entrepreneurial and only belatedly organizational discourse characterizes the resettlement experiences of several Bosnians (who are mainly living in Syracuse), whereas a subsection of the Bosnians in Utica was rapidly adopting the new place as their own and improving the local economy. How this variation can be understood and explained is one of the pursuits of this dissertation, in particular that of Chapter 5. To answer this particular question, I rely on my interview data and focus on how these differences may link to a number of factors including urban vs. rural

backgrounds, differential wartime experiences, dispersed vs. condensed residential patterns, and the specifics of the demographics of the resettlement areas.

In addition, I address in this work some concerns recently voiced in the literature. According to Eftihia Voutira and Giorgia Doná (2007: 163, emphasis added), “Refugees are becoming an ‘endangered species’, with fewer individuals being officially recognized under the 1951 Refugee Convention[...] and permanent protection being replaced by temporary protection. At the same time we observe a trend that fewer doctoral theses are written on *refugees specifically or specific groups of refugees.*” With its ethnographic focus on Bosnian refugees resettled to two urban locales in a developed country, I aim to help reverse that trend by describing, among other things, how and whether the anthropological-historical category of refugee outlives and/or circumscribes the administrative-legal category of refugee (Harrell-Bond and Voutira 1992: 7). In other words, I suggest that individuals’ dispositions toward the notion and experience of refuge, generated by the objective reality of war and strategically adjusted to maximize various forms of capital with which to face the challenges of the resettlement process, can continue even after the cessation of one’s legal status as a refugee as a result, for instance, of acquiring citizenship.^{1 2} In other words, the study

¹ “How can I fail to identify with refugees when I myself am one? Yes, I too was a refugee. In a strange way, a person who has been a refugee remains a refugee.” Holocaust survivor and Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel, quoted in Rynearson, Ann M. and James Phillips, eds. 1996. *Selected Papers on Refugee Issues: IV*. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association, p. vi.

² “Can you imagine our lives after losing (parents, home, neighborhood, school, church, nation, country) in a short period of time, almost instantly? This chain cannot be fixed ever. We can just pretend that we

construes refuge as a sociocultural domain with flexible boundaries. I further argue for an understanding of refugeehood as a historically-shaped state of being "...that remains irreducible to legal or administrative labels" (2007: 163). I exemplify this flexibility by describing what David Turton calls "place-making practices", or *emplacement*, which include telling and retelling stories about the former place, the re-creation of familiar features from the lost environment, the transportation of familiar objects and personal mementoes, and the maintenance of social links to an imagined place of belonging (Turton 2005: 276). Such an illustration serves not just an analytical goal. There is, additionally, a moral component to it, as noted by Turton (2005: 278):

To emphasize the horror and pain of the loss of home [...] or 'neighbourhood' [...], and to say nothing—or little—about the work of producing home or neighbourhood, whether in a refugee camp, resettlement site, detention centre, city slum or middle class suburb, is to treat the displaced as fundamentally flawed human beings, as lacking what it takes to be social agents and historical subjects. It is to see them—as virtually everyone who writes about refugees urges us not to see them—as a category of 'passive victims' who exist to be assisted, managed, regimented and controlled—and for their own good. Above all, it makes it more difficult for us to identify with the suffering stranger, to see him or her as an ordinary person, a person like us, and therefore as a potential neighbour in our neighbourhood.

are doing well, but all these lost links are like amputated arms; they do not grow again." Bosnian refugee quoted in Owens-Manley, J. and Reed Coughlan. 2002. Adaptation of Refugees During Cross-Cultural Transitions: Bosnian Refugees in Upstate New York. p.8. http://www.hamilton.edu/Levitt/pdfs/owens-manley_refugee.pdf, accessed January 18, 2013.

Refugees in Anthropological Perspective

In anthropological terms "involuntary migration occurs when there has been, or will be, a catastrophic change in people's environment and they have little or no choice but to relocate" (Hansen and Oliver-Smith 1982: iii) and "refugees are people who have undergone a violent 'rite' of separation..." (Harrell-Bond and Voutira 1992:7). Literature on this phenomenon of global proportions sought to identify its causes, the contexts in which it occurs, the populations it affects (Gold 1992), the predicaments it creates, and the emergence of new institutional structures devised to respond to it (Colson 2003; Stein 1981). Initial anthropological work on refugees relied substantially on the early- and mid-20th century sociological and anthropological studies of labor migration and urban settlement (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918; Cohen 1969). Anthropological research described refugee camp experiences (Harrell-Bond 1986; Peteet 2005), revitalization and maintenance of ties with the homeland (Bosquet 1991), how the lives of refugees are shaped by institutional constraints imposed by resettlement/development agencies (Malkki 2002), among other issues. Other ethnographies have focused on the theme of trust and its relation to the refugee experience. Daniel and Knudsen (1995) note, for instance, that although the availability of and access to structural means of viability are important, refugees' success or failure in reincorporating themselves to a new order of things will not be adequately understood unless cultural construction of trust is attended to thematically. Further research discussed identity transformations, the

relationship between cultural preservation and adaptation, the relationship between acculturation and assistance organizations, efforts to develop a political identity, and refugees' traditional attitudes toward the family in comparison with Western values in the context of miscellaneous refugee groups (Hackett 1992, Hopkins 1992, Van Arsdale 1993, Wellmeir 1994).

Anthropological critiques of refugee studies converge on the following major points: *a)* Insufficient attention has been paid to building a theoretical framework within which a broad array of refugee phenomena could be explained; *b)* the rather hasty appropriation of the legal-institutional vocabulary developed by policy circles for policy –not scientific– purposes resulted in the replication of the neoliberal bias that refugees are a transient and temporary problem and that sedentarist solutions are most appropriate to deal with this deviation from the Westphalian nation-state system;³ and, *c)* only in the last few decades have anthropologists recognized that violence, cruelty, and disorderliness –major causes of displacement- were as much part of cultures around the world as stability, harmony, and peace which the discipline has been keener to describe (Edgerton 1982; Harrell-Bond and Voutira 1992).

Conceptual-theoretical discussions in the literature pertain, among other things, to how involuntary instances of migration should be separated from the general category of migrants. Their classificatory value notwithstanding, these discussions seem

³ Here, the reference is to the problems associated with imagining refugees as outcasts or misfits in a world of nation-states resting on an ideal of homogeneous citizenry.

to pay insufficient attention to an important quality of forced migrants: their socioculturally mediated capacity to act, or agency (Ahearn 2001). In their typologies and classifications (Black 2001; Kunz 1973, 1981; Marx 1990; Richmond 1993, 1994; Turton 2003; Thomas 1981; Zetter 1991, 2007; Van Hear 1998), they tend to downplay, if not neglect altogether, the strategizing capacity of the individual refugee even in the direst of circumstances. Yet, "Refugees...are not simply helpless pawns unable to act; *indeed, the refugees who escape are often precisely those who could act* (Haines 2010: 34, emphasis added). Moreover, they uphold a Western "model of man" with given and relatively unchanging interests and thus assume a historically-specific category of refugee, only to understand the broad empirical world by extrapolating from that narrow category. As Hayden (2006: 485) reiterates, however, "Refugee studies must[...] not assume the category of 'refugee' nor the cultural categories that give it shape."

I noted above that I emphasize the role of historical memory in understanding resettlement and integration. My approach to memory as an organizing and informing concept is based on a few key theoretical commitments: First, memory is not a stable thing or a fixed repository of the past. It is instead a dynamic process through which past experiences and events continue to remain relevant in the present. In that sense, *memory is essentially remembering*. Second, although there is arguably no memory without a social context accompanying it, treating memory as an *exclusively* social phenomenon, as do scholars in the Durkheimian tradition, can amount to an implicit

dismissal of the extent to which individuals are (or have the potential to be) actively involved in that process. The third commitment concerns a narrower theoretical debate in social memory studies regarding *autobiographical* vs. *vicarious* remembering. Vicarious memory involves memory of events one hasn't personally experienced, but has acquired through such processes as repetitive re-telling by others, by indoctrinating state propaganda, and mass education et cetera. Autobiographical memory is memory of events one has personally experienced. I suggest that an individual's socioculturally mediated capacity to embody/internalize historical knowledge can function to minimize or completely erase the temporal/historical distance between these two types of memory. These theoretical commitments underlie my interpretation of some of the ethnographic data I present in this work (see Chapter 4). By having the name of his brother, who was killed in the war, permanently etched on his right arm, the powerful striker of the Bosnian amateur soccer team of which I was a member was making a statement that the dead *continue to be remembered*, or by giving an account of the war with such astounding detail as would be found in the stories I listened to from Bosnians who were in the frontlines, the young Bosnian college student was making a statement that it made little difference that he was just a few years old when the war broke, and that it was *his* war, too.

Organization of the Study

This dissertation documents the resettlement experiences of Bosnian Muslims relocated to two urban locales in Central New York during and after the Bosnian War in the Balkans (1992-1995). The present chapter has introduced the subject matter and discussed some of the motivations behind pursuing it, explained the dissertation's various contributions to the discipline, detailed the goals of the study, offered an entrée into the anthropology of refugees and involuntary migration, and described theoretical commitments concerning the role of memory in understanding resettlement and integration. Chapter 2 provides a selective account of forced migration historically (focusing on the twentieth century in which Bosnians' displacement took place) and globally, and discusses the emergence and growth of resettlement as a specific type of response to it. It establishes pragmatic boundaries of what constitutes forced migration and thus identifies different types of forced migrants, gives an account of the conceptual birth and growth of the category "refugee" as a specific kind of human being, and relates a brief history of refugee studies. In addition, it introduces the research settings as refugee safe havens and discusses the reasons for choosing those for the fieldwork, provides a global overview of the populations studied –Bosnian refugees- and reasons for their displacement, offers quantitative indicators in tabulated and narrative form, and presents an account of refugee migration to and refugee resettlement in the United States.

While Chapters 1, 2, and 6 offer ethnographic vignettes briefly, I present the main ethnographic data of this dissertation in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. What unites these three chapters in particular is an effort to describe and analyze various aspects of the diasporic experiences of the Bosnians in my sample at the individual, group, and beyond-group levels. The multilevel account running through these chapters aims to heed what Rubinstein, Laughlin, and McManus (1984: 93) have identified as the “rule of minimal inclusion.” This rule prescribes that “...to adequately account for any human activity, analyses must extend to levels of organization above and below the level of interest” (Rubinstein 2008: 12).

The main activity of interest in these three core ethnographic chapters is the *practical* generation, or creation, of diaspora. The various levels of analysis offered in these chapters fit together by maintaining an emphasis on *performativity*. This allows me to not only juxtapose the various levels with one another (2008: 102), but also to offer a broader description and analysis of the emergent character of diaspora by linking diasporic subjectivity (Chapter 3), intersubjectivity (Chapter 4), and heterogeneity (Chapter 5) through the nexus of performance.

In this multilevel picture, then, diaspora is a space a forced migrant is not only thrown into but also remakes through his or her social practices and strategic actions, an idea or form of consciousness which members of the one-and-a-half and second generations come to inhabit by acquiring postmemory through group performances,

and an assemblage of structural factors (such as formal citizenship and the labor market) that host environments feature and to which forced migrants react by developing a diverse range of dispositions.

Chapter 3 is an individual-level example of the emphasis on performativity. It documents diaspora-as-performance by taking the reader through an extended narrative, gleaned from a half day-long interview, of multiple displacements and emplacements that have constituted a particular individual's life in exile. An exercise in interpretive anthropology following the principle of methodological relativism, Chapter 3 also contextualizes the legal category of refugee as defined in the 1951 Geneva Convention. Chapter 3 aims to introduce ethnographic clarity into bureaucratic knowledge by focusing on this individual's practices of displacement and adaptation performed over many years and across several geographies. It introduces a heuristic device, *supermobility*, to the scholarship on forced migration and refugees, advances a brief critique of sedentary approaches toward adaptation, and suggests a notion of home as affective space. While the focus of the chapter is on the displacements and emplacements of a particular individual, the chapter's emphasis on lived experience and cultural aspects of refugeehood is buttressed with quotes from other interviews, as well.

Moving beyond the individual level approach to diasporic existence in Chapter 3 to a group level approach, Chapter 4 considers the relationship between collective

memory and refuge. It does so by exploring the extent to which Bosnians residing in Central New York are molding into a diasporic “community of memory” thanks to the commemorations they are holding to remember the mass killings that took place in July 1995 in Srebrenitza, a small town in eastern Bosnia. Relying on participant-observation activities conducted in various commemorative events, I discuss and illustrate the functions commemoration serves in relation to visibility and recognition in diaspora, identity transformation, and indexicality, among other factors. The Chapter then engages the scholarship on commemorations, and focuses on the roles attributed to commemoration, the question of memory embodiment, that is, the relationship between vicarious memory and autobiographical memory, and suggests that how commemoration might be contributing, paradoxically, to forgetting in ways the remembering individuals and groups may not have intended. Relying on Marianne Hirsch’s (2008) concept of postmemory, the analysis in Chapter 4 demonstrates how a particular type of practice -commemoration- performed at the group level serves a variety of functions and conveys to group members as well as outsiders information about the lived dimensions of refuge. It also considers the ways in which commemorative practice is embedded in other functions or institutions, such as religion, public outreach, cultural critique, and entertainment in the form of sports.

To complement the individual- and group-level accounts of life in diaspora, Chapter 5 focuses mainly on intracommunity heterogeneity to document and examine

the diverse ways in which displacement and adaptation are understood and acted upon in exile, that is, in countries of first asylum as well as the permanent resettlement country, the United States. By shedding light on the variation in Bosnians' pre- and post-resettlement experiences, it provides ethnographic depth about an underemphasized aspect of immigration in the United States: refugee immigration and refugee adaptation. The Chapter also documents themes and domains that form the complex process that anthropological and other literatures refer to as adaptation or integration. It describes the variation in adaptive trajectories by looking at differences in flight motives, decision-making under conditions of extreme danger, experiences in countries of first asylum, and broad contours of early post-resettlement life in the country of permanent settlement –the United States. It illustrates intracommunity heterogeneity further with reference to the crucial integration domains of employment and legal citizenship. Additionally, to depict integration in fuller detail, the Chapter lays out the patterns emerging from the ethnographic data to account for some of the general differences (concerning areas such as home ownership and self-employment) in the adaptive trajectories among Bosnians in the Central New York region.

Chapter 6 explains the research process by offering a reflexive discussion of challenges encountered, languages utilized and technical issues faced during the field research. It conceptualizes the field as a space with porous boundaries and that can emerge or expand unexpectedly. Details of trust-building activities, mechanics of

obtaining consent, various identities that needed to be carried while researching, and steps taken toward enhancing the size of the snowball sample are among the issues discussed in Chapter 6. Additionally, the chapter relates the story of a bodily experience to illustrate how a researcher's non-field life can impact the way he or she approaches the data he or she gathered and the way he or she establishes empathy with his or her interlocutors. Furthermore, it points to a number of similarities and differences between the researcher and the researched, with a view to explaining how those informed methodological choices and facilitated the researching process.

Chapter 7, the Conclusion, provides concluding thoughts about displacement, refuge, and integration. It emphasizes the importance of enriching the bureaucratic perspective with ground level data focusing on everyday experience of exile and refuge. It offers the sketch of a relational approach toward the study of integration. In closing, the Chapter discusses the themes and questions I plan to pursue in the future to build on the fieldwork conducted toward this dissertation.

Bosniak, Bosnian, or Bosnian Muslim?

In this dissertation, I use the identity terms Bosniak, Bosnian, and Bosnian Muslim interchangeably. This usage reflects the patterns of self-identification among the individuals I interviewed and interacted with over the course of my research. An example of this pattern can be seen in the remarks of the IKCBS (or the Bosnian mosque in Syracuse) secretary. In our informal conversation which touched upon several

different subjects after a Friday prayer, he told me: "It doesn't make a difference for me if people call me Bosnian or Bosniak." This response is typical of the way in which my interlocutors identified themselves. In other words, two factors seemed to remain constant when my interlocutors self-identified as Bosniak, Bosnian, or Bosnian Muslim: Bosnia-Herzegovina is the origin country and Islam is the faith. As I explain elsewhere in the dissertation (p. 178), officially and in the responses of my informants, Bosniak means Bosnian Muslim (Klemencic and Zagar 2003: 234-244, Klemencic 2013 229-233) and refers specifically to the Muslim inhabitants of the origin country. Bosnian ("Bosanac", as known in Bosnian language) can technically refer to anyone from the origin country regardless of religious affiliation. In other words, Bosnian is an identity label encompassing Bosnian Muslim. To shed some historical light on these labels, it is useful quote at length Dr. Senad Agic, a well-known spiritual leader among Bosnian Muslims in the United States as well as the author of *Immigration and Assimilation: the Bosnian Muslim Experience in Chicago* (2004:119):

The term by which modern-day Bosnian Muslims describe themselves is still subject to confusion. Traditionally, they were called (primarily during the Ottoman period) Bosniaks (Bošnjak). Following the establishment of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Bosnian Muslims were completely denied a separate identity and were only allowed to describe themselves as Serb-Muslims or Croat-Muslims. During the communist period, Tito allowed Bosnian Muslims to declare themselves as a distinct nationality (narod), albeit one based on religion, not geography. Hence Bosnian Muslims could describe themselves as 'Muslims in a national sense' but as Bosnians. In the independent Bosnian of today, the old term Bosniak is being increasingly used to denote the indigenous population of Bosnia-Herzegovina that had embraced Islam during the five centuries of Ottoman rule. The term 'Bosnian' (Bosanac) is used to describe a citizen of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina regardless of religion or alleged ethnicity (Muslim, Catholic or Orthodox,

although many Bosnian Croats and Serbs are reluctant to be described as so. In this work, “Bosnian”, “Bosnian Muslim”, and “Bosniak” will be used interchangeably.

While geographic origin and religious affiliation are the two constants in my interviewees’ self-identification choices, and even though my usage of identity labels reflects these choices and has precedent in the literature, it is important to note the divergence among the individuals in my sample as regards identity. Because identity is ultimately not only about how one defines himself or herself but also how he or she is defined by others, it can be a complex issue fraught with difficulties, even within what might appear to be a monolithic group of new immigrants to an uninformed observer. Two examples of this complexity were particularly noteworthy in my research.

The first was reported to be the case when the Bosnian mosque in Syracuse was being named. As the IKCBS secretary told me, members of the community debated among themselves for about a week as to whether the name of the institution should include the word Bosnian or Bosniak. Eventually Bosniak won over Bosnian, and the mosque was called Islamic Cultural Association of Bosniaks in Syracuse. This was because, it was reported to me, there was more interest in emphasizing the religious component of the group’s identity. It may be argued at this point that this preference might have been due to the fact that it was after all a place of worship that was being named and therefore it should be no surprise that members of the group preferred Bosniak. Yet, such an obvious conclusion can be misleading, as members of the Bosnian

community in Utica did not have such a preference for exactly the same kind of place, a mosque. They called their institution Bosnian Islamic Association of Utica, as seen below:



Images 1 and 2: Mosques and names

Responses to my inquiries about this difference suggested that Bosnians from the eastern part of the origin country, who established the Syracuse mosque, have historically tended to be more religious. Whereas, those from the western part (the board of the Utica mosque was headed by a western Bosnian) were reported to have a more secular and urban outlook. Interview responses further indicated that “Bosnian” was perceived as a more inclusive label emphasizing not only religious but also

territorial identity, while “Bosniak” was primarily indexing the Muslims of that territory.

A second example of the complexity is rooted in the intra-Muslim clashes during the Bosnian War. Having talked to several Bosnian Muslims from the eastern part of Bosnia, in particular Srebrenitza, I became privy to many remarks where Bosnian Muslims who were supporters of the business tycoon Fikret Abdic (residing mainly in the town of Velika Kladusa in the country’s northwest) during the war were accused of treason and verbally excommunicated from the domain of Islam (“Only Fikret supporters lost the war. Nobody else, Muslims, Serbs, Croats, nobody else really lost, there’s no winner”; “They are [i.e. Abdic supporters] only Muslim by name”). During the war, Abdic followers, with support from Serbs, fought against their fellow Bosnian Muslims who remained loyal to the central government led by the then-president Alija Izetbegovic. Thus, some eastern Bosnians thought western Bosnians do not deserve to be called Bosniaks, i.e. Muslims: “They are no different than *chetniks* [Serb militias, responsible, among other things, for the killings in Srebrenitza],” said one of my interviewees. To which some western Bosnians in my sample responded: “Why do they call me chetnik? That’s for Serbs who killed women with knives and cut out babies from their bellies. Why do they call me like that? I’m a Muslim just like them [the eastern Bosnians].” The contention here is about whether one is entitled to the religious component of Bosnianness (and not necessarily about whether one belongs in a

territory), and as such it supports the observation that “Religion remains the main marker of ethnic difference among Bosnians, and it seems that it has become important to many people, regardless whether they are active believers or not” (Kalcic 2005: 164). While Kalcic’s point primarily describes the role of religion in differentiating one group of Bosnians (i.e. Serbs, Croats, and Muslims) from another, the description also is illustrative with respect to the contentions within Bosnians self-identifying as Muslims.

Accordingly, while geographic origin and religious identity appear to be the essential ingredients of the interchangeably used identity labels Bosniak, Bosnian Muslim, or Bosnian, they are invoked differently and there are contentions as to entitlement. It was reported to me that in late 1990s and early 2000s, these contentions between eastern and western Bosnians escalated to fierce levels including fist fights. As one interviewee noted, however, “There are hardcore people in each group. When you go to their houses you see different flags and different portraits of Alija or Fikret, depending on the case. As time passes, Abdic loyals and Alija loyals forget about the differences between them. Guys get girls from the other group and they visit each other.”

Transitions

Beginning with an ethnographic vignette illustrating the specific character –that it was *forced*- of Bosnian refugee migration to the United States, this chapter’s main aim is to provide a selective account of forced migration historically and globally, with a focus on the twentieth century in which Bosnians’ displacement took place. The chapter then discusses the emergence and growth of resettlement as a specific type of response to forced displacement. It establishes pragmatic boundaries of what constitutes forced migration and thus identifies different types of forced migrants, gives an account of the conceptual birth and growth of the category of refugee as a specific kind of human being, and relates a brief history of refugee studies. In addition, it introduces the research settings and discusses the reasons for choosing those for the fieldwork, provides a global overview of the group studied –Bosnian refugees- and reasons for their displacement, provides quantitative indicators in tabulated and narrative form, and offers an account of refugee migration to and refugee resettlement in the U.S. The chapter thus gives a historical and conceptual background with which to approach

specific experiences of forced migration discussed in later chapters and to offer clarity as to the *kind* of displacement Bosnians underwent.

“I didn’t come here because I wanted to”

With the sunlight effortlessly piercing through the leaves of old growth trees in the stunningly scenic public park known as the home of a lake in which layers of water do not mix, it was as refreshingly warm as it could probably get in the month of May in 2009 in this part of New York State famous for its long winters. About thirty-five Bosnian Muslim families arrived from all around the United States for a three-day annual event –a sort of religious rejuvenation in which a cohort perceiving itself to be in search of true piety, engages in intensive prayers, listens to sermons, strengthens bonds of fraternity, and feasts on delicacies of Bosnian cuisine.

From many a previous encounter, I happened to know the man in charge of the lamb rotisserie prepared in an ingenious design, a kind of culinary work of art: one half of a barrel cut vertically into two equal halves is laid down. A specially-oiled steel rod is placed along the height of the half-barrel, such that each tip of the rod protrudes from the ends of the semi-cylindrical structure. Before that placement, the rod passes horizontally through a lamb slaughtered and flayed elsewhere. Half of the half-barrel is filled with charcoal. A car window motor (stripped from a car in a junkyard), powered by a sizeable car battery and functioning through a gear mechanism, is tied to one end

of the steel rod. Power is turned on and the rolling rod creates a perfect rotisserie in a few hours.



Image 3: The grill, as pictured in Huso Segic's backyard.

The man in charge of the automated grill is Huso Segic, is a medium-built, stocky individual radiating an air of indefatigableness. The stamina he had to have as a soldier in Bosnian Army's special forces during the war seemed to carry over. No aspect of the job escaped his attention: slaughtering, flaying, cleaning up the animal; placing it through the stainless steel rod; adding just the right amount of spices and salt; mixing the charcoal at just the right intervals, to cooking the meat to perfection.

Huso's two kids and my son were attending the same school. On miscellaneous occasions when I needed to pick up or drop off my son at the school, or attend a parent-teacher conference or any other event there, it was always Huso's wife I would run into, and not him. I often wondered why he was not present. Our freewheeling conversation at the picnic solved the mystery for me. He was working as a truck driver, carrying groceries from Syracuse to two states in the American Midwest regularly in any given week, with a chance to spend only one night at his home during weekdays. That he had to be on the road constantly prevented him from having more of a physical presence in his family affairs. Huso came to the United States in the latter half of the 1990s as a *Convention-refugee*, a label I explain below, who was given a chance to permanently resettle in a third country. His first stop was Utica, NY, where he lived for two-and-a-half years. Upon arriving, he took English language classes at the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees in Utica and acquired enough of the language to just get by.

I want to build the rest of this chapter on Huso's response to one particular question, a most general one, I asked him at the picnic: "So, how's life in America?" Here is what he had to say, as recorded in my fieldnotes for the day: "Eat, work, and sleep –that's America. I'm not really proud that I came here. I didn't come here because I wanted to, but I needed to. I needed to survive, you know." What better a description of *forced* migration, I thought to myself many months later as I sat down to write my

dissertation, while teaching a course on forced migration and refugees in the meantime at a local college. Huso's verbal acrimony hit it right on the spot, and summed up the countless pages of material I read on the topic to me in a few short sentences. Forced migrations, after all, are involuntary transitions made out of necessity. They are unexpected passages, mostly ruptures, from social worlds of familiarity to unknown and unpredictable lives. My aim in this chapter is to offer a conceptual and historical background against which some complexities of those transitions can be understood. I begin by establishing pragmatic boundaries of what constitutes forced migration and identifying different types of forced migrants, and then give an account of the conceptual birth and growth of the category of refugee as a specific kind of human being. The reason for offering this background is to specify clearly, in conceptual and historical terms, the *kind* of forced migrants that Bosnians are. "Forced migration" is a term that encompasses a wide range of phenomena related to displacement, and therefore it is useful for descriptive and analytical purposes to explain where the displacement of Bosnians fits in that range. Leaving an extended discussion of forced migration in historical perspective to the Appendix to this dissertation, I consider in this Chapter the uprootings in the twentieth century, the time period in which Bosnians were displaced from their home country. The discussion and consideration are important to this dissertation as they demonstrate the distant and recent historical processes of which Bosnians' displacement from their homeland is one illustration. I

then introduce the research settings, the group studied and the reasons for their displacement, and provide a global overview of Bosnian refugee migration, accompanied by pertinent quantitative data as part of a general discussion focusing on refugee migration to and refugee resettlement in the United States.

Uprooting and the Uprooted: A Selective Survey of the Literature

One cannot emphasize enough that the idea and practice of moving is inseparably tied to the human condition. Reasons human beings move –in whatever political, religious, professional, and/or ethnic-cultural formations we may find them– are varied: In search of territory to forage, fields to till, spouses to marry, enemies to fight, material and symbolic valuables to acquire, or looking for a refuge for fear of harm to their physical well-being in their habitual places of residence. We move, in short, to make culture and as our cultures continue to make us. Movement is an adaptive response to increase chances of survival. As a symbolic response, it is one of our ways to tell ourselves and others who we are and have been, who we are not and have not been, who we want to become, and who we want others to become. In the several paragraphs that follow, I discuss the literature studying various aspects of a particular type of human movement and its consequences, namely forced migration and refugees.

1. Conceptual/typological issues

First, a linguistic caveat: The phrase “forced migration” is used interchangeably with “involuntary migration” in the literature. Several authors refer to the same or similar processes by using one phrase or the other. Migratory processes caused by political or religious persecution, natural/environmental catastrophes, nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects are referred to as either involuntary or forced instances of migration. An interesting indication of interchangeable usage is found in the titles of two important journals in the field, *The Journal of Involuntary Migration* and *Forced Migration Review*, both of which cover instances of migration spurred by the above factors. Whichever designation one chooses, what is at stake is a problem of *volition*, a diminishing of the human capacity to will, as it applies to a person’s decision to stay where he or she habitually resides. That volition is a key factor in making the analytical decision to disentangle types of migrations is supported by a variety of scholars. Economist Theodore Schultz, for instance, distinguishes between migrants who are compelled to migrate against their own perceived self-interest and those able to exercise choice over the decision (Schulz, cited in Eltis 2002: 5). Eltis (2002: 6), a historian, confirms this line of reasoning: “The distinction between free and coerced migration hinges on who makes the decision to leave, the migrant or some other individual.”

1.1 Forced migration and types of forced migrants

The definition adopted by the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM) highlights the factors that cause the catastrophic changes leading to forced migration. For the IASFM, involuntary migration is “a general term that refers to movements of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by conflicts) as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine and development projects” (IASFM 2013). Note that the IASFM definition demonstrates that not all forced migrants are considered refugees, although it considers refugees forced migrants. A logical inference is that forced migrants are of different types. I will later discuss one sub-category of forced migrants, namely refugees recognized as such under instruments of international law (in particular the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees). Before that discussion, however, I will consider different types of forced migrants who are uprooted from their homes for a variety of reasons.

First, there are development-induced displaced persons (DIDPs) who usually remain within the borders of their own countries after they have to resettle against their will as a result of government-sponsored development projects, most generally of an infrastructural nature.¹ These projects typically include the construction of ports, roads,

¹ Such persons are also referred to as forced resettlers, involuntary displacees, involuntary resettlers, development displacees, development oustees, project affected persons, development refugees, and resettlement refugees. See Turton, David. 2003. “Refugees and ‘Other Forced Migrants’”. Oxford University Refugee Studies Centre Working Paper No. 13. Oxford: UK.

and more commonly dams, deforestation works, as well as mining and clearance projects. Writing in the year 2000, Michael Cernea, who was the major designer and implementer of World Bank policies regarding involuntary resettlement, thinks some two hundred million people were forcibly uprooted as a result of development programs throughout the world in the last two decades of the 20th century (2000: 11).²

Next, there are internally displaced persons (IDPs), also referred to as internal refugees. “These are people who, because of the circumstances causing them to move[...]would have been considered worthy of international protection[...] if their move had taken them across an international border” (Turton 2003: 5). United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, OCHA, sheds some light on those conditions when defining the IDP category. This category includes “persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border” (Chimni 2000: 242).³

Yet another category of forced migrants is known as environmental or disaster displacees (EDs or DDs). Also referred to as disaster or environmental refugees, these are people displaced because of beyond-human-control events such as volcanic

² See Appendix, Section 1.1 for ethnographic illustrations of this category.

³ See Appendix, Section 1.2 for a summary of conceptual complications in this context.

eruptions, earthquakes, floods, or owing to human-caused industrial accidents resulting for instance in fatal radioactive dissemination. Environmental displacees are “persons who no longer gain a secure livelihood in their traditional homelands because of what are primarily environmental factors of unusual scope” (Myers and Kent 1995: 18). Two most frequently cited authors on the topic of environmental refugees are Essam El-Hinnawi and Jodi Jacobson. For the former (1985: 4), environmental refugees are “those people who have been forced to leave their traditional habitat...because of a marked environmental disruption...that jeopardized their existence and/or seriously affected the quality of their lives.” Jacobson (1988) argues that refugees displaced by environmental factors form the largest class of displaced persons globally, estimating their number at a solid 10 million at the end of 1980s.⁴

Persons smuggled or trafficked against their will for purposes of commercial exploitation, labor bondage, and for forced prostitution and slavery can be considered other categories under forced migrants. Kevin Bales (1999), noted scholar of contemporary slavery, estimates that there exists a total of 27 million people who have been deceitfully or forcibly uprooted from their habitual places of residence to be exploited for the purposes given above.

I have thus far shown that very different instances of forced migration are driven by a variety of reasons, which led the academic and policy world to conceptualize those

⁴ The category of environmental refugees is illustrated with reference to Oaxaca, Mexico and sub-Saharan Africa in Appendix, Section 1.3.

instances under separate categories. Before proceeding to the discussion on that category of forced migrants which is my focus (UN-recognized refugees), I should like to note that some of the conceptual-theoretical discussions in the literature pertain to how forced migrants should be separated from the general category of migrants. Richmond (1993) and Richmond (1994) offered in this regard a continuum at whose ends are proactive and reactive migrants. Whereas African slave trade victims are on the reactive end, tourists, for instance, would be on the proactive one. Van Hear (1998) has developed a similar framework in which he offers a continuum based on refugees' willpower. In his framework, refugees, development-induced displacees, and those forced by natural disasters are categorized as forced migrants with little options to choose from among. For Egon Kunz (1973: 130), "it is the reluctance to uproot oneself, and the absence of positive original motivations to settle elsewhere, which characterizes all refugee decisions and distinguishes the refugee from the voluntary migrants."

In addition, the word refugee in development refugee, internal refugee, or environmental refugee is only a generic term roughly equivalent to *any* forced migrant displaced for a variety of reasons and is still –in most cases- within his/her own country after displacement. Thus, under the existing international refugee regime, such forced migrants do not hold the *legal* status of a Convention refugee. Even if they end up being beyond the borders of their countries as a result of their displacement, they are still not Convention refugees. That is because they were displaced for reasons not specified in

the Convention. They are not under the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

But what is the Convention? What is the UNHCR? Who is a Convention refugee? These are questions I take up in the following paragraphs where I trace the conceptual birth and growth of the refugee category as it attaches to a specific kind of human being as an institutionalized label.

1.2 The Refugee, the 1951 Convention, and the UNHCR

“...There is no intrinsic paradigmatic refugee figure to be at once recognized and registered regardless of historical contingencies. Instead...there are a thousand multifarious refugee experiences and a thousand refugee figures whose meanings and identities are negotiated in the process of displacement in time and place” (Soguk 1999: 4). Let us look at some of those experiences described quite graphically by sociologist Peter I. Rose (1981: 8) in the *International Migration Review*:

Refugees. A word that conjures up images of sad-eyed children with bloated bellies in dusty border camps. *Refugees.* Alexander Solzhenitsyn and his friends at a press conference in Zurich. *Refugees.* A family of bewildered Vietnamese arriving at a snowy airport in northern Minnesota. *Refugees.* A group of sullen Cubans behind a cyclone fence on an old army post in Arkansas. *Refugees.* Two elderly Soviet Jews being lionized at a community center in New Jersey.

Rose's depictions are vivid illustrations which reiterate Soguk's observation that the category refugee corresponds to a variety of human experiences. What those experiences have in common, at the very least in the view of the United Nations, the institution which grants them the legal status of refugee, is seen in Article I of the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees adopted on 28 July 1951 in the Swiss city of Geneva:

A refugee is an individual who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such a 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 former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such a fear, unwilling to return to it.⁵

It is useful to remember that the Convention was a consequence of the UN efforts after a particular historical juncture. "The impetus for UN action in 1951 was the reconstruction of Europe in the aftermath of World War Two, particularly the 7 million Europeans unable to return to their homelands" (Marrus 1985, cited in Hein 1993: 44).

Liisa Malkki reminds, however, that we should rather guard against "positing an automatic evolution of phenomenon [of refugee] or assuming that it has had a single recognizable germ or form..." and she goes on to suggest that "there is no "proto-refugee" of which the modern refugee is a direct descendant, any more than there is a

⁵ <http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html>, accessed January 18, 2013.

proto-nation of which the contemporary nation-form is a logical, inevitable outgrowth” (Malkki 1995: 497). Malkki adds that although there were always refugees who sought sanctuaries in all history, standardization and universalization of major techniques of mass management of the displaced is strictly a post-World War II phenomenon, a most visible illustration of that phenomenon being the refugee camp as a standardized, generalizable power technology. This standardization included such processes –in the refugee camp- as the segregation of nationalities, hygienic/medical screening practices, quarantining, and other kinds of classificatory power exercises, as a result of which, Malkki notes (1995: 498ff), “the modern, postwar refugee emerged as a knowable, nameable figure and as an object of social-scientific knowledge.”

The 1951 Convention came with geographic and temporal limitations. It was drafted to apply to refugees in Europe who fled their homes to escape the horrors of World War II. Furthermore, it applied to flights from events that occurred before 1951. These limitations were done away with as a result of the enhancement provided through the United Nations Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees adopted on 31 January 1967: With the Protocol, the Convention’s benefits were now to be extended to later events in other parts of the world (Keen 1986: 20), with persecution (for the reasons given in the Convention definition) and alienage (from one’s homeland or habitual residence) remaining as criteria for eligibility for the refugee status. Another extension was provided by an instrument adopted by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in

1969: "Recognizing that in the developing countries, many people are forced to leave their own country for reasons other than persecution, [the OAU Convention Concerning Refugee Problems] stated: The term "refugee" shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order...is compelled to leave his place of his place of habitual residence" (1986: 20ff).⁶

Despite the conceptual confusion which the above references to various understandings of the term might lead to, virtually all policy-based work⁷ regarding refugees rests upon the operational definition (and its various permutations) of the institution mandated to preside over refugee issues globally: the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, or the UNHCR. The UNHCR was established in 1950 with a three-year mandate to deal with the massive population displacements in Europe which occurred as a result of World War II. As displacement became an issue of global scope over the several decades since its inception, the institution gradually adopted the lead role it now plays, thus leaving behind the initial spatial and temporal limitations it was subject to as per the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Since 2003, there is no more a time limitation on the institution's mandate as per a UN

⁶ For a summary of an oft-cited piece critical of the UN definition and indirectly supportive of the OAU definition, see Appendix, Section 1.4.

⁷ Including, but not limited to, resettlement efforts, provision of financial incentives for gaining a sustainable livelihood, and assistance with 1) voluntary repatriation to the country of origin, 2) settlement in the country of first asylum, and 3) resettlement in third countries.

General Assembly decision which will remain in effect until there is not a refugee problem anymore.

Although the legal definition of a refugee which the UNHCR work rests upon – a person who escaped his homeland and sought refuge in another – seems to effectively exclude persons facing substantially similar situations of persecutions but unable to pass an international border, the institution has been providing assistance to some of such otherwise excluded persons (in essence, IDPs defined above) by labeling them as “persons of concern to UNHCR” (UNHCR, *Helping Refugees*, 2006; UNHCR, *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*, 1996; Zetter 1999: 57-61). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimates that from the early 1970s until the end of 20th century about 50 million people were forced to flee their homes as a result of such factors as civil war/ethnic strife, poverty, persecution, development-induced displacement, and human rights violations. More recent calculations estimate the figure to be anywhere between 100 million and 200 million (Castles 2003: 15). According to recent UNHCR estimates, about half (49%) of world’s refugees are female, and some 43% are children under 18 years of age (UNHCR 2005). Hein suggests, contrary to conventional wisdom (which has it the refugees are in the main resettled in rich countries of the North), that it is the global South that provides shelter for more than two-thirds of the global refugee population (Hein 1993: 45), with the main countries of asylum being Pakistan, Iran, Germany, and Tanzania (Coughlan

and Owens-Manley 2005: 3). Most recent (mid-2013) estimates⁸ by the United Nations Population Division put the total number of refugees in the world today a little over 15.5 million.

Although I noted that “refugee” as a specific category is an outgrowth of the particular sociopolitical conditions of the 20th century (Liisa Malkki 1995, 2002), I should hasten to add that the broad concept of refuge –the practice of seeking sanctuary for the variety of reasons given above when describing different kinds of forced migrations– has been with us from time immemorial. Refuge, displacement, and exile have been all too common phenomena throughout history.⁹ As a matter of fact, challenges to established political authority, perceived threats against dominant religious beliefs, forced movement of people for cheap labor, and xenophobic discursive practices executed under the rubric of ethnic, clan, tribal, religious and/or national superiority have throughout history resulted in the removal of human beings from their habitual places of residence against their will. Confirming what a political scientist dubbed as “the timeless and existential nature of the subject we in refugee studies pursue” (Gorman 1993: 40), Peter Rose notes (1981: 9):

⁸ The global number of refugees estimate can be accessed at this link:

<http://esa.un.org/unmigration/TIMSA2013/migrantstocks2013.htm?mtotals>

⁹ Appendix, Section 1.5., offers an extended discussion of the historical examples of these detachments with reference to prophetic flights, Jews’ expulsion from Spain to the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth century, Huguenots’ escape from sixteenth century France, and Atlantic slave trade. The cause-and-effect relationships observed in each of these cases of forced migration will confirm Elizabeth Colson’s point that “Only the most determined relativist would exclude the possibility of looking for commonalities across experiences and responses [regarding human displacement]” (Colson 2003: 3).

Banished, uprooted, or displaced, the princes (and the paupers) of exile are found throughout history. We know of them from the biblical texts which tell of the Exodus from Egypt, from lamentations of those encamped along the Rivers of Babylon, and through the prayers of those in the Diaspora who for over two millennia proclaimed “Next Year in Jerusalem”.

Prophetic flights from persecution in the ancient Middle East, minority escapes to safe havens in pre- and early-modern Westphalian Europe, forcible transportation of some twelve million slaves to the Caribbean and the Americas throughout the entire modern era: there were commonalities observed in these events across time and space that justify some reasonable generalizations. To begin with, these instances of forced migration feature power imbalances which contribute to demographic upheavals. Additionally, an amalgam of religious, political, and economic motives has played a causal role in the uprooting of people. The events feature, to varying degrees, challenges to established political and economic authority in the form of perceived threats against dominant religious beliefs or the structure of economic exchange. Moreover, xenophobic practices couched in idioms of perceived ethnic, religious and/or national superiority are common in all. And once again, volition –the human capacity to will- is crushed in all, though at different rates. Most generally, forcible uprooting of populations has been the harsh response given to one root-question: Who belongs and who does not?

What follows, then, is an inventory of exclusions across the globe which resulted in major population displacements in different parts of the world in the twentieth century. This inventory will allow us to see how forced migrations in the last century are similar to those that occurred throughout history from prophetic times up to, roughly, the World War I. Reference will also be made to those factors that set the last hundred years apart from previous ages, such as: belonging has almost exclusively meant belonging to a state; refugeehood has been inextricably tied to the loss of membership to a state; uprootings have taken place at a rate far higher and taken less time than historical incidents, and an international refugee regime resting on a system of sovereign nation-states and upholding a model of the individual inherited from Enlightenment rationality has come into existence in the last century.

2. Forced migration in the 20th century: A concise inventory

In a philosophical overview of the relationship between modernity and globalization on the one side, and refugees and displacement on the other, Howard Adelman writes (1999: 90):

The twentieth century became the century of refugees, not because it was extraordinary in forcing people to flee, but because of the division of the globe into nation-states in which states were assigned the role of protectors of rights, but also that of exclusive protectors of their own citizens, including the role of gatekeeper to determine who could

become new citizens. When the globe was totally divided into states, those fleeing persecution in one state had nowhere to go but to another state, and required the permission of the other state to enter it.

The need to flee from a state to avoid persecution and to seek sanctuary in another for access to a sustainable livelihood resulted in major human displacements throughout the twentieth century. The abundance of interstate and intrastate wars has been the major cause producing refugees in many parts of the globe. For instance, Greek-Turkish population exchanges took place in early 1920s to settle the accounts of World War I; Jews fled Nazi Germany in World War II; millions of Afghans sought refuge from Soviets in the 1980s; hundreds of thousands of Indochinese peoples were displaced by the proxy wars of the late 1960s in Kampuchea; wars within and between states in Africa –in Angola, Mozambique, Liberia, Rwanda, and Algeria- caused major demographic shifts.

The first two decades of the twentieth century were marked by pogroms, revolutions, ethnic strifes and deportations mainly across Eurasia. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, uprisings for independence in the Balkans against the Ottoman Empire and similar events in the run-up to and aftermath of the World War I caused large-scale movements of people. The retreat of about two million Turks from Thracian and Balkan territories of the Ottoman Empire to Asia Minor, the deportation of hundreds of thousands of Armenians from eastern and southern Anatolia are examples

of deportations in that time period. The decade that came after, namely the 1930s, was witness to the ascension of fascist regimes in Italy, Spain, and Germany. Their exclusive practices to create homogenous nation-states approximating the Westphalian ideal resulted in the eviction of many from their habitual places of residence. The time of World War II is most closely associated with the genocide and fleeing of Jews in Germany and other territories in Europe under Nazi sway. Sizeable Roma populations were also displaced in the havoc of war. The decade after the end of the war saw the major steps toward the implementation of an international refugee regime. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was established in 1950, and the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was adopted in 1951. Flight from the widening Soviet oppression were common in that decade: Hungarians, Czechs, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Poles who left their homes between 1945 to 1956 to avoid communist persecution numbered well over two hundred thousand. The 1947 Partition of India resulted in the foundation of new states and uprooting of several millions of Hindus and Muslims. Also characteristic of the late 1950s was the expansion of the communist circle to include Tibet, China, Indonesia, and Cuba, which resulted in wholesale deportations. The Arab-Israeli conflict, which drove several hundred thousands of Arab inhabitants of Palestine from their homes also began in that era, culminating afterwards in a series of wars which aggravated the situation and turned the Palestinian refugee issue into a protracted refugee situation in the Middle East.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Vietnamese were displaced as a result of the Vietnam War. A population exchange of note in that era was the one caused by Turkish military intervention in the island of Cyprus in 1974, which divided the island into two parts (the internationally recognized Greek south, and unrecognized Turkish north), causing about two hundred thousand Greek Cypriots to move south, and some forty thousand Turkish Cypriots to go north. The years immediately before and following the collapse of the Soviet Union, from the 1980s onwards, saw major civil and interstate wars, brutal dictatorships, liberation struggles to break free from central governments or colonial rules, many coups, and ethnic clashes. The fate of Chileans under Pinochet, Saddam's harsh treatment of Kurds, the Hutu-Tutsi clashes in Rwanda are pertinent examples all of which contributed to massive displacements throughout the world (Joly 1992; Skran 1995; Ogata 2005; Marfleet 2006; Whittaker 2006: 13-28).

In Africa, refugee flows have been prompted by political, religious, and ethnic conflicts, first between European colonizers and African liberation movements, and then between different ethnic factions within the borders of newly established, decolonized states. State borders drawn by colonizers and inherited by independent successor states in Africa do not coincide with the respective ethnic, cultural, or linguistic compositions that resulted from the particular trajectories of African history (Anand 1993, Westin 1999). Also, the persistence of conflicts in such African countries as Liberia, Sudan, Somalia, and Burundi led the UNHCR to categorize them under the

rubric of protracted refugee situations which have had serious implications for regional security, human rights, and economic development for refugee-sending as well as refugee-receiving countries in Africa.

Forced migration in the Middle East (broadly conceived) meant, by and large, flight from war zones to ensure survival and to sustain a minimal livelihood. Thus, for instance, about three million Afghans fled to Iran in the 1970s in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Following the 1948 foundation of the State of Israel in the aftermath of the 1947-8 War and the cessation of the British mandate over Palestine, “more than 750,000 people left their homes and places of work and took refuge in camps hastily set up by the Red Cross and other humanitarian agencies in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Egypt... Today, Palestinians rank as the largest refugee population after the Afghans” (Chatty and Hundt 2005: 12). There are nearly five million UN-registered Palestinian refugees, roughly a third of them living in refugee camps and the rest in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, West Bank, and the Gaza Strip. The breadth of the Palestinian refugee issue warranted the establishment of UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency), an *ad hoc* agency of the United Nations commissioned to administer all refugee-related work pertaining to Palestinians in exile in the greater Middle East and in refugee camps (Dumper 2006: 2-19).

In South Asia, forced migration is characterized by its specific source, ethnopolitical internal strifes. Claims to ethnic, linguistic, or religious superiority, and

focalization and transvaluation¹⁰ of local incidents into general backlashes against a constituent population generally result in flights in South Asia. Thus, for instance, about three million Afghans who fled from the civil war in Afghanistan which erupted after the end of the Soviet invasion now live as refugees in Pakistan. India is home to refugees from Tibet, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Myanmar, and Afghanistan. More than a hundred thousand refugees from southern Bhutan live in Nepal. The civil war in Sri Lanka alone displaced more than a million Tamils (Mishra 2004: 3-21).

The specific instances of forced migration referred to under this section are similar to prophetic flights, Jews' expulsion from Spain, and the Huguenots' escape from France in the following way: claims to religious, political, ethnic, linguistic, and cultural superiority supported through brutal means are present in all eras. Yet, a number of factors seem to be setting the twentieth century apart from the preceding centuries. These involve, *a*) the means through which and the rapidity with which such claims were pursued, *b*) the continued nature of refugee problems, *c*) an international refugee regime resting on a model of the individual inherited from the era of the Enlightenment, and *d*) a state-centric system of international relations which is both producing and expected to solve refugee crises seem to be setting the twentieth century apart from preceding centuries.

¹⁰ "By *focalization*, [Tambiah means] the process of progressive denudation of local incidents and disputes of their particulars of context and their aggregation. *Transvaluation* refers to the parallel process of assimilating particulars to a larger, collective, more enduring, and therefore less context-bound, cause or interest" (Tambiah 1996: 192).

3. Bosnian Refugees: The War and A Global Overview

The break-up of Former Yugoslavia between the years 1992 and 1995 was one of the major refugee-producing events in the last decade of the twentieth century. Below I provide an account of the war¹¹ which displaced the refugees in question, including Huso I introduced in the beginning of this chapter.

After Josip Broz's (Tito) one-party socialist rule over former Yugoslavia ended in 1980 when Tito died, a struggle over the federal republic's economic, political, and military resources soon took hold among representatives of the six republics and two autonomous regions that had been constituting the federal Yugoslav Republic. Through his control of the party apparatus which outlived Tito and with his influence over national media, Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic gained immense political power. He then used that power to amend the Serbian constitution to strip Kosovo¹² of its autonomy. Witness to Milosevic's repressive policies against Kosovars (namely the Albanian Kosovars) and his maneuvers to capture the federal government apparatus, other entities in former Yugoslavia¹³ sought to separate themselves entirely from the federal structure by declaring their independence through their governments just recently elected before the onset of the war in 1991. By that time Milosevic had acquired

¹¹ This account of the war is excerpted from Keles, F. 2007. Structural Simplification of Macropolitics: A Political Anthropological Approach to the Ethnic Conflict in Bosnia between 1992 and 1995. *The Maxwell Review*. pp. 85-94.

¹² Kosovo was an autonomous region under the Serbian republic in the former federal Yugoslav state.

¹³ In particular, Croatia, Bosnia, and Slovenia.

the tools that he thought would help him create the Greater Serbia: political power and total control of military. To Croatia's vote for secession from the federal structure, Milosevic-controlled Yugoslav National Army responded by seizing one-third of Croatian territory and massacring thousands of Croats. Bosnian declaration of independence was followed with the siege of Sarajevo –the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina in early April, 1992. Commanding over the heavy and sophisticated the artillery of the army of former Yugoslavia, Milosevic and his Bosnian Serb compatriot Radovan Karadzic engaged in systematic ethnic cleansing throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina with the aid of fierce nationalist propaganda emanating in the main from Serbia. The end result of four years of war was the killing of some 200,000 Bosnians,¹⁴ organized use of rape as a military tactic against Muslim and Croatian women, severe instances of torture, infrastructural destruction coupled with the loss of power systems, schools, hospitals, and transportation networks. The war officially ended with the conclusion of Dayton Peace Accords in Ohio, United States in December 1995. Serbs were granted 49% of the territory they occupied in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the remaining 51% is now the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina composed of Muslim and Croat rotating leadership, each dictating its own neck of the woods with a separate government and police force and military but being subject to a central government's

¹⁴ Including Bosnians of different ethnic backgrounds, i.e. Bosnian Muslims (major victims), Bosnian Croats, and even Bosnian Serbs who refused to acquiesce to the cleansing project of Serbian masterminds.

rule in matters of finance and foreign policy (Cushman and Mestrovic 1996; Mestrovic 1997; Cohen 1997; Burg and Shoup 2000).

The war displaced about one million Bosnians internally and some 1.2 million Bosnians left their country in search of safe haven. Bosnians found safe havens in Germany, Austria, Great Britain, Switzerland, Canada, Australia, and United States, as well as in “less expected destinations such as Israel, Malaysia, Iceland, and Colombia” (Halilovich 2013: 125).

Tabulating Bosnian out-migration based on *The 2008 Overview of the Situation of Bosnian Emigration* published by Bosnian officials, Valenta and Ramet (2011:5) offer the following picture:

Table 1: The global distribution of Bosnian emigration

Recipient Country	Estimated number of migrants of Bosnian origin
Australia	50,000
Austria	132,300
Belgium	8,000
Croatia	60,000
Canada	60,000
Denmark	21,000
France	5,000
Great Britain	10,000
Germany	157,200
Italy	40,000
Luxemburg	6,000

Netherlands	24,700
Norway	15,500
Slovenia	100,000
Serbia (and Montenegro)	137,000
Sweden	75,000
Switzerland	50,600
USA	390,000
Other (28 Countries)	14,300
Total	1,356,600

Adding up the recorded number of refugees in the largest fifteen recipient¹⁵ countries from Bosnia-Herzegovina between and 1992 and 1995 (that is, during the war) provided in another statistical estimate in a more recent publication (Valenta and Strabac 2013: 9), we find the approximate figure of 1,200,000. Valenta and Ramet (2011: 3-5) estimate that due mostly to repatriations to the origin country (i.e. Bosnia-Herzegovina) in the post-Dayton era (i.e. post-December 1995), there is about half a million Bosnian refugees in the world at the present time. “Bosnian Diaspora”, in other words, is fundamentally a globally-distributed community of forced migrants.

Valenta and Ramet (2011) and Valenta and Strabac (2013) are two most recent sources providing estimates about the number of Bosnians living outside their home

¹⁵ These 15 countries are Australia, Austria, Denmark, Netherlands, Croatia, Italy, Canada, Norway, Germany, USA, Slovenia, Serbia and Montenegro, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey.

country, and these authors' cautious approach toward the numbers is noteworthy. They offer a number of reasons for their approach: "...some countries choose to exclude naturalized migrants from their statistics. Other countries primarily identify immigrants on the basis of citizenship while yet others use place of birth as the deciding criteria. Only a few receiving countries use place of birth as the deciding criteria" (2011:5). Furthermore, "due to...different formal definitions of migrant group, and the limited and varying character of statistical sources in different receiving countries, it is difficult to provide an accurate numerical overview of Bosnian Diaspora" (2011: 7). With respect to their above-quoted estimate of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina during war years, Valenta and Strabac add: "...it is important to emphasize that the numbers...are not wholly reliable because of different statistical definitions of refugees...it seems that some numbers include both refugees and their reunited family numbers, while others exclude family members" (2013: 9).

The general characteristics of this worldwide distribution can be better understood by paying attention to Bosnian-Australian anthropologist Hariz Halilovich's (2013: 124) helpful explanations. He notes: "it was the 1992-95 Bosnian war and its aftermath that brought an organized Bosnian diaspora into existence. Those who fled the country were in most cases victims of ethnic cleansing, refugees and deserters fleeing forced conscription, as well as members of the privileged elites who, thanks to connections and money, could buy a safe passage out of the war-torn country." The

descriptions and analyses I offer in Chapter 5 of the observed differences among Bosnians in Central New York (with respect to motivations to leave the origin country, time of arrival and length of stay in the host country, wartime and post-war experience, and residential patterns, among other factors) are in line with Halilovich's further observation: "Like any other migrant community, Bosnians are a heterogeneous group of people with all the attendant social variables very often reflecting the local culture and the dominant values of the countries they have settled in", and what crosscuts this heterogeneity, Halilovich adds, "...is the experience of forced displacement, feelings of betrayal by 'their' politicians and, even worse¹⁶, former neighbors and friends, as well as feelings of nostalgia for a homeland..." (2013: 125).

Having offered a picture of the global distribution of Bosnian refugees as above, I now turn to a brief history of the United States as a safe haven for the world's displaced peoples. That discussion is followed by a section presenting the numerical and geographic indicators concerning Bosnians in the permanent resettlement context, the United States, that is now home to the individuals whose experiences and responses constitute the ethnographic data presented in this dissertation.

¹⁶ Here, the reference is mainly to intra-Muslim clashes during the 1992-5 war in Bosnia, in particular between the Bosnian Muslim supporters of Fikret Abdic in northwest Bosnia and Bosnian Muslims who stayed loyal to the central government led by then-president Alija Izetbegovic.

4. United States as Refuge

The history of seeking sanctuary, or refugee resettlement, in the United States is probably as old as the history of the country itself. “Throughout its first 150 years, persons escaping persecution did arrive in the United States: French fleeing the revolutionary upheaval of the 1790s, Germans escaping after the failure of the 1848 revolutions, and Russians and East European Jews fleeing anti-Semitism throughout the nineteenth century” (Bon Tiempo 2007: 2).

Up until the time of the Great Depression, the liberal American immigration policy made no distinctions between forced and voluntary migrants to the U.S. The closing of doors in 1920s had a major impact on Jews who wanted to escape from an increasingly hostile Europe of the 1930s. Entry into the U.S. as a refugee became easier again in the aftermath of World War II under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and the Refugee Relief Act of 1953. Some six hundred thousand persons found refuge in the US in that period. Throughout the Cold War, refugee admissions by and large meant the admission of persons fleeing from communist rule, thus, as much as it was a humanitarian process, refugee admissions constituted a key foreign policy tool of the world’s superpower against the Soviet communism. In the case of Hungarian and Cuban refugees, for instance, a procedure was utilized which allowed the U.S. president to admit refugees without getting approval from the U.S. Congress (Bon Tiempo 2007). Many scholars contend that admissions decisions were a form of “calculated kindness”

(Loescher and Scanlan 1986) which were generally in line with American foreign policy considerations (Haines 1985).

The number of refugees admitted to the U.S. between the immediate aftermath of World War II and the year 2009 is nearly four-and-a quarter million (Haines 2010:4). Over two million refugees have arrived in the United States since the time of the US Refugee Act of 1980. In the 1970s and 1980s, refugees were mainly from Southeast Asia and the Soviet Union; during the 1990s, Europe was the origin of most refugees owing to the Balkan conflict that displaced the Bosnians consulted in this dissertation. Since 2000, a growing number of Africans are entering the country as refugees displaced by civil wars in Africa (Singer and Wilson 2006).

How has the U.S. dealt with the refugees admitted into the country? Has the country found a middle ground between moral and political concerns, or has one type of concern prevailed over the other? The brief excerpt below from an interview I conducted with anthropologist David Haines based on his book *Safe Haven? A History of Refugees in the United States* for the *Anthropology News* in February 2012 offers insight into these questions:

Fethi Keles: In the Epilogue to her book *Human Cargo: A Journey Among Refugees*, journalist Caroline Moorehead notes: "...because asylum in the end is not only about responsibility and interdependence, but about morality; and because, in an age of globalization, it is simply not possible to ignore the world's dispossessed. How a state

deals with its refugees should be a measure of its social and political health" (p.357). In the first Chapter of *Safe Haven*, you note that any answer to the question of how refugees are doing in America is a contingent one. Historically, how has the U.S. struck a balance between its "moral commitments and practical challenges", as you call them, when it came to refugees?

David Haines: There is room for both praise and critique of America's response to refugees. Sudanese refugee John Bul Dau in his autobiography stresses that "I can tell you America's greatest strength is its enormous spirit, manifest in its generosity." There is much to support his claim, especially when the causes of refugee flight are clear and consistent with American values. The response to the Southeast Asian refugee crisis of the latter 1970s demonstrated that conclusively. The outpouring of support was impressive. But when the causes of flight are less clear, the connection to America less manifest, and the economic adjustment of the refugees less swift, the public response can be indifferent or even hostile.

As a result, refugee policy is a difficult balancing act between moral concerns and more practical ones, particularly how well refugees do after arrival – and thus how cost-free they are. Relatively well-educated and English-proficient refugees are likely to do quite well in America while less well-educated and less English-proficient refugees are less likely to do so. There is no single litmus test to assess what the proper balance might be. Certainly if the great majority of refugees are not doing well in the United States, then perhaps the program is failing to admit those for whom the United States is a particularly good destination and also failing to provide the necessary transitional

assistance for those who do come. Conversely, if the great majority of refugees are doing very well in quickly adjusting to the United States then perhaps the program is failing to admit those who are most in need of refuge.¹⁷

An example of what Haines calls “a difficult balancing act” can in fact be seen in the case of the resettlement of Bosnian refugees. The foreign policy decision as to whether or not to become more actively involved to stop the bloodshed in Former Yugoslavia (1992-95) was one that the Clinton administration had to make in the immediate aftermath of “Black Hawk Down”, or, the series of fateful events that befell U.S. rangers on the streets of Mogadishu, Somalia in 1993. Thus a complex post-war picture emerges: Bosnian refugees finding safe haven within the borders of world’s sole superpower whose intervention, had it been sooner, could most likely have helped to prevent those refugees’ need for refuge in the first place. Several Bosnians in my sample, while expressing gratitude that they found a home in the U.S., were highly critical that the U.S. intervention came toward the end of the conflict, after nearly 200,000 people were killed and the brutal Srebrenitza episode took place in July 1995.

5. Bosnian Refugees in the United States

According to a recent estimate, about 130,000 Bosnians have been resettled in the United States from 1992 to 2001.¹⁸ While some migrated directly to the U.S. after

¹⁷ This interview was published online exclusively. The rest of the interview with David Haines can be read in its entirety by accessing *Anthropology News Online, Vol. 53 [2]*.

spending brief periods of time in refugee camps in countries neighboring Bosnia (such as Croatia), others arrived in the U.S. after several years of settlement in countries of first asylum (for instance, Germany and Turkey). Consistent with historical U.S. refugee resettlement practice (which emphasizes the practice of *dispersal* of incoming refugee cohorts) Bosnian refugees have been resettled to cities all around the U.S. (St. Louis, Chicago, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, Detroit, Des Moines, New York City et al.). If any of those cities will be said to contain a “Little Bosnia”, (akin to Little Italy or Chinatown in New York City) that should be St. Louis (Missouri), home to the largest populations (reported to be over 70,000) of Bosnians outside of Bosnia.

Of the Bosnians resettled in the United States, some 12,000 live in New York State (Coughlan and Owens-Manley 2005: 9). About half of the Bosnian population in New York State live in the two Central New York cities, Syracuse and Utica, the settings for the ethnographic field research conducted toward this dissertation.

In its 2012-2013 study on refugee resettlement in Central New York, *The World at Our Doorstep*, the Onondaga Citizens League informs that refugee resettlement in Syracuse dates back to the year 1979 when refugees from Vietnam found a new home in the city. Thus, Syracuse has a history of about 35 years when it comes to being a safe haven for the some of the world’s displaced peoples. The history of immigrant settlement in Syracuse, however, reaches much farther back in time. Late 1700s and

¹⁸ <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/29/us/29youth.html>, accessed December 17, 2013.

early 1800s saw the arrival and settlement of the British, Scottish, Irish, Germans, free and slave African Americans. In the 1880s, Italians began arriving, followed by French Canadians, Jewish immigrants hailing from Eastern Europe in the 1900s.

Refugee arrivals in Syracuse came in the aftermath of a key piece of legislation, the 1975 Indochina Migration and Refugee Act. Over a thousand refugees from Southeast Asia were resettled in Syracuse in the decade that followed the arrival of the Vietnamese in 1978. When the new millennium came, it was the Bosnians –unwilling or unable to return to their home country due to the Bosnian War- who were the major group that found a home in Syracuse. The first decade of the new millennium saw the arrival of Sudanese Lost Boys, including John Bul Dau –whose history of dislocation and relocation is very well depicted in the celebrated documentary *God Gew Tired of Us*, Somalis, Burmese, Bhutanese, North Koreans, Cubans, Togolese, and Iraqis. This has added up to total of about 7,200 refugees resettled in Syracuse between 2001 and 2012. The total number of *refugees and former refugees* in Syracuse, in addition, is reported to be about 12,000. Affordable housing, low cost of living, and employment opportunities for refugees (especially in the city’s North Side) are listed as reasons Syracuse has continued to be a resettlement site over the past three and a half decades. At this time, the Burmese at approximately two thousand are the largest group of recent refugees in Syracuse, followed by the Bhutanese at about one thousand and five hundred, and the Somalis at about a thousand (Sernett 2013: 4-13).

Praised as “the town that loves refugees” in a 2005 issue of *Refugees*, a periodical publication of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Utica was an immigrant community early on. Irish immigrants to Utica worked on the Erie Canal in the 1830s, Germans fleeing the 1848 revolution found safe haven in the town and contributed to its textile industry. Substantial number of Italians moved to the town, reaching a population of 35,000 by 1940 (Coughlan and Owens-Manley 2005: 28). With the decline of the U.S. textile industry, however, Utica’s population had a sharp decrease, from about the past-100,000 mark in 1930 to approximately 65,000 at the present time.

Home to over 13,000 refugees in the past three decades, Utica has had its first refugee arrival in 1975 when one Vietnamese refugee was resettled by clergymen in the town. The establishment of the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees in 1979 was followed by the arrival of refugees from 31 countries including, most significantly, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Poland, Soviet Union, Bosnia, and Somalia. Refugees make up about 12% of Utica’s population, with Bosnian refugees accounting for 40% of the town’s refugees (Coughlan and Owens-Manley 2005: 1628; Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees; Wilkinson 2005: 14). Refugees provide a major component of the workforce for large employers in the region, such as ConMed which has about half of its 1,300-person employee base made up of Bosnian, Vietnamese, and Burmese refugees (Wilkinson 2005: 12).

Bosnians living in these two cities were technically displaced as a result of the same reason, the war in Former Yugoslavia between 1992 to 1995, and they are overwhelmingly Muslim. While ideas of returning home and nostalgia appear to be comparatively more salient among Bosnians in Syracuse, there are signs that Bosnians in Utica are adopting that town as their own and becoming a major presence in Utican economy by running successful businesses in real estate, print media, and production and sale of foodstuffs. In other words, they seem to be changing from war-displacees to successful resettlers (I explore the reasons for this variation in Chapter 5).

There are a number of reasons the two cities in question were selected for the various purposes of this dissertation. One of the reasons stems from a specific trend in the broader refugee studies literature: Only a few of the already dwindling studies of specific refugee communities devote some degree of attention to a comparative perspective. Thus studies with a comparative focus are rare within refugee studies scholarship in general (Desbarat 1986; Gold 1992; Malkki 1995; Marfleet 2006; Chatty 2007), as observed by leading scholars in the field. Notes historian Philip Marfleet (2006: 8), author of *Refugees in a Global Era*: "Although refugees do appear in some specific historical accounts there have been very few analyses of comparative issues or conceptual matters." Anthropologist Dawn Chatty (2007: 267, emphasis added), director of the Refugee Studies Centre at Oxford University, agrees: "A search for comparative studies in forced migration in the Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS)

and the International Bibliography of Social Sciences (IBSS) came up with *no entries*.”

Among the few exceptions, most well-known include Malkki’s (1995) comparative study of camp vs. town refugees (Hutu in Tanzania), Gold’s (1992) study of Soviet Jews vs. Vietnamese in California, and Desbarat’s (1986) study of Sino-Vietnamese vs. ethnic Vietnamese in California. Because of the above-mentioned rarity, there is an accumulation of findings that remain specific to a certain group resettled to a particular locale, and chances to more validly generalize are missed due to the lack of scholarly attention to either 1) how two or more different-ethnicity refugee groups, or 2) how two or more same-ethnicity refugee groups compare and contrast with one another (both within the same country and in different countries of first asylum and/or permanent resettlement). The geographic proximity of the two Central New York cities, Syracuse and Utica, that are home to two sizeable Bosnian communities provided an opportunity for a comparative dimension to be built into this dissertation. Even though this proximity otherwise came with a considerable challenge (in the form of over seven thousand miles of travel strictly for interview and participant-observation purposes), the comparisons I draw (in Chapter 5) between the resettlement experiences of different individuals living in the two cities allowed me to better capture the heterogeneity and diversity among this new immigrant group.

The two cities in Central New York were also appropriate sites given some of the other objectives of this study, in particular studying the role of collective remembering

in the formation and maintenance of diasporic identity and community. Several of the Bosnians living in the two cities suffered a horrific ordeal during the later stages of the war that destroyed their home country, namely the bloodshed in Srebrenitza in July 1995, an episode in the war that was later recognized as a genocide by the International Court of Justice in 2007. The commemorations Bosnians hold in the two cities allowed me to study, among other things, visibility and recognition in diaspora, the roles attributed to commemoration, and the question of postmemory, that is, mnemonic embodiment of the war and its physical and emotional consequences in particular by the youth who were either not born at the time of the conflict or too young to remember what happened.

At home in the world

In this chapter, I explore the lived and experiential dimensions of refuge by relying on a specific individual's extended narrative of multiple displacements and emplacements. Among other things, this exploration aims to show how diaspora emerges as an affective space through particular subjective performances. While this chapter is primarily based on ethnographic data centering on the experience of one person, I also draw from other interviews to support the chapter's emphases on the lived experience and cultural aspects of refuge. In addition, I relativize a jural category, the Convention refugee, by focusing on the individual practices which are enactments of the legal stipulations enshrined in the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Considering the practical aspects of this category in parallel with postulates of international law, I suggest, leads to a richer understanding of refuge. The chapter begins with the story of how I came to know the individual whose narrative undergirds the descriptive account and analytical interventions offered below. It continues with further explication of the chapter's objectives, followed by the narrative. The concluding section contributes a heuristic device, *supermobility*, to the scholarship

on forced migration and refugees, advances a brief critique of sedentary approaches toward adaptation, and suggests a notion of home as affective space.

A Celebration and a Serendipitous Gift

Among the most important pieces of advice I received over the years from mentors who trained in me in the art of ethnography was that one needed to be –or become- a good and patient listener. And there I was in Dzemaal’s house, making every effort to put that advice into some good use: it was completely unexpected and took much longer to complete than I would have ever thought. It was physically taxing and required an unusual amount of concentration and focus on my part. It left me baffled, amazed, humbled, and tired. It was a truly idiosyncratic episode in the entire research on which this dissertation is based. *It* was the 12-hour-long conversation I had with Dzemaal Nesimovic in his house in January 2010.

About a month earlier, on December 5th, 2009: chartered for the special occasion, the quite spacious dining hall of the high school was hosting a little upwards of 80 people. There were about 30 females and over 50 males. Seating was coed. Attendees, myself included, distributed themselves irregularly throughout the hall, with some of the oblong tables occupying the space filled beyond capacity while others –such as the one in the back left corner of the hall where I laid my pocket notebook- were barely populated. Kids roamed freely, imbuing the place with laughter, chatter, and various

other expressions of amusement and joviality. It was 7:00 P.M., and the *kurban bajram*¹ special event held by the *Islamski Kulturni Centar Bošnjaka Syracuse* (IKCBS), or the Islamic Cultural Center of Bosniaks in Syracuse, was now in full swing after a duo of Bosnian musicians –one local, one from California- started hitting the tunes on their guitars and lilting to the techno-esque rhythms breezing from the Yamaha keyboard connected to hi-fi speakers.

The music was so loud that one literally had to yell to be able to talk to the person in the next chair. In addition to the faces with whom I was already familiar, there were guests from Bosnian communities in Rochester, Utica and New York City. In the kitchen, which adjacent to the hall, a few men aided by a few women were grilling a staple of the Bosnian cuisine, the *cevapi*.² The food was free, another sign of Bosnian hospitality to which I had become accustomed during many an event. The IKCBS president, his secretary and the volunteer task force were running around with a cheerful attitude, serving cakes to guests, stopping by the tables and throwing around jokes.

Having placed myself in the back of the hall, I had the entire space in my view. Observing me observing the goings-on and taking notes and shooting pictures, the IKCBS secretary came closer and told me to write good things about him in my book.

¹ One of the two major Islamic holidays, *kurban bajram* is known in Arabic as the Eid Al-Adha and in English as the Feast of Sacrifice.

² Index-finger sized beef sausage. Generally served with sour cream and flat bread.

“I’ll do my best,” I promised. I captured images of the consecutive *kolos*, linear or crescent-shaped dance groups formed by participants joining their pinkies. The four *kolos* I witnessed started one after the other. The first one included older Bosnians, while the second a much younger group composed mostly of young women and girls, followed by the third composed mainly of kids, and a final one with an irregular mix.



Image 4: The bajram celebration in progress



Image 5: Cevapi on the grill

About two hours into the event, when a plate full of *cevapi* and bread, complemented with a soft drink, were brought to me, I had little problem switching from observer to participant. If you are invited to a Bosnian household or event and ask for more food on top of what was offered to you, you are actually making the host happy, perhaps even honoring him or her. Thus, I felt no shame in asking for a refill. “Of course, of course, as much as you want, please have some more!” was the characteristic response.

It was a few hours of *satisfaction* for the ethnographer, and that was not just because of the delicious offerings. Around 10:20 P.M. when nearly half of the crowd had already left for their homes and the celebration was drawing to a close, a tall and slender man, who I estimated to be over 45 years old upon first sight, began approaching my table. My pocket notebook was wide open on the table, and he must have seen me taking notes. Otherwise he would not have asked whether or not I was a journalist. “No, I’m not. I study at the university and I want to write a book about Bosnian people in America” was my rehearsed response to inquiries of that sort. We began chatting right there and then. Having visited the IKCBS, a.k.a. the Bosnian mosque, countless times prior to this encounter, I asked him why I never saw him there. For reasons he did not elucidate at that time, he told me he did not like the organization, in a tone very possibly implying that I would not have much to learn from the folks running the mosque, either. He began informing me in an almost professorial tone on how “some Bosnians still miss the old days of communism” and “Tito is still very heavy in their heads,” among other things. “I am the right person for you to talk to, call me” he said, “come to my house, we drink coffee, we talk, Sunday is the best.” I was always looking for ways to expand my network in the Bosnian community, and opportunity was knocking the door unexpectedly. We parted around 10:45 P.M. when the tables were being cleaned up and the hall was being tidied all over. And call I did, a number of days after the event, as I had been invited –perhaps even instructed!- to do.

After we made scheduling arrangements over the phone, I had an uneventful drive to Dzermal's house just outside of Syracuse on a cold January day in 2010. This chapter is built on the particulars of Dzermal's mesmerizing history of departures and arrivals, first within Bosnia during and after the war, and second, across nearly half the globe. Displaced from his native country because of the 1992-1995 war that resulted, among other things, in the disintegration of the political entity known as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Dzermal qualified for the legal status *refugee* as defined in the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. More specifically, he was legally:

... an individual who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such a 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 former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such a fear, unwilling to return to it.³

Against this bureaucratic notion of *what* a refugee is, I advance in this chapter a notion of *refuge as continuum* by focusing on *who* a refugee is, or rather, who Dzermal has been and what he has *done* as a refugee over the course of his countless displacements and even more countless emplacements. In other words, I focus on the *agent* and his

³ <http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html>, accessed January 18, 2013.

practices to argue that studying the lived experience of refuge and the vast emotional and spatial territory that experience is built upon offers a window into understanding specificities of displacement that the legal identity of refugee does not impart as readily or obviously.

By constructing an anthropological account of refuge through Dzemaal's history of uprootings and re-rootings, then, I issue in this chapter a call to shift the analytical momentum toward *practice* and the fluidity of lived experience, and away from the rigidity of bureaucratically crafted *knowledge*. I hasten to add, though, that I do not intend this to be a radical relativist exercise in the dismissal of such knowledge as completely useless. Rather, my aim is to suggest one possible way of avoiding the reification of bureaucratic knowledge by considering actual practices performed over the process of displacement and emplacement. In other words, I want to heed the caveat that "Refugee studies must[...] not assume the category of 'refugee' nor the cultural categories that give it shape" (Hayden 2006: 485). I would venture to say that there is probably no denying (or escaping) the fact that bureaucratic thinking, by way of its very essence, must to a certain extent assume the refugee category and function on the basis of specific root metaphors concerning human mobility. Furthermore, it would be technically impossible to make sense of the reality of mobility without such categories. However, while bureaucratic categories are necessary for making sense of refuge, they cannot, by definition, contribute much to understanding the *experience* of refuge. An

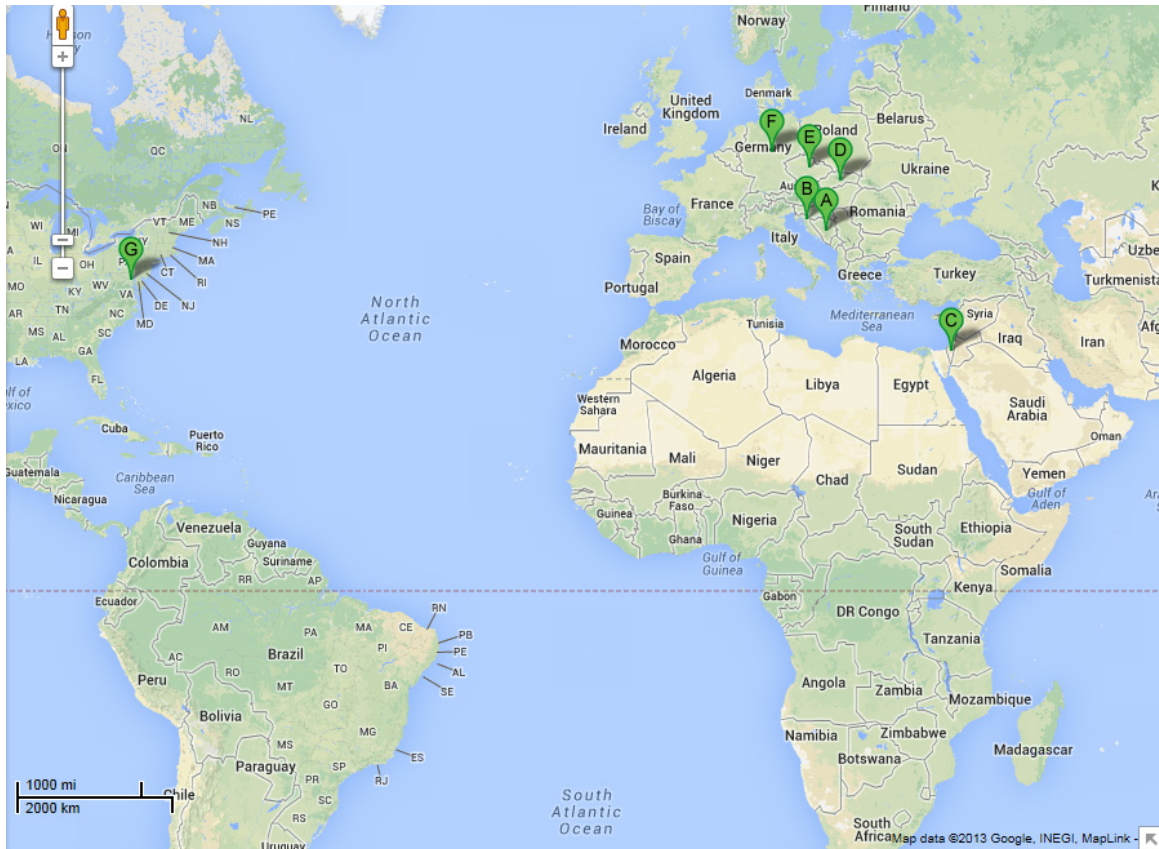
ethnographic and practice-oriented perspective, such as the one offered this chapter, may offer that contribution, ultimately leading to fuller understanding of refuge.

Concurring with the suggestion that “the narratives of socially positioned actors can promote a greater appreciation of the diversity of experience involved in forced migration, *against universalizing and stereotypical descriptions of what it means to be a ‘refugee’*” (Eastmond 2007: 253, emphasis added), I deploy Dzemaal’s extensive⁴ narrative of displacements and emplacements as an example of the disruptions and reconstructions that took place over several years. Furthermore, by relying on this history-as-told, I provide an interpretation of *refuge as a cultural domain*. My interpretation repositions *mobility* as a method of adaptation to symbolic and material challenges and thereby questions the sedentary/territorial approach to adaptation by focusing on practices of “reterritorialization” (Sampson and Gifford 2010), and offers an *affective* notion of home. In illustrating Dzemaal’s agency in this domain, my account focuses on his resilience, refers to his decision-making in areas of home-buying, business investment efforts and repetitive moving. In the following several pages, I first relate Dzemaal’s history of multiple migrations covering a wide geographic area as illustrated in the map below. The narrative⁵ will be followed by the analysis that is

⁴ The half-day long conversation was captured with a digital voice recorder. Transcribed, it resulted in an approximately 275-page double-spaced document.

⁵ Of necessity, the narrative I offer here is a condensed version of the continuum. The episodes I focus on are selected in line with the analytical goals of the chapter. Where necessary, quotes are edited for grammatical accuracy.

meant to identify refuge as a process and continuum and cultural domain. I will then conclude the chapter by offering a few considerations on refugee agency.



Map 1: Dzemal traversing the world (Bosnia →Croatia →Israel →Slovakia →Czech Republic →Germany →United States). Map Credits: Google, Inc.

“Before the dictator dies, we have so good life”

Dzemal Nesimovic’s narration began with his recollections of the “beautiful life” in his hometown Kotor Varoš in northwestern Bosnia-Herzegovina before the war, and more specifically before the death of Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito in 1980. The three major ethnicities that made up the country were represented in numbers quite close to one another in Dzemal’s hometown. Of the place’s nearly 40,000 residents, some 15,000

were Orthodox Bosnians (*Serbs*), about 12,000 were Muslim Bosnians (*Bosniaks*), and there were approximately 11,000 Catholic Bosnians (*Croats*). Dzermal called this a “good mix”, and a rare one compared to the rest of the country: “We were so close, we are so respectful, we don’t have any problem with religion or anything in my city.” The Serbs had their Orthodox churches, the Croats had their Catholic churches, and the Muslims had their mosques. The communist grip on political power did not specifically block people from accessing their respective places of worship. “Only problem,” he noted, however, “under the communist rule was that if you were a practicing member of your own religion, they don’t give you the biggest position in your local community, or you can’t be like a director or manager. You can work, they will hire you, but you will never take the good position, the higher position is only for the communists and their party.”

That it was so did not matter much to some religious people, regardless of their affiliation. The sentiment, as Dzermal reflected, was that it would be fine even if a person was not the boss; she would be satisfied with her life, with her house and with her freedom. “Yugoslavia was the best place for living on this planet,” he summed it up, rationalizing the perception by continuing, “If we don’t have and make so much money, thousands and millions, we can have enough money for the whole month if just one person in the household was working...We work eight hours a day, we don’t work Saturday, Sunday, after work we can go anywhere, swimming in the river, and we are free.”

The eulogy concerning the time period prior to Tito's passing included references to employment prospects. The geographic proximity to Austria and Germany and the ease of travel offered lots of opportunities. Many a resident in Kotor Varoš worked in jobs in those two Western European destinations during the week and simply returned home driving their Germany-acquired Golfs, Passats, BMWs and Mercedeses for the weekend. They made sizeable sums and were able to make investments in the form of big houses and lush furniture. The liquidity that came about as a result of the continued cash flow into the town from European countries helped the town's economy bustle with activity: "With fresh money from Germany, people went to stores, bought stuff, and if you had a business in the city, your neighbors working in Germany would buy from you, and you made money from them in this beautiful economy."⁶

Further reminders of the good times in Dzemaal's account were freely available perks such as education and healthcare. You had access to a free university education, and whether or not you worked, you had the right to go to the hospital to visit a doctor: "Just have your ID to go to the hospital, the hospital takes the ID and sends bills to the city hall...it doesn't matter what you do and who you are. You have insurance."

⁶ The migration patterns suggested in this paragraph point to an interesting nexus, which came into being as a result of the war, between voluntary *labor* migration and involuntary forced migration. My interview data suggest that Bosnians who held jobs in nearby Western European countries (such as Germany, Austria, and Switzerland) under guestworker arrangements were able to acquire economic and cultural capital which they later relied upon in their post-resettlement lives in the United States. This reliance appears to have been one of the factors bearing on the observed adaptive divergences among Bosnians in Central New York, an issue I discuss in Chapter 5.

The tranquil life, apparently peaceful social relations, and individual and local zones of comfort were gradually replaced with uncertainty and confusion over the decade that followed Tito's death in 1980. After the dictator disappeared from the scene, everything changed, but "step by step, not like explosion," cautioned Dzermal. For him, people generally remained peaceful during that time, there was no widespread expectation of the bloody conflict that would later come to define the region, in particular during the first half of the 1990s. Differences in the visions about the country's future found sharp and pronounced expression through the establishment – which Dzermal considered a cause of popular confusion and a "big mess" – of three major political parties by leading political figures of the Serb, Croat and Muslim ethnicities respectively: the Serbian Democratic Party, the Croatian Democratic Union, and the Muslim-led Party of Democratic Action.

Dzermal experienced the post-Tito decade as a successful small restaurant owner. Profits were good, he stayed focused on his business, and did not pay much attention to the political cacophony being voiced through the television. On the street, people were busy with their daily goings-on and no one was talking about a war. Two things – related to his business – signaled to Dzermal that something was wrong: In the early 1990s, he was no longer able to find coal for the oven in his restaurant, and his workers began asking for higher wages to be able make their own ends meet. He tried running the oven with gas tanks, but the rapid increase in gas prices only meant that he had to

project the price hike onto his menu. And that translated into a sharp decline in the number of customers.

I asked Dzermal when he realized that things were getting much worse and that it was probably not just the economy going down. In response he told me a story.

Slovenia, one of the constituent republics of Former Yugoslavia, had recently voted to separate from the federal structure in 1990 and eventually declared independence in June 1991. When the Yugoslav People's Army moved from their barracks in Croatia to crush Slovenia, they passed with their tanks and soldiers through Dzermal's hometown. At that time, Dzermal had a Serb couple working for him –the husband as a waiter and the wife as a cook. As the Serb soldiers were marching through the town's main street where Dzermal's restaurant was located, the waiter asked Dzermal if he would sign all papers and the restaurant in his (the waiter's) name. "Look Dzermal, soldiers are coming, war is coming to this town, Serbs will take the town and maybe they will kill you. Before they do that, please sign all paperwork in my name," the waiter told him. "Are you crazy?" Dzermal retorted angrily, and turned to the waiter's wife: "Look at your husband, he's an idiot."

About a year after this incident, Dzermal realized that the waiter was right and he was wrong. War did indeed come to his town. Although he remained generally imprecise about specific dates up until that point (as well as afterwards) in our conversation, he pinpointed the date war came his way: 11 June 1992. Early morning on

that date, his sister-in-law, who lived upstairs in the family house, knocked on the door of Dzermal's apartment and told him she heard gunshots. Dzermal went down to the street and saw five or six armed soldiers. He asked them: "What are you doing in my city?" They responded in no uncertain terms: "Where are you going? Go back, if you don't go back we will kill you!" Dzermal went back home. His town was now occupied by six buses of soldiers.

The small town had no organized resistance of its own to offer in the way of defense. Some Croat and Muslim youths formed small units and waged guerilla warfare but to no avail. Dzermal and his family escaped to a nearby Croatian village where he had friends who gave them shelter and food. They spent about five months there and never returned to their own house. After Dzermal received news that the Serb occupiers were providing buses for townsfolk who did not want the Serb rule and wanted to move out of the city, he discussed their options with his wife. They resolved to have her leave with their two children for Travnik, a nearby Muslim-controlled city. It was now October 1992. Dzermal stayed behind, as he had also received news that some male members who had wanted to accompany their respective families on previous trips were killed. Rumor had it that males were allowed to board the bus only to be taken away at the first stop and shot dead.

Not knowing the exact whereabouts of his family, and with the winter time fast approaching and supplies having dwindled to nothing, Dzermal decided to take the

forest route to Travnik on foot, a distance of approximately 30 miles or 50 kilometers. He told me that though he traveled amongst a group, he trusted his gut feelings more than the decisions made collectively. He eventually made it to that city and began looking for his family. He desperately checked many places, only to find no trace of them. He came to the point where he was not even sure if they were alive or not. He came across a woman from his hometown, who told him to much his relief that they were alive, but uncertainty remained as this other woman told Dzermal that his family "left in the other bus." She did not know where they were going. Not knowing their exact whereabouts, Dzermal joined the Bosnian army while in Travnik. After about two months, he received what he called "real news": a neighbor of his coming from Croatia told him that his wife and their two children had made their way to a refugee camp in Ravinj, Croatia. It was the middle of December 1992.

Once he received the "biggest news" that his family was alive, he decided that he now needed to be a good soldier. He was, after all, given command of 23 people because his superiors observed his smart and strategizing ways: "Fight smart, don't be killed. It's better if after the war you're coming home alive," he used to tell those he commanded. Seven of his men, however, were killed in one action. Not knowing what to tell the parents who entrusted those young spirits with him, Dzermal spent a good deal of time crying. To the one father who gave him two packets of cigarettes and told him to take good care of his sons, he especially did not know what to say.

He wanted to take a short leave to be able to go and see his family in Croatia. He sought permission from his superior, wanting to leave for seven days. The guy declined, telling Dzermal that he would not come back if he left. After a nasty exchange with his commander which was only a little short of serious physical violence, he obtained the necessary signature. He was now ready to make the trip and reunite with his wife and children. It was January 1993.

He was able to find a bus line which was still operational between Bosnia and Croatia, though the buses were not travelling on regular highways. After some trouble at the Croatian border, he was allowed to pass. He found Croatia to be much more peaceful at that time compared to his native Bosnia. When he reached the gates of the refugee camp in Ravinj, his insistence that his wife and children were there fell on deaf ears and the lady at the gate refused to give him the list of people in the camp with which Dzermal wanted to figure out his family's exact spot. After he yanked it off her hand, security arrived. He was not allowed entry. After security left and the attention of the lady at the gate was captured by other people, Dzermal just sneaked inside through an open window when no one was paying attention. Minutes later, it was a tearful reunion after a separation of some three months. During the two weeks he was in Croatia with his wife, she protested when he told her he wanted to go back and fight for the country. The wife's will eventually prevailed over his, and Dzermal actively began looking for a chance to take his family to safety in some place like Germany, Austria or

Hungary. He checked every day and ultimately he heard of a place that agreed to admit one hundred and one refugees, no questions asked and no papers needed. Except, as he confided to me, that the safe haven he found was a country whose place on the map he would not be able to locate at that time if he were asked to do so. He added he had no idea why it was one hundred *and one*. In any case, Dzemaal and his family, first displaced within their own country, were now headed to Israel: "I grabbed the opportunity because I can just go, I don't know Israel, I don't know where Israel is. *I need to escape somewhere. I'm not a perfect gentleman, I'm a realist,*" he remarked when he was explaining his rationale.

From the Balkans to the Middle East

After what Dzemaal said was their first plane trip ever, they arrived in Tel Aviv, Israel. The quota of 101 was not filled, as only 84 people had taken up the offer to relocate to the country. They were greeted at the airport by representatives of the organization ("French and American Jews" is what Dzemaal shared as to their identity) and Israeli officials. Dzemaal also recalled that there were scores of journalists at the airport awaiting the refugees' arrival. "I felt like a Hollywood star," he chuckled. It was February 1993.

The group was brought to a kibbutz near the Israeli city of Haifa. They were given everything (living quarters, health insurance, language education, and some

pocket money) for free for the first six months, and Dzemaal added, maybe an extension would be provided for another six months (this was eventually provided), and after that they would have to find work and cover their own insurance. A limited opportunity was also available to find work during that first year, which Dzemaal referred to as "the gold time for us." As Dzemaal did not want to stay without performing some sort of job, he requested employment with the help of a translator. As there were few jobs available for the cohort, names of refugees interested in finding work were put in a box for a drawing: "They give us opportunity to work at the national park or some other place like that...It was like lottery, I'm waiting for my name, but my name did not come out. So no work for me. But how we say that..in every unluck you have some luck. Two ladies from the same family both got jobs after the drawing. And one lady said, Dzemaal, you have two children, we don't need both jobs, I give my place to you." The work was mostly physical, such as framing, painting, building walls, cutting trees, maintaining the park, and mixing concrete. A bus would come to the kibbutz, pick up the workers and then leave for the workplace. "They pay OK," Dzemaal noted. He was able to begin saving a little money on the side only one month after arriving in Israel.

Though the jobs were temporary, Dzemaal was always able find work. He was too proud to depend on the benefits that came with living in the kibbutz as a refugee. Sometimes it was working as a waiter, at other times it was splitting trees in a park. On

top of that, his vocal and outspoken ways resulted in his being perceived as a spokesperson for his group. When, for example, some Bosnians drank beer out in the open in the kibbutz, native residents of the place would come to Dzemaal to complain of their behavior. The complaint, as Dzemaal recalled, was something to the tune of “this is our country, we brought you over here and you’re not following our rules.” One lady working in the kibbutz, whose specifics Dzemaal did not share, went further and told him she did not like having the Muslim Bosnians around. Though he was not willing to take the blame for the irresponsible actions of his national brethren and told his fellow Bosnians not to drink outside and respect the rules (“Why, are you James Bond? Who are you?” was the response he received from them), he did not stay silent after hearing the comment on religion, either. He placed phone calls to a few radios broadcasting in Russian, a language Dzemaal spoke fluently thanks to his schooling in Former Yugoslavia, and expressed his unhappiness.

As a full-blown war had broken out and was wreaking havoc in his homeland, Dzemaal was waging his own battles thousands of miles away in the Middle East. His discontent with the group he came with grew over time. There were multiple, jealousy-infused arguments about who would take the limited jobs, and some refused to heed Dzemaal’s reminders about proper behavior. The critiques about the group’s and Dzemaal’s Muslim identity became more frequent. In early 1994, what felt like a place of escape and safe haven about a year earlier no longer did so. Not yielding to the

pressures and convincing a few likeminded families, Dzemaal began making plans for another exodus, this time out of Israel. He started inquiring with several embassies and kept searching for an affirmative response. After many a try, he heard the news he has been waiting for: Slovakia was willing to admit Dzemaal and his family. After nearly fifteen months in Israel, Dzemaal was heading back to continental Europe. It was April 1994.

Back to Europe

Together with 750 other Bosnians, Dzemaal and his family were brought to a refugee camp in Bratislava. Dzemaal recalled that camp officials were giving a lot of civilization talk: that they would provide everything for free, it wouldn't matter to them whether you were Muslim or non-Muslim, and that there would be no controls, no police. Dzemaal understood this talk to be some form of critique implying that there was no civility in the Balkans and thought that the officials seemed to be using the opportunity to promote what they thought was their own upper moral hand. In any case, he had plans of his own, too: He wanted to only "stop by" in that country, perhaps use it as a station on the way to somewhere else: "if war ends, I go back to Bosnia, if not, I ask for Australia, Canada or America," he told me about the way he strategized in regards to his time in Slovakia.

Unlike in Israel, he did not have a chance to work during the four months he stayed in Slovakia: “they do not provide any work. They don’t have any program. They just provide things, they have a refugee center, everything is free, they provide food. And they give you every month about 60 German Marks, and that’s good enough for ten packs of cigarettes and nothing else.” Dzermal began relying on the savings he brought over from Israel. Ever calculated in his approach, he told his wife that if they stayed there longer, they would go broke very soon, and they would simply be sent back to Bosnia after a while, a choice he wanted to avoid that time, given the ongoing war. They made a decision to take an action Dzermal called “silly.” But it was more than that: it involved dealing with human smugglers and trespassing through national borders.

The trip out of Slovakia involved passage through the neighboring Czech Republic with the help of a transit visa which did not pose a serious challenge to obtain. They were accompanied by another family that did not have children, and they helped Dzermal and his family, who did have two children, with carrying their two bags. Though the details about the rest of the trip were vague in Dzermal’s account, the bill, he remembered, was a massive one thousand German Marks. A young driver paid for the job brought them all the way to the border between Czech Republic and Germany. They made the following agreement: Dzermal and his family (as well as the other family that accompanied them) were to sneak in through the forest, the driver was to cross the

border in his car and meet them on the German side of the highway, they would quickly hop on and drive more than 50 kilometers into German territory. Dzermal told me that if they were caught before they were 50 kilometers further from the border, the police would bring them back. As the driver had knowledge of ancillary roads passing through villages, he was able to avoid the police without much trouble. The two families entered Germany as such, and they were left on the side of the highway to fend for themselves. It was now *Willkommen in Deutschland*. The other family already knew where they would be going in Germany. Dzermal did not.

“I know Germany, I was in Germany so many times before the war”

Eventually Dzermal and his family made their way to Berlin together with the other family. His wife protested: “you brought us all the way here, why did not we stay in Israel?” Dzermal responded that he had a sister in Munich and he needed to call her. The sister, to Dzermal’s shock, offered no help and Dzermal felt betrayed.

After a while they went to the police and inquired about the procedure to be followed to apply for refugee status. He was questioned about how he made his way into the country, who helped him sneak through the border, and how he supported himself and his family. After he told his story, he was given permission to stay in the country, as was common practice at that time in Germany with respect to Bosnians who escaped to that country in search of safety. With the involvement of a church

organization and after three days in Berlin, they were brought to a collective in Marzahn, located 16 kilometers east of Berlin, which had permanent houses of different size. His family was given a room in one of the houses. They were given some cash and coupons to buy food. It was September 1994.

Dzemaal liked the disciplined, punctual life in Germany very much: "Best people, best country, I say everything is perfect, absolutely perfect," was how he expressed his admiration. He worked many different jobs in Germany, mostly under the table. He cut trees, he mowed lawns, he built walls, he made roofs, and he got paid ten marks an hour. Marzahn was their home for the next four years. His son finished the first four grades in Germany, while his daughter went to kindergarten and first grade.

Politely, I registered a minor objection to the "wonderful Germany" image he has been painting: "I'll tell you what, Dzemaal, I talked to another Bosnian guy who lived in Germany for almost seven years. He told me that while he got along well with the Germans in the school and in the beginning everything looked O.K., later they didn't want to deal with you once they realized you were reaching a point equal to them or becoming better than them." He explained it away by reiterating his previous statements about how hard working and efficient the Germans were. Our conversation nevertheless came to a point where he, without any prompt from me, confirmed a conclusion I heard often: "Finally in 1998, we don't know what we were doing. Germany does not give us opportunity to stay in Germany. We can't go back to Bosnia

[as the German government would want them to], because my city is occupied. They changed all things including street names and all, and I say I don't go back." With the signature of the Dayton Peace Agreement in 1995, Dzermal's hometown fell under the control of the newly created entity *Republika Srpska*, or the Serb Republic (not to be confused with the neighboring country of Serbia). That's why he did not want to return, a rationale not uncommon with Bosnians whose origin villages and cities are now governed by that entity.

It was August 1998, and Dzermal was facing legal status uncertainties in Germany. They were no longer *Willkommen*. To adapt to the challenge, Dzermal once again resorted to the one method he had been implementing since his original departure from Bosnia: moving on. He began pursuing the next safe haven by first calling a friend of his who had been relocated to Australia. This initial step bore no fruit. He had no one to contact in Canada, so that one fell through, too. "All refugees in Germany wanted to apply for American visa. You just go to the embassy, and I go apply for America," he said. Dzermal went through two interviews and medical screening before he was cleared for permanent resettlement in the United States. They asked him if he had any acquaintances in America. They asked him if there was any place he had in mind in America. They asked him if he cared what part of America he went to. He replied "No" to all three questions. "OK, then we send you to Twin Falls, Idaho." He replied "OK" to that one. Thus began the transatlantic journey.

On the move: United States

Including his departure from his native Bosnia, Dzermal moved out of a total of six countries in a span of six years before he arrived in Twin Falls, Idaho in 1998. He was no less mobile from that point forward.



Map 2: Dzermal traversing the United States: (Twin Falls, ID →Boise, ID →Carlisle, PA →Camp Hill, PA →Utica, NY →Syracuse, NY). Map Credits: Google, Inc.

Initially, he found the resettlement process as well as life in the U.S. way too regulated and rule-bound: “It’s so hard for me, so stressful for me, these rules, do this, do that, don’t go here, don’t park there, thank you, you’re welcome, I appreciate it...” how he expressed his frustration over his early encounters. He was, additionally, upset with the nature of the English language instruction offered at the refugee center which he attended: “I take some English classes but this is nothing special. They teach us, this is computer, this is mouse, this is banana, this is orange...I don’t need banana or orange, I need English,” he said, referring to the impracticality of what was being

instructed. Streets filled with potholes and houses that looked like barracks (“in places like that we keep cows and horses”) are the other sights he saw that shocked him. The initial job that was found for him at a painting facility at \$5.15 per hour did not sound attractive, either. He was not happy with the lack of variety in the items carried by local grocery stores: “I can’t believe every store had the same products. This is monopoly. Same food everywhere, they blame Soviet Union for being a uniform country, and it was the same in this country.”

Not willing to yield to challenges posed by the immediate environment, Dzemaal took matters into hand, and put his time-tested and optimism-filled method into practice again. After about a year in Twin Falls, he moved his family to the capital of Idaho State, Boise, where he found a job at a local company manufacturing alarm kits. “Twin Falls,” he explained the rationale behind this move to me, “looked like a small fishing village, it looked so unnatural to us.” They liked Boise a lot better. Both he and his wife were able to find jobs more easily, and they changed a couple of apartments. But this time, he said, there was another problem: “Boise is so hot in summer time, so hot, dry weather. It’s not green, there’s no grass.” Two years in Boise’s dry climate, and that was it for Dzemaal and his family. Next stop was a somewhat distant one: Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

“Why Carlisle?” I asked curiously. “In Boise, when I was looking for an apartment, I met some Bosnians from my hometown in Bosnia. They moved to

Pennsylvania, and they said Pennsylvania is green, nice, so good. Come here. They are honest people from the same town and I know them from before, and they moved before us and they say it's O.K. there." That was the only source of information on which he based his decision to move cross-country. Joking about it, he said: "Just go like Nike. Do it! Just do it!" It was 2002.

The employment agency he contacted in Carlisle arranged a job for him at a nationally known butter company. He was now being paid ten dollars an hour: "I was satisfied with ten and doing butter." From there he went on to work for an auto parts company where he was paid fifty cents more for the hour. In addition to his labor there, he began writing a Bosnian-language column in a newsletter published by the Harrisburg-based cultural institute. When he felt that the institute was capitalizing on his ideas and was not paying him enough for his effort, he broke his contract with them and stopped writing the column as well as organizing Bosnian cultural events under the institutional rubric.

The family decision to buy a house, that highly-trusted indicator of integration, was the reason for the move from Carlisle after living there for about a year to Camp Hill near Harrisburg. "We found cheap house in good location and we knew the place. Location is more important than anything in Harrisburg, and we find good location and good price," he explained. They became homeowners in 2003. He found employment with a major logistics company, while his wife was employed by a well-known health

insurance company. As they thought things were getting better, Dzermal hurt his back at work and was no longer able to do the heavy lifting that his job entailed. The company was not particularly helpful. He recalled: "I hurt my back and they want to bring me back to work, they don't care, they just wanted me to do the same things I did before. But it was too heavy for me." Her wife was very happy with her job. They came to yet another crossroads. The couple deliberated about how to proceed, and in the same fashion as they earlier had followed some of their friends from Idaho to Pennsylvania, Dzermal connected with some of their Bosnian acquaintances from Idaho who were now living in Utica, NY. Another move was on the way, or they found yet another way to move on. They were able to sell the house for a handsome profit.

Utica was promoted to Dzermal as a place where "there was a big community, big Bosnian community." Dzermal explained to his wife that because he was hurt, he now wanted to open his private business, maybe a Bosnian store. "Utica is good place for that," he concluded, based on what he heard from a friend of his living there. It was 2006, and they relocated to Utica, NY. Dzermal was intent on starting his own business and got to work on that immediately. A house, owned by a Bosnian, was on sale. The first floor would be a store, and there were two apartments upstairs. *That* was the plan. He applied to M&T bank for a mortgage. No problem, he was told at the bank.

"I explained everything. I provided all paperwork. They said I needed to put twenty thousand dollars down. I said O.K., I give you twenty thousand dollars, no

problem. I gave three thousand dollars in advance to the Bosnian owner to make sure I buy his house. This is Bosnian way of doing it, say, give me some money in advance, make sure you buy. I was not finished with the mortgage procedure. I gave him the money and we agreed that if I did not buy the house he would keep the money.” He obtained workplace permission from the city in the meantime. The place was to be half grocery store, half restaurant where Dzemaal, as a former restaurant owner, would grill *shish kabobs*. He bought equipment, he did some fixing inside, he put a refrigerator in the place. The bank finally sent the approval letter. All that was needed to be completed was the closing.

One day after he received the letter, they called him from the bank. The news that was communicated through the line was not what he expected: “We can’t give you the mortgage, because you have a store in there.” Dzemaal protested: “I provided all the necessary paperwork. Why did you keep me waiting for three months? I invested all this money in this.” “We can have a new agreement,” was the response. “What new agreement?” was the follow-up question. “You need to put thirty-five thousand dollars down” was the answer, coupled with “Sorry, if you don’t take this offer, we don’t give you mortgage.” “I almost exploded,” Dzemaal told me. He lost all the money he invested in the store. Just six, seven months in Utica, and he did not want to take any more of it. It was December 2006, and there was a nearby city called Syracuse. They moved, again.

At the time of our long conversation, Dzemaal and his family had been living in Syracuse for three years. He was working as an on-contract delivery person with his two trucks, delivering medication to nearby locations, and occasionally to destinations such as New York City. His wife had a supervisory role at a branch of national convenience store chain. They had a stable income, enough to support their two children enrolled in two local colleges, pay the mortgage, and save some on the side.

In a span of eight years, Dzemaal and his family lived in six different cities in three different states in the United States. Beginning with the original departure from his hometown in 1992, that equals fourteen different locations over a period of fourteen years, not counting the addresses changed from time to within any given locale. In what follows, I offer an interpretive analysis of Dzemaal's multiple dislocations and relocations. His, I suggest, is the journey of a resilient agent who has responded to complex local, regional, national, and international challenges by exercising *mobility* as an adaptive method, and made the world his home as such. While his degree of resilience is not necessarily typical of refugees everywhere, my contention is that his extreme mobility represents a form of agency and active choice, rather than an inability to adapt (as perspectives toward integration emphasizing physical settlement and sedentariness might conclude).

Understanding Refuge: Continuum and Cultural Domain

Entry into and existence in the emotional and physical space known as refuge, or safe haven, entails more than assuming a bureaucratic identity. Refuge is better understood as a continuum projected into being with the collision of forces – including, but not limited to, wars, earthquakes, and development projects- beyond the control of individuals affected –in the sense that they find themselves having to make decisions they otherwise would not have made- by the consequences of those collisions. Refugeehood consists of encounters experienced and practices performed reactively or proactively along the temporal and spatial axes, which are intertwined, of this continuum. While sheer reliance on bureaucratic knowledge could lead to a conclusion that refugee is an identity that is ascribed upon satisfaction of certain legal criteria (and that can be dropped upon fulfilling requirements, for instance, for permanent residency or citizenship in the United States), the practice-oriented and experience-driven approach toward refugeehood takes a long-term perspective and traces refugeehood as a process whose origins date further back than the time the refugee identity is ascribed and whose scope continues to extend even when that identity is dropped as a result of, for example, citizenship.

Progression in this continuum can be traced by attending to the specificities of temporal and spatial axes. One way to lay bare the temporal dimension would be to prompt the narrator so as to elicit information that would allow the analyst to connect

particular experiences to concrete or near-concrete dates ordered chronologically (as I did in this chapter) or reverse-chronologically. Establishing this connection was especially challenging in the case of Dzemaal's narrative (probably not an unusual situation, considering that narrators tell the story in the order they want and not necessarily in the order the ethnographer would have preferred). Temporal details seemed to be of not much concern to him, and I realized *ex post facto* that I used nearly thirty prompts (which were variations of "when was this again?") throughout our conversation, which eventually allowed me to provide the ordering I offered here. This could possibly be construed as a sign that it is the practices (in particular those that involved a high degree of *strategizing*, such as his decision to initially stay behind and send his wife and children to Travnik) that mattered in terms of the constitution and composition of the *refuge continuum*, and not necessarily when those practices were performed.

The spatial dimension of the continuum, I suggest, could be analyzed in terms of two sub-axes: the emotional space and the physical space. Considering the latter first, refugehood involves practices that invert the logic that has arguably been the most fundamental aspect of the international system since the 1648 Treaties of Osnabrück and Münster, otherwise known as the Treaties of Westphalia: the nation-state system resting on a logic of sovereign states with inviolable territorial borders. Dzemaal's actions undid this logic in lawful as well as unlawful ways: The man who was admitted

into Israel as a legal refugee later chose to trespass into Germany. If his *transnational* moves exemplified one aspect of the physicality of the continuum, the *intranational* (i.e. within the United States) pursuit of better places to work in and for represented another aspect of it. The transnational and the intranational moves are points on a continuum in the sense that they are consecutive enactments of the same experiential gestalt characterized by the same individual's dislocations and relocations. In addition, I contend that the emotional-spatial dimension of the refuge continuum as gleaned from Dzemal's narrative was most obvious in the multiple nostalgic references to the pre-war Bosnia (not to the geography, but, as he called them, "the old values, friendship, respect and trust" that characterized relations in there), and in particular in the ways he was allowing a bygone value configuration to creep into and inform the contents of a critique of present.

If refuge is composed of a sequence of temporal and spatial practices, and as such involves more than the assumption of a legal label, it is also a *cultural* domain in a way national and international instruments of law would not seem to imply or state expressly (not that they should, but just that they do not). In other words, the statutory stipulation (or its miscellaneous reincarnations) –enshrined in the 1951 Geneva Convention- that "one cross a national border in search of safe haven" does not offer much in terms of how refugeehood relates to culture.

If one irreducibly complex definition of culture could be that it consists of non-genetically transmitted, patterned ways of thought and action that are acquired consciously or unconsciously and used to materially adapt to and symbolically make sense of the world, there are then good reasons to consider refugeehood as a cultural phenomenon. In what follows, I offer three such reasons.

First, the search for a safe haven is essentially a response to external stimuli that pose a threat, or a multiplicity of threats, to one's physical and symbolic survival. In providing this response, individuals find themselves having to make very significant decisions about what is (more) worthy of protection; beliefs that are worth risking one's life for; and whom to trust and when, among other things. If it is self-evidently true that such decisions *need to* be made to ensure survival in the face of challenges (a rifle pointed to your face, such as the one pointed to Dzemal in his hometown in 1992, *is* that type of challenge), culture is the device one uses to assess priorities in the face of such adversities: ensuring his safety and that of his family *was* the priority at that time, and that is why he did as he was told. The desire to reunite with the family was so powerful that Dzemal was willing to risk disobedience and nearly went into a physical altercation with his superior in the army whose signature he needed to be able to leave the country to locate his family in Croatia. And that is why he did *not* do as he was told, that is, he did not come back as his permission paper required him to.

The idea of culture as the lens through which priorities are assessed when seeking safe haven can be further illustrated by drawing from the experience of Esmira, a Bosnian woman in her late 30s at the time I interviewed her in her house. A mother of two, she works in the healthcare business. For her, leaving the home country involved rupture from familiar elements in her broader cultural environment. When I asked her why she did not want to leave Bosnia after the war, Esmira responded as follows:

I didn't want to go, no I didn't want to leave the country, I didn't want to go to the U.S. My father, he was like, it's gonna be better for you like you know. Like you can go to college... But at the time it's just I didn't want to leave *my house you know, my friends, and like my whole world was there*. So I really did not want to go. When you think about it you know it was like, we also think that America is like a heaven you know. It's gonna be this, it's gonna be that. I said okay you know I tried. So were gonna be there for like five years, we're gonna make some money, we're gonna go back.

Second, dynamic approaches to culture emphasize its heterogeneity and its susceptibility to change no less than they focus on its homogeneity and consider it as a source of stability. Changes in the environment in which one carries out his or her interactions can feed back to the value system which has otherwise been generating relatively foreseeable dispositions, and thereby cause changes in ideas about, for instance, culturally sanctioned behavior. One domain in which such a change can be observed along the refuge continuum is that of gender roles. In the case of Dzamal's family, the exigencies of life in the United States necessitated that both spouses work so

as to make ends meet, prompting a change in traditional notions of family and gender expectations upon arrival in the new destinations, in particular industrialized countries, as refugees. Thus, the idea of the woman working outside the home as a wage-earner, not a prevalent one in their home country, gained normalcy and became sanctioned as a result of the endless repetition of that particular behavior (i.e. the wife becoming a wage-earner) not just by Dzermal's wife but also by thousands of others in similar situations. When ideas about success and achievement (widely circulated through orientation programs, welcome kits, broadcast and print media, as well as hearsay and peer-exposure) and about ways to realize them, enter the lexicons of families, including Dzermal's, through exposure to and participation in public life in the new environment, the position of the new gender role gains more strength: if they want their children to be upwardly mobile through getting a good education in the United States, they need to be able to afford college, which further requires that both spouses work, contrary to what their pre-migration acculturation might have disposed them toward.

The notion of refugeehood given shape by cultural change can also be seen in the narrative provided by Almina. A Bosnian woman in her late 40s, she complained of the push she felt from the resettlement agency to find a job shortly upon arrival in the United States.⁷ Having experienced the relative calm and stability of pre-war

⁷ Asking refugees to become economically self-sufficient sooner rather than later is a policy priority in the U.S. Yet, as I noted elsewhere, this policy preference is not without its problems: "The emphasis [on rapid employment of refugees] is questionable on at least two grounds. First, without the language skills and guidance needed to secure well-paying jobs, rapidly employed refugees find themselves facing

Yugoslavia, she was upset about what she perceived to be the resettlement system's lack of attention to family time. In her response to me when I asked her about the things she would have wanted to change for refugees, Almina said: "They [meaning refugees] come here and they have small kids, like the time I have...[referring to her own son] he wasn't two years old. The first thing I would want to give people is more time to spend with the kids, not just push you, they don't care how many kids you have or how old your kids are."

Another way refugeehood is a cultural phenomenon has to do with the symbolic processes that take place along the continuum of refuge. A refugee's new environment communicates to him or her ideas about what is desirable, appropriate or improper in the new context. The value of these ideas is conveyed through symbolic communication that takes place over the emplacement process. For instance, as culturally cherished notions in the United States, hard-work and punctuality are condensed in a symbol such as the punch-card that the newcomer runs through the device when entering and leaving the workplace for the day, a practice he or she may or may not be familiar in his or her origin country. Seen in this light, refugeehood emerges as a process in which symbolic communication occurs and transfers value-laden aspects of the new

impossible odds to make ends meet. In many cases, they have to work two or more jobs, disrupting family ties that otherwise serve as sources of moral support in an alien environment...Second, the emphasis on rapid employment in practice leads to disregard for the skills refugees carry over from their countries of origin...capable doctors, engineers and professors frequently have to accept low-level jobs widely incommensurate with their past professional training and experience. This negatively affects self-esteem and psychological assessment" (Keles 2008: 6).

environment. While adaptation outcomes are commonly assessed in terms of rapid employment, economic self-sufficiency and homeownership, attention to symbolic literacy could offer a finer notion of adaptation. Most Bosnians I encountered in this research, Dzermal included, were content with carrying their green cards and had either no or only vague plans to become U.S. citizens some day. In the cases of those who did become U.S. citizens, their passports symbolized little more than a tool that facilitated international travel, that is, citizenship did not primarily emerge as a matter of civic virtue, but rather as a pragmatic tool. This potentially implies that there might not have been enough exposure to symbolic channels that would communicate the civic value of citizenship.

Supermobility, Adaptation, Home as Affective Space: Considerations on Refugee Agency

In her seminal work *Imposing Aid: Emergency Assistance to Refugees* (1986) Barbara Harrell-Bond studies displaced people in Africa who are refugees strictly in the Convention sense: Ugandans who began entering southern Sudan (Yei River District) in 1979 to flee from political conflict in their own country, unwilling to return to their country of origin for fear of their lives, resettled in camps established and administered by the UNHCR, and made part of a complex international system of emergency refugee relief and aid. Harrell-Bond's adoption of the *Conventional* term does not, however, imply a blanket acceptance of a widespread structural/systemic judgment international

humanitarian relief system seems to pass on the persons so termed. This judgment, uprooting creates an enduring condition of social and psychological abnormalcy which necessitates continued intervention. It does not pay much attention to how the uprooted themselves can be empowered to manage their own material and affective realities, and disregards their capacity for decision-making even in the direst of circumstances.

Contrary to such judgment, Harrell-Bond shows that the Ugandan refugees resettled in the UNHCR-administered camps in Sudan "...so easily thought of as statistics, are...as intelligent, articulate, and different individuals, [and] they suffer, struggle to survive, need their self-respect, and have to mourn their dead" (1986: viii). Harrell-Bond shows that by discussing, for instance, the untenable but convenient belief (present among UNHCR-employed medical personnel in the Sudanese camps hosting Ugandans) that "Africans do not suffer either physical or psychological pain in the same way as do 'white' people, 'They are used to pain and suffering' and therefore no longer feel these things" (1986: 205). Her observations of long queues in front of the few medical facilities in camp clinics – a most vivid sign for Harrell-Bond of their struggle to seek treatment – critically question the credibility of such personnel's claims that "We must just accept that Africans have culturally determined lower expectations for health" (1986:206).

A focus on agency, defined as "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn 2001:112), such as Harrell-Bond's focus on the agency of Ugandan refugees, "forms a sharp contrast to the more established approaches where refugees are pictured

as passive victims of violence and disaster, or as mere recipients of relief aid” (Essed, Frerks and Schrijvers (2005: 2). In addition, “the notion of agency centralises people, conceptualised as social actors who process their own experiences and those of others while acting upon these experiences” (2005:2). Following in the footsteps of Harrell-Bond, I suggest here that Dzemal’s multiple migrations or his *supermobility* –fourteen different locations over a span of fourteen years- constituted the means with which he struggled to survive and adapt to complex challenges. Supermobility, in other words, was how he exercised agency.

Supermobility, as I conceptualize it, resembles the concept of secondary migration. Jon D. Holtzman’s work on Sudanese refugees in Minnesota offer a useful illustration of secondary migration. “Approximately 400 Nuer found their way to the Twin Cities in the 1990s. They were either sent there directly by religious or government agencies directing their resettlement, or *went there later to rejoin friends and relatives after having been initially placed in another city*” (Holtzman 2008: 9, emphasis added). But supermobility is further-reaching and longer-lasting than and ultimately inclusive of secondary migration. Supermobile refugees like Dzemal change locales not just once or twice or not just within same country upon initial relocation by agencies responsible for or supporting their resettlement, but multiple times and, as seen in Dzemal’s narrative, across wide geographies. Supermobility is distinguished by multiplicity and repetition.

I offer supermobility as a heuristic device that is meant to present a complementary way of understanding the concept of adaptation. Sedentary/territorial notions of adaptation prioritize being settled over all else. In the sedentary perspective, adaptation is a process that begins after a refugee arrives in his or her new context, and it is a matter of gradual acclimation to the values, norms, social rules, symbolic systems including language, and politics of the new context. Supermobile agents such as Dzemaal who change contexts rapidly should not simply be described as maladaptive, that is, the frequent change of contexts is not necessarily a sign that they were not able to achieve that acclimation in a given locality. Instead, they resort to mobility, as Dzemaal did, as a strategy they put into practice when they, “as social actors who process their own experiences,” consider the transformations in their immediate environments unfavorable in terms of their material and/or symbolic well-being. They are, in other words, not simply losers of place, but also, fundamentally, makers of place.

The heuristic of supermobility also paves the way for reconceptualizing the notion of home. In her article based on the life stories of two Bosnian refugees living in Finland, Huttunen notes in reference to the scholarship on diasporas and transnationalism that “...for many migratory people there are many points of reference in the global space. Homes are negotiated between constraints and possibilities connected to different locations. Homes are not necessarily either here or there, but rather in many locations simultaneously” (Huttunen 2005:180). Dzemaal’s narrative

suggests that he has performed this negotiation by being a supermobile migrant: He mitigated the impact of the adverse consequences of the political, social, climactic, labor-related constraints he faced in a variety of concrete locations, and pursued possibilities in other concrete locations by way of his supermobility, thereby maintaining a sense of continuity and being home *affectively* without regard to where he was physically. Being home, that is to say, was feeling home.

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter aimed to provide an interpretive analysis of displacement by relying on a dense narrative that described various aspects of a refugee's experiences over several years. Refugee is a label that is ascribed to specific human beings as a result of displacement. It is, fundamentally, a legal term devised in the aftermath of the 2nd World War to guide international humanitarian policy actions. The interpretive account offered in this chapter relativizes this legal category by considering a particular individual's experience and reconstructs it as a continuum and cultural domain.

Resting on the lived history of a single individual (Ghorashi 2008), the value of this account lies in not a promise of generalizability but –to borrow Clifford Geertz's well-known metaphor- in its thick description of the “webs of significance [Dzemaal] himself has spun” (Geertz 2000: 5) across the refuge continuum in which he has made the world a place of his own as a resilient, supermobile actor.

“Are you sleepy or what?” Dzemaal asked me after a half day of conversation which started right before noon time and ended shortly before midnight. I was, but I did not tell him I was. On my way back home, I was in awe not only of the enduring resilience in the story I listened to but also of the protagonist’s courage to tell that story. This was a resilience still in effect and a story still in the making.

“Da vidiš, Da znaš, Da pamtiš”: The Uses of Commemoration

Communities[...] have a history –in an important sense they are constituted by their past- and for this reason we can speak of a real community as a “community of memory”, one that does not forget its past. In order not to forget that past, a community is involved in retelling its story, its constitutive narrative, it offers examples of the men and women who have embodied and exemplified the meaning of the community. These stories of collective history and exemplary individuals are an important part of the tradition that is so central to a community of memory. (Bellah et. al., *Habits of the Heart*, 1996: 153)

In July of 2009 and 2010, I attended multiple events that were held in different parts of Central New York to collectively remember a particularly painful episode of the 1992-1995 conflict in the Balkans that decimated my Bosnian interlocutors’ home country. In that episode of the conflict, Bosnian Serb forces led by General Ratko Mladić captured Srebrenitza,¹ a town in what is now called *Republika Srpska* (Serb Republic) in July 1995, and carried out a campaign of ethnic cleansing in which more than 8,000

¹ A UN Security Council resolution (d. 16 April 1993) declared Srebrenitza a ‘safe haven’ at the time of the war in Former Yugoslavia. The fact that the town was mostly demilitarized (unlike the five other UN-designated safe havens in Former Yugoslavia) allowed Bosnian Serbs to capture the town with little resistance. The Dutch peacekeeping force which was supposed to see to the town’s status as a safe zone put up no resistance against Serb forces and left the town when their air cover did not arrive (Hyndman 2003: 170). In a press release circulated on September 6, 2013, the Washington D.C.-based Advisory Council for Bosnia and Herzegovina (ACBH) informed subscribers that the Supreme Court of the Netherlands issued a final ruling where it held the Dutch peacekeepers responsible for the expulsion of three Bosnian men from peacekeepers’ compound and handing them over to Serb forces who then executed them. While the press release was unavailable at the ACBH website at the time of this writing, a news story on the ruling is accessible here: http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/07/world/europe/dutch-peacekeepers-are-found-responsible-for-deaths.html?_r=0

Bosnian Muslim males were systematically executed over a period of approximately one week (Halilovich 2013). In 2007, The International Court of Justice affirmed that the killings in Srebrenitza satisfied the definition of genocide.²

In this chapter, I move beyond the individual level approach to diasporic existence in the previous chapter to a group level approach by considering the relationship between collective memory and refuge. I do so by examining the relationship between memory and refuge, and by exploring the extent to which Bosnian Muslims residing in the Central New York region are molding into a diasporic “community of memory” thanks to the commemorations they have been holding to honor those who perished during the bloodshed in Srebrenitza. I conduct this examination by undertaking two main steps. First, after a brief discussion of the literature on memory and commemoration, I describe the memorial practices I participated in and observed, focusing mainly on the commemorative anniversary held on 11 July 2010³ in Syracuse, but also drawing from events I attended the year before. Second, I discuss and illustrate the functions or purposes that I suggest commemoration serves in relation to visibility and recognition in diaspora, identity transformation (Colic-Peisker 2002, 2003; Muecke 1987), and indexicality, among other factors. I then

² I offer a slightly longer history in Keles, Fethi. “Srebrenica” *Ethnic Groups of Europe: An Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2011. 51. Print. My concern in this chapter is less with this recent historical event itself than with its sociocultural import as enacted in and through practices of commemoration. It is not history-as-history, but rather history-as-memory that I seek to describe and then extrapolate from.

³ This date marked 15th anniversary of the genocide. It also marked the largest commemorative gathering ever (which, as of this writing, still stands as such) of Bosnians in the Central New York region.

use these to offer an analysis of commemorations, with a focus on the roles attributed to commemoration, the question of memory embodiment, that is, the relationship between vicarious memory and autobiographical memory, as well as to suggest how commemoration might be contributing, paradoxically, to forgetting in ways the remembering individuals and groups may not have intended (Sturken 1998).

Considering the memory-refuge relationship through an ethnography of commemorative practices is worthwhile for a number of reasons. First, it allows me to build on the interpretive analysis I offered in Chapter 3 where I, on the basis of a specific individual's narrative, described the experiential aspects of the jural category, the Convention refugee. I further that analysis by moving beyond the level of the individual, and demonstrate how a particular type of practice -commemoration- performed at the group level serves a variety of functions and conveys group members as well as outsiders information about the lived dimensions of refuge above and beyond that which is available in legal instruments and might only be partially found (or not found at all) in conventional wisdom. Second, this consideration offers a finer notion of commemoration by demonstrating how the practice is embedded in other functions or institutions (religion, outreach, critique, entertainment). And related to the second, a third benefit is the engagement my account provides with a narrow debate within social memory studies, the one concerning historical vs. autobiographical memory, more specifically the minimization of the gap between them.

Memory and Commemoration: Brief Reminders

“Human ability to retain and collect a fact, event, or person from memory has been a topic of considerable interest to both scientists and artists for a long time” (Mistral 2003: 9, Radstone 2000). The subject matter of this retention capacity –memory– has been defined by various scholars in a number of ways, with emphases on remembering procedures/rules, as in memory of how one drives a car; componential information, as in the memory of chemical structure of water, referred to as declarative/semantic memory (Baddeley 1989); personal or autobiographical information, as in one’s personal memory of a birthday party, what he wore on that day, what gifts he was presented with et cetera (Halbwachs [1941] 1992; cf. Bloch 1998). In addition, habitual performance, or habit-memory has been understood to mean knowledge of past acted out by way of embodiment in the present, as in the case of commemorative rituals where groups convey knowledge of ancestral beliefs and practices to their young through the systematized display of bodily movements (Connerton 1989).⁴ Recollection of events foundational to group identity then takes place by way of the repetitive performance which reaffirms feelings of tribal, ethnic, national, and/or religious belonging and reemphasizes the imaginary, cultural and/or the physical boundaries against which the other is identified.

⁴ For further distinctions (such as body memory, place memory, and the differences between reminding, reminiscing, and recognizing), consult Casey, Edward. [1987] 2000. *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Table 2: Memory: Some Types and Their Characteristics

Type	Example
Procedural memory	Memory of the rules one follows in driving a car
Declarative memory	Memory of the chemical structure of water
Autobiographical memory	One's personal memory of what one wore in a birthday party
Habit-memory	Memory of repetitive performance, as in rituals

Additionally, the context where remembering takes place, that is, the constraints that context places on the very act of remembering have been discussed through the idioms of *collective* or *social* memory (Olick and Robbins 1998; Olick 1999, 2003). Emphasis here has been on whether remembering is purely a cognitive act, or the collectivity or society which the individual remembering agent belongs in structures the memory experience regardless of what is happening in cognizing tool, namely the brain (Halbwachs [1926] 1950). For Halbwachs, although it was up to the singular individual to do the remembering, "...it is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that people recall, recognize and localize their memories" (Halbwachs 1992: 38). Psychic processes, neurological operations, and workings of the brain seem to have little to no place in Halbwachs' theory of memory. Indeed he claimed that "there is no point in seeking where [memories] are preserved in my brain or in some nook of my mind to which I alone have access..." (1992:38). Halbwachs justifies his claim by suggesting that no matter where memories are kept in the brain, they are recalled externally, and this recall process is relative to one's societal

affiliations. Contrasting these theoretical statements with those of Freud on memory may help better visualize Halbwachs' ideas: Although Sigmund Freud is not a theoretician of memory *per se*, his view on the unconscious has some important bearing on the topic. Freud suggested that the unconscious is a repository of all past experiences. In particular, "Memory for Freud turns on the exchange between unconscious habit and conscious reconstruction. There is the deep memory born of experience that prompts our actions. But it is rendered intelligible through our conscious efforts to give it meaning by integrating it into our present understanding...Whatever we have experienced lies etched on our psyches" (Hutton 1994: 147). Halbwachs, however, argued in different terms: He thought that memory was not such a repository of past experiences. These experiences, he thought, would transform into "imagos" of general nature over time, and these imagos needed a social context so that they can be preserved (Olick 1999: 333-348). Hence, *collective* memory. To further elucidate Halbwachs' approach, consider how he contrasts his notion of collective memory with history. In his formulation "history is the remembered past to which we no longer have an "organic relation –the past that is no longer an important part of our lives –while collective memory is the active past that forms our identities" (1999: 335). The following quote regarding the collective memory of the family may illustrate this contrast: "Let us now suppose that we recall an event of our family life, which, as the saying goes, is engraved in our memory. Let us then try to eliminate from

it these ideas and traditional judgments which define the mind of the family. What remains then? Is it even possible to accomplish such a dissociation, to distinguish in the recollection of “the image of *that which happened only once and is focused on a moment of time and a single event*” (emphasis added) from the notions that in general express our experience of the actions and life-styles of our parents?” (Halbwachs 1992: 59).

In *History and Memory*, Le Goff conceptualizes the historical development of the concept of memory in five successive stages: 1) Memory of the peoples without writing, ethnic memory as labeled by Le Goff, which is characterized by its free and vital nature but which does not bear artistic qualities, 2) memory embedded in and conveyed through commemoration and documentary recording in the move from prehistoric times to Antiquity, a period corresponding to the emergence of cities, 3) memory in Middle Ages characterized by its Christianized nature as well as by a separation, the emergence of separate memory paths –liturgical and lay memories, 4) memory from Renaissance to modernity, characterized by the impact of the printing press, the emergence of a vast middle class readership and multifarious tools for commemoration –stamps, coins, medals, souvenirs etc, and, importantly, the birth and progress of places of memory: archives, museums, libraries, 5) memory in postmodernity, whose defining imprint has been the *electronic* form it takes, and the ways it is transmitted, processed, and conceptualized, all markedly different from memory in the preceding eras (Le Goff 1992, cf. Cattell and Climo 2002).

When it comes to commemoration, “[It] is a way of claiming that past has something to offer the present, be it a warning or a model” (Shils 1981, cited in Olick 1999: 381). Shedding further light on the notion Patrick Hutton notes: “Commemoration is a calculated strategy for stabilizing collective memories that are otherwise protean and provisional. In this respect, [commemoration] draws upon the ancient art of memory. In its monuments and shrines, it locates the memorable places on the landscape of memory. It anchors the past in the present, creating the illusion that time can be made to stand still” (Hutton 2000: 537). This is in line with Susan Rasmussen’s insight that “to consider the formation of social and cultural memory, one must consider how memories are constructed and conveyed through commemoration and reminiscence-related activities. These may be verbal and non-verbal, for example tale-telling, rituals, court testimonies, museum exhibits, spectator and audience responses [to monuments, public ceremonies et cetera]” (Rasmussen 2002: 123). Finally, Edward Casey ([1987] 2000: 251) provides abstractions which offer, along with those of the students of memory referred to above, a framework to begin to approach the ethnographic data I will present in the forthcoming section of this chapter:

Commemorating [...] creates new forms of sociality, new modes of interconnection: between past and present, self and other, one group and another, one form of thinking or acting or speaking and another, one sex and another, one art form and another...Commemorating does more than pay tribute to honorable actions undertaken

in the past and at another place. It constructs the space, continues the time, in which the commendably inter-human will be perduringly appreciated.

In what follows, then, I put commemoration in context. To illustrate the practices performed *“da vidiš, da znaš, da pamtiš”* (to see, to know, to remember) Srebrenitza, I zoom in on three contexts: A soccer field, a movie theater, and a mosque. These are the places where visibility in the urban space is enhanced, “mnemonic bridging” (Zerubavel 2003) occurs, and a host of other processes take shape. These processes in turn pave the way for the formation of a community of memory through narration, critique and mnemonic pedagogy anchored in individual and collective histories of loss and suffering.

A Sanctified Remembrance

In one of our countless get-togethers, I was visiting my soccer teammate, and later karate sparring partner, Meho Salkic in his two-bedroom unit at Vincent Apartments in Syracuse where he lived with his wife and their two kids. The calendar marked 13 July 2009, early evening hours were about to kick in, and over dark and strong Bosnian coffee, we were talking about the large crowd that populated the IKCBS, or the Bosnian mosque, in Syracuse just two days earlier, on 11 July 2009 –the fourteenth anniversary of the killings in Srebrenitza. The interior space of the mosque was filled to more than capacity and there were people outside under a makeshift canopy, adding up to a group of about 150 people. And there was rain, not a heavy one

but not the kind of weather one would usually expect in the month of July in Syracuse, either!

When I casually said “There were a lot of people, right?”, Meho responded with an aura of certainty reminiscent of Evans-Pritchard’s explanations of witchcraft among the Azande. He replied as follows: “You know why there was rain on July 11? Because *Allah* did not want the people to go to any other place, like to the bar or beaches. He wanted them to come to the mosque for the commemoration.” Considering the series of events held in the two days -11 and 12 July- prior to our conversation on their own terms, I came to think that there was in fact not much that was unusual in his interpretation. In the following paragraphs, I explain what this means by relying on the fruits of participant-observation I conducted at the mosque on 11 July 2009 and in an outdoor soccer field in the village of Minoa in Onondaga County on 12 July 2009.

The commemoration held at the mosque on the fourteenth anniversary in honor of those fallen in Srebrenitza began with the performance of *ikindija*, the fourth of the five daily required *salahs*, or prayers, in Islam. About two-thirds of the attendees inside were men and children, and the rest were women. At the time, the mosque did not have a permanent *imam*, and Numan, a thin, young man in his late twenties who had been volunteering to lead the congregational Friday prayers, was given the task to lead the *ikindija*. That the interior was packed meant that it took any attendee quite some gymnastics to be able to perform the *sujud*, the prostrations where one’s forehead, tip of

the nose, toes, both hands, and knees are supposed to come into contact with the ground on which one prays, that are part of the Muslim salah.



Images 6 and 7: Attendees inside IKCBS on 11 July 2009

Following the prayer was an individual Koranic recitation, approximately 15 minutes long, for the attendees to listen to. The recitation, performed in the Arabic language, covered a total of six pages from the Muslim holy book composed of 30 chapters made up of six hundred pages. The six pages recited are known as *Jasin-i Serif* (*surah al-Yaseen*, in Arabic) and in the Sunni Ottoman tradition, of which the attendees' home country is one of the inheritors, they are commonly recited especially during funerals (in particular, around the time of the burial practice) and in visits paid to the homes of the relatives of the deceased. The recitation, the faithful believe, will bring peace and blessings to the soul of the dead, and the good deeds that are thought of having arisen out of this sacred performance are literally offered as gifts to the souls, and

supplications are made so that God delivers the gifts to their intended recipients, as a result of which the souls' conditions in afterlife questioning will improve.

Next came a group performance: the *ilahija*. Usually glossed as religious songs (known as *nasheed* in Arabic), these are composed of poetic lines chanted individually or collectively in a generally easy-to-master rhythms. The *ilahija*, whose lyrics the IKCBS secretary generously shared with me about ten days after the event, was sung by a group of youngsters on this particular occasion and did not have obvious religious references; rather, it lamented the sorrow and grief that befell Srebrenitza and neighboring areas in the July of 1995, and reminded listeners of the graves, the bloodshed and the tears.

The chanting then gave way to *dova*. Literally meaning supplication, the *dovas* are usually led by an imam or an elderly person knowledgeable in the ways of the faith. Among other things, they include expressions of repentance, requests from God for the present and future well-being of the global community of Muslims in general and Bosnians around the world in particular, cautionary reminders about the need to avoid sinful conduct, and descriptions of model behavior to be emulated so that horrors of the sort experienced in Srebrenitza can be avoided in the future.

The final performance came in the form of a sermon delivered by a guest *imam* of Bosnian origin who arrived from Michigan. This delivery emphasized the importance of tolerance and compassion, and how their lack contributed to the outcome in

Srebrenitza; the duty to stay alert regarding future threats to the livelihood of the community; the importance of educating the youth properly so that they do not forget what happened; and calls to help and support those who still continue to suffer in the homeland.



Image 8: Guest imam delivering his sermon

After the sermon, there was informal socializing both inside and mostly outside the premises. The administration provided soft drinks and there were trays of homemade food for the attendees to enjoy. I spotted a number of teary-eyed individuals, had brief conversations with the volunteer imam who led the opening

prayer, met people who later became interviewees, and fielded questions about whether I would be attending the memorial soccer tournament that was to take place the next day. The entire event lasted approximately two and a half hours, ending shortly before 8:00 p.m.

Kicks to Remember

The next day, on July 12, 2009, I was in (and on) the field in Minoa around noon time: the day before, I had responded in the affirmative to the questions inquiring about my participation in what was now about to begin. Several soccer teams, made up of Bosnian youth residing in the greater Central New York area, were on the pitch as part of a tournament that was being held in memory of those fallen in Srebrenitza. So far as I was able to ascertain, there were teams from Syracuse, Utica and Rochester that came to win trophies after matches against their fellow countrymen. Some team members wore jerseys whose back sides read “Bosnia Herzegovina” on top, while others had more colorful outfits, and yet others, including myself, donned jerseys with a message (“Never Forget Srebrenitza”). In addition, there were kids who were roaming around freely, adults who played the role of spectators only, and volunteers busy setting up the grill to cook loads of *cevapi*, the traditional beef sausage. In addition to being a participant and observer, I incidentally became the event’s official photographer, as the tournament organizers did not bring a camera! I shared all of my photographs with

them subsequently. My first impression was that what was about to unfold was entertainment bent to the demands of remembrance (Shoeb 2007). And there was good reason to have that impression. Here is why.

Prior to the kick-off, nearly all participants gathered in the middle of the field. A guest I did not know and who was in the middle of the “congregants” began reciting the opening verses of the Koran, known as *al-Fatiha* and, like the verses referred to above, recited commonly as part of practices relating to the dead. He opened the tournament, in other words, with the words that open the holy book of the faith to which players subscribe. He asked the players, many of whom had relatives still missing from the bloody July in Srebrenitza, to honor the memory of the dead, cautioned against harsh play, and instructed them to be compassionate toward one another. His reminders about fair play seemed to have created the intended effect. Except a few accidental fouls here and there, I witnessed no sign of ill-will or harsh play.

It was full-blown soccer all afternoon and a Syracuse-based Bosnian team won the championship after beating another Bosnian team from Utica in penalty kicks shot to break the tie in the original game. They received a trophy featuring a crescent and star etched on a green background –all symbols of the Islamic Ottoman heritage-, topped with a figure performing a bicycle kick.



Images 9 and 10: In and on the field; bodily memory. On the left is the anthropologist in full soccer gear, accompanied by a teammate, and on the right is a player whose left arm sports a tattoo representing the name of his brother killed in the war.

Upon completion of the games, members of all teams as well as spectators slowly headed to the grill area. The joyful mingling, jokes, and people serving each other food and soft drinks only seemed to reinforce the feelings of amity that characterized pre-game gathering and the actual competitions. The commemorative tournament was functioning as a performative device reminding participants who they were, where they were from, what happened in their homeland, and how to honor the fallen.

Leaving a longer interpretation of the vignettes offered so far to the later pages of this chapter, the following paragraphs will provide ethnographic data gleaned from my observations in what was the (then and now) largest gathering as well as the most comprehensive public outreach effort of Bosnians in the CNY region. While the prayers,

recitations, chants, the sermon in the mosque, and the soccer tournament in the previous year were fundamentally stories Bosnians narrated to themselves about themselves, the commemoration held in July 2010 was both that and something more: Bosnians in the region would by then be known to a limited extent to the factories that employed them, to the hospitals that treated them, and to the schools that taught the school-age children of this new immigrant community. The fifteenth anniversary featured events that, among other things, enhanced the visibility of the local Bosnian population to the broader public, and provided a venue where a *group's* memory of a mass killing was given a *public* dimension through the sheer act of sharing them with non-Bosnians. It is, then, to July 11, 2010 –the fifteenth anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenitza- that I now turn.

The Fifteenth Anniversary

To a packed Palace Theater on James Street in Syracuse on July 11, 2010, the hostess of the evening began speaking:

Good evening ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Bosnian Cultural Center and the Bosnian community as a whole, we would like to welcome you and thank you for taking your time to share in our solemn commemoration of the fifteenth anniversary of the Srebrenica Genocide... Tonight, we are gathered not only to give voice to those that have forever been silenced, but also to share a part of ourselves with this community. In

the spirit of brotherhood and in the hope that each of you will take home with you words of “never forget”, we would like to do our best to make this program all inclusive to both our Bosnian and American guests, therefore, our program tonight will be done exclusively in English. We must remember that though flesh may fail, the spirit of man lives on, and tonight, we are here to shed light on a tragedy that occurred on European soil within less than the last two decades.

Because I had deliberately seated myself in the back of the theater, I had a full view of audience and the stage, and I did not spot any vacant seats. A quick rows by columns multiplication landed a conservative estimate of over six hundred in attendance, and if my walks up and down the aisles between the three columns of seats shortly before the event was in full swing were any indication, no less than one-third of the audience seemed to be non-Bosnian. Notable among that one-third were publicly known figures such as Tim Carroll, the Director of Mayoral Initiatives in the City of Syracuse; Congressman Dan Maffei; Mayor Roefaro of the City of Utica, and Mike Cauchon, radio host at the 93Q station who produced the *Killers: A Story of Survival* documentary premiered as part of the anniversary program.

Following the declaration of the intent of the commemoration as above, there came an approximately ten-minute long presentation on the geography and the recent political history of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Rich in detail, this presentation was devoted mostly to a description of post-Cold War events that led to the collapse of Yugoslavia, the death toll that resulted from the 4-year long war between 1992 and 1995, the multi-

ethnic composition of Bosnia as the most diverse among the republics that made up that federal entity, the connections between Bosnia's neighbor Serbia and Serbs living in Bosnia, the creation of a United Nations safe zone in Srebrenitza, and the gruesome details of the mass killings under the command of Bosnian Serb General Ratko Mladić. There was a reminder, to the audience, of a painful and shocking sort: "Today, as we here in America were just waking to start our day, 775 bodies were buried in a mass funeral in Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina." The remainder of this presentation related how the war came to an end, emphasizing how the United States President of the time, Bill Clinton, exercised his presidential veto power over Congress to commission NATO to launch airstrikes on Belgrade, the Serbian capital, eventually leading to the brokering of a peace agreement, known as the Dayton Accords, signed in Ohio on December 14, 1995. If the above quote from the opening remarks made clear the event's character as (among other things) an outreach effort, the delivery that followed demonstrated what must have been its pedagogical objective: Educating the broader public about the history of a people living amongst them over the past fifteen years. The moral pedagogy embedded in commemorative practice seemed to produce some immediate effects, as confirmed in the subsequent remarks (which I offer later below) in the speeches delivered by Tim Carroll and Dan Maffei after the talk of the president of Bosnian Cultural Center, also known as IKCBS or the Bosnian mosque.

The IKCBS president's speech only furthered the educational aspect of the event. If the preceding presentation familiarized the audience about the *run-up* to the war whose cruelest point was probably Srebrenitza, the president's address informed them about the trials, tribulations, and contributions of the global Bosnian diaspora in general and Bosnians in Syracuse in particular *after* the war. The narrative he offered worked off a sociological ideal-type, the successful immigrant to America who, wherever she might have hailed from and under whatever conditions, follows an almost predestined path toward assimilation and finds success by satisfying the criteria enforced by the socio-culturally salient melting pot logic.⁵ It is worth quoting a lengthy excerpt from his talk to illustrate this point. In comments whose primary intended recipients must have been the hosts who, fifteen years ago, first received Bosnians as guests in their land but now who, in an interesting reversal of roles which represented a form of identity transformation, were the guests being hosted, the president said:

The city of Syracuse and its surrounding areas sheltered around 3000, mostly survivors from Srebrenica. Many of you have Bosnian friends, neighbors, or work colleagues. You

⁵ While its analytical utility has been the subject of debate in the literature, there is evidence that 'melting pot' continues to be a powerful metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson [1980] 2003) in terms of which coexistence is understood in the discourse of public officials, in particular of those with a mandate to manage what anthropologist Steven Vertovec has dubbed as *superdiversity* (Vertovec 2007). Remarks by Utica Mayor David Roefaro, one of the speakers at the fifteenth anniversary, as well as his responses to me in the interview I had with him in his office in Utica several months before the event, offer one such piece of evidence of the metaphorical salience of the concept. In the interview, when I asked him openly what the melting pot idea meant to him, he stated: "Actually here in the city of Utica we have a large immigrant population. But to give you a better perspective the public school system has 42 different languages ...[the melting pot] is a challenge because you have a lot of different cultures". In his anniversary address, he reiterated: "In Utica, we did and still do open our arms to our immigrants...In fact, over 41 languages are spoken in our school districts." Melting pot, as it appears from his remarks over time, continues to evoke various manifestations of diversity.

saw that *we are honest and hardworking people*. A large number of Bosnians have become U.S. citizens and a large number of us is in the process of obtaining US citizenship. *In this beautiful country we have found peace, bought homes, found jobs and you were of a big assistance to us* in healing the war wounds that can never fully heal. Many of our children are already *finished schools and found work* in the private sector as well as many state firms. There are Bosnian *doctors, police officers and workers of various professions*. *Many of our youths are soldiers in American military and are standing equal on the walls of their second homeland defense*. We hope that our younger generation will do more and make us all proud, because a large number of them are *studying at various colleges* and are demonstrating extraordinary results in their studies.

It can be argued that his references to hard work, home-buying, schooling, public service, and American philanthropy effectively weave the Bosnian refugee experience into the American cultural fabric. In other words, his was a story that the non-Bosnian audience could easily relate to, as it was being told in a familiar language. In yet other words, the commemorative event, of which the president's speech was one part, was serving to enhance *indexicality*, or "the amount of shared background necessary to understand a message" (Agar 1980: 5). As a result, the guests of the day who had only cursory or no knowledge of the suffering of Bosnians acquired a background with which to relate to the displacement and adaptation experiences of the event's hosts.

Also noteworthy was how he discursively situated Bosnian identity within a global, civilizational framework. At one level such a situation, it can be surmised, serves

to de-ethnicize Bosnianness and embeds it within a broader notion of “we’re in this together,” which helps create a relatable and approachable new immigrant persona. At another level, it could be understood as an expression of agency in the form of undoing the helpless and destitute refugee image (which undoing represents yet another form of identity transformation, from the needy stranger to the resourceful immigrant), as it comes with a bold offer to bridge faiths, geographies and lifeways. Here is the excerpt illustrating this situation:

I can say with pride that we are the only indigenous European people of Islamic faith, we are a connection between East and West. Because we are the people of western culture and eastern religion, we understand the West and we are easily accustomed to the life in America and the East. Because we understand our brothers from the east who we share faith with, I think we can help a lot in better understanding between East and West and of our faith and tradition we are proud.

That the commemoration helped grow indexicality found some corroboration in the next two addresses, by public officials Tim Carroll and Dan Maffei, that followed the president’s remarks. Here are two indications suggesting that the pedagogical objectives of the commemorative anniversary were being satisfied:

Tim Carroll: Thank you for opening our eyes to your past, inviting us to this commemoration and helping us establish a relationship that we think will benefit both the city of Syracuse and the Bosnian community going forward...American citizens were certainly aware fifteen years ago of the breakup of Yugoslavia, and the atrocities,

the term ethnic cleansing, *but I must be honest with you, I don't think any of us fully knew and fully appreciated the impact of those tragic events until the last couple of months when again you opened our eyes to the events of fifteen years ago today...We now understand and know that three thousand very hardworking people are not only living in the city of Syracuse but in the county of Onondaga...We appreciate the fact that you are our newest neighbors.*

Dan Maffei: We do not realize for a long time all of the struggles that many of the people who've come here been through. Srebrenitza was something maybe on the small television set in our living room, but the tragedy was too big for us to fully understand. *But now that you're among us, we do understand. We do understand the struggles, and indeed just as you are Central New Yorkers, we're now Bosnians, and we take your history and make it part of ours.*

Based on these statements, one of the overall effects of this satisfaction should be the enhancement of Bosnians' visibility in the urban environment. The question of the invisibility of urban refugees is in fact a salient one (Harrell-Bond and Voutira 2007). To explain why, in her presentation to the *Workshop: Research on Refugees in Urban Settings: Methods and Ethics*, Anita Fábos writes: "One of the reasons why it is so tricky to define 'urban refugees' is due to the fact that in many of the cities we study, refugees are geographically transitory and socially fluid as they move between refugee and non-refugee spaces, places, and identities" (Fábos 2003: 2). Happening in a geographically non-transitory and socially non-fluid place, the commemoration provides a *fixity and*

tangibility to the relationship between the *teachers* (who educate the audience about their past, struggles, capacities, and contributions) and the *students* (who admit to having become more knowledgeable about a new immigrant population). This provision offers the non-Bosnian audience clues as to *how else* to get in touch with members of the Bosnian community, *where else* to find them, and *why* (for what other reasons than to commemorate their suffering) one might want to know about them.

The fifteenth anniversary commemoration provided not only a medium of instruction and rendered the Bosnian community more visible, it was also home to cultural and political *critique*. The event fulfilled this function by way of the sharp words of another notable figure in attendance: Muhamed Sacirbey, who was Bosnia's first ambassador to the United Nations in 1992, served as his country's foreign minister in 1995, and took part in negotiations that led to the signing of Dayton Accords, the treaty that ended the Bosnian War in 1995. As soon as he took the stage, he began with an appreciation of what he said was the "openness" in the remarks of the public personalities who spoke before him. Taking note of their welcoming and accommodating remarks, Sacirbey went on to describe how those were reminiscent, for him, of his youth when he came to the United States in the sixties to study. He related two episodes from his earlier experience to lay the groundwork for what was to follow in his remarks. When he was attending Tulane University on a football scholarship, he one day refused to eat pork at one of his lunches, and two of his fellow players asked

him why. Without contesting rights or wrongs of eating the meat of the swine, Sacirbey added, his friends insisted that the kitchen cook a special meal for him. Later, he continued, when he finished law school and arrived in New York, the first job he had was at an all-Jewish law firm that, in his own words, "...proudly put the name Muhamed on their letterhead, of course everyone knew me as Mo, and I could have easily passed as Morris or Moshe, but they were very welcoming of Muhamed." Sacirbey then offered his remark which added a critical tone to the commemoration critique: "I dare say that it was an easier time then for Muhamed than it is maybe now." He was, however, quick to continue with a streak of appreciative comments: "But I am encouraged once again, fellow Americans, Congressman, Mayor, and other specials guests, how you have welcomed the Bosnian community here, because I was in their shoes before."

It was after that point that his address took a philosophical turn and he slowly readied the audience for a sharper critique, one that had a lawyerly precision to it in regards to the way it identified the actors involved, the crime committed, the crime scene, the relevant time period, and lessons learned. First, the philosophical turn:

Truth is like water. It is sometimes hot, it can scald you. Sometimes it is very cold, it is ice, it can cut you. And sometimes it requires that all of us just fill it up [pointing to the glass in his hand] one glass at a time. Because that one glass then in fact becomes a creek, and that creek becomes a river, and that river becomes an ocean. And our American

truth is well on its way to what I dare say is a positive contribution, positive ending for all us.

And second came the political critique. Delivering words with passion and eloquence, Sacirbey added:

There is, though, another truth, which I think we're here to speak of. And that is the truth of Srebrenitza. And while we proudly celebrate our Bosnian and in particular here our American heritage, we must speak of the truth of Srebrenitza. Srebrenitza happened during the time I was the foreign minister of Bosnia. Which means, there was actually an American, because I was an American citizen, and trust me, I am as American as any as they get. Srebrenitza happened under the watchful eye of an American, *this American and other Americans*. Now, some would try to say to us, "forget and forgive." Some would try to say to us "remember and forgive." I am absolutely ready to forgive, but as most of my Bosnian colleagues know, no one has ever asked us to forgive. No one has asked for our forgiveness. And that unfortunately is part of this other truth, which is that we are here to remember a genocide *that in fact has not ended*. Why? Because Srebrenitza is still part of an entity that calls itself by the name of Republika Srpska, the name given to it by people like Ratko Mladić, Radovan Karadžić, and Slobodan Milošević. *Three people, who are either on trial, have been on trial, or are sought by the International War Crimes Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. A War Crimes Tribunal that I must give a lot of credit to another American, Madeleine Albright. Madeleine Albright and I worked very hard to see that Tribunal established. But I am not sure we worked so hard to see it established as an instrument of revenge. Certainly not revenge. We did want to see justice, and*

the victims did particularly deserve justice. But we also wanted to see the Tribunal have meaning. Because we have judgments from the War Crimes Tribunal, and also the International Court of Justice in the Hague, they have defined Srebrenitza as genocide. And in fact nothing has changed since then. Why has nothing changed? Is it inconvenient, is it dangerous? Is there somehow an underlying prejudice that Muslims in Bosnia feel that frankly most Muslims and Bosniaks in the United States do not feel? It is a question that demands answers. It is a question that is entirely consistent with our American character... (Turning to Congressman Maffei) Congressman, you mentioned our mutual friend, President Bill Clinton. Under his administration and my foreign ministry, the genocide in Srebrenitza happened. In fact, it was a betrayal. It was a betrayal by the United Nations, and it was a betrayal by NATO. They allowed Srebrenitza to fall. And I will name the officials, and I do not mean to embarrass anyone here. They were Yasushi Akashi, they were General Jean Vih of France, they were Carl Bildt of Sweden and the European Union, and they were Richard Holbrooke of the United States.

This long excerpt from Sacirbey's address is important for several reasons. First, it amplifies the pedagogical function of the commemoration by offering highly specific, contextual, and historical information about some of the circumstances behind the tragedy in Srebrenitza and the reasons Bosnians are in the United States. This amplification has the potential to facilitate a finer understanding, on the part of the audience, of *immigration due to forced displacement* as opposed to other forms of immigration that can be expected to be more commonly known to the broad American public, such as illegal immigration. Consider in this regard that the need to belong to

some form of human community is one need human beings can go to great lengths to satisfy. As a matter of fact, the satisfaction of that need is essential to one's ability to manipulate the symbolic and material world around him/her –to adapt, that is- , to maintain a relatively coherent sense of self over a specific period of time, to conceive of oneself as a Kwakiutl, Pueblo, Black, Protestant, Leftist, Sunni Muslim, Jesuit, Zionist, Hmong, Mexican, Latino, a peacekeeper, Turkish male student, naturalized American citizen, or a Bosnian refugee in Central New York. Human beings can attach such identity markers to themselves only when they are able to perceive themselves as having fulfilled the criteria for belonging to one or more of these human communities. Identities, however, are not free-floating entities up for grabs anytime by anyone. Identity is as much a matter of including oneself in a group as it is, by default, excluding others from that group. The nature of that exclusion can be a force driving involuntary migration: Ferdinand and Isabella's exclusion of Spanish Jews from the domain of "Spaniard" in 1492 (Zolberg 1983; Kamen 1988; Altabé 1992; Tilly 1992), Louis XIV's exclusion of Huguenots, the French Calvinists, from the domain of "French" by way of the Edict of Fontainebleu he enforced in 1685 (Scoville 1952: 296-297) are historical examples of this phenomenon. Where willpower to be and remain included is crippled by the use of brute force or by imposing unbearable conditions to threaten biological or symbolic survival –as was the case in Srebrenitza-, the result has too often been to migrate –involuntarily- to zones of hope where such conditions are

thought or known to not exist. By critically identifying causes of Bosnians' involuntary migration at the individual, intergovernmental (UN, EU) and multinational organizational (NATO), and national levels (France, Sweden, United States), Sacirbey's address enhances public's knowledge about the reasons for Bosnian presence in the U.S., reminds the audience of the responsibility to address the consequences of the genocide, and demands a critical questioning by framing his plea in an idiom of Americanness.

Second, the pursuit of justice –and the declared avoidance of revenge – in his remarks for the victims and survivors of Srebrenitza may help elevate the moral standing of this new immigrant community in the eyes of members of the host society, which elevation could then give them reasons to appreciate the guests for reasons other than their hard work in the labor market. And last but not least, by fusing remembrance with critique and declaring an intent to forgive under the right conditions, Sacirbey could be said to foster what sociologist Paul Connerton has called *prescriptive forgetting* “believed to be in the interest of all parties to the previous dispute and because it can therefore be acknowledged publicly” (Connerton 2008: 61) and necessary for the reconstitution –to a certain extent- of what was emotionally and physically lost in Srebrenitza. In the model offered by Connerton, prescriptive forgetting has a key role which he illustrates as follows: “Whether at the resolution of civil conflict or after international conflict, the formulation of peace terms has frequently contained an

explicit expression of the wish that past actions should not be *just forgiven but forgotten*" (2008: 62, emphasis added). Thus, by reaching out to both his fellow Bosnians and the non-Bosnian members of the audience, Sacirbey paves the way for a public acknowledgment of the forgetting conducive to the resolution of a conflict which represents, in his own words, "a genocide that in fact has not ended."

Sacirbey's address, the longest of the invited talks in the commemoration, was met with a loud applause. His talk was followed by the recitation of poems on the stage by three young women wearing white full-body robes and dark red headscarves. With calls of "never again," the fifteenth anniversary was brought to a close after the screening of a documentary featuring testimony by three Srebrenitza survivors (two of whom were also my interviewees). Once the screening was over, members of the audience were invited to taste abundantly available samples from Bosnian cuisine in a different part of the theatre.

Commemorations: A Concluding Analysis

Commemorations can come in multiple forms, can advance various agendas and intentions, and serve different functions. Memorial purposes can be found in "cenotaphs and preserved ruins, but they can also come in the shape of ceremonies, commemorative days, songs, poetry, music, films, theatre and the naming of streets" (Viejo-Rose 2011: 466). The memorial events held by Bosnians in Central New York to

remember Srebrenitza and described in this chapter took the form of religious ceremonies, songs and poems, recitations, sports, documentaries, and commemorative days. What follows is an analysis of memorial practice based on the ethnographic details presented in this chapter.

“Despite the conventional grammatical distinction between past and present tenses” as reflective of different time periods “*the past and the present are not entirely separate entities*” (Zerubavel 2003: 37). What appears to be a gap between the two is in fact joined by what Zerubavel calls the mental act of “mnemonic bridging.”

Commemorations are processes where such bridges are established. In the mosque, on the soccer field, and in the theatre, one notices several Bosnians who either could not have been born when Srebrenitza happened or would be too young to personally remember what happened there. By systematically and continuously projecting images from a past they have not experienced into their present lives, memorial practices allow the youth to construct mental bridges. This construction is sometimes achieved by wearing a soccer jersey reading “Never Forget Srebrenitza,” at other times by reciting a song or poem that rubs in the emotional context into the heart and mind, and at yet other times by listening to survivor testimonies. In any case, these reminiscence-related practices can generate dispositions (Bourdieu 1977) which then subsequently serve to minimize or eradicate the gap between historical memory (memory of events one has not experienced personally) and autobiographical memory (memory of events one has

experienced personally). Cappelletto (2003) describes the mechanism by which the emotional power of the memory of the havoc wrought by Nazis in an Italian village impacts even those inhabitants of the village who did not directly experience the war – even those who weren't born at all at the time of the war. Cappelletto's main conclusion is that, *hearing time and again the story of those who have gone through the traumatic experience creates an impact like that of having seen the atrocities upon those who haven't* (2003: 255, emphasis added). It is therefore only reasonable to expect that Bosnian youths' systematic and repeated exposure to, and their very own continued performances of, memorial practices (as in the commemorations described above) will allow them to claim to remember Srebrenitza to an extent approximating their elders. Marianne Hirsch's (2008) concept of postmemory is a helpful heuristic to better understand the implications of this approximation.

Writing on the relationship between generations that came after the Holocaust and the one that directly experienced its horror and trauma, Hirsch notes: "Postmemory describes the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they "remember" only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to *seem* to constitute memories in their own right. Postmemory's connection to the past is thus not actually mediated by [autobiographical] recall but by *imaginative*

investment, projection, and creation... Postmemory is not identical to memory: it is “post”, but at the same time, it approximates memory in its affective force” (Hirsch 2008: 106-109, emphasis added).

The intergenerational practices of transfer that take place during commemorations, it can be argued, contributes to the formation of what Hirsch calls the “hinge generation” (2003: 103) among younger members of Bosnian diaspora. The “imaginative investment” that comes into being as a result of the exposure⁶ to or performance of these practices can generate a moral economy characterized by a type of reciprocity in which knowledge of *both familial and familiar* pains is transmitted, through Zerubavel’s mnemonic bridges, in anticipation of an obligation, which the youth will self-impose upon themselves, to continue to remember what they owe the victims of Srebrenitza. It is as if the victims who perished in Srebrenitza have incidentally given the survivors *a gift*: a gift of safety and well-being away from zones of

⁶ Commemorations, of course, are not the only occasions where such exposure takes place. In other words, the ‘hinge generation’ comes into being not just in commemorative occasions but also in and through other channels, such as the family. An illustrative example of the formation of postmemory comes from an unexpected invitation I received from Esmir, a Bosnian man from Srebrenitza in his early forties who came to the U.S. in 1998, after a Friday prayer I attended at the IKCBS in early July 2010. The prayer ended about 2:00 p.m. and Esmir, whom I had met only a week ago, asked if I would like to stop by his house in Liverpool. He said he wanted me to show the VHS tapes (on Srebrenitza) he promised to let me borrow. I accepted the invitation and followed him to his house. Over the course of this 70-minute long visit on a Friday afternoon, I was offered several cups of strong and dark Bosnian coffee in nicely embroidered cups made of fine china. I was also offered, more importantly, difficult-to-watch bits and pieces from the tapes I was to borrow. Esmir got very passionate in his narrations about the details of the killings in Srebrenitza as the VHS player was depicting quite graphic scenes. *His wife and three daughters accompanied us throughout*. The eldest daughter, a little over 12 years old, sometimes helped with English translations of Esmir’s narrations about and the tape’s depictions of the following: people whose hands were tied up, blindfolded and then shot in the forehead and in the back; wounded Bosnian soldiers whose hands, arms, or legs had to be chopped off with a saw and without any anesthetic medication to stop the bleeding.

conflict. To reciprocate, survivors must then continue to acquire postmemory and make these imaginative investments in commemorative occasions. This can be understood as a kind of reciprocity involving the exchange of dissimilar phenomena (victims' lost lives leading to an incidentally necessitated exchange for remembrance) and essential to the maintenance of diasporic identity. This essential reciprocity (and the satisfaction of attendant obligations) is an important channel that will keep the survivors connected to the homeland as an ideational space and a physical place.

Furthermore, by transforming traumatic memories into *memories that can be talked about with others, sung about, and played about rather than repressed*, commemorations, it can be argued further, *normalize* them without altering their content. Both the fourteenth and the fifteenth anniversary commemorations described here achieve this normalization by providing the physical place and emotional space in which intersubjectivity arises and increases. The youth not born at the time of Srebrenitza or who are too young to remember it, or the non-Bosnian attendees who would be much less knowledgeable about the goings-on of July 1995 (as is indicated to some extent by the statements of public officials quoted above), are both conveyed specific information about the killings, dates and numbers involved, actors responsible, and aftermaths –all details that are found identically in autobiographical memories. The ability to share these details with others, coupled with recognition and appreciation that such others may grant in return, can mean that commemorations can serve a healing function. The

therapeutic capacity which may arise as a result of this reciprocal relationship would be due to commemorations transforming *collective* (understood here as “group”) memory into *public* memory (Fabian 2007: 94-95).

Describing diasporas, Gérard Chaliand writes: “Born from a forced dispersion, they conscientiously strive to keep a memory of the past alive and foster the will to transmit a heritage and to survive as a diaspora” (Chaliand 1989, cited in Wahlbeck 1999: 29-30). One of the basic tenets that has come to be used to assess whether an ethnic group is in fact diasporic (Hua 2005) is that group’s “retention of a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland including its location, history, and achievements” (Reis 2004: 43). With the miscellaneous practices that are part of them, commemorations facilitate that retention, as seen variously in the addresses and remarks excerpted in this chapter’s section on the fifteenth anniversary. Tzevan Todorov (2003: 164-165) notes: “Individuals and groups alike need to recall the past to assert their own identities. Both are of course defined by their actions in the present and their projects for the future, but they cannot actually do without reference to the past. Without a sense of our own identity, we feel threatened in our very being, and may be paralyzed.” Composed of speeches, performances, prayers, and games that allow individuals and groups to recall their pasts, the Srebrenitza commemorations provide the reference crucial to the maintenance of diasporic identity. It is through them that Bosnians remind themselves and others of their rights associated with that identity:

“the right to be remembered”, their and others’ “duty to remember”, and “the freedom to mourn” (Viejo-Rose 2011: 473) the loss of loved ones and places (which loss is eventually at the root of the formation of that diaspora). It is through them that Bosnians in Central New York ask themselves and others to see, to know, and to remember Srebrenitza. And it is through them that Bosnians in Central New York have a chance to mold themselves into a community of memory, one Bellah et. al. (1996) would call “a real community.”

It is important to recognize in closing that commemorations are part of a broader set of social practices through which diasporas create community. My analysis in this chapter has focused primarily on the role of commemorations. Yet, the retention of the past, the attachment to a continued sense of group identity, and the transmission of heritage are enabled by a host of other performances beyond the scope of this chapter’s analysis. In my research, one such performance included the frequently held backyard picnics in which theoretical and practical knowledge about the home country’s culinary traditions are both preserved by members of the first generation and communicated to the one-and-half and second generations. Another involved the amateur soccer league in which I participated for a total of 24 weeks and played in three separate Bosnian teams. Soccer matches, as I was told by the IKCBS secretary who introduced me into the first of those teams, had an important role when Bosnians first arrived in the CNY region. They were, he said, among the first organized group activities that brought

Bosnians together, giving them an occasion in which to share and circulate stories about the origin cities and villages, catch up on home country news, and discuss upcoming plans of home country visits. Soccer thusly facilitated emplacement by providing the context in which the new locale is rendered familiar with stories, names, references, and plans involving or relating to the home country. In sum, community-making in diaspora is not an automatic process, that is, an origin in the same country does not by itself guarantee that the new immigrant group will mold into a cohesive unit. Such intra-group cohesion may come into being as a result of social performances such as commemorations, picnics, and sports through which group members can gradually cultivate a sense of cohesive community out of what are otherwise accidental comings-together in cities like Syracuse and Utica, borne out of the workings of the resettlement regime.

Ways to Refuge

Although the numbers and origins of refugees to the United States have shifted greatly over time, the difficulties of [their] adjustment to a new society have remained a constant. These difficulties have been, in many ways, similar to those faced by all immigrants to the United States. However, the very nature of the refugee experience, including the dangers of exodus and the relative permanency of separation from home country, has made the adjustment of refugees different in other ways. Furthermore, the nature of refugee adaptation to the United States has been highly variable, as would be expected from divergent social and cultural heritages that refugees have brought with them and the different situations they have found in the United States. *In that sense, the refugee story can only be told fully in the stories of individual people.* (Haines, David, *Safe Haven? A History of Refugees in America*, 2010: 29, emphasis added)

In this chapter, I relate the stories of several individual Bosnians who migrated to the United States as refugees during and after the war in their home country, Bosnia-Herzegovina, between 1992 and 1995. My broader objective in doing so is to complement the individual- and group-level accounts of life in diaspora (given in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively) by focusing mainly on intracommunity heterogeneity. Thus, this chapter builds on the previous two by documenting and examining the *diverse* ways in which “displacement and adaptation” (key aspects of diasporic

experience, as noted by Wahlbeck (2002)¹) are understood and acted upon in countries of first asylum as well as the permanent resettlement country, namely the United States.

In addition, recognizing that immigration policy in the United States is about to be revamped by way of a comprehensive bill introduced as I was writing this chapter, another larger goal I pursue is to provide ethnographic depth about an underemphasized aspect of immigration in the United States: the particularities of refugee immigration and refugee adaptation. My focus on pre-resettlement experiences mainly illustrates the specifics of refugee immigration, while the discussion on post-resettlement experiences mostly concerns various adaptive processes. I also envision this chapter as an exercise in public anthropology (Boroksfy 2011). In an intellectual and political climate that assigns priority to legalization and securitization when it comes to immigration, the issue of humanitarian protection may fall through the cracks. An ethnographically-informed understanding of refugee lives based on multiple individual stories spanning different aspects of adaptation provides one way to mitigate and counter that risk. The June 2013 “Year in Review: Public Anthropology” article in the *American Anthropologist* reminds that the mitigation of this risk is important because “as anthropologists push beyond stigmatizing rhetoric about “illegal immigrants” to illuminate the complexities of immigrants’ everyday lives, they help lend humanity to a

¹ Notes Wahlbeck (2002: 229) in his article on the use of ‘diaspora’ as a conceptual tool: “Originally, the concept of diaspora referred to the dispersal of the Jews from their historic homeland. Today, it is often used to describe various well-established communities that have an experience of ‘displacement’...Scholars have presented various definitions of diasporas, but the general criteria for a diaspora can be said to be forcible dispersal, settlement in multiple locations and the idea of a homeland.”

conversation too often relegated to debates about laws and borders” (Gomberg-Muñoz 2013: 291).

I embark upon this chapter’s tasks of description and engagement by focusing on a number of key themes and domains that have emerged from the interview data and participant-observation in the field. Considered collectively, these themes and domains form the extended, open-ended and complex process that the anthropological and other literatures refer to as adaptation or integration (Montgomery 1996). I use the terms integration and adaptation interchangeably in this chapter (Coughlan and Owens-Manley 2002). Several other terms are in circulation in scholarly and popular writings on this multi-dimensional process in which individuals and groups go through what I would like to call challenges of belonging: adjustment, acclimation, assimilation, incorporation, absorption, and acculturation are some of those terms (Lee 2009; Macorov 2007; Smyth, Stewart and Da Lomba 2010; Teixeira and Li 2009). It may be true that “...there is no single agreed understanding of the term ‘integration’. Meanings vary from country to country, change over time, and depend on the interests, values and perspectives of the people concerned” (Castles et al. 2002: 11-19). Yet, understanding integration as a sociocultural process would require a consideration of the various domains that constitute it, such as employment, education, housing, language acquisition, political socialization, citizenship, cultural literacy, and health and well-being et cetera (Strang and Ager 2008, 2010). Hence the focus of this chapter is on some

of those domains. I illustrate the symbolic and material dimensions of the integration process with reference to the variations in flight motives, decision-making under conditions of extreme danger, experiences in countries of first asylum, and broad contours of early post-resettlement life in the country of permanent settlement –the United States. In the context of post-resettlement, I continue to describe these dimensions with respect to the crucial integration domains of employment and legal citizenship. Additionally, to depict integration in fuller detail, I rely on patterns emerging from the ethnographic data to account for some of the general differences in the adaptive trajectories between Bosnians in Syracuse and those in Utica.

Bosnian Ways to Safe Haven: Narratives of Displacement and Settlement

In this section, I describe displacement in relation to the specifics of actual flight experiences including, among other things, perceptions, means, emotional and physical hardships. In addition, I illustrate adaptation in the context of settlement experiences in countries of first asylum and in the permanent resettlement country (United States). The section documents the variety of motives and aspirations by relying on responses gleaned from several interviews I held over the course of the field research.

To begin, most responses to my question concerning the decision to leave Bosnia are characterized by a degree of unwillingness to grant that leaving was an act of escape. Even when my interlocutors offer very grim descriptions of wartime Bosnia

("houses burning," "everything in fire, like all villages, smoke everywhere, because they burned everything," "my two brothers, my father and my mom died in the war"), they use neutral language ("I left" "I went" instead of "I ran away" or "I fled" or "I escaped") to describe the movement to safety. In one instance, one individual was very quick to correct a question I asked ("Basically you left because there was a war and you wanted to escape for your life?"). The correction ran as follows: "Actually I didn't want to escape from the war. If I could pass back [from Serb-controlled Belgrade where the informant worked to the Bosnian village where the informant and relatives lived], I would go over there and I'd be fighting for my country. But they didn't let you; they killed anyone who tried to cross the border." In one case, when describing reasons to leave, another individual consistently described their family's exit as an attempt to seek further medical treatment for his wife. This individual lived in a warzone for three years and fought in front rows as a foot soldier for half of that period. Rather than focusing on such factors as fearing for one's own life, he said: "If I were to tell you it was the war only, that would not work [i.e. that would not be true]...I mean yes it was the war but it was also the health situation of my wife."

Responses further suggest that two seemingly mutually exclusive feelings co-existed when the war began, around 1992: disbelief and hope. Disbelief is seen in expressions that are variations of "how could this be happening to us?", while the (unfulfilled) hope that everything would go back to normal is inferred from repeated

attempts to return to one's village or neighborhood over the course of the war even if one otherwise sought and found temporary safe haven in another town, refugee camp or an adjacent or nearby country (in most cases Croatia and Slovenia). "We thought we would be coming back in two or three days, so stuff we took with us was enough for two or three days only" said one Bosnian man, now in his early thirties, whose family's hopes of returning ended upon hearing from a relative that the town fell into Serbian hands.

While accounts of departures that took place right before and during the war refer to the motivation (among other motivations, as described in the previous pages) to survive and the yearning for physical safety ("If I didn't leave, I would be killed, that's simple, the towns that were 20, 30 kilometers from us were already cleansed;" "You always have the phone calls which would tell you "somebody's going to come tonight and slaughter you", you already had these harassments"), reasons for departures near or after the end of the war point to a perceived lack of job opportunities in Bosnia. "There was no future for anybody there after the war, and my parents decided to try to get us out of there," noted one of my interviewees. After-the-war decisions as to whether staying or leaving is more preferable seems to have been influenced more by the degree to which one's efforts to sustain a pre-war level of livelihood bore fruit than by doubts about the sustainability of peace or the fragility of the new political

framework put in place by the Dayton Agreement (dated 14 December 1995) which ended the war.

Flight, in many cases, was a solo act: Bosnians fleeing war-torn Bosnia to reach the offices of international organizations such as UNHCR, Red Cross, Catholic Charities that have offices in a neighboring country (which in most cases meant Croatia) had to rely on none other than themselves to ensure safe passage. While some have benefited from financial support provided by elderly relatives (who offered parts of their pension in aiding their relatives to get out of Bosnia), others had to rely on whatever meager savings they could carry with themselves. "Leaving from Bosnia...nobody really helped, you had to do everything on your own," said an adult Bosnian. Word-of-mouth appears to have served as a most important source of information concerning which routes to take to cross the border or when to actually take a bus or train to Zagreb or Split. Bosnians leaving Sarajevo, the capital besieged by JNA (Yugoslav People's Army), had to go through the tunnel under the city's airport and then move on foot toward mountainous regions to catch a bus to Croatia which would not use regular roads but "the spare roads which nobody used in normal times." "That's what everybody else was doing" is the most common statement given in response to the question of how it is that one knew one wanted to go there. News of international charitable organizations having been operating offices in Croatia had become widespread, so that country turned out to be the direction most everyone who wanted to leave followed.

The emotional difficulty experienced when leaving is generally expressed in both human and topographic terms (cf. Gold 1999). While some emphasize that they were sad and it was tough because they were leaving friends and relatives, others focus on specifics of the geography they were leaving, including, for instance, references to rivers they swam in or the vastly open, green areas where their homes are located. Emotional difficulties were multiplied by perceived ambiguities about where one was heading and uncertainties as to what the future would bring. Emotional pain was often accompanied by physical hardships encountered during the cross-border trips. Among other things, these hardships included having to pass through cities under constant fire, and lack of food and water.

When providing details on their displacement ordeals, most Bosnians discuss matters of life and death frequently in relation to *chance*. Survival is understood as an element of luck: If you weren't able to take that earlier bus, you could have been killed. If you stayed with those relatives in that nearby town a day or two longer, you would certainly be killed. If you didn't receive that phone call from a friend or relative telling you not to come back, you would be killed. The frequent reference to chance to account for why and how one has survived (rather than to the many strategic decisions they had to make over the course of becoming displaced) suggests a perceived loss of ontological

security.² This point also has some implications as to how refugees must be separated, that is conceptually, from the general category of migrants. What sets a refugee immigrant apart from an economic/labor immigrant is generally the stark difference in the ability to pre-plan the journey out of one's own country.

Settling into Motion: Experiences in Countries of First Asylum

Before seeking permanent resettlement in the United States, several Bosnian refugees spent extended periods of time in countries where they first sought safe haven. War changes not only physical but also social boundaries, re-defines categories of inclusion and exclusion, and terms of violent debate as to who is "us" versus who is "them" are re-set. Upon becoming *persona non grata*, some Bosnian interviewees who were residents of the Serb-controlled Belgrade were able to secure one-way tickets to international destinations through a mix of chance and design. Germany and Turkey were the most frequent destinations. Some Bosnians' experiences in those two countries are particularly illustrative of the socio-psychological conundrums associated with a liminal state of being (Van Gennep 1960). It appears that the liminality kept reproducing itself for extended periods of time (several years, that is) due to miscellaneous factors including refugees' unwillingness to integrate with the host

² In *The Consequences of Modernity*, British sociologist Anthony Giddens defines the term as follows: "Ontological security [...] refers to the confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of the surrounding social and material environments of action" (1990: 92).

society, prevailing domestic political culture concerning foreigners, and the unavailability of legal frameworks which would pave the way for inclusion.

The realization that one has reached safe territory sometimes led to outbursts of emotion. A particularly vivid example is given by Nesim Mehic who reached Istanbul in March 1993, along with two other friends, after a rough train ride from Belgrade: “One of my friends, when we get to Istanbul...he walked out from the train, he came down, and he kissed the ground [laughter]...he kissed the ground and he said Alhamdulillah [thank God], because you know he got beaten every day, every night, you know you come from war...he kissed the Turkish ground because in Turkey he knows he is safe now.” Nevertheless, the initial emotional shock quickly gives way to a recognition that steps must be taken to meet certain immediate needs, including shelter and food, especially in those cases where a given refugee knows nobody in the country of asylum. In most cases individuals contact the police or the consulate. In the case above, the group of three was able to establish communication with a pre-existing Bosnian Association (*Bošnjak Derneži*) in a district of Istanbul. A pre-existing source of potential support, however, does not necessarily translate into instantly available help. My interviewee, one of the three, was met with suspicion when he communicated with representatives of the Association: his language included vocabulary commonly used by Serbs rather than Bosnian Muslims, because he used to work in Belgrade where most

of his workmates were Serbs. It took the representatives of the *Dernek* a few days to grant that he was indeed a genuine refugee of Bosnian Muslim background.

The lack of appropriate paperwork to establish legal status, when coupled with greedy private employers skilled at spotting individuals in a legal vacuum, can lead to doing temporary under-the-table jobs for meager sums to ensure survival. These generally tended to be labor-intensive jobs (lasting anywhere from a day to a couple of months) in such areas as construction, cleaning, painting, welding. Under-paid wages or over-worked hours were common.

“...They took us to an old British military base in Osnabrück, so we had this big welcoming from Germans, it was about two days train trip, two days almost, ‘cause it was slow, they just gave us one bag of food for those two days, we were starving actually, I remember, I saw that they were hiding whatever the German guys, whoever was working there, they were hiding sodas somewhere for themselves, so actually me and couple of kids were stealing them and you know drinking them, ‘cause we have nothing to drink...” says one Bosnian man in his early thirties whose family first crossed the border to Croatia and then spent a few days with a relative there and then had the chance to travel to Germany thanks to the mother who spotted a flyer offering settlement in Germany. This family was among about 5,000 Bosnian refugees traveling to various parts of Germany. The family members’ experiences in Germany over a period of 7 years exemplify issues of social belonging and continued liminality. They

were given a place in a clinic serving alcoholics and operated by Franciscan nuns in Neuenkirchen. The nuns' assistance involved the provision of the apartment, furniture, food in the beginning, translators, and transportation for buying food and meeting other needs. The father of the family remained jobless and on welfare for a long time due to a particular arrangement in Germany regarding recruitment for labor: German nationals had the first priority, citizens of EU-member countries had second, third came Russian immigrants, then other immigrants, and then finally refugees. A refugee could therefore get a particular job only if individuals in the upper priority categories did not get it. In other words, "if there was a job opening, it has to be a really bad job that nobody wants to get, so that a refugee can get it, so we were on welfare most of the time." This, as a matter of fact, points to a systemic/structural trouble with refugee resettlement regimes in the developed world: one of most widespread forms of opposition in host countries to refugee incorporation is the popular idea that refugees stay on welfare and/or government support far too long and thus they deplete social security resources funded by nationals' taxes. Without the chances to be upwardly mobile in a host nation's economy, however, integration of refugees into labor markets will remain a potentially unrealizable policy objective. In the absence of those chances, some refugees seek to work around the legal system of a given host nation by staying in

“gray areas” and some others resort to illegal employment to be able to make ends meet.³

Assistance for refugees, even in its most well-intentioned form, in a host country may suffer from a relative failure to recognize the characteristics of the refugee population: “Life was difficult and depressing in the beginning. You know what’s going on in Bosnia, it is difficult, nobody understands you, what you’re going through, they’re trying, again, they have no idea who you are, there are people coming in and *bringing you cups, coffee cups, and they show you how to drink coffee out of coffee cups. So, they think you’re somebody who never sees anything, who comes out of jungle, really, so you had that treatment...*” Learning to think and/or act like the natives, in other words, getting to be like one of them (if not actually being one of them), or *adapting*, was not always welcome, as I was informed by Mirsad Begovic: “I got along well with the Germans in school, in the beginning it was OK but as soon as you started to be as good as them...like in the beginning a lot of people helped but as soon as you reach the point where you’re equal to them, or do better than them, then they don’t want to deal much with you.”

In addition, adaptation is not a one-way street (Strang and Ager 2010: 600-603).

That is to say, *it is not only the refugees who change along the way: “...before we left*

[Germany], they [the Franciscan nuns] admitted that, seeing us, like we weren’t that

³ It therefore appears that blaming refugees for depleting national resources while not providing the legal and institutional infrastructure with which they could stand on their own feet is a contradiction in terms.

religious, but in Ramadan we would fast always, the Bajram [festivities that mark the end of Ramadan] we would always celebrate, so seeing that, how we interacted with each other...*we made them better believers, like better nuns than they were before, 'cause they didn't fast before, then they started fasting, 'cause they saw us fasting,*" told Mirsad.

Facing legal status uncertainties (i.e. lacking viable paths to formal membership in states of first asylum), unable to lead economically sustainable lives, and welcome only to a certain extent in countries of first asylum, Bosnians I have met began exploring ways to head toward destinations offering permanent resettlement, as they heard from friends, and lawyers they contacted for various reasons, and international charities. And so began the transatlantic journey.

Permanent Resettlement in the Third Country

"I didn't know anything about the U.S.A. before coming...my family also didn't know anything about the U.S.A., you don't know where you're going, all you know about the U.S.A. is from the movies and stuff, so you know nothing, what's going on": if the initial hurdle before the trip was that sense of confusion arising from venturing into the unknown, the one next in line was the process of completing paperwork and medical screening. Most interviewees gratefully acknowledge the support provided at the offices of sponsoring organizations in Croatia with respect to paperwork, though they are quick to remind that you were on your own to take care of the medical tests

they requested to be done. The tests checked whether a refugee was HIV positive or carried TB or other “bad diseases,” as one interviewee defined them. Adaptation, in other words, is a process that started before one sets foot in the New World, rather than after. International humanitarian regime begins a process of sifting in its own ways as soon as a refugee contacts a resettlement organization.

“Once you’re in the office, you don’t have the right to choose where you want to go in the U.S.A. wherever they pick the place, you have to go there, it was like if an organization from St. Louis [Missouri] takes you, you gotta go there, if an organization from Florida takes you, you gotta go there” noted one informant who went on to say “We were picked by an organization in Idaho” recalled an interviewee. His subsequent experience, which I provide in some detail below, illustrates how little of a chance the individual refugee has in planning what’s ahead: “So, we were supposed to go to Idaho. All the papers say Idaho, Boise. But we called my cousin who lived here in Syracuse, who came before us with the same program. So he knows actually some people who helped him here. And he actually contacted them and asked them if there’s any way we can change that so they come here [Syracuse] instead of going to Boise. They said “you know, we’ll see, we don’t know but we’ll see.” Then we came that day to the plane and they said we were going to Idaho...when we came to New York, all of a sudden they said you’re not going there, you’re going to Syracuse. We have no idea what

happened...My I-94 [a little piece of paper stapled on to your passport showing your destination in America] says Boise, Idaho. It doesn't say Syracuse on it."

The first few days in America are described frequently with the use of words such as "surprised, shocked and different." Shortly after arrival, Bosnians were surprised to see African-Americans around them ("I don't want to sound racial or anything, but we have no black people in Bosnia"); to observe decrepit buildings ("that day when we came to Syracuse...it was kind of funny, I expected you know, you know from TV you see all this glamour and stuff, you see some buildings that are actually, it looks like the war was not in Bosnia"), and to see short, two- or three-storey apartment buildings. One interviewee's description of the initial shock is particularly telling: "A few days after, when we walked around and saw how everything looks like, my sister made a comment. [She said] "I think we came from the future to the past!...you see those power lines? Not even in Bosnia we have those anymore!""

First few months in America are characterized with reference to feelings of tension, embarrassment, and difficulty. These feelings in general had to do with the lack of ability to communicate in English. The effect of those feelings were somewhat mitigated thanks to the help provided by the local branch of the sponsoring organization (Catholic Charities) which provided interpreters and transportation for visits to doctor's offices or shopping, and assisted Bosnian refugees with social security and bureaucratic matters. Up to a period of six months, help is generally said to be

easily and abundantly available. The first couple of months are also characterized by relatively high levels of intra-group communication and interaction. Having been relocated in clusters to a number of apartment complexes in the city, Bosnians mostly limited their interactions to one another, with whom they could speak in their native tongue. It is reported that this trend dwindled as they gained more competence in English language.

This chapter has so far offered examples of the various pre-resettlement experiences of Bosnians who entered the United States as refugees and their early integration experiences. I now shift the focus onto post-resettlement by contextualizing two crucial integration domains: employment/subsistence and legal citizenship.

The following two sections consider ethnographically, first, aspects of a particular refugee's work life and second, the variation in approaches to legal citizenship. With this consideration, I document below some of the complexities of the integration process as seen in and through one of the more memorable experiences in my research –a thousand mile truck ride from Syracuse to Ohio- as well as the narrations of the Bosnians in the Central New York region.

On the Road: Huso's Story

I introduced Huso Segic in the beginning of Chapter 2. Here, I offer details of his work life by drawing from my observations of and conversations with him over the

course of a one-thousand-mile truck ride where I accompanied him on a return trip, in the 18-wheeler he drives for a truck company, from Central New York to the American Midwest.

In December 2009, I anticipated Christmas Day with excitement. A question I had asked several weeks ago was answered in the affirmative and a long-awaited opportunity was finally going to materialize: Huso conveyed my willingness to accompany him in one of his trips to his supervisor at the truck company he was working for and got verbal consent that I can, in fact, travel in his truck. It was now early afternoon on Christmas Day in December 2009, and I left my apartment to go to Huso Segic's house in East Syracuse.

I met Huso outside of his house, he was actually waiting for me in his red minivan. From there, I followed him to the premises of the trucking company he works for. After about a 10-minute ride from his house, we parked our cars in the company's parking lot. Huso and I then walked to the management office to complete the paperwork for me to be allowed to ride in his truck. The paperwork was left in Huso's mailbox for him and for me to sign. Huso told me that he introduced me as his cousin to the supervisor. I did not protest. We wrote "cousin" where the form asked what my relationship to Huso was. Because it was Christmas Day, there was nobody around and Huso went inside to drop off the paperwork at his supervisor's desk. When he came back, we proceeded to the truck he was going to ride to London, Ohio.



Image 11: Huso standing by his Volvo tractor

The 2007 Volvo truck bore a company-assigned vehicle ID imprinted on the body of the truck right by both headlights. Huso popped up the truck's hood, turned on the engine, checked the oil pressure, the lights, wipers, wrote down the mileage and completed a few other checks. After the initial checks were done, we drove in his truck to the area where the trailers were. He then put the truck in reverse and carefully hooked up the truck to the trailer. After that, we got outside and he showed me how he connected the cables (to transmit air and electricity) from the truck to the trailer. On each ride, he told me, drivers are assigned a different trailer with a specific number. He

checked tires of the trailer, made sure everything was alright, and then locked the trailer's gate in the back.

His company is in the business of carrying frozen food all over the United States. Before we left the premises, Huso put the truck on the scale and obtained weight measurements at three points (at three axles) and recorded them. He told me he needed to make sure that the weights are below the allowed maximum. Every detail is very carefully recorded to minimize errors and to attribute responsibility appropriately and duly if there is an error. If, for example, you are involved in an accident with an overloaded truck, Huso said cautiously, you would be responsible as the driver and you could lose your job. Huso was therefore very diligent with his checks and controls before we exited the premises. He filled up the truck's tank and the trailer's tank.

At the time I accompanied him on this long trip, Huso had been working for this company for about six years. He informed me he had to go through driver training which took him about three months to complete. He received this training while he had a full-time job at a local furniture company. I asked him why he wanted to switch companies/jobs. He answered that at the furniture company, there was always somebody watching over his shoulders, constantly supervising him to the point of intimidation. He said he did not want to stay in that kind of environment because, he recalled, "When you make a mistake, they treat you like you're idiot, they make fool of

you.” So he wanted to switch to a position where he could have more independence and control over what he does.



Image 12: The accompaniment

The truck company pays Huso by the mile. At the time, he was earning 34 cents a mile. If he drove no faster than 60 miles per hour, he makes an additional 3 cents per mile. He is also paid for switching trailers at the truck stops and for his idle time. Every week, he drives between Syracuse and Ohio (~984 miles) and between Syracuse and Illinois (~1,900 miles), adding up to a total of approximately 2,900 miles per week and about 12,000 miles per month. He can be on duty on any given day for a maximum of

14 hours (11 hours of driving, 3 hours devoted to other job responsibilities) and he is required by law and company policy to rest 10 hours a day. When he drives to Ohio, he is away from his family for two days, and when he drives to Illinois, he spends about 3 days away from home. Though he likes the job and the pay, he has to spend most of his week away from his wife and his two young sons. He told me he would never want his kids to have this kind of job and wanted them to get a good education and maybe have careers in medicine or law. He also remained involved in his sons' physical development and enrolled him in an Aikido school in Syracuse. The boys had been training there for two years by then.

Huso told me about the difficulties and challenges of the job. You always need to have a fresh mind when you sit behind the wheel, you shouldn't be nervous, tired or worried about something else. You have to keep your focus on the road, check the mirrors every ten seconds to be aware of the traffic, after all you are carrying about 80,000 pounds of weight. Huso never exceeds 60 mph, he says it is both safe and he makes more money per mile as a result. He likes to play it by the rules. The interior of his truck is equipped with a bed, he has wipes and towels, ready-to-cook food in case something happens on the road and he gets stuck. He drinks his coffee in the afternoon and tea in the mornings. He keeps the interior of the truck very clean, there is always fresh smell and the inside is neat and tidy.



Image 13: Where there's a will, there are ways: The world through Huso's windshield

The ride from Liverpool started about 4:00 P.M. and ended around 1:30 A.M. We talked during the entire time until I fell asleep, Huso told me, at midnight. After arriving at the stop in London, we made prayers (i.e. the fifth of the five daily prayers in Muslim faith) right in the truck. Huso slept in the one bed available and I slept on the tractor cabin floor, in between the driver seat and the passenger seat. We woke up around 7:30 A.M. the next day and went inside the cafeteria at the rest stop, bought some tea, came back to the truck and made prayers again. Around 11:00 A.M, we drove to another truck stop nearby, went to restaurant there and ate a meal of fish. We came back to the truck and Huso took a nap of about 2 hours, during which time I kept taking

notes. There we waited for another driver with the same company from Illinois whose trailer Huso was to switch with his and take back to Syracuse. The other driver arrived earlier than Huso expected and we hit the road again about 4:00 P.M. on December 26, 2009 to come back to Syracuse.

Huso's remarks about employment conditions included both critique and appreciation. He felt, for instance, that as refugees they were brought over here for their labor. He drew a comparison between his experience and the Atlantic slave trade: "Just like how they brought the black people and they gave them nothing. We're working very hard also, but at least they're paying us." He then related a story from his earlier days in the United States, one that illustrates mythical perceptions member of the host society might sometimes hold about these newcomers: "One day, my wife came from work and there were those women talking among themselves, saying things like "look at these, they're getting free food stamps and all that." Can you imagine ? She's coming from work and that's what they say. No, we don't have it free, we work hard you know."

As an everyday life example of participation in the labor force in diaspora, the account I present of Huso not only illustrates the lived dimensions of refuge in regards to the integration domain of employment but also helps to dispel myths about refugees being maladaptive and welfare-depleting guests. Furthermore, this story points to the need to study various domains of integration not in isolation from one another but in

terms of the possible effects of these domains on one another. The critical question here is this: if the types of jobs available to a refugee transform the person into a taxpayer while at the same keeping him or her away from a crucial source of emotional support – the family- in an (at least initially) alien environment, how useful is it (from a policy perspective, for instance) to understand this transformation as proof that the individual in question is integrating and therefore the system is working?

Additionally, this account can lead to questions about the “welcoming”ness of a host society. What are the circumstances that lead to Huso’s self-perception as a form a labor source for the country in which he found safe haven? What are the cultural assumptions that might be built into the criteria used to judge the degree to which a context of reception is considered a welcoming and accommodating one? The availability of jobs for newly arrived refugees, for instance, could potentially be considered a factor that contributes to a community’s character as welcoming, but this consideration would be inadequate unless one also attends to the conduciveness of workplaces in that community to building on the basic English language skills acquired in pre- and/or post-arrival cultural orientation. Hence, the importance of viewing integration domains in relation to one another. Huso undertakes the complexities of his job with the English language skills he gained in the refugee school in Utica when he first arrived back in 1998. Yet, his chances for upward mobility in the labor market

appear to be limited, for neither his first job nor his current job supported the growth of his linguistic skills substantially.

Ambivalent Citizens?

An important component of integration, citizenship has several dimensions: political, economic, sociocultural, and of course, legal. An immigrant's gradual acquisition of social capital and cultural capital in the host country, while potentially conducive to formal membership, does not always or necessarily lead to a change in legal status from noncitizen to citizen. At the time I conducted the research on which this dissertation is based, the majority (more than 60%) of the Bosnians I encountered in my fieldwork had not become U.S. citizens, even though they were legally entitled to do so (mostly by way of having held permanent residency –the green card- for over five years). The decision to not become a citizen⁴ of the country in which they had been living for a substantial amount of time was motivated by a number of factors, as revealed in interview responses.

One such factor involves plans to return to the home country, Bosnia, at some unknown time. After Ramiz Salgic and his wife Emina Salgic, a couple in their early forties from eastern Bosnia, told me that they were permanent residents, I asked them if

⁴ Permanent residency, of course, is also a form of formal membership in the United States, yet it does not come with some of the rights and responsibilities that citizenship carries. A permanent resident who does not become a citizen is technically foregoing the right to vote and substantially excluding himself or herself from a chance to work for the federal government, for instance.

they had any plans to become U.S. citizens, and Ramiz responded, "I plan to go back to my country. I don't know." Talking to me in his backyard, Selim, a young Bosnian man in his early thirties, echoed this sentiment: "I just have the green card, I just don't take passport here, I don't need it right now." Others feared that by becoming U.S. citizens, they could lose their property, retirement, and social security rights in their home country. Explaining his friends' rationales to not become American citizens, an interviewee remarked: "Some people think they don't want to lose citizenship where they were born. Like people from Bosnia, they don't want to lose that citizenship." Even though others were aware that such fears were unjustified (i.e. dual citizenship is allowed, so, a Bosnian refugee choosing to become a U.S. citizen is not required to forfeit his or her home country citizenship), they nevertheless postponed the decision to some imprecise time in the future. Yet others pointed to the expenses involved in applying for citizenship and the difficulty of the citizenship test: "I can live on the green card, you know. The passport is really expensive, it's like \$800 for one person...and you need to learn about American history, you have to take a test, you have to learn, I don't know my history, how can I know American history?" One particular quote, from a man from central Bosnia who is in his early fifties, not only illustrates further the reasons some Bosnians did not become citizens but also criticizes those Bosnians who did in fact become U.S. citizens:

We don't plan to stay whole life in America; we plan to move back to Bosnia; to die in Bosnia. And we don't know how; but it doesn't matter, we gonna die over there. And this is our principle; we don't have nothing against American passport and citizenship. But...our age is too much and we are not this kind of people. Some people going too easy about this; this is opportunity for them and they are swearing and they are lying. I'm better American than them. I'm better patriotic; I'm not against America, I like many things in America but I can't say ok I need American citizenship, [that would be] lying. Maybe I change and I say ok I'm good American but I still don't have any reason to be American...Green card good enough for me; green card same right like others and what we need? We don't need anything more. I'm in good position and I have no reason for American citizenship. We don't going with anything what we see if we go American passport; ok this opportunity, there's no reason for that. Why we do that if we don't have reason; and I don't have any reason to fight for anything, I'm already here; I have house, I have light, I have my children and they are studying; why I need passport?

These miscellaneous articulations about legal citizenship quoted above beg a number of questions. One is whether "non-citizens create spaces of belonging that supersede legal citizenship" (Allsopp 2013: 6). My data suggest that non-citizen Bosnians do not feel the need to acquire legal membership in the country where they found safe haven. Their lived experiences in such domains as education, employment, travel, and healthcare do not seem to exert significant pressure to acquire citizenship:

they can go to schools, find jobs, travel in and out of the country, and receive medical attention in the legal status –permanent residency- they carry. Communal arrangements such as the frequent backyard picnics, group activities such as soccer leagues, and gatherings on various occasions (weekly prayers, Sunday classes, commemorations, fast-breaking dinners etc.) at the local ethnic (i.e. Bosnian) mosques give them the time and context to perform practices of belonging that do not necessitate ownership of an American passport.

When it comes to Bosnians who did in fact become U.S. citizens, motivations for naturalization tend to exhibit what can be called a pragmatic or instrumental character. U.S.-citizen Bosnians in my sample who opted for the U.S. citizenship indicated ease of travel, government protection in case of trouble abroad, and job requirement (i.e. federal government jobs) as the most common reasons for their individual decisions. The remarks of U.S.-citizen Edina, a woman in her late thirties from central Bosnia now living in east Syracuse, offer a telling example: "...you know, because if you wanna travel it's a lot easier. United States passport instead of having Bosnian [passport] because they [Bosnian government] change them every, like once in a while, they change them like... Plus we want to... Wherever we go we want to have same passport as our kids [who hold American citizenship by way of *ius soli*] because they were born here and you know if you go on a different check lines they'll go on different lines..."

In the narratives I gathered, the emphasis is on rights/privileges and there is scant attention to responsibilities/duties when it comes to the domain of citizenship. In addition, citizenship does not primarily emerge as a matter of civic virtue, and there are very few references to practicing citizenship through political participation (despite multiple probes in interviews to elicit opinions about, say, voting). The pragmatic/instrumental approach to citizenship (as illustrated in the motives for applying) could be a consequence of the possibly ineffective channels of communication of the civic aspects of citizenship upon arrival, the primacy of survival needs and the exigencies of labor market conditions leaving next to no room to incoming refugees for political socialization early on, and lack of or underdeveloped cultural literacy that could breed or support a desire for formal membership.

Offering insight into the motivations behind the decisions to become or not to become a citizen, these articulations also provide ethnographic material with which to engage recent calls in the anthropological literature (Boholm, Henning, and Krzyworzeka 2013) to develop an integrated anthropological framework on decision-making with a phenomenological focus that prioritizes the identification and perception of choices. The dispositions of indifference, postponement, rejection, and pragmatism toward citizenship elicited from my interview data suggest a range of motives that precede the choices about citizenship, and as such offer clues about “the socially and culturally embedded preunderstandings of choice and decision making that

precondition any decision” (2013: 108). Relying on the decision-makers in question as “experts on how they make the decisions they make” (Gladwill 1989: 9), the ethnographic data I present on the motivations that appear to give shape to Bosnians’ citizenship decisions support this phenomenological take. The emphasis in this perspective is not on whether consequent decisions are rational or irrational (in subjective or objective terms) or not. Instead, the analytical strategy here “...refrains from any presupposed constructions of meaning attributed to the thought and action of other agents” (Boholm, Henning, and Krzyworzeka 2013: 108), and emphasizes understanding the criteria by which agents themselves identify choices and the meanings they attribute to those choices *before* they make any decisions. Ethnographic elicitation of these criteria and meanings allows us to see citizenship decisions in fuller complexity.

Subjective notions of citizenship presented above shed partial light on the heterogeneity observed in the post-resettlement experiences of Bosnians. To enhance those descriptions and to further illustrate the variation in adaptive trajectories, and to thereby gain a fuller picture of the heterogeneity present among members of Bosnian diaspora in the Central New York region, I turn below to a discussion of what appears to be the divergence in the routes some of the Bosnians residing in the region have been traveling as they integrate or adapt, in differing ways, to those environments. This discussion serves to depict the differentiation among Bosnians in the region in terms of

nostalgic references, entrepreneurial activity, and the pace and character of ethnic-institutionalization. My aim in considering this diversity is not to present whole groups as communally or collectively different from one another. Rather, I seek to offer an ethnographically nuanced treatment of how and why otherwise similarly positioned individuals can vary in their post-resettlement adaptation. Additionally, treatments of this kind can serve as a form of engaged anthropology by providing an intervention into matters of refugee program policy design: "...the refugee program makes most sense when it is not *"the refugee program"* but rather a set of calibrated responses to particular refugee groups, and indeed *to particular refugee individuals"* (Haines 2010: 172, emphases added). An ethnographically-informed understanding (one that does not rest its assumptions on surface level similarities within and between incoming refugee cohorts) of the variation among refugee clients served by private and public organizations involved in refugee resettlement can help, for instance, with pinpointed resource allocation, more meaningful housing options, and more effective employment assistance.

Bosnians in Central New York: Complicating the Story

Talking to an administrator of the Bosnian mosque in Syracuse right outside the premise after a Friday prayer, I asked him about the grocery stores, bakeries, and restaurants owned by Bosnians in Utica. I was curious to know why there were none of

those –at the time of our conversation- in Syracuse.⁵ I also inquired as to why there were two sizeable mosques in Utica –a multinational one led by a Bosnian imam and another whose premises were procured, rebuilt and operated entirely by (and catering nearly exclusively to) the Bosnians in Utica- while Bosnians in Syracuse were only able to acquire and operate a much more modest place.⁶ Later, in my formal interview with David Roefero, the Mayor of Utica, I had the following exchange with him, which I quote at length given the way they illustrate the *visibility* of Bosnians in Utica to a high level public official of that city:

Fethi: Now the historical record is telling us that Bosnians began relocating to Utica in 1993, which is about midway thru the war which displaced them from their homeland, and as we talk about 5,000 Bosnians live in Utica. Can you tell me about your earliest memories about the Bosnian arrivals in Utica? And how did you first relate to them? In what capacity?

Mayor Roefero: Well you know I didn't know much before I came into public office about the Bosnian population. But I did realize that a lot of the older sections of Utica the older homes that were kind of falling apart and in need of repair *there was a group of*

⁵ At the time of this writing, there is one Bosnian grocery store and one Bosnian restaurant in Syracuse. Neither is owned and operated by Bosnians who had been living in Syracuse, though. The grocery store is opened and run by a Bosnian from Utica, while the restaurant owner is a Bosnian who came to Syracuse from New York City.

⁶ A related differentiation in this context involves the naming of the respective institutions in Syracuse and Utica. While the Syracuse mosque has been named Islamic Cultural Center of Bosniaks in Syracuse, the one in Utica is called *Bosnian* Islamic Association of Utica. Bosniak officially means Bosnian Muslim (Hromadzic 2013: 13), and is thus primarily an identifier indexing religion, while Bosnian can have a more pan-ethnic usage and mainly identify attachment to territory and not to religion in particular.

people buying them up, refurbishing them and living in them all of a sudden you took blighted areas or blighted houses and they were being made beautiful and their trademark is they use what they call a drive-it; or it's like a stucco on the outside of the house because that's what they did a lot in Bosnia. So I would see more and more of these houses coming up and I would say, Oh my God who's doing all this stucco work it looks beautiful you know? And as I come to know the Bosnian population when I took office as a council person I got to know them even more. As mayor I have become entrenched in their community; just by beautifying or buying all of the old properties and redoing them that's how they have become prevalent. They are hard working; hard working people.

...

F: You have already given some answers to what I am just about to ask but maybe there will be some other examples? In what ways have the Bosnians added to the social and economic fabric of Utica? Where in your view are their contributions most obvious? I know you have been emphasizing a lot on the value of the real estate.

Mayor: They have done that; but there are so many in the Bosnian community; restaurants, stores; the restaurants, the food industry, food supply industry; they are entrenched in this community; the food is great; I go at least once a week we go and have Bosnian food; it is very good. So they have added to the culture of the city by that fact; I mean besides the working on the old homes or the refurbished homes to live in; *we have contractors; we have contracting companies you know? I always say that when you call one of the Bosnian companies to come and I joke about this when you ask them for a price and*

you ask them when can you start they say 10 minutes. Usually they tell you two weeks; a month, they say ten minutes, we start in ten minutes. And so you know the contractors work hard they do a great job; I mean they build businesses up here; I mean they build businesses they employ people; they pay taxes; and you know I view them as like when my grandfather came over from Italy; the same way; they were contractors; they came over from a different country they didn't speak the language and Utica was predominantly Italian; predominantly Italian and Irish actually. And they settled here and this is the same thing; theirs is the next generation; and if you look on the map Bosnia and Italy are pretty close together.

Thus, there are Bosnian-owned and operated mosques, contractors, restaurants, grocery stores, and a noticeable trend of homeownership in Utica, while there was no comparable pattern among Bosnians in Syracuse. In what follows, I explore this difference by first relating individual Bosnians' own explanations of it, and then juxtaposing the emic accounts with the remarks of the former director of a refugee resettlement organization, the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees, that managed the resettlement of Bosnians to Utica.

To inquire further into the divergence I mentioned above, I asked nearly all Bosnians in my sample to indicate, first, what they thought of the observation (i.e. of the fact of divergence) itself and next to offer their ideas as to what explained it. I found widespread agreement with that observation, and the patterns that emerged in their responses emphasized the following to account for it:

a) *perceived differences in the motives to immigrate*: Bosnians in my sample who did *not* originate from the Krajina region (more specifically, from the town of Velika Kladuša) in Western Bosnia generally suggested that the Western Bosnians in Utica who owned and operated the groceries, bakeries, barber shops etc. there came to Utica with an intent to stay and settle there. It was reported that this was because “they had no place to go back” because of the intra-Muslim clashes during the 1992-1995 war where they fought against the forces of central government with support from Serb leadership. Thus, this line of reasoning went, they had to make a home out of Utica, for they would be considered traitors and would not have an easy time if they wanted to return. “We came here to go back, they came here to settle,” as one eastern Bosnian living in Syracuse said of Western Bosnians in Utica.

Of the Bosnians I interviewed, a discourse of permanent return to the origin country had stronger resonance with those in Syracuse. To be sure, this is not about incidences of *actual* return. As a matter of fact, many of my interviewees were acutely aware that they kept *talking* about return, but did not actually return (“They say they’re going to return, but we all know we’re going to die here,” told one of my informants). Instead, it is about the prevalence of an *idea* of return to Bosnia at an unknown time in the future, and adaptation-related consequences of that idea. This is a prevalence that appears to have an impact on decision-making with respect to homeownership, for instance. Explaining the much fewer number of homeowners among Bosnians in

Syracuse, the secretary of the Bosnian mosque in Syracuse, or the IKCBS, told me:

“Many Bosnians here [referring to Syracuse] *bought up land or houses back in Bosnia hoping that they would return some day.*”

b) the time of arrival in the host country: The set of responses that stress this factor offer the interpretation that the more visible level of entrepreneurial and organizational activity among Bosnians in Utica is in part due to the fact Bosnians began arriving as early as 1993, suggesting that they were more experienced about life in the U.S. than their compatriots in Syracuse, “most of whom arrived in the 2000-2001 period,” as noted by the IKCBS secretary.

At a minimum, earlier arrival potentially means more time to accumulate a higher amount of sociocultural capital and develop better language proficiency. When these subjective assets couple with favorable structural circumstances, the transformation from “war-displacee” to “settler” is facilitated. Bosnians who helped revitalize Utica’s real estate market by buying up a lot of property in decrepit neighborhoods in Utica’s eastern side built networks with the city officials over time. Seeking a way to curb the negative effects of Utica’s population decline, the city found it advantageous for its own purposes (i.e. to begin to generate tax revenue) to make the deserted and dilapidated houses available to Bosnians in return for token sums. There was no comparable process in Syracuse, hence the difference in adaptive trajectories as manifested in the realm of homeownership.

c) diversity of wartime experiences: Responses commonly present this factor as a rationale explaining the relative lack of self-employment and entrepreneurial risk-taking among Bosnians in Syracuse. The extreme violence reported to be exacted upon eastern Bosnians caused massive loss of property and resources, resulting, in some instances, in an unavoidable need to arrive in the U.S. with a mere backpack or some pocket money. Coupled with the labor market conditions that precluded the amassing of capital necessary to start a business, eastern Bosnians (particularly those who hailed from heavily-shelled villages in the vicinity of Srebrenitza) who were resettled in Syracuse were thus not in a favorable position to take business risks.

d) urban vs. rural backgrounds of individuals in question: The pattern of responses pointing to this factor implied that refugees originating from the villages in eastern Bosnia did not generally have the networking abilities, educational background and the cosmopolitan attitude that could have facilitated the emergence and cultivation of leadership skills conducive to community building activities. Thus, the narrations suggest, the pace of institutionalization (i.e. via a mosque-cultural center) was slower and less efficient among the Syracuse cohort. It was further reported that the pre-war experiences of many Western Bosnians in European countries such as Germany, Switzerland, and Austria where they worked for extended periods of time equipped them with skills and capital, which eastern Bosnians were generally said to lack. They carried these over to Utica, which then supported their entrepreneurial activities.

e) demographic and geographic aspects of the two destinations: Raised often in the responses are pieces of information about the demography and geography of the two contexts. It is commonly reported, for instance, that the availability of Bosnian businesses in Utica is facilitated by Utica's smaller population size and square mileage and by the fact that Bosnians in Utica comprise about one-tenth of the entire population of the city (a ratio of approximately 6,000 to 60,000). Most interviewees compare that to the ratio of Syracuse Bosnians to the overall population of Syracuse (a ratio of approximately 3,000 to 145,000), and conclude that the difference in critical mass is one of the reasons one sees quite a few Bosnian-owned businesses in Utica and does not in Syracuse.

f) dispersed vs. condensed residential patterns: Most Bosnian homeowners in Utica are reported to have concentrated in the east side of Utica (a result due to the availability of the cheap houses in late 1990s and 2000s in the decrepit neighborhoods on that side which were revitalized by the Bosnians). Individuals whose homes I visited for interviews in Utica were always quick to point out that they had several Bosnian neighbors whose houses were on the same street as theirs. Home-owning Bosnians in Syracuse are more dispersed. While there are pockets of Bosnian homeowners in Liverpool and East Syracuse, the likelihood of one having a Bosnian neighbor on the same street as oneself was far less as compared to the cases in Utica. This dispersion was reported to be a factor that would divert potential business initiatives. Likewise, the

concentration on the east side of Utica, coupled with the “sheer numbers” factor discussed above, explained higher business activity among Bosnians in Utica.

The remarks by Peter Vogelaar, who is the former executive director of the Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees (MVRRCR) located in Utica, provided additional reasons for the difference in the adaptive trajectories. In the speech entitled “Utica: Many Cultures, One Community” which he delivered to the Onondaga Citizens League, Mr. Vogelaar highlighted some aspects of Utica that were supportive of homeownership trends and entrepreneurial initiatives among Bosnians in particular and the larger refugee population in general. The economic decline in the area (the departure of General Electric, the closing of the air force base, the movement of light manufacturing to the South and overseas); the population decline in the mid-1990s in Utica; the similarities between the work ethic and family structures of Bosnians and that of Utica’s local communities largely made up of Poles, Irish, Italians, and Arabs who still identified with their immigrant past led to a receptive climate. Refugee arrivals were welcome as a panacea to economic and population decline, the city was willing to solve the problem of tax-default, dilapidated houses by making them available to Bosnians at very small sums, and there was a local community willing to support business initiatives by incoming refugee groups. It seems, then, that the match between the structural aspects of the resettlement locale and the characteristics of various

members of a refugee population has yielded results in the realms of homeownership and self-employment in Utica that are not observed to a comparable extent in Syracuse.

Understanding and Facilitating Integration: Some Conclusions

In this chapter, I presented a descriptive account of the pre- and post-resettlement stages of refugee integration. This account aimed to ethnographically illustrate some particular aspects of refugee immigration, such as the difficulties experienced exiting the home country and obstacles faced in countries of first asylum. Furthermore, it contextualized refugee integration by focusing on some of the key areas that are part of that process, such as employment and legal citizenship. Finally, by relying on interview data, the chapter documented the reasons for some of the observed divergences among Bosnians living in Central New York. I have, as a result, illustrated the diverse ways in which diaspora is experienced among this new immigrant group.

This presentation reveals the importance of taking a long-term perspective in studying integration. While the labels “pre-resettlement” and “post-resettlement” offer analytical convenience, it is necessary to recognize that the integrating individuals may not necessarily be operating on a logic that divides their lives in a “before-and-after” manner. Accordingly, it is useful to attend to the ways in which integration experiences exhibit a continuing character, as in how difficulties of exit and transit might subsequently impact the making of decisions in such areas as home buying, or in how

the availability of transferable pre-migration skills and capital might make an adaptive difference.

A second conclusion concerns the possible need (perhaps an obligation), on the part of private and public organizations involved in resettling refugees, to communicate the *value of citizenship as civic virtue* more effectively. Where such communication is missing or inadequate, citizenship may be perceived in strictly material terms, with the emphasis on only one form of belonging (pragmatic, instrumental). An ethnographically nuanced perspective toward citizenship can inform policy making in this regard by laying bare the reasons why otherwise-eligible immigrants refrain from becoming formal members (that is, citizens) of the country where they found sanctuary.

A third and last conclusion relates to the idea of the *match* between structural components of the resettlement locale and characteristics of incoming refugee populations. It might be unreasonable for all of the four hundred or so resettlement areas in the U.S. in which some 70,000 refugees are relocated every year to have the kind of match the city of Utica appears to have had with the Bosnians and other refugee groups (in 2005, Utica was praised in a UNHCR publication as “the town that loves refugees”). Yet, it would be worthwhile if stakeholders inquired more efficiently into whether the specific character or propensities of a given refugee cohort could work in tandem with the employment, housing, and demographic needs of the locale in which they will be resettled. This could just be how the ways to refuge can be travelled a bit

more easily by refugee individuals who are almost always burdened with loss of familiar places and faces as well as uncertainty about what is ahead.

**“I want to break the contract and buy the
interview from you”:
Reflections on fieldwork among Bosnians in
Central New York**

I conducted the field research for this dissertation in two urban environments. When I sat down to calculate the amount of city and highway driving I did strictly for research purposes over the course of my fieldwork, a modest estimate landed me at over seven thousand miles. Like the countless Bosnians I have met and befriended, I *had* to be on the road, chart a tentative course, follow others' directions, and hope to have some luck along the way as I went from one interview to another, from one community event to another, from one picnic to another, from one soccer match to another: though eventually turning out to be very rewarding (the many wonders of Bosnian cuisine I became accustomed to are certainly not the only rewards I have in mind here), urban fieldwork among Bosnians was challenging, complex, and demanding –sometimes in a very physical sense and at others in an emotional one.

Of the 55 in-depth interviews I conducted as part of the fieldwork, 44 were with men and 11 with women. This disparity was due to a number of reasons. I carried out most of the interviews' in my informants' homes or apartments. Because both spouses work in most families to be able to make ends meet, it would be against established cultural norms to ask to interview a woman in her apartment or home while her husband would be at work. In addition, my participant observation activities usually took place in mosques, where it would be inappropriate for me to leave men's areas and mingle with women. Also, the Bosnian soccer teams I was a part of for 24 weeks were men's teams. Thus, the interviewees I met through the mosques and the soccer league tended to be males. As a result, while I incorporated women's perspectives in all three core ethnographic chapters (Chapters 3, 4, and 5) of this dissertation to a certain extent, most of the ethnographic data I collected came from what I listened to and observed among male research participants.

Figuring out just what constitutes "the field" or where exactly it is located turned out to be one of the challenges I faced as a novice fieldworker working in two urban environments. Though I had to carry out the work (i.e. the interview or participant-observation) in a physically identifiable location, I eventually came to conclude that my field was not a fixed place; it was rather a flexible space whose boundaries could at most be drawn with dotted lines and whose scope may be an ever-shrinking or ever-expanding one: contingency, so to speak, was among its defining attributes, and it took

me a while before I could become comfortable with being so unpredictably *on and then off the verandah*. My experience of urban fieldwork could be likened to that of learning to speak an agglutinative language: tiny bits and pieces of prefixes, suffixes, infixes and circumfixes adding on to a root, only to render it nearly unrecognizable –at least until one masters the rules by which to dissect the final product into its constituent units. Alas, though ethnography in the city was also generated in bits and pieces in my research, it was none the less intermittently formed, and often obtained in fragments I happened upon serendipitously, in haphazard fashion, which sometimes defied any advance preparation or methodological mastery.

It is, in any case, not a picture of impossibilities that I set out to offer in what follows. In offering brief forays below into the researching process which undergirds this dissertation, I discuss several issues with a view to illustrating the subtleties that have represented my experience as an urban anthropologist in-the-making. Among other things, I will approach the field as a space with porous boundaries and describe various types of challenges I encountered in that space. For instance, I will discuss how it *did* hurt to have the informed consent which allowed me to carry out a highly productive five-hour interview withdrawn by way of a voicemail left within less than 24 hours upon completion of the interview. This was an interview that took me over three weeks to secure and I drove 100 miles back and forth to conduct. The withdrawal exemplified an occasion where the interviewee was apparently thinking that the

informed consent form was a kind of contract and offered to buy himself out of it. In addition, I will offer details about my trust-building activities, the mechanics of obtaining consent, and practical discomforts such as having to sleep on the tractor cabin floor of a 18-wheeler truck after a 1,000-mile ride in that cabin from Central New York to American Midwest on Christmas Eve.

Furthermore, I will describe in this chapter the steps I took toward enhancing the size of my sample and refer to the variety of identities (*soccer teammate, Muslim brother, karate sparring partner*) I took on during fieldwork. As well, I will identify the yields of the fact that I had a number of important similarities with the many Bosnians who allowed me into their lives with characteristic generosity: that, technically speaking, we both migrated to a country –the United States- we came to know as a sort of home away from home; that our respective origin countries –Bosnia in their case and Turkey in mine- had a common historical precursor, the Ottoman Empire; and that we both considered ourselves members of the same faith, Islam.

I gear the references above toward accomplishing a few specific objectives: Unpacking what participant-observation – conventionally known as the hallmark anthropological method- meant in this research (Schensul et al. 1999); demonstrating the impact of the commonalities between me and my Bosnian interlocutors especially on processes of trust-building and the implementation of the snowballing method; and

discussing efforts I spent to give back in ways I could to the people whose narratives constitute the backbone of this work.

Understanding and Managing the Urban Field: My Challenges

Fieldwork, as all of its veterans remind, can be a taxing enterprise, and I, as a novice fieldworker, did have my share of frustrations, impatience, fatigue, sore muscles, backache, and sometimes a coffeed-out stomach. I got upset that two of my interviewees decided to take back the permission they gave me; I was, admittedly, not the most well-conditioned soccer player on the turf and regularly returned to my apartment with sore feet on every Sunday evening during nearly half of my first year of research much to the disappointment of my political scientist wife who had a hard time believing that playing soccer was a type of research activity (“we” call that participant-observation, I would always tell her); the 1,000 mile ride on Christmas Eve from Syracuse to London, Ohio and then back in a Bosnian friend’s 18-wheeler truck left me with an aching back for a few days upon return, and although Turkish coffee and Bosnian coffee are essentially the same drink, I was no fan of my “national” drink until I started the research, and there was practically no way you would return from a visit to a Bosnian family or event without having been offered cups upon cups of dark and strong coffee. Below, I discuss some of the challenges I faced in my inquiry and their various impacts on the way I conducted field research and approached field data.

I noted above that I came to experience the field more like a porous space with flexible boundaries. Here is an example of what I mean by this: Over the course of my research, I regularly attended the congregational Friday prayers at the *Islamski Kulturni Centar Bošnjaka Syracuse*, a.k.a. the Bosnian mosque in Syracuse, and occasionally at the *Bosanske Islamske Zajednice iz Utice*, a.k.a. the Bosnian mosque in Utica. Initially, I approached these visits as a useful opportunity to remain visible in and to the communities,¹ to arrive at an approximate number of attendees, and to observe symbolisms in the respective mosque's parking lot indicative of some level of attachment to the country of origin.² As well, I made an effort to stay "minimally invasive" in a primarily religious space, and thus did not carry my "researcher's briefcase" with me when I was there. The idea was simply to be in and out within the specific period of time within which the prayer was held, participate in the activity and make those few observations for the long-term purpose of seeing if or how they created a pattern over time, and then leave. Not too long after I began visiting the institutions, however, the experience became something more than what I imagined it would be: the

¹ Later in the research, Bosnians who by then had become acquainted with me would usually introduce me to others as "the guy who knows more about Bosnians than Bosnians did about themselves." I took the circulation of this fantasy as a sign that I had probably achieved my goals regarding visibility.

² Such as the pre- and post-war Bosnian flags hanging from windshield mirrors of cars, bumper stickers reminding onlookers of the killing fields of Srebrenitza, and an interesting re-presentation of Volkswagen Jetta, an automobile that goes by the name Volkswagen Bora in Bosnia: the owner, I later ascertained, had removed the letters j-e-t-t-a from the trunk of his American-purchased VW and replaced them with metallic b-o-r-a carefully affixed to the proper position on the body of the car. VW markets the Jetta under the name Bora in Bosnia.

many after-the-prayer conversation opportunities³ that presented themselves and the countless offers I received to sip *Bosanska kafa* with whomever among the attendees happened to invite me to their home after the prayer taught me an important lesson: this was not Malinowski's village in the Western Pacific. There was no way to have a clear view of the village through the window, nor was there a kula ring with a precise beginning and ending point. In other words, my field began evolving into a space expanding temporally as well as spatially. Some Fridays it turned out to be an unrecorded half-hour exchange that took place while my interlocutor and I sat on the waist-high brick wall just outside the front door of the Syracuse mosque, while on other Fridays it was a "which one is your car, do you have time, come follow me, let's go to my house, we drink coffee and have some *rahatluk* [a sweet delicacy that usually accompanied the coffee], you meet my family and I show you my videos from Bosnia, and we're gonna talk in my home" type of offer⁴ which I nearly never failed to accept.

If the foregoing discussion illustrated some of what eventually and incidentally transpired when I was out of my apartment to engage in a research activity, here follows a list of situations in which the field came into being unexpectedly when I was out, for instance, running an errand, stopping by the local Starbucks, shopping for clothing at a discount store, or attending a parent-teacher conference at my son's school.

³ If factored in to the number of interviews I conducted, these conversations would probably quadruple that figure, for those conversations were no less open-ended and informative than my "formal" in-depth interviews.

⁴ On the other hand, these offers would regularly disrupt other research-related plans (such as going home right after the prayer and taking notes before the experience would begin fading from memory).

While running into a Bosnian friend in any of those contexts was by no means an unlikely possibility, there did not seem to be a way to know ahead of time when and how what might have begun as a casual encounter in any such context would all of a sudden transform into a full-fledged interview in all practical senses of the word. For example, my son has school friends who are Bosnian. I befriended their parents. As I would wait for my turn to speak to my son's teachers at parent-teacher conferences, so would those parents. Depending on how long it would take me or them to go to our respective appointments with the teachers, the conversations often became⁵ extended narratives in which I would begin listening to miscellaneous stories of refugee transition, adaptation and resilience.

It was precisely these aspects of the urban field that allowed me to increase the range of individuals from whom I received valuable information; got me in touch with Bosnians from several different corners of their country of origin and with very different routes to the country of permanent resettlement, the United States; and gave

⁵ These "becomings" would promptly morph the occasion from a run-of-the-mill talk in a happy-go-lucky mood into a perfect moment of research in which our respective roles as parents would undergo a temporary change until we were back on earth as signaled by a teacher's friendly call inviting one of us to the room for the conference: how challenging it was between the two of them – him a minimum-wage employee at a local furniture store and her a worker at the assembly line at a local electronics company – to arrange their shifts so that there were no problems regarding the care of their two children both of whom attended that school; how the limbo –do we stay and struggle here like this or do we return to Bosnia this coming summer for good?- was having a crushing effect on their lives, crippling their sense of what family and community were meant to be; or a diatribe against unemployment and corruption in their native country which kept reinforcing the essential character of their dream of returning some day: a dream.

me the initial insights into the ways in which parents chose to repress wartime memories or make them bewilderingly obvious to their children.

The pleasantly chaotic make-up of this space, one must say in all sincerity, posed a number of challenges. First, because of the occasions of unpredictability I forayed into briefly above, the otherwise all-too-common fieldwork advice “keep a pen and pocket notebook with you at all times” had to be supplemented with reminders to “make sure, on those trips to the mosque, your car has a gas tank more than half full, for who knows where you might end up going once the prayer is over and you wouldn’t want to turn down an invitation just because you realized that the low fuel indicator light came on when you parked the car in the lot right before the congregation”; “make sure you know a thing or two about the schedule of that close friend of yours from school whom you might call to ask to pick up your child from the school bus just in case what you thought would be a brief visit to that Bosnian guy’s home for having coffee is sure to go past the pick-up time”; or “make sure you don’t go on one of those trips with a full stomach, for if you subsequently turn down an offer of food in a Bosnian household because of that, you would come dangerously close to insulting the culturally built-in tradition of generosity and simply risk not being invited to the same household again or might thwart a relationship with that family.”

A second challenge had to with time-keeping and manifested largely along two dimensions. The first dimension concerns the fact that my formal, recorded interviews

had, of necessity, to be done during those timeframes which the individuals and families I wanted to interview could have quality time with one another. The dilemma, of course, is this: I had to grapple with two mutually exclusive feelings. The ambitious researcher in me wanted to spend as much time as possible with a given individual or family with a view to maximizing conversation, participation and observation time. Yet, the empathic soul in me wanted to tame those ambitions a bit, because I knew well that I was taking away *the* time, whose lack is frequently mentioned when I asked my Bosnian friends about life in America in general, some portion of which they might have chosen to spend elsewhere or in pursuit of other interests. I can only be grateful to the many Bosnians who let me into their lives, giving generously of their time. Very few of my interviews had to be cut short because the interviewee “had to go somewhere else with the kids”, “was expecting a guest”, or “needed to catch a customer whose roof had to be done.” The second dimension relates to the issue of punctuality or keeping appointments. A Utica-based sociologist, Dr. Reed Coughlan, who co-wrote a book about the Bosnian community in Utica told me, before I began my own research, that there were multiple times that when they knocked on the door of a Bosnian interviewee at the previously agreed-upon interview time, they got no response, only to later receive an apology from the would-be host who cited an excuse of some sort. This never happened to me, neither in my Syracuse interviews nor those in Utica.⁶ But the larger

⁶ Upon reflecting on why my experience seemed to be different from Dr. Coughlan’s, I have concluded

lesson I want to convey here is this: I found myself to be excessively mobile to be able to conduct the research, and paying attention to time-keeping was an important part of my fieldwork experience. One of my extended participant-observation activities was my involvement in three separate Bosnian soccer teams that competed on AstroTurf field in Liverpool, and I had no luxury to miss the beginning of a game time.

A third challenge was as follows: I had temporary teaching appointments and not-so-temporary family obligations as I remained in this expansive space to carry out my ethnographic inquiry. Adding those to the idiosyncratic aspects of urban research I noted above, it was only a short step for me to realizing that the idea (and associated practices) of returning to and from the field turned out to be probably a bit more complicated than would otherwise meet my eye. Juggling through multiple roles (father to husband to graduate student to adjunct instructor to fieldworker) within the same time frame and prioritizing the fieldworker role as much as possible to enhance the quality and quantity of the data required some cognitive gymnastics, and the requisite flexibility is probably not a skill regularly taught as part of one's methodological preparation in graduate school (I might count myself among the luckier ones in that particular regard though, as my advisor was nearby whenever I needed to consult him

that this might have been due to the ethnographic groundwork (in particular, my trust-building activities) I laid before proceeding to interviews. For instance, I remained in contact with the then-president of the Bosnian mosque in Syracuse for nearly eight months before I conducted a formal interview with him. In addition, the similarities between my informants and me in terms of religious identity, historical background, and migrant experience might have been a factor.

with respect to any challenges or issues). In any case, it took me a while to get used to shifting roles and taking advantage of the fuzziness and chaos.

In addition, the enormous diversity in the actual locations where I conducted interviews and engaged in conversations, participated in events and observed people during celebrations, commemorations and religious rites also called for some mental muscle flexing. Most of my formal interviews took place in informants' apartments or homes, but I also conducted interviews in mosques, in a college library, and by the side of a Ford pick-up truck purchased from salvage. My participant-observation activities mostly took place in public parks, karate schools, restaurants, inside the tractor cabin of an 18-wheeler truck, and firehouse-cum-event halls. Maintaining a constant and non-disturbing presence, while participating in activities and observing phenomena in each of these places required a cognitive dexterity which took a while to develop.

Having described a few of the challenges I faced in conducting field research in Central New York, I now turn to a consideration of a number of *technical* issues and reflect on their impact on my research: a) IRB issues, with a focus on the clinical discourse that guides the IRB process and on interlocutors' perceptions of and approaches toward the consent form they were asked to sign before interviews, b) languages employed in the field; c) one's family and field research, and d) the use of smartphones during participating, observing, as well as interviewing. I take up these issues in turn below, starting with reflections on the IRB form and the approval process.

Technical Issues Faced

a) *IRB issues*: There are two dimensions to the issues I would like to raise regarding the Institutional Review Board approval which must be obtained before one is cleared to start research involving human subjects. The first is the clinical discourse that guides the approval process (including, in particular, the design of the IRB application form) and the built-in inadequacy of that discourse to capture the fuzziness in and uncontrollable aspects of ethnographic inquiry. The second pertains to what my Bosnian interviewees made of the IRB consent form that I was required to ask them to sign before proceeding with the interviews.

“Informed consent, as a formal legal-ethical construct”, Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban notes, “...grew out of the 1972 Supreme Court case *Canterbury vs. Spence* which articulated the principle for medical research. The primary context for informed consent was the need for protection in *biomedical research and practice* where there existed the potential for harm to humans as a result of the research or treatment” (1994: 1, emphasis added). Although I attest to the nobility of this principle, its influence is all too pervasive in the way the approval process is run. Let me explain this by way of analyzing specific wording from the IRB application I submitted to my institution to be allowed to conduct the research. “Enrolled participants,” as the form dictates, “are those who have signed a consent form.” If, in the middle of an interview with a husband-wife

couple who signed the consent form, a relative or a friend of theirs simply drops by, joins in the exchange and practically becomes a source giving you important hunches, leads, insights you might want to pursue on another occasion, and then leaves about a half-hour later while the interview with the couple goes on, does this pleasant intervention qualify that person as an enrolled participant? I know of no anthropologist who would respond to this question in the negative. If you have witnessed, say, 10 such interruptions (where it might not always have been practical to obtain oral consent, either) over the course of the original research year, and then the renewal IRB application asks "Has there been a significant change in the number of participants from the original application?", do you include such interruptions in that number?

These brief surprises probably only scratch the surface of the mismatch between the clinical discourse on which the idea of informed consent has been based and the inevitable aspects of ethnographic inquiry, and my aim here is not to offer an extended analysis of the implications of this mismatch, nor would I propose to throw the baby out with the bathwater. In addition, I recognize the need for these documents to attempt to encompass a wide variety of research scenarios involving humans. But my suspicion is that these attempts are fundamentally based on a conception of research in which the researcher is assumed to be in a position to exercise control over the practicalities of the investigation. That assumption is not necessarily, or not always, characteristic of anthropological fieldwork, and it would only be fair to suggest that a readjustment of

the logic which guides the design of these documents may be more than warranted with a view to making more room for the subtleties of fieldwork.

My interviewees' approaches toward the consent form further illustrate the IRB issues. The form is, to satisfy IRB requirements, a dense text including details on a variety of research-related phenomena, as any human subjects researcher would know. I went to my interviews with both an English version and a Bosnian-language version, offering people the opportunity to look at both and sign whichever version they wanted. The decision to present both versions was based on previous experience in the field where I had realized that speaking and reading skills were not on a par, that is, it was always likely that a Bosnian interviewee might be quite a fluent speaker in English (the language in which the bulk of my interviews were conducted) but not necessarily a good reader of English text –thus it was not uncommon to conduct an English-language interview after an informant signed a Bosnian-language consent form. Without regard to which version of the form was signed, I almost always found myself explaining what the form was all about. That explanation roughly ran as follows: “This form basically does two things: first, it tells you that I have my school’s permission to come to your house and do this interview with you, and second, it tells my school that I have your permission to talk to you. If you have any questions at any point, please let me or my advisor know via phone or email.” Though I thankfully received no protests against signing a document and had the forms signed with no problems, nearly no interviewee

bothered to read the text in its entirety. A quick glance at it, a listen to that rough explanation which captures the function of the form only rudimentarily, followed by “OK, show me where to sign, no problem,” and that was it. There is no doubt in my mind that what made them sign the consent form practically had nothing to do with the content of the form (that no serious attention was paid to the content later became evident when an interviewee, citing emotional difficulties, asked me to not use the interview I had done with him, a story whose particulars I offer later below). Instead, it was the recognition and presence I built and maintained by attending as many events as possible in which many individuals who later became interviewees interacted with me, as well as the multiple and trustworthy channels through which I approached them to secure an interview.

It took me three weeks altogether to have the consent form approved by the IRB at my institution. One of these three weeks had to do with the fact that the line I inserted at the form’s bottom was found to be long enough for an interviewee’s name only, that is there was not enough room for signature. Thus, the painstaking amount of detail that went into the drafting of the consent form did not seem to have a noticeable bearing upon whether or not someone would choose to sign it. The lesson I drew, and wish to convey, out of this situation is the high degree of interdependence I discovered to be existing between different elements of one’s research. The mechanical process of obtaining signature was facilitated by factors unrelated to the consent form itself, and I

will be sure to venture into my next field research with increased awareness of this interdependence.

The lack of interest in, or unawareness of, the form's content is further exemplified by the incident for which this chapter is titled. Of the two urban environments in which my research took place, it was in Utica –approximately 50 miles from Syracuse where I was based- that I had a harder time establishing a presence, developing rapport, and gaining and pursuing leads. The countless trips I made to that city nevertheless facilitated those tasks and over time I built useful friendships that offered interview and participant-observation opportunities. After a congregational Friday prayer I attended at the Bosnian mosque in Utica, Dzenan Nuhanovic, who was one of my key informants in the city and knew that I was looking for potential interviewees who would help me with my project, introduced me to Alija right after the prayer was over and before the congregation dismissed. My long-term efforts to have Dzenan's support in Utica (I had reached out to him through a close friend of his in Syracuse, conducted a long and productive interview with him, never failed to spend a couple of minutes with him nearly every time I was in Utica, and made a visit to his house an integral part of my itinerary when I brought a group of students from Colgate University where I worked as a temporary lecturer to Utica on a class visit) paid off, and thanks to Dzenan's mediation the snowball got bigger right there and then, and Alija agreed to meet with me for an interview. After a total of three weeks of scheduling

struggles, I was finally invited to his house on a bright, sunny Saturday afternoon. I happily drove the 50 miles to reach my destination, and after a little chatter out on the patio, he signed the informed consent form.

Before we knew it, the interview lasted a total of five hours. My extensive literature surveys conducted prior to undertaking the research had alerted me to the likelihood that emotional discomforts might arise during or after such conversations with individuals who were displaced from their homelands and had traumatic experiences, but absolutely nothing of the sort happened during that block of time. There was no visible sign of irritation, nor did I receive any request to simply discontinue. I thanked him for his generosity with his time with me at the end, and drove the 50 miles back home with a sense of accomplishment.

That sense, alas, was a premature one. The next morning, I woke up to see my phone showing two missed calls, and a voicemail was left around 7:30 a.m. It was Alija who called and left the voicemail. With a garbled voice, he was saying he had a lot of headache, he could not sleep the whole night, and he needed to talk to me about the interview. He asked me to call him back. I did.

In our phone conversation, he repeated what he said in his voicemail and offered a series of sincere apologies. I told him that his well-being mattered more than anything else and added I was sorry if the interview caused any harm. By now, I knew very well what he would request in his next series of sentences. But I had absolutely no idea how

he would frame his request. Here it is, reported verbatim: "I am very sorry brother, I know that I signed the contract, but please I want to break it and buy the interview from you."

Three weeks to schedule a time to conduct the interview, 100 miles driven back and forth to conduct it, five hours of conversation which otherwise taught me a great deal, and I had nothing of it left in the end. I did swallow the bitter pill, for I knew that I was under a formal as well as moral obligation to honor any such cancellation request promptly. I told him that the consent form he signed was not a contract, the interview was not for sale, and he was not supposed to pay me anything to convince me to destroy it. I emphasized that he did not need to make any explanations and could simply ask me to delete any copies of the interview I had. I added that the consent form he signed actually gave him the right to withdraw his permission at any time and without ground.

I fulfilled my moral and formal duty without delay and destroyed records of the five-hour interview (Jakobsen and Landau 2003, Mackenzie 2007). Prior to destruction, though, I burned the mp3 file containing the interview onto a CD-ROM. I mailed that CD-ROM to Alija with a hand-written note thanking him for the privilege to talk to him and informing him that the CD-ROM was the only copy of the interview file and he alone had access to it. With a glimmer of hope, I also wrote that he could return the CD-

ROM to me if he later changed his mind or else he could simply rip it to pieces. The CD-ROM was never returned.

Two speculations are in order, one affirming the point I made above in regards to how the consent form was generally approached by the interviewees, and another regarding why the form might have been perceived as a contract and the interview as the “commodity” whose “sale” is the subject of it. That nearly no one bothered to read the dense text of the form was made patently obvious by the fact that the cancellation request I described above included no reference to the one sentence in the form that granted interviewees the right to lift their permission at any time. The interviewee instead wanted to literally buy himself out of what he thought was a contract. Here is how that sentence read: “If you give consent and later change your mind, you may withdraw your consent at any time.”

I did not ask Alija why he thought the form was a contract, but a quick consideration of the range of documents an immigrant habitually encounters upon arrival in the United States can offer clues as to why he thought so: The rental leases, mortgage papers, tax returns, bills of sale for motor vehicles, insurance documents...are likely to condition the immigrant over the course of adjustment to a new environment into assuming that any longish text written in fine print and including a line at the bottom on which his or her signature is requested is probably a financial document of some sort involving the sale of a good or service.

These two speculations lead to an important lesson regarding the administration of the informed consent form. In research among individuals originating from cultural backgrounds where trust is transmitted orally rather than through tangible documents, it will be necessary for the researcher to take the extra step toward making research objectives, procedures and instruments more clear. Though this was the only incident in my research in which the form was perceived as such, with hindsight, I now state that I would have offered a longer oral description of the form had I begun the study all over.

b) Languages in the field: Yet another technicality with reverberations over the data gathering process relates to the three languages I used throughout the inquiry. These were, in order of descending frequency, English, German, and Turkish. I have been studying the first for over twenty years, acquired the second by completing all levels in my four years in college back in Istanbul, Turkey, and the third is my native tongue. Needless to say, I completed the overwhelming majority of the research in English, but German and Turkish languages came in handy when I corresponded with Bosnians whose country of first asylum was Germany or Turkey. A legitimate question might arise at this point as to whether or not my lack of proficiency in my informants' native language complicated the data gathering process. There were only a few occasions in which, when I was interviewing a family, the intervention of proficient English speakers (such as the family's children) was necessary. And during a few other times when an interviewee was not able to relate a particular thought in English due to his or

her lack of vocabulary, the chance to switch to German and Turkish helped. In any case, my English-language interviews generated over three thousand double-spaced pages of transcripts, which hopefully can be understood as a sign that the data collection process was not compromised because I did not speak Bosnian.

c) Fieldwork as non-solitary enterprise: An additional issue concerns the impact of a researcher's family on the researching process. Dewalt et al. are right when they say "Fieldwork is traditionally portrayed as a solitary endeavor, but, in reality, many anthropologists bring their families, including their children, to the field with them" (Dewalt et al. 2000: 285). I was no exception in this regard: the data I gathered only got richer because my then 8-year old son sometimes accompanied me to the mosques in Syracuse and Utica, and I took my whole family to some of my visits. I believe that the presence of my son on some of my trips helped to establish my credentials as family-man, a status which must have aided with my admission into Bosnian households for interviews as an adult man who established a family of his own. The then-president of the Bosnian mosque in Utica, who had not shared much when I inquired with him about the differences between Bosnians in Syracuse and Utica in the specific area of self-employment and actually asked me to turn off the recorder when we were talking about that particular subject, opened up completely with respect to that issue as well as the painful fights between Alija Izetbegovic loyalists and Fikret Abdic sympathizers (he was among the latter) once my wife, my son and I visited him

and his wife in their Utica home on the occasion of a *kurban bajram* (the Feast of Sacrifice, one of the two Islamic holidays). It was with his subsequent mediation that I was able to secure a number of highly informative interviews in Utica (Colson 2007).

d) Smartphones in the field: A final technical matter I want to relate pertains to the use of smartphones in the field. I have not come across any methodological text offering insights regarding the possible advantages and disadvantages for anthropological fieldwork of today's highly capable communication devices such as Apple's iPhone, R.I.M.'s Blackberry, or Samsung's Galaxy. Thus, last thing first: I would recommend that any urban anthropologist working in diverse environments take advantage of what these gadgets have to offer, and I would seriously urge any field research funders to consider these as eligible expense items no less useful than the good old tape recorders or the good new digital voice recorders.

The advanced photo capabilities of many smartphones on the market as of this writing should make them attractive to the urban anthropologist. Initially, I carried a relatively outdated, Windows-based HTC smartphone with me at all times during the research, and later I upgraded to a Blackberry Bold. I would say that when it comes to taking photos in the field, there is a slight difference between removing a camera from a briefcase or pocket and removing your smartphone from its holster. The phone is highly likely to be a lighter device than the camera, which would help with manual maneuvering and eventually cut the amount of time you would otherwise spend

fiddling with a device in the middle of an interview or a participant-observation session. Also the phone, assuming it is equipped with a reliable data plan, can instantly guarantee the safety of one's photos by allowing one to upload them to the cloud at the push of button over a 3G or better yet 4G network. I took nearly all of my field photos, including some of those included in this dissertation, with the Blackberry and I have no major complaints about the results. Smartphones also offer the so-called geotagging facility: you can know where each photo was taken, which potentially frees a researcher from having to remember that information while sorting through photographs.

Probably more importantly, these devices are useful conversation-starters. I noted above that I played soccer with three separate Bosnian teams for a total of 24 weeks, and when I was on the bench with some of my teammates waiting to be substituted, the question of "do you have internet on your phone, can you look at the score of the Manchester United (or Inter Milan or Chelsea or Barcelona) game?" was not an uncommon one (and after a while, I discovered a pattern: There was always more interest in following the results of soccer matches between teams that included a player of Bosnian origin, Edin Dzeko or Zlatan Ibrahimovic arguably being the most famous among them). Being able to respond to such queries instantly by way of my Blackberry was no trivial matter. It made me more approachable to the young Bosnians and allowed me to develop better and faster rapport with them.

A word of caution is in order. It is not unheard of that people from time to time rely on these devices as status markers. It might be hip or cool to have an iPhone 5S equipped with Siri, but if you are in the run-down apartment of a family where the parents are minimum-wage employees working day and night shifts between the two of them to be able make ends meet while saving meager amounts to be able to afford a trip to Bosnia three years later, the inadvertent act of leaving that phone on a desk purchased for a couple of dollars at a garage sale runs the risk of creating a perceived economic status imbalance. One must, accordingly, assess the context properly and proceed with caution when it comes to what ownership of these devices might signal to one's interlocutors.

In the several paragraphs above, I discussed the challenges and issues I faced in my inquiry. It is not my intention to posit that these obstacles were insurmountable. Rather, I wish to emphasize that achieving research goals in the urban field necessitated a considerable amount of strategizing-on-the-go on my part, and I did experience some frustration before I became comfortable with the idea of constant recalibration.⁷ An important element of such strategizing has to do with realizing the importance and impact of one's own subjectivity and the ways in which such realization paves the way for the overcoming of challenges and facilitates the accomplishment of research goals.

⁷ Here or elsewhere in this chapter, I do not mean to suggest that fieldwork in non-urban environments is by definition less complex or less challenging. My aim is only to illustrate the *kind* of challenges I encountered.

In what follows, I first briefly discuss the ramifications of a number of commonalities between the researcher and the researched: the Ottoman heritage we both related to; the fact that we left our respective homelands and migrated to the United States, and our shared faith, Islam. To reiterate, the purpose of that discussion is to elucidate the ways in which these overlaps had a bearing upon the researching process, in particular by facilitating it. That discussion is followed by a section where I relate a subjective bodily experience and reflect upon the way it impacted the way I approached my field data.

Bosnians and the Turk

Both our origin countries, Turkey in my case and Bosnia-Herzegovina in the case of my interlocutors, now span territories once ruled over by the Ottoman Empire (1299-1923). Though Turkey is largely considered the main inheritor of the Ottoman legacy, the Empire controlled the Balkans for some 400 years until her slow and painful retreat from the region was finalized in early 20th century. This shared historical background would often be brought up in my conversations with the Bosnians, often positively, as in the following example: As I soon as I gave him the consent form I would ask him to sign in a minute so that I could begin my interview with him, and I began offering a quick summary of its content, the accomplished police officer Muris Ahmedovic, a young gentleman from eastern Bosnia who made the remarkable transition from the status of someone seeking safe haven and protection to that of a public servant now

providing protection for the very society where he found that safe haven, practically cut me short and without bothering to read the rest of the text of the form responded empathically as I was offering the oral summary: “OK, OK, brother don’t worry. Your country ruled over mine for four centuries, I trust you, no problem. Show me where to sign.” Some of my Bosnian friends were grateful that “the Ottomans brought Islam to [their] country,” while others noted, somewhat yearningly, that “it was all problems after you guys left and the Austro-Hungarian Empire took over.” These various allusions to Ottoman times served as ice-breakers, and provided a common frame of reference within which we could have exchanges about why Serbs had a habit of referring to Muslim Bosnians as Turks and why they thought they were taking revenge, during the 1992-1995 war, for their defeat at the hands of the Ottomans way back in 1389 at the Battle of Kosovo.

In addition, the fact that I migrated to the United States to study, more specifically that I am a non-resident alien for purposes of U.S. immigration law, helped considerably in two important respects. Although our individual reasons for migration differed from the outset (*I wanted to* be here, while they –as was repeatedly emphasized in my interviews- *needed to*), some similarities in our initial adjustment experiences were too obvious to miss: my wife and I decided to leave our then 8-month baby with his grandparents in Turkey when we first came to the U.S. to pursue graduate studies, while the Bosnians I met had to leave behind relatives and friends without knowing

when they would next see them (Some Bosnians I got to know in Central New York had not been back for over 10 years); the huge cars at the JFK airport and the New York City skyline amazed us both; the fact that you had to pay for a college education in this country was an idea alien to both of us; we were both truly bemused that we were unable to pass the driving test for a New York State driver's license the first time we –as experienced drivers in our respective origin countries- took it; writing checks and then mailing them to make utility bill payments was unheard of, and we were generally in agreement that although cars were –comparatively speaking- cheap, schools were high quality, and opportunities were abundant in this country, the food was, well, *that* was our territory. Thus, and first, when I inquired about Bosnians' initial difficulties on the very first day, the first week, the first month and then the first year of arrival in the country, I nearly always had some experience of my own from my early years in the U.S. to offer in exchange, which most definitely assisted with the smooth flow of our conversations. Second, the familiarity I acquired with respect to various stages of immigrant incorporation (alternatively, immigrant adaptation, integration, assimilation, or adjustment) by going through those stages myself allowed me to come up with more pinpointed questions in my interviews when I set out to explore those stages with Bosnians. For instance, structural incorporation (figuring out the rules by which aspects of the host system work: I now know whether or not I should take standardized or itemized deduction when I do my taxes) does not automatically or necessarily go hand

in hand with cultural affinity (familiarizing oneself with the traditions, preferences, values and habits of the host society: I am yet to master the source of the frenzy around something called the Super Bowl – actually, why do they even call it a *football* game, isn't *handball* a better fit?). My awareness of this potential mismatch allowed me not to make assumptions about the nature and extent of my interlocutors' adaptation processes, which then led me into inquiring about different phases by way of narrowly-focused questions.

Furthermore, shortly after I began frequenting the Bosnian mosque in Syracuse, the secretary of the institution offered that he could give me the passcode to the lock on the front door, and I could simply punch it in and get inside whenever I wanted. Though I felt flattered that I was being trusted to such an important extent, he was, of course, making the offer to a *Muslim brother* who he thought might have wanted to go inside to pray when no one else was there to open the door for him, while the researcher in me was asking what good it would be to go inside if there was no one there to interact with. That we were both members of the same faith community, Islam, facilitated my access to two key institutions, i.e. the mosques in Syracuse and Utica, where I met and was introduced to different people who then became interviewees and later linked me with others, thus allowing me to expand my sample of informants. That identity was an important reason I was frequently invited to fast-breaking meals in the month of Ramadan, for my Bosnian friends knew that I, like them, would be fasting as

their fellow Muslim. These invitations were opportunities for me to observe how the adults and the elderly interacted with the young, note the diversity in terms of gender and age, become familiar with issues salient in the communities, and to simply maintain a presence. It was, as a matter of fact, during one such event that I was approached by the person –who saw me sitting in the back taking notes and probably heard from others that there was somebody who was interested in talking to Bosnians in the region about the war in Bosnia and life in America- whose history of dislocations and relocations later became the content of Chapter 3 of this dissertation. The chain reactions that emerged from these events certainly enhanced the quantity and quality of the data I gathered, and it was unlikely that those reactions would be as easily triggered in absence of the religious identity Bosnians and I shared.

My ACL Tear or Countertransferential Meditations à la Freud

In this section, I aim to utilize a Freudian notion, countertransference,⁸ to reflect on the impact of a hurtful experience that turned out to provide me with an opportunity to establish richer empathy with individuals displaced from their homelands. To begin to deploy countertransference as such, though, I will tell the story of a torn ligament,

⁸ I borrow the notion from Melford Spiro's (1996) critique of certain epistemological and ideological tendencies in postmodern anthropology. Countertransference as understood by Freud, Spiro observes, entails a recognition of the significant impact of one's (i.e. the analyst's) own preferences, inclinations, biases, values, and actions –in short one's very own subjective experience- upon the course of collecting data and producing knowledge about the object of inquiry (the analyst's patient, or the anthropologist's native, so to speak). Thus, my countertransferential meditations here are meant to describe how my subjective experience factored into the researching process (Salzman 2002).

with a view to showing how a fieldworker's non-field life can have unexpected effects on the field research, helping him or her to listen to informants with a more empathic ear when he or she has not been through what they have.

Upon prescribing a certain dose of Simvastatin to help with my cholesterol problems, my primary care physician suggested a couple of years ago that it would help if I took up some regular form of exercise. Between boxing, aikido, Brazilian jiu-jitsu and traditional karate, I settled on the last one. The training had the intensity and frequency I needed, the trainer was a close friend, the location of the dojo –a three minute ride from my apartment- was favorable. I nearly never skipped a training session and practically became a fan of the sport as well as the place where I performed it (I did top all of it off with a couple of trophies I won in a local martial arts tournament, as well!). About a year after I started, I was finally able to impress my Bosnian friend Meho (with whom I had otherwise regular contact, as I played soccer for about 24 weeks in the amateur teams he put together) with my skills, and probably upon growing sick of my invitations, he decided to enroll, too. Meho and I frequently reached out to one another while training and had become sparring partners in no time.

I became quite enamored of the art shortly after I started my training, so much so that I enrolled my child about a couple of months after I began. I advanced through the ranks by passing belt tests with flying colors and came to be recognized as the *karateka* who liked to experiment with difficult techniques. Over time, fellow students in the

dojo became good friends whose company I sought, and I began feeling uncomfortable when, for whatever legitimate reason, I missed a class. The sense of belonging was becoming stronger by the week. In any case, I became firm in my decision that I would make the art a part of my life from then on no matter where and when.

As if to confirm the pessimistic dictum that all the good things come to an end, my dream of reaching the rank of *shodan* (black belt) sometime in 2013 was put off for an unknown amount of time. The reason: I sustained an injury toward the end of a belt test in the summer of 2011. I was testing for a purple belt, and during a take-down challenge where my opponent was supposed to put me to the ground and I was supposed to prevent him from doing so, my anterior cruciate ligament, or ACL, suffered a tear due to the extreme amount of pressure exerted by my opponent's right leg (placed firmly behind my right leg, with my opponent striving to trip me over as such). A loud snapping sound, and I fell on the floor right there and then. I was nevertheless able to complete the test, as the only challenge that remained was the *kata*, a series of choreographed moves simulating a fight against an imaginary opponent. I performed it and was awarded the purple belt eventually.

Of course, I had no clue at the time of the snapping sound or shortly thereafter that it meant a torn ACL. It was the result of the MR imaging test conducted about a week after the incident which communicated that bad news. High Grade ACL Tear was what befell the avid martial arts student. Accordingly, I did not know at the end of my

test that training was over for a very, very long time. Putting the immediate physical troubles aside (it took a couple of weeks for the inflammation to die down, and I had to complete about five weeks of physical therapy before I was able to straighten the leg with the torn ligament) for the time being, the unfortunate incident had a number of results for which I was emotionally not prepared. The incident meant a considerable amount of time away from an activity I grew a substantial liking for, a cohort of friends who offered good company, and a place which offered quite some degree of corporeal improvement and stress relief. It also meant that I would no longer be able to spar with Meho in the foreseeable future. Admittedly, it was hard to make peace with the idea that I would need to leave behind habits and relationships I had become accustomed to. The possibility of return was there (“you need to have surgery, and it’ll be nine months to a year before you can resume training,” as I was told by the orthopedist), but who knew *exactly* when and under what conditions.

I suffered the ACL tear at a time in my research when I had completed my interviews. Having reached that stage in the research, I was having a sort of *déjà vu* effect as I was trying to grapple with the aftermath of the ACL incident: *Why did it happen to me? Shouldn't the other guy have been a little more careful? When will I be back on the mat? Is the surgery a risky one?* It was the shortest of leaps to recognizing that there was something familiar about these questions that I kept asking myself as I tried to make sense of my newfound detachment from the art. *The interviews I had completed by*

then were full of those. The extensive narratives of displacement I had gathered had shown me in stunning clarity what ordeals my Bosnian friends went through, the horrific consequences of the actions of specific individuals on their lives, the ever-present dream of returning to Bosnia some day, and the nature of -and the strategies devised to cope with- relocation struggles, among other things. But the fact of the matter was that I was only listening to those narratives, making as sincere an effort as possible in the meantime to understand, for example, what it must have been like to survive in the woods for months after fleeing from Srebrenitza to avoid summary execution by the forces led by Ratko Mladic, or how one must have felt when a teacher at a refugee resettlement center wanted to teach how to drink coffee from cups to an adult Bosnian –someone coming from one of the most cosmopolitan metropolises – Sarajevo- in Europe. In other words, I had not been in any comparable encounters I could fall back on to deepen my understanding of Bosnians' dislocation. The ACL tear, so to speak, and the forced displacement (from a habitual place of bodily performance) it caused in my life opened up a tiny window into what it takes to make wrenching decisions not out of will but out of necessity, what the loss of familiar places and faces could have meant, and how a past you cherished so much follows you, often times haunts you, intensely into your present.

The window my injury opened into empathy, as I stated above, was a tiny one, and any suggestion that having to be displaced, as it were, from the martial arts school

due to a complication in the knee is an encounter comparable to a displacement from a place such as, say, Sarajevo that remained under heavy shelling for 1,425 days during which Sarajevans did not have vital supplies would simply be disingenuous, perhaps even preposterous. I refrain from making any such suggestion strongly and expressly. But this tiny window nevertheless had an impact on the way I approached the data I gathered by equipping me with a better angle on the contexts in which Bosnians had to make difficult decisions regarding separation from social relations and localities they always upheld dearly, on what it takes and means to retain and nourish a hope of return and how such hope spills over to various life domains, impacting the decisions you make with respect to those.

In Conclusion: Reciprocity, or the Givings Back

It is an uncontested principle in the conduct of anthropological work that one must recognize that any anthropological career is built on access to informants, interlocutors, interviewees, and participants whose traditions, habits, and life experiences essentially form the subject matter of ethnographies. Anthropologists show this appreciation in a variety of ways. While some become vocal advocates of the causes near and dear to group they studied, others offer voluntary assistance in organizations that offer services for the well-being of the communities they researched, and yet others might choose to donate royalties from their ethnographic works to foundations and

institutions promoting the phenomena (such as human rights) investigated by the anthropologist. I made honest efforts to give back in ways I could to the individuals whose lives I was welcomed into and whose narratives, along with the observations I made in their events, constitute the bread and butter of this dissertation. I offer a description of those efforts below. They mostly involve assistance with one particular issue of salience in the two communities: getting known to the public at large.

As an adjunct instructor at Syracuse University teaching an undergraduate course in the Fall of 2009, I devoted a substantial amount of time to refugee and resettlement issues. I was glad that the secretary of the Bosnian mosque in Syracuse accepted my invitation to be a guest speaker in my class and address the students. He survived the genocide in Srebrenitza, and I told him it would be a privilege for the class to listen to him. Accompanied by a Bosnian friend of his (who, over the years, became my friend, as well), he offered a useful discussion alongside a neatly prepared powerpoint presentation and had a chance to raise awareness about the presence of Bosnian people in the Syracuse area. The visit was mutually beneficial.

Later, in the Spring of 2010, I worked as a lecturer at Colgate University where I taught a course on peace and conflict. I made room in my course syllabus for the 1992-1995 war in Bosnia, wartime atrocities and the aftermath of the war. In addition, I organized a field trip to Utica where my students had a chance to briefly observe aspects of Utica Bosnians' integration. The trip hopefully enhanced the visibility of the

Bosnian mosque in Utica (not least because it was featured on the Colgate University website) and exposed trip participants to Bosnia's culinary traditions. Also, as much as my graduate student budget allowed, I made small donations to the two mosques in support of community events and renovation efforts. Finally, I published entries in a widely circulated encyclopedia where I offered information on the war-related displacement from Bosnia, the summary executions in Srebrenitza, and in other publications elsewhere I drew attention to the struggles and accomplishments of Bosnians in Central New York. Upon sharing these with my Bosnian friends, I always received words of appreciation thanking me for "getting the word out."

In sum, the challenges⁹ I faced in this inquiry were mainly logistical and stemmed from practical matters and unpredictable aspects of urban ethnography. Thanks to the generosity and friendly attitude of several Bosnians in Central New York, I did not have an exceptionally hard time developing rapport and building trust. I completed the field research with feelings of gratitude for, and acknowledgment of the incredible resilience of, the many Bosnians I had the privilege of knowing. As I wrote elsewhere, "Refugee experiences involve more than the loss of places called home *then*, they are also about places called home *now*" (Keles 2011: 14). In carving out a home for themselves out of United States, Bosnians brought here a strong work ethic and unrelenting spirit to go on against all odds. Ermin, a survivor of the genocide in

⁹ A longer discussion of the general methodological challenges encountered in the study of refugees is given in Appendix 1.6.

Srebrenitza, when I asked him about the adjustment difficulties he and his family faced after they came here, summed it up neatly: "We survived Srebrenitza. How difficult could adjustment be?"

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I set out to document the resettlement experiences of Bosnian Muslims relocated as refugees to the north of New York State during and after the Bosnian War in the early 1990s. Using person-centered ethnography, in-depth interviews and participant-observation, I offered individual- and group-level descriptions and analyses of various aspects of the diasporic experiences of the Bosnians in my sample, in addition to laying bare the diversity and heterogeneity observed among those experiences. In addition, I presented a nuanced treatment of commemorative practice in the context of urban refugeehood and illustrated how that practice is embedded in pedagogy, religious performance, cultural critique, and entertainment. Also, I examined why otherwise similarly positioned refugee immigrants – Bosnians in Central New York- sometimes seem to have different resettlement experiences and adaptive trajectories. Furthermore, finding that several Bosnians interviewed in my research did not become U.S. citizens even though they

could have done so, I have explained the reasons for this choice in an effort to contribute to anthropological studies of decision-making.

To describe diaspora-as-performance, I relied on an extended narrative created out of a half day-long interview. This was a story of multiple displacements and emplacements that have constituted a particular individual's life in exile. With this story, I have relativized the legal category of refugee as defined in the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. I have offered the heuristic device of supermobility to the scholarship on forced migration and refugees based on this narrative and proposed a notion of home as more an affective space than a physical place. To complement bureaucratic knowledge (about what a refugee is and does), I suggested ways in which refugeehood is also a cultural phenomenon.

Taking the individual-level perspective toward diaspora to the group-level, I focused in this dissertation on the relationship between collective memory and refuge. By studying the commemorations Bosnians in Central New York are holding to remember the mass killings that took place in July 1995 in Srebrenitza, a small town in eastern Bosnia, I explored the extent to which this new immigrant group is molding into a diasporic community of memory. I showed how there was more to commemorative practice than collective remembrance by describing the various functions that practice serves in relation to visibility and recognition in diaspora, identity transformation, public outreach, cultural critique, and entertainment in the form of sports. Theorizing

the theme of commemoration, I considered the relationship between vicarious memory and autobiographical memory, and suggested that commemoration might be contributing, paradoxically, to forgetting in unexpected ways. To further theorize about this theme, I borrowed Marianne Hirsch's (2008) concept of postmemory and remarked on the formation of a hinge generation among Bosnians in diaspora.

To complement the individual- and group-level accounts of life in diaspora, I focused on the heterogeneity of exilic experiences among Bosnians in countries of first asylum as well as the permanent resettlement country, the United States. This focus shed light on the variation in Bosnians' pre- and post-resettlement experiences, and as such provided ethnographic depth about a less-well-understood type of immigrant trajectory, that of refugee immigrants, in the United States. To expand this focus, I discussed two of the crucial integration domains: employment and citizenship. Additionally, to describe the variation in integration experiences in fuller detail, I considered some of the patterns emerging from my ethnographic data to account for some of the general differences in the adaptive trajectories among Bosnians in the Central New York region.

In what follows, I offer a number of concluding analyses about displacement, refuge, and integration, among other themes. I point to the need to expand upon bureaucratic knowledge by bringing ethnographic attention to bear upon displacement and refuge. I then chart out an approach to studying integration. In closing, I lay out

avenues I plan to pursue in future research on Bosnians, as well as other refugee immigrants, in urban United States to build on the research I conducted toward this dissertation.

Studying Refuge and Refugees

By default, any inquiry into the miscellaneous experiences of individual or specific groups of refugees has to rely on an implicit or explicit definition of the concept of refugee. Logically, this will give rise to the question of who a refugee is. A key issue in this regard is that the scholarly field of refugee studies adopted much of its basic vocabulary from the lexicons of policy makers and from instruments of international law crafted to deal with some of the immediate consequences of Second World War: The War uprooted some forty million people across Europe, including Jews, Poles, French, Ukrainians, Czechs, and others. The hostilities between China, Japan, and the Soviets in the interwar years and in the post-World War Two dislocated many in Asia. As displacement crises deepened, the institutional infrastructure devised to solve them led to the establishment of nearly definitive criteria by which to assign refugee status to specific human beings. Among other issues, these criteria –formalized in the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees- have come to emphasize a well-founded fear of persecution (actual or anticipated) as the reason for being identifiable as

a refugee, unwillingness or inability on the part of refugees to return to their countries of origin, and the principle of *non-refoulement*, or no forced repatriation.

Persons who are granted refugee status by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in accordance with the above emphases are known as Convention refugees. Though most researchers implicitly or explicitly adopted the 1951 Convention's various emphases in defining their object of study, critical voices emerged (see, for instance, Harrell-Bond and Voutira (1992)) that contested the viability and adequacy of the legal concept to encompass a wide range of feelings, behaviors, attitudes, and processes associated with the phenomenon of displacement, or the refugee experience. I suggested in an *Anthropology News* commentary that policy-based definitions tend to be primarily future-oriented, ruling out the relevance of displaced peoples' past experiences to their bureaucratic-administrative identities as refugees (Keles 2008). Critical of the UN definition, Shacknove (1985) argues that refugee status needs to be accorded in view of whether a state is able to meet its citizens basic needs, and regardless of whether persecuted citizens, once their basic needs are not met, have passed an international border or not. In a seminal paper, Zetter (1991, cf. Zetter 2007) draws attention to the role of bureaucratic interests and humanitarian agencies' procedures as crucial determinants in the definition of the refugee label.

Nonetheless, the concept of refugee retains its relevance in scholarly and policy parlance in reference to peoples forced to move either as contemplated in the Convention definition or due to a variety of other factors (development projects, environmental reasons etc.) In explaining their reason for their reliance on refugee as the organizing term for the special, research methodologies issue of the *Journal of Refugee Studies*, anthropologists Eftihia Voutira and Giorgia Dona (2007:163) suggest as follows: "Refugee is a complex category..., which denotes those who undergo forcible uprooting, who lack protection, are stateless, and it is in this broader social-historical meaning that we have chose to retain 'refugee' as a central concept in this Issue." In pointing to the diversified meanings the refugee label can assume, anthropologist Elizabeth Colson notes: "[The label 'refugee'] derives not from those who move, but from the international order, and many who fall into the category according to international law do not consider themselves to be refugees, though they admit to being 'asylum seekers', because 'refugee' now carries too many connotations that would stigmatize them as victims and dependents" (Colson 2007: 312). Zetter confirms this reasoning by agreeing that "in every case there are fundamental distinctions and contradictions between how refugees perceive their label and how bureaucratic policies and practices prescribe a label" (Zetter 2007: 189). Such subjective dispositions to construe oneself as outside of the legal domain of refugeehood (despite being entitled to it technically) are illustrated, for example, in Frances Trix's (2000) ethnographic study of

Kosovar Albanians who had been forced from their homes in the spring of 1999 as a result of the actions of Serbian military, para-military and police units during the eleven-week-long NATO air attacks against Serbian targets. Trix studies Kosovar Albanians who fled their homeland in 1999 and became refugees in legal parlance. His informants include Kosovars resettled in United States. Trix's striking conclusion is that "in contrast to the resettlement agencies and sponsoring institutions, the refugees themselves and their own sponsoring families did not refer to them as "refugees"" (Trix 2000: 255). Instead, Trix explains, they were referred to in terms of family connections and in a guest-host framework. Such reference was due to the fact that for the Kosovars, being a refugee had a connotation of victimhood and loss of agency, and that they did not want to be labeled as refugees since continued use of that label would be the equivalent of a continued reminder of their material and symbolic losses (2000: 255-258), of that which they had to leave behind to be able to ensure their survival.

A consideration which arises from the discussion above is that terminology developed to serve policy goals is not necessarily adequate for purposes of scholarly inquiry: in other words, refuge and refugeehood will need to be conceptualized in ways to encompass relevant psychological, sociological, and historical dimensions that are not envisaged in the policy definitions of those phenomena. Such a goal will necessitate the deployment of methods suitable to explore refuge not only as a policy term but also to dissect it as a sociocultural domain into its miscellaneous components. Consequently,

“Refugee studies must[...] not assume the category of ‘refugee’ nor the cultural categories that give it shape.” (Hayden 2006: 485) Narratives/life histories, open-ended and in-depth interviews¹ may pave the way for that type of exploration, given their relatively unrestricted structure which has the potential to allow far-reaching forays into the lived reality of refuge. For instance, anthropologist Halleh Ghorashi, in her work on Iranian women refugees in the Netherlands, utilizes life histories to unearth what I will term latent insecurity. The women refugees, having escaped revolutionary Iran and achieved remarkable material successes in the country of resettlement, retained in themselves a powerful sense of awkwardness and non-belonging which manifested itself in their inability to provide as obvious answers to questions about their futures in the Netherlands as those they gave in response to Ghorashi’s questions on their achievements and lives-to-date in the Netherlands (Ghorashi 2007: 125-126). An added utility of narratives emerges in the context of advocacy-oriented refugee research where not only listening to but also *representing* refugees’ experiences to persons/institutions of consequence are key objectives whose realization requires deeper understanding of those experiences in their great diversity (Eastmond 2007). As a result, then, one can begin the analytical quest by adopting policy definitions (as is most often the case in the literature), provided that it will be necessary to examine what specific individuals make of those definitions and how they interact (circumvent,

¹ Appendix 1.7. offers a longer discussion of the use of qualitative methods in research on refugees and displacement.

subvert, violate, and/or abide by) with bureaucratic/institutional rules as well as categories of thought.

The person-centered ethnography I presented in Chapter 3 of this dissertation follows the reasoning I explained above with reference to various scholars addressing the use of the refugee label. By developing in that chapter a notion of refuge as continuum and focusing on the agent and his practices, I have shown how studying the lived experience of refuge takes one beyond the confines of bureaucratically crafted knowledge. The development of that notion has additionally allowed me to prioritize practice and the fluidity of lived experience. The lesson here is that while bureaucratic categories are not necessarily useless to think with, they do not contribute much to understanding the *experience* of refuge. An ethnographic and practice-oriented perspective, such as the one offered in that chapter, may offer that contribution, ultimately leading to finer understanding of refuge as a matter of losing and making place over several years and multiple geographies.

The Essence of Integration

Refugee integration is a process with many dimensions, and integration, it is generally agreed, is an essentially contested concept (Ager and Strang 2008). Many discrete domains of integration have been identified in the literature, such as employment, education, housing, linguistic capabilities, and citizenship. In addition,

service providers have traditionally tended to measure success and failure of a given refugee group's integration in terms of the accomplishments, or the lack thereof, in these individual domains. As well, the extent to which a given host community is welcoming and accommodating is commonly judged according to whether the community has or develops programs and institutions that facilitate achievement in the various domains that make up the process of integration.

While recognizing the utility of existing scholarly and policy approaches that tie integration success to such distinct variables as home ownership, language acquisition and rapid employment, I would like to argue for a conceptual approach that seeks to improve upon current practices in integration measurement by considering, and developing tools to understand, the miscellaneous ways in which the separate domains of integration interact with one another. An indicator such as homeownership, for instance, needs to be thought about in the context of whether an actual or would-be homeowner's larger discourse (which can be gleaned by way of in-depth interviews, for example) assigns priority to returning to the origin country. Or, labor market integration needs to be understood in relation to whether it facilitates or inhibits language proficiency, as in the case of Huso Segic whose account I presented in Chapter 5. This conceptual approach's working hypothesis, then, is that successful integration is as much a matter of attainment in any given domain of integration as it is one of managing the relationships between and among various domains. It is also that the

characteristics of a welcoming community and its institutions can be understood and measured by attending to the degree to which community members and institutions can begin to systematically recognize the important connections between, for instance, language proficiency and economic upward or downward mobility; pre-resettlement factors (traumatic wartime events, the flight experience, years in refugee camps or countries of first asylum etc.) and a refugee community's capacity to become a cohesive group; and the tangible and quantifiable criterion of home ownership and the much less tangible phenomenon of homesickness or enduring nostalgia. As such, the approach I propose adopts a *relational* stance toward understanding and measuring immigrant integration.

This approach's relational perspective proceeds by emphasizing a few core ideas: First, integration is an organic process in which several interdependent factors mutually mold one another. Recognizing the organic nature of this process entails asking unconventional questions such as the following: how reliable a measure of successful integration is home ownership if a given homeowner's entire discourse revolves around the idea of return to the origin country some day? Is the link between English language competence and economic upward mobility as straightforward as it is traditionally assumed to be? Second, integration is fundamentally a two-way traffic, and reaching the desired state of cohesive community requires a willingness to change not only on the part of the newcomers but also of members and institutions of the host society. And

last but not least, efforts to achieve effective refugee integration will benefit from a framework that takes into account refugees' own notions of what it means to be a refugee and considers the ways in which forced migrants' experiences are different from and similar to non-forced (i.e. economic/labor) migrants. Understanding how the very infrastructure built to aid refugees is seen by them, as well as why policies meant to facilitate integration might be obstructing it due to structural and subjective difficulties, can enhance efforts to design and implement policies that are more in tune with the lived experience of refuge.

A Way Forward: Propositions for Future Research

To build on the research I conducted toward this dissertation, I plan to study the general theme of immigrant integration in urban areas. More specifically, I will embark upon comparative urban field research among refugees to ethnographically explore the topic of social capital.

The United Nations Population Division estimates that there are 232 million international migrants worldwide.² Of this total, a little over 15.5 million,³ or almost 7%, are refugees. As mentioned a few times in this dissertation, under the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, a refugee is, fundamentally, an individual displaced from a nation-state and seeking safe haven in another. Questions of social protection, eligibility claims, the provision of rights and benefits have an

² <http://esa.un.org/unmigration/wallchart2013.htm>, accessed March 15, 2014.

³ <http://esa.un.org/unmigration/migrantstocks2013.htm?mtotals>, accessed March 17, 2014.

amplified level of salience when migration is forced, as in the case of refugees. There are two important questions I plan to pursue in this regard. First, how do refugee immigrants, who usually arrive in receiving societies with less-than-sufficient material and cultural capital, cope with the institutional arrangements, cultural expectations, as well as subsistence challenges they face particularly in urban areas? Second, what are some of the problematic consequences arising from various stakeholders' (sometimes inadvertent) failure to deliver humanitarian protection to the refugees they resettle?

I will focus on the first question by examining how urban refugees access tangible and intangible rights and protections outside the framework of the nation-state by creating, revitalizing, and/or nurturing social capital. The formation, distribution, and effects of social networks among refugee communities in particular is an underdeveloped area of research, and increased understanding of this theme should yield answers to important questions such as the following: What are the factors that facilitate and/or impede trust-building between refugees and host societies? What are the kinds of benefits or problems of inequality that arise in terms of information, cooperation and collaboration as refugees transform themselves and the communities in which they arrive? Also, while scholarly and popular debates about immigration are frequently couched in terms of labor migration, border protection and undocumented immigrants, *a broader theory of immigrant integration* can benefit from an added focus on

the sociocultural inclusion processes refugees undergo over the course of their multidimensional transitions into nation-states.

I will address the second question by studying how refugee resettlement efforts in nation-states might suffer from approaches that inadvertently contribute to inequalities and the perpetuation of structural violence especially in urban areas. Refugee assistance provided in an idiom of charity operates on a cultural model which encourages, perhaps unwillingly, a persistent image of an ever-needy refugee who is nearly never admitted as an equal member of the moral universe of the givers. Help offered through a technocratic development discourse, in addition, paves the way for the naturalization of the idea that refugee integration into the “mainstream” will be aided as refugees (or perhaps their children, or the children of their children) move up the economic ladder and enjoy the uncanny benefits of neoliberalism. A social justice approach to assistance, à la Paul Farmer (2005), could, I want to argue, have the potential to alter the status quo by a) pointing to pathologies endemic to the logic and praxis of refugee aid, b) introducing historical depth and geographical broadness into the mentality with which aid is delivered, and c) encouraging pragmatic solidarity with the displaced as a matter of entrenched principle. I will additionally suggest that preventable psycho-social harm or damage occurs to displaced persons over the course of the resettlement process due to the violence (Weigert 1999) built into the structures within which assistance is provided. Failure to attend to the “pathologies of refugee

assistance” might undermine the process of integration by creating or perpetuating inegalitarian social worlds in which refugees perceive themselves to be in a given nation-state, but not of it, for extended periods of time.

APPENDIX

1.1. Conrad C. Reining's ethnographic study of Azande resettlement illustrates the category of DIDPs. Upon the designation of the Zande District "as the scene of an experiment to test the possibilities for social and economic development in southern Sudan" by 1943, about fifty thousand Azande were resettled in a span of seven years with a view to "facilitat[ing] the supervision of cotton cultivation and ensur[ing] conservation of soil and forests" (Reining 1982: 202-206). Elizabeth Colson's (1971) study of the Plateau Tonga of Zambia where a major population relocation took place as a result of the Kariba Dam project constitutes another ethnographic example. Colson's ethnography detailed the experiences of the Gwembe people reacting to government efforts to resettle them for the construction of a dam and hydroelectric power plant.

1.2. Anthropologist Birgitte Refslund Sørensen provides the insight that the practitioner (i.e. OCHA) definition seems to be "grouping together some 20-25 million people into one single humanitarian category with little attention to the aspects that define the internal differences of that category" (Sørensen 2001: 6), and calls for more precision. This is echoed in Karen Jacobsen's questions as to whether someone displaced internally by armed conflict or violence ten years ago but is now integrated to the local community should be considered an IDP, or whether demobilized soldiers from such a conflict are IDPs (Jacobsen 2001: 22). Sharon Hutchinson's (2000) ethnography of armed

conflict in the Sudan helps visualize the IDP category. Hutchinson discusses how in the course of the ethnicized violence between rural Nuer and Dinka in the country's southern part, "an estimated 70,500 Nuer civilians were displaced from Western Upper Nile between June 1998 and December 1998 as a result of continuing conflicts between the northern government [led by the Islamists] and various southern factions over the oil fields" (Hutchinson 2000: 7-8).

1.3. Homer-Dixon (1994), a political scientist writing on the causal links between scarce environmental resources and violent conflict, illustrates the phenomenon by referring to Mexico. He gives the example of the residents of the Mexican state of Oaxaca who are leaving as a result of drought and soil erosion (Homer-Dixon 1994: 8). Jacobson (1988) directs attention to sub-Saharan Africa: "Desertification...has irreparably damaged millions of hectares of once productive land and made refugees out of millions of sub-Saharan African farmers. Migration is the signal that land degradation has reached its sorry end" (1988: 6). As is the case with DIDPs and IDPs, most of the people displaced by environmental factors stay within the borders of their own countries.

1.4. Criticizing UN instruments concerning refugees and implicitly backing the OAU definition, Andrew E. Shacknove (1985) argues in an oft-cited piece that persecution or alienation do not capture what is essential about refugeehood. His argument is based on

the premise that refugeehood should be conceptualized in terms of a citizen's relationship to his/her state. He contends that both persecution and alienage are subsets of other, broader phenomena which must be considered to establish refugeehood: "Persecution is but one manifestation of a broader phenomenon: the absence of state protection of the citizen's basic needs...[alienage], too, is a subset of a broader category: the physical access of the international community to the unprotected person" (Shacknove 1985: 277). Refugee status, in his argument, should be granted if a) a state has failed to guarantee its citizens' basic needs which include physical security, vital subsistence, liberty of political participation and physical movement, and b) citizens cannot have any recourse to their home government for having those needs met, and c) citizens are so situated (regardless of whether they are inside or outside their country) that international assistance is possible (1985: 284).

1.5. A story whose essentials, if not particulars, common to the holy books of the three monotheistic faiths -Judaism, Christianity and Islam-, the Israelites' Exodus from Egypt to the Red Sea under Moses' leadership, is a well-known example of human displacement as a result of the causes similar to those that have uprooted millions of people in twentieth century. The basics of the story of Israelites' displacement from Egypt as related in the books of monotheistic faiths generally agree on the following: As the Pharaoh of the Egyptian Empire declined to accept the divine call that Moses was

instructed by God to deliver to him with the help of Aaron -Moses' brother-, conditions for the already enslaved Israelites of Pharaoh's Egypt worsened. Not only did the Pharaoh himself not agree to the prophetic message, he and his men multiplied the workload of their Israelite subjects, and unleashed campaigns of torture and killings. While some of the initial followers of Moses left the prophet probably out of fear for their lives and livelihoods, those remaining with him wanted to escape to avoid further persecution and thus stay loyal to Moses' call. The Pharaoh, however, declined Moses' request to let the faithful Israelites leave Egypt. Moses threatened the Pharaoh that as long as he declined to provide free passage to safety for the Israelites, his empire would face insurmountable troubles, by which Moses meant the punishments God would deliver to the Pharaoh's empire. Egyptian waters became bloods, livestock suffered from heavy pestilence, various animals -frogs, lice, insects- wrought havoc across the empire, and first-born children of all Egyptians -Pharaoh's included- died...and in the end the Pharaoh agreed to Moses' request, and thus began the Israelites' exodus from Egypt to the promised land of Canaan. The Pharaoh later changed his mind and dispatched an army to follow and destroy the escapees. The sea that Moses split-open with his staff to continue with the exodus closed in on the chasing Egyptians and drowned them (Wolf 1959; Carroll 1985; Abramowitz 1994; Abu-Sahlieh 1996; Hendel 2001), which precluded what contemporary global refugee policy jargon would have called forcible repatriation or, worse, ethnic cleansing.

Religious persecution, in other words, politically-, economically-, and/or ideologically-motivated restriction or proscription of the freedom to express and practice faith set the stage for another prophetic flight centuries after Moses. This flight (622 A.D.), commonly referred to as the *Hegira*¹, is the escape of Islam's prophet Muhammad and his handful of followers from their habitual place of residence Mecca to their newfoundland Yathrib, both locales in what is today's Saudi Arabia.

As chiefs and elders of the prominent -and pagan- Meccan tribe of Quraysh grew displeased with the monotheistic message Muhammad had been delivering, they began torturing converts to the new religion, excluding them from matrimonial exchange, limiting their access to food and severely punishing any displays of the rituals of the new faith they became aware of. They also sought to lure Muhammad into positions of authority for the administration of Meccan politics and economy, provided he stopped his calls to Meccans to profess the oneness of God. Perceiving protracted threat against their sway over the social-political (new converts to Islam refusing to abide by their pagan rulers) as well as economic landscape (Mecca and its environs beginning to lose their importance as vibrant trade sites feeding off of pilgrims stopping by for idol

¹ Alternately, *hejira*, *hijra*, or *hijrah*. Although the prophet's flight, "the Hegira", marks the beginning of the Islamic calendar, it was not first time members of the newly emerging Muslim community sought refuge. Seven years before the journey to Madina, in 615 A.D, the first hegira took place when Muhammad told his initial followers to flee to what is today Ethiopia, where he said they would find safe haven and be well-protected by the pious Christian king of the land. By not returning these refugees to the Meccan leaders who chased them all the way to his palace, the King of Axum did indeed honor what modern documents call the principle of *non-refoulement*, i.e. no forcible repatriation of refugees to the lands they escaped from due to well-founded fear and/or experience of persecution.

worship and passer-by caravans en route to other locations), Meccan leaders even devised plans to wipe off the threat by murdering Mohammad. Such a hostile state of affairs forced the prophet to ask his small community to flee to Yathrib (renamed Madina afterwards), and he and his loyal friend Abu Bakr escaped the persecution and harassment by traveling on foot a distance of about 320 kilometers approximately in two weeks in September 622 A.D. Madina, his destination, was to be center of the proto-Islamic state that Mohammad was to found with the ever-growing community of believers in Islam (Karpát 1996; Abbink 1998; cf. Wolf 1951 for a strictly materialist interpretation).

If (Morton Abramowitz's irony² regarding the Exodus notwithstanding) well-founded fear and experience of persecution by the ruling political-religious elite against a minority populace was the major reason for these prophetic flights to safety, such reasons have all too often produced similar outcomes in different parts of the world in the centuries that followed. To provide some insight into the more recent history of forced migration in chronological order, I offer concise discussions of Jews' expulsion from Spain and Huguenots' flight from France. These are cases well-representative of the traditionally most pressing factors that were at the root of forced displacements in

² "Moses had it sort of easy as a refugee. His friend in high places took a keen interest in the protection of his people. The Israelites were able to carry their worldly goods with them and could count on free manna to provision their journey [...]. No Canaanite immigration officer turned them back at the border for failing to prove a well-founded fear of persecution; and since God helped with a little ethnic cleansing before their arrival, they took up residence without much resistance from an indigenous population" Abramowitz (1994: 175).

history. They are indicative of the causal continuity regarding the phenomenon from distant up to modern times. In the following part, reference will also be made to the Atlantic slave trade as perhaps an illustration *par excellence* of the total obliteration of human capacity to exercise the choice to stay put.

In the same year, 1492, as Columbus was setting sail for the New World, the Jewish residents of Ferdinand and Isabella's Kingdom of Spain were witnessing the end of what has oftentimes been called the golden era in the history of Moses' followers. Upon their capture of the last Muslim stronghold, Granada, in the Iberian peninsula, Ferdinand and Isabella set out to finish the unification of their land as an exclusively Catholic one. They perceived the commercially and culturally well-off Jewish Spaniards as obstacles before the complete Christianization of Spain who were keeping alive the beliefs and practices of a non-Catholic faith. In an Edict of Expulsion (1492) known as the Alhambra Decree, they demanded that all Jews –regardless of age, gender, and socioeconomic status- living within the borders of their kingdom leave the land within a 4-month period or either agree to be baptized or face the death penalty. The deportees were not allowed to carry any precious stones (gold, silver etc), and they had to liquidate their immovable properties at very low sums. Additionally, they were required to pay high monies to the masters of the Spanish ships who were to ferry them to their unknown fates. Some of the Jewish deportees were picked up from Spanish ports by vessels belonging to the Ottoman Navy dispatched by the Ottoman Sultan of

the time, Bajezid II. They were resettled to Thessaloniki (now in Greece) and Izmir (currently a Turkish coastal city), Ottoman towns where they were well-received, exercised their trades and continued to practice their faiths, and then went to thrive for generations, leaving indelible marks on Ottoman political, financial, and cultural life (Zolberg 1983; Kamen 1988; Altabé 1992; Tilly 1992).

The series of events that resulted in the expulsion of Jews from lands they had been inhabiting for several centuries repeated about a century later in another case of extreme religious intolerance stemming from French political leadership: the case of Huguenots, or the French Calvinists. Huguenots are the first community to which the term refugee was applied (Rose 1993). This religious minority of French Protestants, otherwise treated as perverse heretics in an essentially Catholic land³, had been living in relative peace in France following the proclamation of the Edict of Nantes in the year 1598 by Henry IV, the then-King of the land. This aura of domestic tolerance toward the other French turned out to be short-lived, and it started waning after the assassination of Henry IV in 1610 (Blaney and Inayatullah 2000: 36). The Treaties of Westphalia

³ The earliest trace of persecution against French Protestants was the prohibition to publish any religious books without authorization by Sorbonne –the center of theological orthodoxy in France at the time. The ban came in the aftermath of the entry of the thought of Luther in Paris via print in 1519. Sorbonne determined in 1520 that Luther is an enemy of Christ, which was followed by the 1521 enforcement of the prohibition by the governing elite in Paris (Sutherland 1980: 10). What began as an exclusion from the domain of literature later widened to the area of education (all teachers in schools, academies, universities, and private tutors were to be Catholic); infiltrated the privacy of the home (giving shelter to protestant heretics was forbidden, authorities were enabled to search homes for forbidden books any time); reconfigured the rules of public service (no appointment to judicial and municipal offices were to be made without a certificate of Catholicity); and encouraged espionage (inform authorities of the heresy of your neighbor, and receive one-third of his confiscated property upon his conviction) (1980: 45-46).

signed in 1648 to end the infamous, extremely devastating and bloody Thirty Years' War across Europe reinforced the already wide-spread principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* (roughly, whose land it is, his religion it is). Such an institutionalized attempt at homogeneity bore many disadvantages against the Huguenot population of France: under the rule of Louis XIV, they were denied jobs and robbed of the privileges Edict of Nantes granted to them. They also suffered from attacks by the military (2000:40). Their temples and places of worship were destroyed. Moreover, a campaign of forcible conversion to Catholicism was started in 1681 and lasted four years. These unfavorable conditions eventually culminated in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by way of the Edict of Fontainebleau enforced by Louis XIV in 1685. As a result, according to a guarded estimate, about 200,000 French protestants (which amounts to 10% of the Protestant population or 1% of the total population of France at the time) fled to safe havens in England, Ireland, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and America between the years 1680 and 1720 (Scoville 1952: 296-297).⁴ In her rhetorical analysis, based on memoirs of Huguenot émigrées, of the concrete human experiences of the Huguenot flight to safety,

⁴ The Huguenot case represents a striking case of technology diffusion via migration, and reaffirms the anthropological dictum that culture contact has long been a significant source of cultural change: "The Huguenots had engaged in finance, commerce, and many different industries in France and had developed a different attitude to economic activity than had most Frenchmen. They settled abroad in large enough groups to make it comparatively easy for them to retain and propagate their various attitudes and institutions. They carried with them skilled manpower, technical know-how, and some liquid capital rather than specific machines or goods" (Scoville 1952: 295). More specifically, for instance, the Huguenot presence in England revitalized the English silk industry which had been declining for twenty years before 1680. Huguenot refugees to England "introduced new methods of throwing silk, new designs for damasks and other figured patterns, special knowledge for dyeing and finishing the cloth, improvements in ribbon-weaving and knitting silk stockings, and considerable skill in working the looms and supervising all activities in trade. These introductions helped England to break free from her long-time dependence on France for fine-silk fabrics (1952: 300ff).

Chappell summarizes the general pattern of the exodus as follows: "Protestant fugitives in the era of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes commonly emigrated in family fragments, children preceding parents, women acting independently of their fathers and husbands, over multiple routes, creating permanent separations because some family members fled while others did not" (Chappell 1999: 1).

Shortly after Jews' expulsion from Spain and several decades before the time of the Huguenot flight, a transoceanic process of involuntary migration had been well underway. Probably, few other instances of involuntary migration in entire human history had consequences more disastrous and brutal than those of that four-century process of commodification not only of labor but also the very humanity of those who performed the labor. That process is commonly known by the name the Atlantic Slave Trade. The sheer magnanimity of numbers involved, the harsh conditions in which the Black people of Africa were forcibly shipped from their homelands to the destinations in the Americas as well as in Europe, the enormity of human casualties suffered, and the overall sociocultural, economic, political and psychological consequences that arose as a result of the process will likely justify a characterization of it as an instance *par excellence* of the total obliteration of human capacity to exercise the choice to stay put.

Historian Paul E. Lovejoy notes in a review of the scholarship on Atlantic slave trade that "Recent revisions of estimates for the volume of the trans-Atlantic slave trade

suggest that approximately 11,863,000⁵ slaves were exported from Africa during the whole period of the Atlantic slave trade” (Lovejoy 1989: 394). The beginning of the process is generally traced to the colonial ambitions of Portuguese who, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, raided African coasts in search of laborers to be utilized in plantation agriculture in Portugal, and returned home with “Moors” –or black captives. As a result of their intense and continuous involvement in the slave trade for the next two centuries, the Portuguese always stayed at the top of the slave-shippers’ list even after the British took the lead in late seventeenth century. In terms of the numbers of slaves shipped throughout the four centuries, notes historian Hugh Thomas (1997) in his classic work, the Portuguese and the British were followed by the French, the Spaniards, the Dutch and the North Americans.

⁵ It is instructive to consider how another historian qualifies this quantity: “. . . it is a fact that eleven million Africans were forcibly carried abroad, more than nine million of them to the Americas. It matters—it stretches the imagination to visualize—that at the height of the British slave trade, in the 1790s, one large slave vessel left England for Africa every other day. It matters that slave rebellions occurred on approximately 10 percent of all slave ships, that 10 percent of the slaves on such voyages were killed in the insurrections (which totals 100,000 deaths, 1500–1867), and that the fear of insurrection increased shipboard staffing and other expenses on the Middle Passage by 18 percent, costs that if invested in enlarged shipments would have led to the enslavement of one million more Africans than were actually forced into the system over the course of the long eighteenth century. It matters that the incidence of revolts did not increase with the decline in crew size, hence that slave-centered factors determined the uprisings. It matters that shore-based attacks on European slave ships were twenty times more likely in the Senegal and Gambia River areas than elsewhere in Atlantic Africa. It matters that shipboard mortality (only 50 percent of all slave deaths—the rest occurred in Africa or at embarkation) did *not* increase with the length of the voyages or with the number of slaves per ship (“tighter packing”) but *did* vary according to African ports of departure. It matters that French slave ships left Africa with an average load of close to 320 captives; that one such vessel sailed with 900 slaves; that another lost 408 Africans on a single Atlantic voyage; that 92 percent of the “cargo” on another French vessel were children; and that the average number of captives on French vessels rose from 261 in the seventeenth century to 340 at the end of the eighteenth century. It is astonishing simply to attempt to visualize the consequences of the fact that in one year, 1790, French ships landed at least 40,000 slaves on the small island of St. Domingue, 19,000 of them (equal to the entire population of contemporary Boston) at the small port of Cap Français—and to consider the profound effect that fact must have had” (Bailyn 2001: 250).

Slaves were supplied from inland and coastal Africa by African slave traders to European shippers through a system of negative reciprocity. In this system of economic exchange, items including but not limited to clothing, guns and gunpowder, decorative materials, cowrie shells, and alcohol brought by Europeans to African slave-trading posts were bartered for slaves. This barter constituted the first leg of what became known as the *triangular trade*. In the second leg, *the middle passage*, slaves were shipped in European vessels across the Atlantic and sold in the Americas and the Caribbean. In the third leg, the resultant profits were used to buy more goods upon return to Europe to be traded with slaves in Africa again, to continue the cycle. From the second half of 18th century onwards, the cycle gradually came to a halt, eventually resulting in the abolition of the slave trade in a series of successive legal bans imposed against it in the first two decades of the 19th century by the British, United States, Netherlands, France, and Spain (Van Den Boogaart 1992; Eltis 2001).

1.6. Refugees are people who have made a decision to leave behind their habitual places of residence under conditions of coercion: most often, they face nearly impossible odds to ensure their very survival during flight from persecution (or other coercive causes) or resettlement. Reluctance and fear frequently accompany refugees as necessary evils in the process of surviving and adapting in alien, sometimes hostile, environments. Not only can they be unwilling to reveal their true views to any outsiders, including

researchers, they may also be strategizing for security purposes and disclose to the researcher any information that might put whatever personal security they may have ensured at risk and in jeopardy (Jacobsen and Landau 2003: 192). Accordingly, then, developing relations of trust is a particularly salient challenge in refugee research. In addition to whatever few material resources they could bring to the contexts of resettlement, refugees often carry histories of pain, anguish, and grief with themselves. I have personally faced this type of challenge in a casual conversation with a Bosnian refugee from Srebrenitza. He was a young man in his late teens at the time of our conversation, and working as a cashier at a well-known drug store. When I told him that I talk to Bosnian people in the region about the war, he retorted and basically cut me short with the following remarks, quoted verbatim: “What is it about the war you want to talk about? My father was declared missing, he still hasn’t been found. We know that he’s gone, of course.” I attempted to divert the discussion to another topic, but it was impossible after that point to engage in meaningful exchange.

In addition, “the problem of ‘doing no harm’ in refugee research is particularly difficult to anticipate or control...Refugees can become stigmatized or targeted if certain information is known about them, for example, that a woman has been raped or that a refugee has access to particular resources” (2003:193). The challenge, therefore, is not only obtaining informed consent but also judging how data gained with consent from a

given refugee might yield unintended consequences if shared, for instance, in a focus-group discussion or with government agencies or other bodies of consequence.

Yet another challenge pertains to the issue of researchers' ability to construct representative samples of the population being studied: in most cases, it is impossible to know the size and distribution of the forced migrant population (with the possible exception of camp refugees), which is a structural problem simply precluding the creation of random samples. In non-camp refugee geographies, this particular challenge is coupled with the problem of access. Gender configurations in a given refugee population, geographical remoteness of the area where refugees are located, uncertainties as to who the refugee community representatives are, grudges borne by refugees against resettlement agencies through which a researcher might want to approach a specific community are among the causes that factor into a researcher's ability to access refugees as individuals or in groups (2003: 195).

Snowball sampling, a method preferred by many social scientists working on refugee issues, carries with it the risk of selection bias. The challenge here is that individuals in a given refugee population who are not in some way related to the individual(s) who is (are) at the centre of the snowball will likely be automatically excluded, making it ultimately difficult to describe the nature and degree of intra-community variation with respect to a specific topic of interest to the scholar applying

the method. Though it is understandable that snowball sampling is chosen because of the sheer unavailability of lists from which random samples can be made, it is important to work through multiple points of contact that differ from one another in some important respects to approximate an acceptable level of representativeness (Bloch 2007: 235).

Political and administrative obstacles set before research on refugees represent another type of challenge. In contemporary Sudan, for example, any visitor to refugee camps is accompanied by a government “minder”, leading to constant surveillance. The reliability of data obtained under such condition will likely be compromised (Harrell-Bond and Voutira 2007: 285).

Finally, “the vulnerability of refugee and other displaced participants is one of the main reasons why refugee research is ethically fraught and the reasons for this vulnerability are many and varied” (Mackenzie et. al. 2007: 302). Ethical considerations may arise from the fact that some refugees might have or develop second thoughts about the motives and independence of researchers, and may thus have doubts as to the uses to which the information they provide will be put. Other refugees may like to believe that the analyst is in a position to wield influence over the resettlement process and the institutions managing it, which may lead to unrealistic expectations. Questions of confidentiality and trust also bear upon ethics in refugee research. Careless

disclosure of data might put refugees in danger by inadvertently laying bare their political activities which may or may not be welcome by institutions that hold sway over their lives. Failure on the part of the researchers to live up to commitments made to research subjects can be yet another cause of concern (2007: 305).

1.7. A content analysis of multiple issues of the *Journal of Refugee Studies*, the trendsetting publication in the field, showed that "...in all articles, data collection relied on interviews of some kind" (Jacobsen and Landau 2003:189), which appears to be a testament to the frequency of the use of qualitative methods in research with refugees. Interviews, in their various forms, would top the list of methods used in studies of refugees with a qualitative bent. But they are complemented by participant-observation, questionnaires, and content analyses. The qualitative tradition can be illustrated with reference to works that exemplify the use of different qualitative methods for various research objectives.

For instance, in his study of Soviet Jewish and Vietnamese refugees in California, sociologist Steve Gold (1992) employed the method of in-depth interviewing. These open-ended, extended interviews allowed him to gain broader access to the two communities, to know the specifics of the resettlement system, to understand processes of community formation, and to detect the nature of and patterns in refugee self-employment (Gold 1992: 2). In studying refugee Roma women and their children in

Poland, Gozdzia (1994) uses interviews to find that looking poor, or the “theater of poverty” as she calls it, is a coping and survival strategy the Roma have developed to avoid persecution in an increasingly hostile, unfamiliar environment not very amicable to the Gypsies –historically a most disadvantaged group of people in Europe. Cheryl M. Allendoerfer’s (2001) interviews with Vietnamese youth of refugee parentage in an ESL class in a Seattle high school help her to question the conventional wisdom that immigrant students’ success in school and society is proportional with their degree of assimilation into dominant culture. Her interviews revealed that her Vietnamese informants were not only successful academically and socially but also they felt strongly about their ethnic identity, and even when they were not asked specifically about their identities, questions on other topics showed the influence of ethnic identification.

As these references suggest, interviews are useful in understanding the lived reality of refuge and refugee-ness at a deep level. They help to discover psycho-social challenges faced during flight or resettlement, to detect the reasons for community building or the lack thereof among refugee groups, and to understand processes of adaptation. Where comprehensive lists of study populations are not available, which is often the case with refugee groups, interviews have the added utility of providing points of contact through which non-random, snowball samples can be created with a

view to coming up with relatively more representative and generalizable data sufficient to create mid-level theory to inform further research.

Most qualitative studies also employ participant-observation. Though this method is most closely associated with anthropology, other disciplines –especially sociology and geography- increasingly adopt it. In refugee studies, as in most other areas of inquiry, the method is implemented to achieve miscellaneous goals: to earn the trust of refugees, to describe events, practices, relationships that mark a specific refugee group and to understand the nature of refugee-host society connections and clashes, and also to identify the details of objects, places, and institutions that bear upon the experiences of refugees as individuals or in groups. For instance, by spending time in camps hosting Palestinian refugees in Jordan, members of the research team led by Randa Farah (2005) witnessed camp streets in need of repair, bursting water and sewer pipes, overpopulated environs leaving no room for recreational space, and as such they developed a deeper understanding of day-to-day difficulties troubling displaced Palestinians. Before beginning any interviews, Faith Warner (1996) took nearly four months employing the method, observing traditional dance, healing rituals, artisan activities, music and ethnic dress among the Q'eqchi' Maya refugees on Campeche, Mexico. This allowed her to have a deeper understanding of the impact of the observed practices upon the ethnic revitalization process among the Q'eqchi', who were due for repatriation to Guatemala after forced displacement by the Guatemalan military.

Also often deployed in studying refugees qualitatively is the method of narrative, or life-history. Commonalities in the experiences of a particular group of refugees, as well as the internal variation among them, can be gleaned by juxtaposing individual narratives. Narratives can also provide the contextual data with which to criticize universalizing and stereotypical descriptions of what it means to be a refugee (Eastmond 2007: 253). To give an example, by collecting life histories among Iraqi refugees in Dearborn, Michigan, Shoeb et. al. (2007: 441) found that “a strict dependence on the paradigms and language of Western psychiatry risks inappropriately prioritizing syndromes, such as post-traumatic stress disorder, which, however important, are eclipsed by the concerns of local populations for whom indigenous idioms of distress may be more salient.” The life histories allowed them to contextualize the data they obtained through the administration of Harvard Trauma Questionnaire to the Iraqis in Dearborn, and to find that the Iraqi refugees experienced flight and resettlement in religious idioms, interpreting their own lives in reference to Qur’an and to a number of key events in the early history of Islam (such as prophet Mohammad’s flight from his birthplace Mecca). Their conclusion is that sheer reliance on standardized testing would not have yielded that insight, pointing thereby to the importance of grasping the refugee reality from within.

Qualitative studies of refugees generally rely on a small number of refugees to explore questions of meaning and value in refugee experiences in greater detail.

Though they often do not produce statistically analyzable data, rich qualitative descriptions and anecdotal data that arise from the implementation of interviews, participant-observation, and narratives can help detect local patterns and provide the store of data to be used to design comparative research including two or more localities, which in turn would facilitate theory-building.

WORKS CITED

Abbink, Jon

1998 An Historical-Anthropological Approach to Islam in Ethiopia: Issues of Identity and Politics. *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 11 (2): 109-124.

Abramowitz, Morton I.

1994 Exodus: The World's Refugee Crisis. *Foreign Policy* 30: 175-183.

Abu-Sahlieh, Sami A.

1996 The Islamic Conception of Migration. *International Migration Review* 30 (1): 27-57.

Adelman, Howard

1999 Modernity, globalization, refugees, and displacement. *In Refugees: Perspectives on the Experience of Forced Migration*. Alastair Ager, ed. Pp. 83-110. London and New York: Pinter.

Agar, Michael

1980 *The Professional Stranger: An Informal Introduction to Ethnography*. New York: Academic Press.

Ager, Alastair, ed.

1999 *Refugees: Perspectives on the Experience of Forced Migration*. London and New York: Pinter.

Ager, Alastair and Alison Strang

2008 Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21(2): 166-191.

Agic, Senad

2004 *Immigration & Assimilation: The Bosnian Muslim Experience in Chicago*. Lima, OH: Wyndham Hall Press.

Ahearn, Laura.

2001 Language and Agency. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30: 109-137.

Al-Ali, Nadjie et al.

2001 The limits to 'transnationalism': Bosnian and Eritrean refugees in Europe as emerging transnational communities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24(1): 578-600.

Allendoerfer, Cheryl M.

2001 Ethnic Identity Under Construction: Vietnamese Students in an English as a Second Language Classroom. *In* Selected Papers on Refugee Issues: IX. MaryCarol Hopkins and Nancy Wellmeier, eds. Pp. 97-122. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.

Allsopp, Jennifer

2013 Within and beyond citizenship: Lived experiences of contemporary membership. <http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/publications/rsc-reports/conference-report-within-beyond-citizenship.pdf>, accessed May 5, 2012.

Altabé, David F.

1992 The Significance of 1492 to the Jews and Muslims of Spain. *Hispania* 75 (3): 728-731.

Anand, Renu M.

1993 African Refugees: An Overview. New Delhi: Khama Publishers.

Baddeley, Alan

1989 The psychology of remembering and forgetting. *In* Memory: History, Culture and the Mind. Thomas Butler, ed. Pp. 33-60. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Bailyn, Bernard

2001 Considering the Slave Trade: History and Memory. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 58 (1): 245-253.

Bales, Kevin

1999 Disposable People. *New Slavery in the Global Economy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bellah, Robert et. al.

1996 *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Black, Richard

2001 Fifty Years of Refugee Studies: From Theory to Policy. *International Migration Review* 35(1): 57-78.

Blaney, David and Naeem Inayatullah

2000 The Westphalian Deferral. *International Studies Review* 2 (2): 29-64.

Bloch, Alice

2007 Methodological Challenges for National and Multi-sited Comparative Survey Research. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20(2): 230-247.

Bloch, Maurice E.F.

1998 *How We Think They Think: Anthropological Approaches to Cognition, Memory, and Literacy*. Colorado: Westview Press.

Boholm, Asa, Annette Henning, and Amanda Krzyworzeka

2013 Anthropology and decision making: An introduction. *Focaal: Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology* 65 (2013): 97-113.

Bon Tiempo, Carl

2007 The United States and Refugees. *Refuge and Rejection*, March 2007: 1-8.

Borofsky, Robert

2011 *Why A Public Anthropology?* Honolulu, HI: Center for a Public Anthropology & Hawaii Pacific University.

Bourdieu, Pierre.

1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bousquet, Gisele

1991 *Behind the Bamboo Hedge: The Impact of Homeland Politics in the Parisian Vietnamese Community*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Burg, S. L. and P. S. Shoup

2000 *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe.

Cappelletto, Francesca

2003 Long-Term Memory of Extreme Events: From Autobiography to History. *Journal of The Royal Anthropological Institute* 9: 241-260.

Carroll, Michael P.

1985 A Structuralist Exercise: The Problem of Moses' Name. *American Ethnologist* 12 (4): 775-778.

Casey, Edward S.

[1987] 2000 *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Castles, Stephen

2003 *Towards a Sociology of Forced Migration and Social Transformation*. *Sociology* 37(1): 13-34.

Castles, Stephen, Maja Korac, Ellie Vasta, and Steven Vertovec

2002 *Integration: Mapping the Field*.
<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110218135832/http://rds.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs2/rdsolr2803.doc>, accessed March 15, 2012.

Cattell, Maria and Jacob Climo, eds.

2002 *Meaning in Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

Cernea, Michael

2000 *Risks, safeguards and reconstruction: a model for population displacement and resettlement*. In *Risks and Reconstruction: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees*. Michael Cernea and Christopher McDowell, eds. Pp. 11-55. Washington, D.C: World Bank.

Chappell, Carolyn L.

1999 "The Pains I Took to Save My/His Family": *Escape Accounts by a Huguenot Mother and Daughter after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*. *French Historical Studies* 22 (1): 1-64.

Chatty, D. and G. L. Hundt, eds.

2005 *Children of Palestine. Experiencing Forced Migration in the Middle East*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Chimni, B.S.

2000 *International Refugee Law: A Reader*. Thousand Oaks & London: Sage Publications.

Cohen, Abner

1969 *Custom and Politics in Urban Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cohen, Phillip J.

1997 *Serbia's Secret War: Propaganda and the Deceit of History*. College Station, Texas: Texas A & M University Press.

Connerton, Paul

1989 *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Connerton, Paul

2008 Seven types of forgetting. *Memory Studies* 1(1): 59-71.

Colic-Peisker, Val

2002 The process of community and identity building among recently arrived Bosnian Muslim refugees in Western Australia. *Mots Pluriels* 21: 1-13.

2003 *Bosnian Refugees in Australia: Identity, Community, and Labour Market Integration*. New Issues in Refugee Research. UNHCR Working Paper No. 97. Geneva, Switzerland.

Colson, Elizabeth

1971 *The Social Consequences of Resettlement*. Manchester: University of Manchester Press.

2003 Forced Migration and the Anthropological Response. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 16(1): 1-18.

2007 Linkages Methodology: No Man is an Island. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20(2): 320-333.

Coughlan, Reed and Judith Owens-Manley

2002 Adaptation of Refugees During Cross-Cultural Transitions: Bosnian Refugees in Upstate New York. http://www.hamilton.edu/Levitt/pdfs/owens-manley_refugee.pdf, accessed February 10, 2011.

2005 *Bosnian Refugees in America. New Communities, New Cultures*. New York: Springer.

2005 "Bosnians in Upstate New York" *The Encyclopedia of New York State*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Croegaert, Ana

2010 Global Dramas in the Midwest Metropolis: Representations, Dilemmas, and Decisions about Violence among Bosnian Refugees in Chicago. *Identities: Global Studies in Power and Culture* 17(2-3): 131-153.

2011 Who has time for Čejf? Postsocialist migration and slow coffee in neoliberal Chicago. *American Anthropologist* 113(3): 463-77.

Cushman, T. and S. Mestrovic, eds.

1996 *This Time We Knew: Western Responses to Genocide in Bosnia*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Daniel, Valentine E. and John Chr. Knudsen, eds.

1995 *Mistrusting Refugees*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Dewalt, Kathleen et al.

1998 Participant-Observation *In Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology* Russell Bernard, ed. Pp. 259-299. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Dumper, Michael, ed.

2006 *Palestinian Refugee Repatriation. Global Perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge.

Durkheim, Emile

1995 *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Karen E. Fields, trans. New York: The Free Press.

Eastmond, Marita

2007 Stories as Lived Experience: Narratives in Forced Migration Research. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20(2): 248-264.

Edgerton, Robert B.

1982 *Sick Societies: Challenging the Myth of Primitive Harmony*. New York: The Free Press.

El-Hinnawi, Essam

1985 *Environmental Refugees*. Nairobi: UNEP.

Eltis, David

2001 The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 58 (1): 17-46.

Eltis, David, ed.

2002 *Coerced and Free Migration: Global Perspectives*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Erwin, Patricia et al.

2001 *Bosnian Refugees in San Francisco: A Community Assessment*. San Francisco Department of Public Health in collaboration with International Institute of San Francisco.

Essed, Philomena et al.

2005 *Refugees and the Transformation of Societies: Agency, Policies, Ethics and Politics*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn.

Fabian, Johannes

2007 *Memory Against Culture: Arguments and Reminders*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Farah, Randa

2005 *Palestinian Refugee Children and Caregivers in Jordan*. In *Children of Palestine: Experiencing Forced Migration in the Middle East*. Dawn Chatty and Gillian L. Hundt, eds. Pp. 87-121. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Farmer, Paul

2005 *Pathologies of Power: Health, Human Rights, and the New War on the Poor*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Fábos, Anita

2003 *Dilemmas of Urban Research in Africa*. Paper presented to the *Workshop: Research on Refugees in Urban Settings: Methods and Ethics* at the American University in Cairo.

Fluehr-Lobban, Carolyn

1994 *Informed Consent in Anthropological Research: We Are Not Exempt*. *Human Organization* 53(1): 1-10.

Geertz, Clifford

2000 *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Ghorashi, Halleh

2008 Giving Silence A Chance: The Importance of Life Histories for Research on Refugees. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21: 117-132.

Giddens, Anthony

1990 *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Gladwill, Christina H.

1989 *Ethnographic Decision Tree Modeling*. London: Sage Publications.

Gold, Ann G.

1999 Wild Pigs and Kings: Remembered Landscapes in Rajasthan. *American Anthropologist* 99(1): 70-84.

Gold, Steven J.

1992 *Refugee Communities: A Comparative Field Study*. London: Sage Publications.

Gomberg-Muñoz, Ruth

2013 2012 Public Anthropology Year in Review: Actually, Rick, Florida Could Use a Few More Anthropologists. *American Anthropologist* 115(2): 286-296.

Gordon, Milton M.

1964 *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gorman, Robert F.

1993 Persecution and Exile in the Patristic Period: Athanasian and Augustian Perspectives. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 6(1): 40-55.

Gozdziak, Elzbieta M.

1994 *Cyganed* [Gypped] Out of Refuge: Romanian Gypsies in Poland. *In Selected Papers on Refugee Issues: III*. Jeffrey L. MacDonald and Amy Zaharlick, eds. Pp. 46-59. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.

Hackett, B.N.

1992 Transforming Identities & Changing Contests: Ethnic German Refugees & Expellees 1945-1990. *In* Selected Papers on Refugee Issues. Pamela DeVoe, ed. Pp. 40-55. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.

Haines, David

1985 Refugees in the United States. A Reference Handbook. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

2010: Safe Haven? A History of Refugees in America. Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press.

Halbwachs, Maurice

1950 The Collective Memory. London: Harper Colophon Books.

1992 On Collective Memory. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Halilovich, Hariz

2013 Places of Pain: Forced Displacement, Popular Memory and Trans-local Identities in Bosnian War-torn Communities. Oxford and New York: Berghahn.

Handlin, Oscar

1951 The Uprooted. The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press.

Hansen, Art and Anthony Oliver-Smith, eds.

1982 Involuntary Migration and Resettlement. The Problems and Responses of Dislocated People. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Harrell-Bond, Barbara E.

1986 Imposing Aid. Emergency Assistance to Refugees. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Harrell-Bond, Barbara E. and Eftihia Voutira

1992 Anthropology and the Study of Refugees. *Anthropology Today* 8(4): 6-10.

2007 In Search of 'Invisible' Actors: Barriers to Access in Refugee Research. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20(2): 281-298.

Hayden, Bridget

2006 What's in a Name? Nature of the Individual in Refugee Studies. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 19 (4): 471-487.

Hein, Jeremy

1993 Refugees, Immigrants, and the State. *Annual Review of Sociology* 19: 43-59.

Hendel, Ronald

2001 The Exodus in Biblical Memory. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 120 (4): 601-622.

Hirsch, Marianne

2008 The Generation of Postmemory. *Poetics Today* 29 (1): 103-128.

Holtzman, Jon

2008 *Nuer Journeys, Nuer Lives: Sudanese Refugees in Minnesota*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Homer-Dixon, Thomas

1994 Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases *International Security* 19 (1): 5-40.

Hopkins, MaryCarol

1992 Becoming Bicultural: Preserving Culture Through Adaptation. *In Selected Papers on Refugee Issues*. Pamela DeVoe, ed. Pp. 71-80. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.

Hromadzic, Azra

2013 Discourses of Trans-ethnic *Narod* in Postwar Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Nationalities Papers* 41(2): 259-275.

Hua, Anh

2005 Diaspora and Cultural Memory. *In Diaspora, Memory, and Identity: A Search for Home*. Vijay Agnew, ed. Pp. 191-209. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Hutchinson, Sharon E.

2000 Nuer ethnicity militarized. *Anthropology Today* 16 (3): 6-13.

Hutton, Patrick

1994 Sigmund Freud and Maurice Halbwachs: the Problem of Memory in Historical Psychology. *The History Teacher* 27(2): 145-158.

2000 Recent Scholarship on Memory and History. *The History Teacher* 33(4): 533-548.

Huttunen, Laura

2005 'Home' and ethnicity in the context of war: Hesitant diasporas of Bosnian refugees. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 8 (2): 177-195.

Hyndman, Jennifer

2003 Preventive, Palliative, or Punitive? Safe Spaces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Somalia, and Sri Lanka. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 16(2): 167-185.

International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM)

2013 IASFM Mission Statement. <http://www.efms.uni-bamberg.de/iasfm/mission.htm>, accessed January 18, 2013.

Jacobson, Jodi

1988 Environmental Refugees: A Yardstick of Habitability. *World Watch Paper No 86*. Washington: World Watch Institute.

Jakobsen, Karen

2001 Some problems with conducting research on IDP livelihood strategies. *In Response Strategies of the Internationally Displaced: Changing the Humanitarian Lens*. Pp. 22-25. Proceedings of the Norwegian Refugee Council Conference.

Jakobsen, K. and L. Landau

2003 The Dual Imperative in Refugee Research: Some Methodological and Ethical Considerations in Social Science Research on Forced Migration. *Disasters* 27(3): 95-116.

Joly, Daniele

1992 *Refugees. Asylum in Europe?* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Kamen, Henry

1988 The Mediterranean and the Expulsion of Spanish Jews in 1492. *Past Present* 119: 30-55.

Kalcic, Spela

2005 Changing Contexts and Redefinitions of Identity among Bosniaks in Slovenia. *Balkanologie* 9 (1-2): 149-171.

Karpat, Kemal

1996 Commentary: Muslim Migration: A Response to Aldeeb Abu-Sahlieh. *International Migration Review* 30 (1): 79-89.

Keen, David

1986 Refugees: The Dynamics of Displacement : A Report for the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues. London: Zed Books.

Keles, Fethi

2008 The Structural Negligence of US Refugee Resettlement Policy. *Anthropology News* 49(5): 6.

Keles, Fethi

2011 Srebrenica. *In Ethnic Groups of Europe: An Encyclopedia*. Jeffrey Cole, ed. p. 51. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Klemencic, Matjaz

2013 Bosniaks (Muslims) and Bosniak Americans, 1870-1940. *In Immigrants in American history: arrival, adaptation, and integration*. Elliott R. Barkan, ed. Pp. 229-233. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO.

Klemencic, Matjaz and Mitja Zagar

2003 The Former Yugoslavia's Diverse Peoples: A Reference Sourcebook. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Kunz, Egon

1973 The Refugee in Flight: Kinetic Models and Forms of Displacement. *International Migration Review* 7(2): 125-146.

1981 Exile and Resettlement: Refugee Theory. *International Migration Review* 15(1/2): 42-51.

Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson

[1980] 2003 *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Lee, Chris

2009 Sociological Theories of Immigration: Pathways to Integration for U.S. Immigrants. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment* 19(6): 730-744.

Le Goff, Jacques

1992 *History and Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Levitt, Peggy and Sanjeev Khagram, eds.

2007 *The Transnational Studies Reader*. London and New York: Routledge.

Loescher, G. and J. Scanlan

1986 *Calculated Kindness. Refugees and America's Half-Open Door, 1945 to the Present*. New York: The Free Press

Lovejoy, Paul E.

1989 The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature. *The Journal of African History* 30 (3): 365-394.

Mackenzie, Catriona et. al.

2007 Beyond 'Do No Harm': The Challenge of Constructing Ethical Relationships in Refugee Research. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20(2): 299-319.

Macorov, David

2007 A Framework for Visualizing the Process of Immigrant Absorption. *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* 5(3): 77-79.

Malkki, Liisa

1995 Refugees and Exile: From "Refugee Studies" to the National Order of Things. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 495-523.

Malkki, Liisa

2002 Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization. *In Genocide: An Anthropological Reader*. Alexander Laban Hinton, ed. Pp. 344-367. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Marfleet, Philip

2006 *Refugees In A Global Era*. New York: Palgrave.

Marx, Emanuel

1990 The Social World of Refugees: A Conceptual Framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 3(3): 189-203.

Mestrovic, S., ed.

1997 *The Conceit of Innocence: Losing the Conscience of the West in the War Against Bosnia*. College Station, Texas: Texas A & M University Press.

Mishra, Omprakash, ed.

2004 *Forced Migration in the South Asian Region. Displacement, Human Rights, and Conflict Resolution*. Delhi: MANAK Publications Pvt. Ltd.

Mistzal, Barbara

2003 *Theories of Social Remembering*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees, www.mvrccr.org, accessed March 3, 2013.

Montgomery, Randall J.

1996 Components of Refugee Adaptation. *International Migration Review* 30(3): 679-702.

Mosselson, Jacqueline

2006 *Roots and Routes: Bosnian Adolescent Refugees in New York City*. New York: Peter Lang International Academic Publishers.

Mosselson, Jacqueline

2007 Masks of Achievement: An Experiential Study of Bosnian Female Refugees in New York City Schools. *Comparative Education Review* 51(1): 95-115.

Muecke, Marjorie

1987 Resettled refugees' construction of identity: Lao in Seattle. *Urban Anthropology* 16(3/4): 273-289.

Myers, Norman and Jennifer Kent

1995 *Environmental Exodus: An Emergent Crisis in the Global Arena*. Washington DC: The Climate Institute.

Ogata, Sadako

2005 *The Turbulent Decade. Confronting the Refugee Crises of the 1990s*. New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company.

Olick, Jeffrey

1999 Genre Memories and Memory Genres: A Dialogical Analysis of May 8, 1945 Commemorations in the Federal Republic of Germany. *American Sociological Review* 64(3): 381-402.

1999 Collective Memory: The Two Cultures. *Sociological Theory* 17: 333-348.

Olick, Jeffrey, ed.

2003 States of Memory. Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations in National Retrospection. Durham: Duke University Press.

Olick, Jeffrey and Joyce Robbins

1998 Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices. *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 105-140.

Peteet, Julie M.

2005 Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Radstone, Susannah, ed.

2000 Memory and Methodology. Oxford: Berg.

Rasmussen, Susan

2002 The Uses of Memory. *Culture & Psychology* 8(1): 113-129.

Reining, Conrad

1982 Resettlement in the Zande Development Scheme. *In* *Involuntary Migration and Resettlement. The Problems and Responses of Dislocated People*. Art Hansen and Anthony Oliver-Smith, eds. pp. 201-225. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Reis, Michele

2004 Theorizing Diaspora: Perspectives on "Classical" and "Contemporary" Diaspora. *International Migration* 42(2): 41-60.

Richmond, Anthony

1993 Reactive Migration: Sociological Perspectives On Refugee Movements. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 6(1): 7-24.

1994 *Global Apartheid: Refugees, Racism and the New World Order*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rose, Peter I.

1981 Some Thoughts about Refugees and Descendants of Theseus. *International Migration Review* 15(1/2): 8-15.

1993 Tempest-Tost: Exile, Ethnicity, and the Politics of Rescue. *Sociological Forum* 8 (1): 5-24.

Rubinstein, Robert A.

2008 *Peacekeeping under Fire: Culture and Intervention*. Boulder and London: Paradigm Publishers.

Rubinstein, Robert A., Charles D. Laughlin, Jr., and John McManus

1984 *Science as Cognitive Process: Toward an Empirical Philosophy of Science*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Rynearson, Ann M. and James Phillips, eds.

1996 *Selected Papers on Refugee Issues: IV*. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.

Salzman, Philip C.

2002 On Reflexivity. *American Anthropologist* 104(3): 805-813.

Sampson, R. and S. Gifford

2010 Place-Making, Settlement and Well-Being: The Therapeutic Landscapes of Recently Arrived Youth with Refugee Backgrounds. *Health and Place* 16: 116-31.

Schensul, Stephen et al.

1999 *Essential Ethnographic Methods: Observations, Interviews, and Questionnaires*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

Scoville, Warren C.

1952 The Huguenots and the Diffusion of Technology, I. *The Journal of Political Economy* 60 (4): 294-311.

Scoville, Warren C.

1952 The Huguenots and the Diffusion of Technology, II. *The Journal of Political Economy*. 60 (5): 392-411.

Sernett, Becky

2013 The World at Our Doorstep. Onondaga Citizens League Study Report No: 32.

Shacknove, Andrew E.

1985 Who is a Refugee? *Ethics* 95 (2): 274-284.

Shoeb, Marwa et. al.

2007 Living in Religious Time and Space: Iraqi Refugees in Dearborn, Michigan. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20(3): 441-460.

Skran, Claudena M.

1995 *Refugees In Inter-War Europe*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Singer, A. and J. Wilson

2006 From 'There' to 'Here': Refugee Resettlement in Metropolitan America. *Living Cities Census Series*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

Smyth, Geri et al.

2010 Introduction: Critical Reflections on Refugee Integration: Lessons from International Perspectives. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 34(4): 411-414.

Soguk, Nevzat

1999 *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Statecraft*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Sørensen, Birgitte Refslund

2001 IDPs: An Anthropological Perspective. *In Response Strategies of the Internationally Displaced: Changing the Humanitarian Lens*. Pp. 6-8. Proceedings of the Norwegian Refugee Council Conference.

Spiro, Melford

1996 Postmodernist Anthropology, Subjectivity, and Science: A Modernist Critique. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38(4): 759-780.

Stein, Barry N.

1981 The Refugee Experience: Defining the Parameters of a Field of Study. *International Migration Review* 15(1/2): 320-330.

Strang, Alison and Alastair Ager

2010 Refugee Integration: Emerging Trends and Remaining Agendas. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23(4): 172-192.

Sturken, Maria

1998 The Remembering of Forgetting: Recovered Memory and the Question of Experience. *Social Text* 57: 103-125.

Sutherland, N.M.

1980 *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Tambiah, S. J.

1996 *Leveling Crowds: Ethno-Nationalist Conflicts and Collective Violence in South Asia*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Teixeira, Carlos and Wei Li

2009 Immigrant and Refugee Experiences in North American Cities. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 7(3): 221-227.

Thomas, Hugh

1997 *The Slave Trade*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Thomas, John F.

1981 Refugees: A New Approach. *International Migration Review* 15 (1/2): 20-25.

Tilly, Charles

1992 The Europe of Columbus and Bayazid. *Middle East Report* 178: 2-5.

Todorov, Tzvetan

2003 *Hope and Memory. Lessons From the Twentieth Century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Turton, David

2003 Refugees, forced resettlers and 'other forced migrants': towards a unitary study of forced migration. Oxford University Refugee Studies Centre Working Paper No. 13. Oxford: UK.

2005 The Meaning of Place in a World of Movement: Lessons from Long-term Field Research in Southern Ethiopia. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 18(3): 258-280.

UNHCR

2005 *The State of World' Refugees*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

2006 *Helping Refugees – An Introduction to UNHCR*. Geneva: UNHCR

UNITED STATES. CONG. SENATE. Committee on International Relations.

1995 *Human Rights, Refugees, and War Crimes: The Prospects for Peace in Bosnia*. Hearing, 15 Nov. 1995. 104th Cong., 1st sess. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

UNITED STATES. CONG. SENATE. Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights of the Committee on International Relations.

1996 *Bosnian Refugees*. Hearing, 28 Sep. 1996. 104th Cong., 1st sess. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

UNITED STATES. CONG. SENATE. Committee on international relations.

1998 *Bosnia: The U.S. Role*. Hearing, 7 Nov. 1997. 105th Cong., 1st sess. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Valenta, Marko and Sabrina P. Ramet

2011 *The Bosnian Diaspora. Integration in International Communities*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Valenta, Marko and Zan Strabac

2013 *The Dynamics of Bosnian Refugee Migrations in the 1990s, Current Migration Trends and Future Prospects*. *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 32 (3): 1-22.

Van Arsdale, Peter

1993 *The Role of Mutual Assistance Associations in Refugee Acculturation and Service Delivery*. *In Selected Papers on Refugee Issues: II*. MaryCarol Hopkins and Nancy D. Donnelly, eds. Pp. 156-176. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.

Van Den Boogart, Ernst

1992 *The Trade between Western Africa and the Atlantic World, 1600-90*. *The Journal of African History* 33 (3): 369-385.

Van Gennep, Arnold

1960 *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Van Hear, Nicholas

1998 *New Diasporas: The Mass Exodus, Dispersal and Regrouping of Migrant Communities*. London: University College London Press.

Vertovec, Steven

2007 *New Complexities of Cohesion in Britain: Super-diversity, Transnationalism and Civil-Integration*. West Yorkshire, UK: Queen's Printer and Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

2009 *Transnationalism*. London and New York: Routledge.

Viejo-Rose, Dacia

2011 Memorial functions: Intent, impact and the right to remember. *Memory Studies* 4(4): 465-480.

Voutira, Eftihia and Giorgia Doná

2007 Refugee Research Methodologies: Consolidation and Transformation of a Field. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20(2): 163-171.

Wahlbeck, Östen

1999 *Kurdish Diasporas: A Comparative Study of Kurdish Refugee Communities*. New York: St. Martin Press.

2002 The Concept of Diaspora as an Analytical Tool in the Study of Refugee Communities. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 28 (2): 221-238.

Warner, Faith

1996 Refuge, Repatriation, and Ethnic Revitalization: Q'eqchi' in Maya Tecun, Mexico. *In Selected Papers on Refugee Issues: IV*. Ann M. Rynearson and James Phillips, eds. Pp. 45-72. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.

Weigert, Kathleen M.

1999 Structural Violence. *In Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict*. Lester Kurtz, ed. Pp. 431-46. New York: Academic Press.

Wellmeir, Nancy

1994 Rituals of Resettlement: Identity and Resistance Among Maya Refugees. *In Selected Papers on Refugee Issues: III*. Amy Zaharlick and Jeffrey MacDonald, eds. Pp. 9-28. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association.

Westin, Charles

1999 Regional Analysis of Refugee Movements: Origins and Response. *In* Refugees: Perspectives on the Experience of Forced Migration. Alastair Ager, ed. Pp. 24-45. London and New York: Pinter.

Whittaker, David J.

2006 Asylum Seekers and Refugees in the Contemporary World. London and New York: Routledge.

Wilkinson, Ray

2005 The Town That Loves Refugees. *Refugees* 1 (138): 1-31.

William, Thomas and Florian Znaniecki

1918 The Polish Peasant in Europe and America. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wolf, Eric

1951 The Social Organization of Mecca and the Origins of Islam. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 7(4): 329-356.

Wolf, Umhau C.

1959 Moses in Christian and Islamic Tradition. *Journal of Bible and Religion* 27 (2): 102-108.

Zerubavel, Eviatar

2003 *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Zetter, Roger

1991 Labelling Refugees: Forming and Transforming a Bureaucratic Identity. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 4(1): 39-62.

Zetter, Roger

1999 International Perspectives on Refugee Assistance. *In* Refugees: Perspectives on the Experience of Forced Migration. Alastair Ager, ed. Pp. 46-82. London and New York: Pinter.

2007 More Labels, Fewer Refugees: Remaking the Refugee Label in an Era of Globalization. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20(2): 172-192.

Zolberg, Aristide R.

1983 The Formation of New States as a Refugee-Generating Process. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 467: 24-38.

VITA

NAME OF AUTHOR: Fethi Keleş

PLACE OF BIRTH: Ankara, Turkey

DATE OF BIRTH: July 25th, 1977

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

Syracuse University
Fatih University
Boğaziçi University

DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Arts in Cultural Anthropology, 2008, Syracuse University
Master of Arts in History, 2002, Fatih University
Bachelor of Arts in Translation and Interpreting, 1999, Boğaziçi University

AWARDS AND HONORS:

Faculty Development Grant, Cazenovia College, Fall 2011.
Dissertation Research Support, Maxwell School Roscoe-Martin Fund for Research, 2010.
Claudia De Lys research support, Anthropology Department, Syracuse University, 2008-2009.
Ph.D. Scholarship, Die Zeit-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucorius (Zeit Foundation), 2008.
Goekjian Summer Research Grant, Syracuse University, 2006.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Visiting Instructor of Anthropology, Anthropology Department, Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania, 2013-2014.
Chair-elect, Committee on Refugees and Immigrants, Society for Urban, National, Transnational/Global Anthropology (SUNTA), a section of the American Anthropological Association. 2011-present.
Visiting Instructor of International Studies, Cazenovia College, Fall 2011.
Lecturer, Peace and Conflict Studies Program, Colgate University, Spring 2010.