Socio-Economic Integration of Refugees from Ex-Yugoslavia into the US Society

Borislava MANOJLOVIC

Abstract. The United States and many other developed countries have been built on immigration. Refugees and immigrants in all their roles make indispensable contributions to American economy and they compose an increasingly essential part of the US workforce. However, the influx of more migrants in search of safety, better life and work in the developed world continues to create deep social and political cleavages. The refugee group that will be the focus of interest in this paper are Ex-Yugoslavs living in Boston area, primarily those coming from the war stricken regions such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia. The wars in ex-Yugoslavia took place in the period of 1991 to 2002, ending with the conflicts in Kosovo and Macedonia. The said crisis has generated massive flows of refugees that went in one part to Western Europe and for the other to the US, Canada and Australia. My aim is to find out how these refugees accommodate to the new environment, what are the best practices and main obstacles that facilitate or hinder their everyday life and integration into the new society.

Keywords: *refugees, integration, the United States*

Introduction

Refugee migrations represent highly complex phenomena and refugee admissions and integration should be analyzed as a multi-faceted phenomenon.[1] Refugees represent a global issue and dynamics of their resettlement and integration into the new societies has the uttermost importance for the well-being and prosperity of the host societies as well as refugees themselves. It has been currently estimated that there are 80 million migrants (people living permanently or for a long periods of time outside their countries) – which is equal to 1.7 per cent of world population. By the start of 2006, the global refugee population had dropped from 9.5 million to 8.4 million – the lowest total since 1980, largely as a result of more than 6 million refugees returning home over the past four years.

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[1] Jacobsen, Karen. *The Economic Life of Refugees*. (CT: Kumarian Press, 2005), p. 5

Refugees currently constitute 40 percent of the total population 'of concern' to UNHCR. The people of concern for UNHCR are also asylum seekers, IDPs and stateless people. At the start of 2007, the number of people 'of concern' to UNHCR rose to 25.1 million from the 2006 total of 20.8 million.[2]

The United States and many other developed countries have been built on immigration. Refugees contribute to the American society in many ways - they are students, workers, business owners, investors, clergymen etc. According to the study on immigrants conducted by the National Academy of Sciences, refugees and immigrants in all their roles make indispensable contributions to American economy and they compose an increasingly essential part of the US workforce. However, the influx of more migrants in search of work in the developed world continues to create deep social and political cleavages – even in countries with a long history of immigration. Irregular migration is a symptom of the failure to adequately address migration in the globalization context. In recent years, states not only have provided assistance to contain displaced population within their borders, but also have manifested a growing reluctance to provide refuge to the victims of persecution (Zolberg & Benda, 2001).

The refugee groups that will be the focus of my interest in this paper are Ex-Yugoslavs, primarily those coming from the war stricken areas such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia who are affiliated with International Institute of Boston (IIB) and community based organizations (CBOs) in Boston area. The wars in ex-Yugoslavia took place in the period of 1991 to 2002, ending with the conflicts in Kosovo and Macedonia. The said crisis has generated massive flows of refugees that went in one part to Western Europe and for the other to the US, Canada and Australia. Apart from violations of human rights on mass scale and ethnic cleansing, refugees were also generated by the consequent collapse of the state and rewriting of the borders. My aim is to find out how these refugees accommodate to the new environment, what are the best practices and main obstacles that facilitate or hinder their everyday life and integration into the new society.

According to the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM), Office of Admissions, Refugee Processing Center (RPC), the statistics are as follows: the highest numbers of refugees have been admitted to

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[2] See table in Appendix 1; retrieved from: http://www.unhcr.org/statistics.html on January 4, 2009

the US during the years 1997, 1998 and 1999 from Bosnia ranging from 21 000 to almost 31 000, from Croatia ranging from 1 600 to almost 3 000 in the year of 2000 and from Serbia with the greatest number of refugees recorded in 1999 with around 14 280 people.[3]

I conducted my research at the International Institute of Boston (IIB) in the period of June 30 to September 30, 2007. My interest in refugees comes from my personal desire to explain the phenomenon of nowadays forced migrants whose life characterize drastic movements and change of place in search of safety, work and better life. I seek to find out how difficult or easy for the forced migrant is to accommodate to a new environment in the context of American society and how integration basically works. By examining programs of International Institute of Boston and two other community based organizations (CBOs) in Boston area that contribute to the socio-economic integration of refugees into their host communities, I will seek to determine best practices and identify ways of improving existing programs and bridge attendant gaps. For purposes of this study, I will refer to host communities as sections of the broader community where refugees work or reside.

I hope to produce useful findings that would determine best practices and the possibilities of facilitated integration, which would contribute to the better institutional responses. I have chosen socio-economic aspect of integration since the IIB programs are aimed at providing basic and immediate help that mostly contribute to socio-economic integration. Programs that facilitate socio-economic integration are seen by the researcher as positive. If the newcomers integrate faster and more easily, it will contribute to the overall socio-economic and political situation of a receiving country and be of benefit for both host society and the incoming refugees. CBOs or Community based organization have greater role in preserving and maintaining cultural identity of the new comers. Successful integration depends largely on whether a certain group feels secure and comfortable with its national identity and the corresponding political institutions. This represents a very significant coexistence issue which, if not addressed adequately, may generate future conflicts, political radicalization and mobilization of the underprivileged groups.

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[3] See: Table 14D retrieved on 10 August 2007 from www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/yearbook/2006/Table14D.xls; Source: U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM), Office of Admissions, Refugee Processing Center (RPC).

This report will also examine the international and US policies as well as the current situation related to refugees and integration. During the research, integration will refer to multi-dimensional process, which relates both to the conditions for and actual participation of refugees in all aspects of the socio-economic life of the country of durable asylum as well as to refugees' own perception of acceptance and membership in the host society. This study focuses on the social and economic integration of the refugees affiliated to the above mentioned NGO and CBO organizations.

Immigration, integration and identity

In traditional immigration countries, immigrants and refugees have been crucial element of nation-building. However, the arrival of more migrant refugees escaping persecution or war and in search of better life and opportunities in the developed world continues to cut deep social and political cleavages – even in countries with a long history of immigration.

The United States have been managing diversity and perpetual influx of immigrants by using the pluralist model. Incorporation of refugees into economy and society has been largely left to market forces and the US society has been seen as giving the best opportunities for newly arrived to integrate (Castles, 1998:215). Political and human rights movements in the 50s and 60s led to changes and more egalitarian approach towards minorities, and especially, African Americans and immigrants. After that, the situation has deteriorated and, as Castles and Miller (1998) argue "The Reagan-Bush era led to increased community tension and in 1980s the increase of migrant entries caused anxieties about 'alien control' and loss of national identity." In September 1996, the US Congress approved a law aimed to cut illegal entries and to reject welfare benefits to both legal and illegal migrants.

Upon their arrival to the US, refugees are confronted with different culture, language and social rules. Cultural shock, war trauma and foreign set of rules and values contributed to the emergence of civic and socio-economic tensions and sense of inadequacy on the part of refugees that could compromise their successful integration and coexistence with host communities. Some cultural and ethnic traits persist even in the third and fourth generations of immigrants. Therefore it is necessary to look at the existing social forces that inform this phenomenon. The process of integration can also lead to greater cleavages and highlighted

differences not only between host society and new comers but also within the same communities. Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003) argue that differences do not disappear and there is a need for this process to be understood and recognized[4]:

> "The issue was that, even after several generations, cultural difference between immigrants and their offsprings on the one hand, and the surrounding 'host' society on the other did not disappear totally. At times, such differences even became reinforced and served as a basis for community formation, as a rally point for claiming forms of special attention, in particular from the public authorities."

It is also important to mention when considering integration that communities that had developed as a consequence of immigration might wish to stress their cultural identity, notwithstanding the fact that their members might be fully incorporated into the surrounding society. [5] Therefore, full integration into certain society and participation in its major institutions do not necessarily mean the abandoning of a specific identity. Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan[6] argue that "the cultural content of each ethnic group in the US has become similar to one another, but the emotional significance of attachments to the ethnic group seems to persist (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975:8)."

The concepts of culture, multiculturalism and cultural differences should also be considered in this report since integration largely depends on them. Language, signs and behavior is part of a complex and established system of meaning which bears importance for the cultural identity of a group or an individual. This can consequently lead to difficulties for the migrants in adjusting to the set of social rules and customs of the new society.

Anton Pelinka states that "…conflicts between cultures are exercises of power. Therefore, the opposition, co-existence, or cooperation of cultures is affected by the degree of the given imbalances or balances of power between these cultures." Cultures with extremely unequal potentialities of power tend to collaborate much less. Such cooperation should be, in that case, analyzed

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[4] Han Entzinger and Renske Biezeveld. 'Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration' (Rotterdam: Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2003).
[5] Ibid.
[6] Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan *Beyond the Melting Pot. (*Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963).

differently, than that between cultures that are relatively equal (in terms of power). Therefore, multiculturalism requires not only an adequate degree of 'good will' of those involved, but also an adequate political context.[7]

Cultures are associated with identity and they include diverse identities. The culture with distinctive ethnic features can generalize the complex relationship between "objective and subjective components – as when other, non-ethnic, factors of identity (e.g. gender, generation, religion, class) have their power to generate culture are disregarded" (Pelinka, 2001). Ethnic identity is of the highest importance for all the Yugoslavs, for whom, due to historical and nation-building processes, ethnicity plays central role. Non-recognition or imposed integration of such a community can even cut deeper cleavages between the newly arrived and the host groups. Lipset, Seymour Martin[8] argues that ethnicity is one of several lines of conflict ("cleavages") that cut across every society "with which ethnicity engages in a complementary and competitive fashion. What all lines of conflict have in common is that they – potentially – generate identity, and thus culture (Lipset 1981: 230-278)." If ethnicity cleavage is dominant cause of conflict, all other possible identity issues that can cause conflict become irrelevant and they are being defined by the dominant identity issue. "The more gender and religion, class and generation, are subordinated to ethnicity as their defining factor, the more difficult it becomes to deal with the social reality of difference in a peaceful manner (Pelinka, 2001:9)."

Hornsey, Matthew J. and Hogg, Michael A. discuss sociostructural relations among subgroups within a superordinate category. They extend principles of social identity theory to address structural differentiation within groups. "Subgroup identity threat plays a pivotal role in the nature of subgroup relations, as do the social realities of specific subgroup relations" (inclusiveness, nested vs. crosscutting categories, leadership, instrumental goal relations,

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[7] Anton Pelinka. "On the Pitfalls of Multiculturalism - Against the Simplification of an Ethnic Notion of Culture"; Originally published in: Appelt, Erna (Ed., 2001): *Demokratie und das Fremde: multikulturelle Gesellschaften als demokratische Herausforderung des 21. Jahrhunderts.* Innsbruck: Studien-Verlag.

[8] Lipset, Seymour Martin. *Political Man. The Social Bases of Politics.* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ Press, 1981).

power and status differentials, subgroup similarity).[9] Their analysis shows that subgroup identity threat is the greatest obstacle to social harmony; social arrangements that threaten social identity produce defensive reactions that result in conflict. Social harmony is best achieved by maintaining, not reducing, subgroup identities, and placing them within the context of a "binding superordinate identity"[10]. However, the core of the American national character is denial of legitimacy and privilege based exclusively on decent and original ethnic identity. The primacy is given to the American identity, way of life and sense of nationhood that is primarily based on Anglo-Saxon, western and Christian models of thought. There is a conflict between hereditary old-world hierarchies and new diverse nation united in the pursuit of happiness and equal opportunities.[11] Ethnic consciousness, according to Werner, is a constituent feature of modernism, not modernism's antithesis. People coming to America are supposed to consent to the ways and ideologies that this country was built on. But that sometimes does not happen, and this may result in "the central drama in American culture" that is related to American identity and conflict between consent and decent.[12] After the Second World War, there were about 50 millions of refugees who lost their homes and livelihoods and large scale migrations towards the West have taken place in search of better life and work. New ethnicities became not only working, but also cultural force in the new societies. Stephen Castles[13], who is one of the leading figures on migration, analyzes the global migration since 1945, presenting examples and evidence on how the migration generated economic, cultural and social changes around the world. He shows discrepancies between global migration and policy. In his article on "How nation-states respond to immigration and ethnic diversity", Castles highlights very important issue related to the drawbacks of the American response to diversity and argues: "*Difference is tolerated, but it is not seen as the role of the state to assist with settlement or to support the maintenance of ethnic cultures. It incorporates immigrants and refugees as*

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[9]Hornsey, Matthew J. and Hogg, Michael A. "*Assimilation and Diversity: An Integrative Model of Subgroup Relations*". Personality and Social Psychology Review. (Queensland: University of Queensland, 2000).

[10] Ibid.

[11]Sollors, Werner. *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture*. (UK: Oxford University Press, 1987).

[12] Ibid

[13] Castles, Stephen. *Ethnicity and Globalization*. (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2000).

citizens, and yet there are strong divisions based on class, race and ethnicity. The constitutional safeguards were designed to ensure equality of rights for all citizens but have ethnicity. Three major factors explain this paradox: the extreme racism coming from slavery period; the culture of violence resulting from tradition of frontier society; and the tradition of individualism with its corollary of a minimalist social policy" (Castles, 2000: 139).

Methodology
General characteristics of the study

This study focuses on the social and economic integration of the refugees affiliated to the IIB and two community-based organizations situated (CBO) in Boston - Center for Balkan Development and Kometa. The programs of the said organizations promote cultural exchange between communities, youth initiatives and organize language classes and cultural events in Boston such as conventions, fund-raising events, exhibitions etc. to promote and preserve their culture and identity. Socio-economic integration has institutional and socio-cultural dimension. Institutional is related to the level of immigrant participation in the major societal institutions such as labor market, education, and health. Socio-cultural dimension refers to refugees' cultural identity. During the course of the study, I will look at both institutional and socio-cultural dimension of integration and search for the answers to the following questions:

1. How the programs and services of the above mentioned host organizations address refugees' socio-economic needs leading to their socio-economic integration and how successful they are from the point of view of the NGOs/CBOs/refugees?

2. How the programs and services of the host organizations address refugees' cultural identity issues and how this relates to the socio-economic integration of the refugees

I will therefore use the data acquired through comparative study and research of perceptions of two relatively homogenous groups – Ex-Yugoslav refugees and program officers of the above mentioned host organizations - to test the successfulness of NGO and CBO programs related to socio-economic

integration. My aim is to identify advantages, possible challenges and, if necessary, recommend best practices.

Framework of analysis and theory of change

Ideally, one of the main goals of refugee integration programs and policies is to promote healthy relations between refugees and host communities. Relationships are at the heart of conflict transformation.

> "Two central "root causes" of social conflict are identity and relationships. Rather than concentrating exclusively on the content and substance of the dispute, the transformational approach suggests that the key to understanding conflict and developing creative change processes lies in seeing the less visible aspects of relationship. While the issues over which people fight are important and require creative response, relationships represent a web of connections that form the broader context of the conflict. It is out of this relationship context that particular issues arise and either become volatile or get quickly resolved."[14]

The proposed framework of analysis therefore focuses on exploring possibilities for creation of healthy relationships and how they impact identity and socio-economic integration of refugees. I have looked at and built on Johan Galtung's model of conflict where he argues that conflict occurs in societies because of some disparity between social values and the social structure of the society, particularly the distribution of political, economic and social benefits. The creation of a situation of goal incompatibility (a conflict situation) gives rise to adversaries' conflict behavior in order to achieve their (apparently contrary) goals, plus a related set of perceptions and attitudes about themselves, the others and third parties affected or affecting the relationship of conflict.[15] All four components interact over time and are altered through this interaction.

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[14] Lederach, John Paul and Michelle Maiese. "Conflict Transformation." Beyond Intractability. Eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Research Consortium, (University of Colorado, Boulder, October 2003); available at:
http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/transformation/>.

[15] Christopher R. Mitchell. «Conflict, Social Change and Conflict Resolution. An Enquiry» (Berghof Handbook, January 2005); available at: http://www.berghof-handbook.net/complete.htm

Programs that focus on changing relationships often suggest that new networks, coalitions, alliances and other cooperative relationships between members of diverse groups not only positively change the individuals directly involved, but can be a powerful force for fostering social changes that help build relationships. Conflict interventions often try to improve inter-group relations by establishing conditions for cooperative and meaningful interaction between members of conflicting groups. In the proposed model, CBOs can play a crucial role as the bridge between refugees and host community. There should also be interplay between government sponsored organizations and community based organizations to facilitate the process of integration and create healthy relations between refugees and host community. The processes of learning about the "out-group", changing behaviors toward out-group members, developing cross-group friendships, reassessing the 'rightness' of one's own group, and, at times, establishing a new, common in-group identity facilitate inter-group cooperation (Pettigrew, 1998).[16] In addition, many programs provide explicit skills in consensus and coalition building, as well as opportunities for parties to plan parallel and joint action initiatives aimed at changing conditions that foster inter-group conflict and violence.[17]

The ultimate aim of the government sponsored programs and CBO programs should be trust and confidence among different communities. Confidence and trust allows us to have the courage to do things, see the world through the eyes of others and reach out to the people that are different than us. Upon their arrival to the US, refugees are faced with multifaceted programs and policies. Refugees go through NGO government sponsored programs, community based programs and they are, of course, influenced by the government policies related to integration.

I have identified creation of healthy relationships as crucial for the success of all the above mentioned: government policies, COB and NGO programs. All these initiatives can be perceived as successful to the extent

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[16] Pettigrew, Thomas. «Intergroup Contact Theory», in: *Annual Review of Psychology*, (Vol. 49, 1998): 65-85.

[17] Illana Shapiro. "Extending the Framework of Inquiry: Theories of Change in Conflict Interventions", (Berghof Handbook, January 2005); available at: http://www.berghof-handbook.net/complete.htm

that they lead to institutional, economic and socio-cultural integration into the host society. See below the Model of integration.
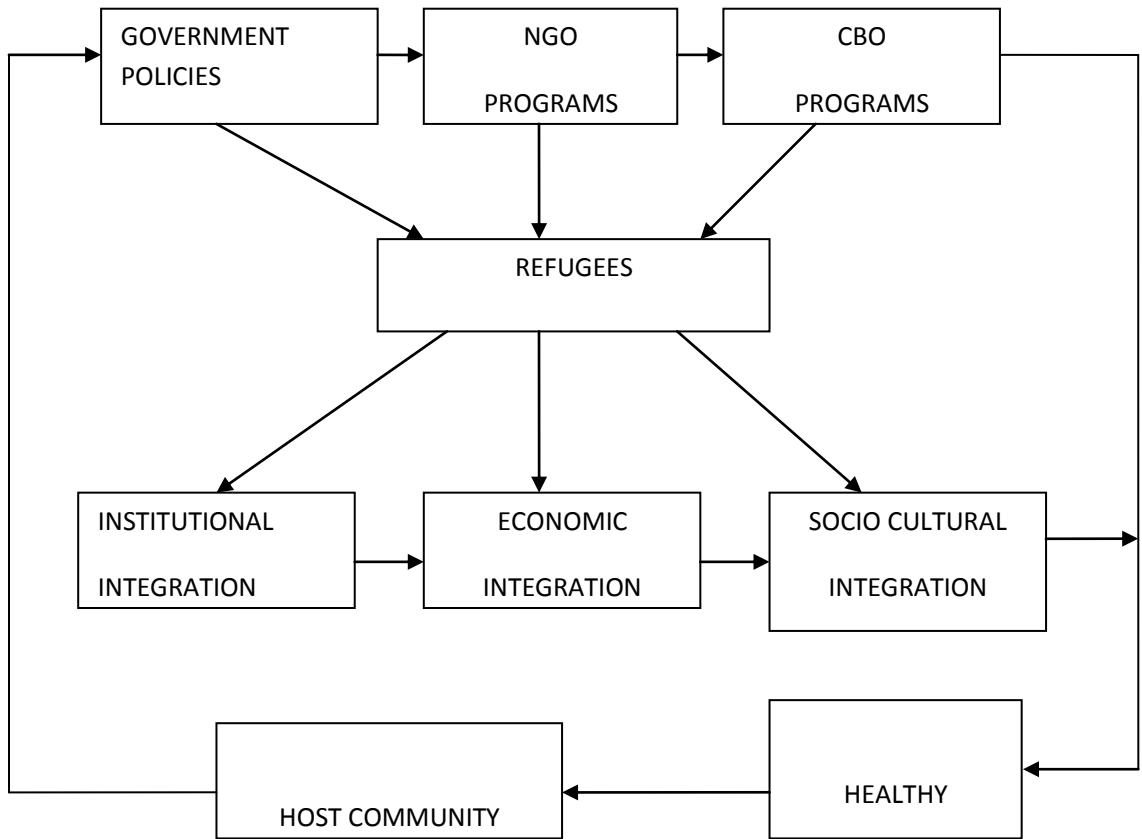
 *Model of refugee integration developed by Borislava Manojlovic

Respondents

The study focuses on 30 refugees affiliated to IIB, Kometa, and Center for Balkan Development. The 30 refugee respondents were given a questionnaire mainly consisting of closed questions (See Appendix 1). The questionnaire also included open-ended questions that gave the respondents the possibility to explain their views in more detail. I accessed my target group through the process of snowballing – getting to know some informants and having them introduce me to others. A potential drawback of the snowball technique is that it can limit diversity of the informants, but it proved effective due to the limited number of the respondents affiliated to the said organizations. Additional interviews were

conducted with the managers and program officers of the said organizations in order to get a comprehensive feedback on the integration process.

The sample group is a relatively homogeneous group. Ex-Yugoslavs belong to a group that slightly differs in linguistic/dialectic, background and cultural aspects. They have been selected in order to test the group's response to the programs offered by the mentioned NGOs and CBOs. I have chosen not to divide Ex -Yugoslavs in separate ethnic groups since I found them pretty homogenous based on observation, interviews and experience. I therefore concluded that individuals coming from Ex-Yugoslavia can be considered a single group since they belong to similar if not the same cultural and socio-economic setting.

The representation of males is slightly higher than the female representation in the whole group: about 56 per cent are men and the remaining are women. It is a relatively young population, ranging from the age of 18 to 45, most of them being aged 25 to 40.

Most of the sample population has been living in the US for more than 4 years and all of them came to this country as refugees. Many of them are in the process of obtaining green card and citizenship. It is significant to point out that this population is comprised of individuals that have to struggle for their socio-economic independence because they wish to restore their livelihoods in the US, although they face many obstacles.

Data collection and analysis

This research largely used ethnographic methods[18] by studying people's behavior in everyday contexts with observation, questionnaires and interviews being the main methods. In order to develop grounded theory, I have been using s strategy proposed by Glaser and Strauss called "theoretical sampling" which means selection of new cases of study according to their potential for helping to expand on or refine the concepts and theory that have already been developed. In asking questions, I was all the time aware of the purpose of my study and of all other information one can collect through interviews such as behavioral and sensory information, opinions, feelings and background information. That is why I used to write down my observations necessary

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[18] Hammersley, M. Reading Ethnographic Research: A Critical Guide. (London: Longman, 1990).

for subsequent analysis of data. It was also very important to establish rapport and create a sense of importance of the subject to both informants and the researcher.

There is a significant amount of description of the experiences of people in a particular setting from the point of view of primary subjects – the refugees as well as organization managers and the researcher. When considering what to omit from the extensive descriptions, my aim was to preserve direct quotations that would enable readers to fully understand the research setting and the thoughts and experiences of the informants introduced in the narrative. I have found that in order to code replies for the main categories laid out in the findings, it is important to create similar circumstances for a sequence of interviews and decide on a general method of organizing and recording the responses.

Presentation of findings

Refugee admissions to the US

The president of the United States issues a directive each year on the numbers of refugees that can be accepted.[19] Actual admissions have never reached the proposed numbers since the 2001 terrorist attacks, because the entire process has been reviewed and security measures increased. A slowdown in refugee admissions is still ongoing. The laws aimed at preventing terrorist activities have also prevented refugees from being admitted or this process is significantly stalled. The 9/11 brought about security concerns about the identity of candidates for resettlement as well as the places to which US staff might need to travel to determine refugee claims. After the endorsement of the Patriot act in 2001, the definition of terrorist activity and the categories of terrorist organizations were expanded. It resulted in screening out those refugees who provided incidental support under extreme circumstances to armed groups on the basis that they provided material support to terrorists.

Three main ways of refugees' admissions to the US are[20]:
1. Individual referrals (primarily UNHCR referrals)

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[19] U.S. refugee admissions are authorized pursuant to a Presidential Determination issued at the beginning of each fiscal year, setting the total spaces to be made available and allocating those spaces by region or country. Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) § 207, 8 U.S.C. § 1157 (2000)

[20] See: www.state.gov/g/prm/refadm/rls/rpts/2003/28257.htm

2. Group processing (currently the P1 and P2 categories) 3. Family based (currently P3)

According to the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, the average annual admissions for the five years prior to 2001 amounted at about 76,000 admitted. In 2002 and 2003 admissions fell to 28,000 refugees each year. The United States admitted 53,000 refugees in 2005 against a goal of 70,000. The proposed number of refugees in 2007 is 70,000 refugees.[21] However, the issue of material support is preventing the State administration and the State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration to meet its admissions target of 70,000 refugees. Targeted federal spending on immigrant families and the communities within which they live can be viewed as falling within two largely distinct categories. The first is formula-driven reimbursement to state and local governments to offset costs ascribed to immigrants (often thought of as "impact aid"). The second is funding to provide education and services to vulnerable newcomer populations such as non-English speakers, refugees, and the children of migrant workers. Total funding for the programs (roughly $1.6 billion in FY 1999) can be viewed as modest at best, since the 30 million immigrants in the United States now represent more than 10 percent of the nation's population. Refugees must also go through a series of interviews before reaching the U.S and getting security and medical clearances. It can take from six months to two years (or longer) to complete this process. There are new trends in the refugee resettlement and existing barriers and challenges to resettlement can distract positive resettlement and integration initiatives. A basic mismatch exists between the US essentially liberal and regulated immigration policies and its historically laissez-faire immigrant policies. "That is, despite the fact that the nation admits more immigrants who are on track for citizenship than any other country, U.S. immigrant integration policies have essentially been ad hoc and small-scale"[22].

Integration

Socio-economic integration can be said to have institutional and socio-cultural dimension. Institutional is related to the level of immigrant participation in the major societal institutions such as labor market, education, and health. The

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21 http://www.state.gov/g/prm/
22 Michael E. Fix, Wendy Zimmermann, Jeffrey S. Passel. The Integration of Immigrant Families in the United States, (2001); available at: http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=410227

socio-cultural dimension refers to refugees' cultural identity and general socio-cultural orientation. A refugee who is integrated into one dimension does not necessarily need to be integrated into another. For instance, many of my respondents managed to get relatively safe and good jobs, but these very people have all their friends within their own community. Better understanding of correlation and interdependency between elements of the two dimensions should be the focus of interest of decision makers and academics. Positive analysis and understanding of these basic concepts would lead to improved policies and practices.

The institutional dimension of integration

NGO programs as initial basic help and life impulse to the newly arrived

During the course of research, one of the most important findings has been that the programs of NGOs, CBOs can provide necessary basic help. Sometimes their programs coincide, but generally there are differences. NGOs such as IIB implement government sponsored programs and they help those who come to America to start their life from scratch. Programs such as citizenship classes, English classes, legal advice, and financial aid and microfinance loans are helpful, but not sufficient.

However, the respondents who did not get initial help from the government sponsored organizations but only their communities have declared much worse state of affairs. Most of the respondents, around 80 per cent, confirmed that their quality of life would improve if they are given both certain level of independence and support from the host organization.

Ms. Rettig, IIB Head of micro enterprise program, sees other significant ways to help the newly arrived such as business and self-empowerment through economic independence:

> "Business is universal language or tool for bringing different cultures together. Barriers are insignificant. We have Avon ladies; we give loans to refugees for starting small businesses. It helps them build their own capacities and confidence. Earning your own salary and economic independence can be great motivation for integration. Micro-enterprises are catalysts for empowerment. Self-employment is available and it forces you to interact with the members of the host community."

The perception of the IIB program officers interviewed for the purpose of this study is that Ex-Yugoslavs who are coming from a relatively industrialized society find it much easier to adapt to the new environment because their way of life is not too much different from that of the host society. When compared to the ethnic groups from the Third world, they seem much better off. As the Director of a CBO Somali Development Center, Abdi A.Yusuf stated,

> "Somalis are minority in many ways. They are racial minority because they are black; they are linguistic minority since they speak Somali language and they are religious minority because they are Muslims. So all of the above mentioned can be a huge obstacle to integration."

Audrey Robert, Program officer from the IIB Legal department, says that refugees come to this country and they have special status – they are under the protection of the US.

> "What we are trying to do in International Institute of Boston is to navigate legal system into helping the refugees understand their legal rights. That would subsequently result in their regaining safety and stability that was missing in their own countries", argues Ms. Robert.

98 % of the refugees and NGO/CBO program managers claim that the major challenge for socio-economic integration is language barrier. IIB provides in-class language classes and also one-on-one tutors.

> "We had to find a way of how to make the complicated legal procedures understandable to some of them. You have to realize that some of the refugees come from rural and underdeveloped areas into urban and economically developed environment which creates major problems. It takes time for them to adjust", says Audrey Robert.

Most of the interviewed officers think that integration has more to do with one's education, rather than age, ethnicity or background. People who speak good English and are educated have more possibility to succeed. Those who come from underdeveloped rural areas need more time to adjust and create possibilities to integrate. However, lack of funding for the English classes for refugees, resulted in 6 months waiting lists for language courses that are essential for the newly arrived refugees. Knowledge of English is an independent variable which many other variables depend on. If one does not speak the language, one cannot get a proper job. The livelihood of the refugees and his/her family is endangered. A person,

whose economic status is unstable, cannot even think of integration into the new society, let alone acculturation.

Hilary Rettig, IIB Head of Micro Enterprise Program, has identified English classes as one of the most important IIB programs and proposed the following policy of change: "The government should invest more money in English Learning Classes. There are six months waiting lists and this is a major problem."

Most of the respondents stated that integration for them means primarily "…economic independence. When the refugees get a job, it gives them sense of ownership over their own fate." They are no longer dependant and they become more open to the new society.

Dallas Anderson, Program officer with IIB Legal department, sees regulation of legal status as essential starting point for the refugees to become economically and socially independent:

> "We are helping people to adjust their status and become legal residents. We provide them with letters even before they receive their employment I-94 cards, with which they can seek employment. These letters explain their status and eligibility for work. It is very important for refugees to early become economically independent."

Ms. Marcela Klicova, Program officer of the Resettlement department at IIB, argues that the grants and financial aid given to each individual refugee is to small – it amounts to about 400 dollars per person limiting in that way single persons and giving preferences to families since singles or even couples would find it difficult to survive in Boston area with only 400 dollars. They meet the refugees at the airport, find them furnished place to live as well as food and clothes. Due to the insufficient financial aid, my refugee respondents pointed out that they had to turn to their community based organizations that helped them financially through their social networks and donations of their members. This kind of help is essential in the transitional period when newly arrived refugees are looking for jobs.

Age and education

Age and education of the respondents has proved to play a very important role in determining the successfulness of integration of refugees' population as well as their responsiveness to the governmental programs. Young respondents find it much easier to get by in the new society and they are much more receptive to the

programs. It is easier for them to learn the language and become computer literate. Majority of the respondents of the age range between 18 to 40 finds it much easier to adapt to the new culture and learn the language. All of them possess at least beginners to intermediate English language skills which open more options for them. There is predominance of 18-45 year-olds. This figure shows that the respondents are mostly in their most productive working age and retirement is far way which also indicates economic benefit for the host country.

Persons involved in the implementation of programs of the mentioned CBOs and NGO are young people. They tend to have positive attitude towards multiculturalism and diversity and are strongly inclined to tolerance. They are often proponents of the leadership based on participatory model, inclusion and cooperation of all ex-Yugoslav ethnic groups in the mutual projects.

Change in social status

It is not rare that educated people, once they come to some country as refugees find themselves doing manual and physical labor jobs or they are just unemployed. The arrival of refugees who had done manual jobs at the bottom of the labor market has made possible the release of many host community members from such kind of work. It opened the door for the host community members to get better and government sponsored jobs. There is an obvious division as regards to job possibilities except for a small percentage of younger (age of 20-40) and educated refugees with good English language skills.

The inability to find better paid jobs eventually leads to divisions in other social spheres. Immigrants, at least initially, live in poor conditions, usually in overcrowded apartments. The refugees are sometimes seen by the host community co-workers as alien intruders who can represent economic menace. They are also afraid that the employers might use the refugees' as cheap labor force to lower the wages and lessen the benefits of health insurance. This can lead to confrontations and hostility between host and refugees communities.

On the other hand, these low paid refugee workers represent a stabilizing element for the economy and capital accumulation. However, lack of education, insufficient language skills and lack of training are usual factor that keep the refugees at the lowest level in labor market. Lack of access to good jobs brings

about poor education of the next generation which creates future disadvantageous position for the descendants.

The refugees are a particularly vulnerable group in relation to the labor market. They are subject to unemployment or irregular employment and deteriorating socio-economic status. Both men and women are often forced to resort to unofficial solutions. They are turning to community based informal networks usually situated within community based organization for support. Community Internet lists advertise jobs, financial aid is collected through donations to help those in need.

Therefore, the respondents have identified language and computer classes as most useful of the programs offered by NGOs and CBOs since they see inability to communicate as the greatest obstacle to becoming functional and financially independent member of the society.

> "If you don't speak English, you can only work cleaning hotels and restaurants for the minimum wage. If I have to do it, I do not want my children to do it to. That is why I tell my daughters – use the opportunity that you have to learn English and it is for free", argues Mira from Croatia.

The indicators of successful socio-economic integration are related to refugees' access and participation in the labor market and social institutions. Refugees, who only depend on uncertain and irregular employment within the black market and informal economy, are also being poorly paid and their working conditions are very meager. Such people's situation is constantly unstable and insecure. My respondents' participation in the labor market and institutions is directly influenced by the level of education and language skills they possess so they can also be used as very important factors that need to be looked at when measuring successfulness of socio-economic integration.

The programs of the affiliated NGO and CBOs address basic and immediate refugees' socio-economic needs. These programs are generally successful and indeed provide initial help to the refugees to accommodate to the new environment. They provide refugees with initial cultural orientation, computer and language classes. All of the said are necessary for acculturation and getting by initially. Economic independence of the traumatized group that lost all of its assets in its home land is of the greatest importance for them to regain self-confidence and become individuals, and not "just numbers on UNHCR lists". "After being received and given the opportunity to work", as one of my citizenship class

students said, "one becomes alive and can have plans and dreams again". "As if we are given an opportunity to live all over again; as if our previous lives did not exist at all."

60 per cent of my informants declared that they have almost no access to higher education because they do not have the means or time to educate themselves. While the respondents older than 50 mostly do not have the language skills or time to undertake further education, younger respondents usually have access to education and other institutions because of their language skills and flexibility to adapt to the new culture.

Trauma

The war has a dehumanizing effect on people. It creates deep psychological problems such as trauma and sense of inadequacy. A lighter form of trauma is a cultural shock with which the refugees are also faced when they come into the new society. There have been multiple themes running through the discourse of the refugees related to trauma: the loss of worth and capability, not being recognized as an individual, loneliness and linguistic ghettoization, the change of roles of family members. Men often find themselves incapable of taking care of their families and women don't have time to take care of the children so that the traditional roles are inverted.

In the interview with Ms. Retting of the IIB, she points out that the psychological issues such as trauma interfere with the person's ability to function and integrate. He or she becomes dissociated and lost. This can bring about social problems on a family and community level such as domestic violence, crime. NGOs such as IIB have been an important tool for the ex-Yugoslav refugees to reclaim some of their professional and class status lost due to war.

Socio-cultural dimension

Integration dilemma – "old vs. new identies"

In this report, identity is seen as dynamic phenomenon that is undergoing constant changes. For a group that finds itself in a new society, ethnicity, customs and culture are constantly challenged, reconstructed and negotiated. Each of my

respondents has a sense of loss and estrangement for leaving their country and culture so abruptly and under threat. Getting employed and subsequently regaining economic independence cannot solely fill the existing gap. That is why I have identified a second salient topic of interest, that is, how the refugees deal with problem of their old and new identity. Ex-Yugoslavs living in Boston area complain that they were "losing their culture and traditional values" because of being so far from home.

"The most serious conflict that has been created by loyalties running both to the United states and to the homeland has been the one experienced by the ethnic group itself in the process of establishing its American identity," argues Mona Harrington (1980:686) discussing the issue of dual allegiance of immigrants who had come to the US since the beginning of the 19th century. "People tend to belong to a certain nationality but their ethnicity is different from their nationality".

Between 1991 and 1993, more than 5 million citizens of the former Yugoslavia became refugees or displaced persons. The wars in Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina have long term consequences on the people of ex-Yugoslavia and they have also affected the communities in exile. Due to the ethnic conflict in Ex-Yugoslavia, belonging to a certain ethic group bears special importance to the identity of the people as individuals. Most of my respondents, no matter if they are Serbs, Croats or Muslims, have strong attachment and sense of belonging to a certain ethic community. Even the current political changes in the home country affect and re-define identities of the communities in exile. Additionally, the US consists of multitude of different identities, and it becomes increasingly important for the ex-Yugoslav communities, whose identity is heavily defined by their ethnicity, to preserve their own identity.

Newly arrived refugees, initially find themselves lost and disoriented in the new society and, on top of that, they find themselves confronted with the previous old diaspora community living in the US for several generations. I have found, based on the questionnaires, interviews and observation, that the refugee community is not only challenged by the host community values and set of rules but also with those of the old diaspora.

It is very difficult for the newly arrived to penetrate the circles of the old diaspora because the old diaspora is in much better socio-economic standing while the refugees have to start from the scratch and often find themselves as outsiders in such circles. Also there is a difference in narratives about history, ethnicity and

religious identity between the two. According to the conversations that I had with the respondents, old diasporas tend to be more traditionalist and conservative trying to preserve their own concepts of culture and faith which sometimes clashes with the concepts of the newly arrived.

Social networking and the role of CBOs

The places that bear particular significance for the formation of one's identity are churches and communal organizations. Exile affect some respondents religious identity in the sense that some become more religious church-going individuals while for the others religious commitments and practices decline. The mosque or a church becomes a social welfare office, an education centre, where a collective spirit of the community is created (Karlsson and Svanberg, 1995).

During the course of research, I have found that 90 per cent of my informants do not socialize so much with the host community members, that is, "Americans", except for the 10 per cent of young generation members who do interact and associate with the host community members. Most of the answers to the roots of such a situation are related to the insufficient language skills to socialize freely and easily. Most of the respondents' time is spent at work, since they are doing several jobs around the clock, and weekends are usually spent with families or at community based organizations, restaurants or churches. In churches such as Saint Sava church in Cambridge, different social and cultural activities have been taking place. From my respondents I have learnt that the Ex-Yugoslav community has its festivals, sports and outdoors activities and fairs organized by groups and social networks that usually meet in the church. I would add that community based organizations such as Kometa or Center for Balkan Development also have similar role and organize similar activities that contribute to socialization of the newly arrived. Churches, mosques and CBOs are places/locales that are of the greatest importance for their members' cultural identity.

The Program Officer from the IIB Legal department, Ms. Anderson argues that the gap between government institutions and refuges is bridged through the NGOs. She also states that CBOs or "community based organizations" also serve as a sort of a support system to the existing programs of the government sponsored organizations. "They are a bridge between communities and facilitate both cultural and economic transition of refugees".

The stories of the refugees are complex and diverse and they challenge the master narrative that belongs to their ethnicities respectively. The refugees from Croatia, Bosnia & Herzegovina and Serbia tend to relate their perceptions of ethnic affiliations and national identifications primarily to their experience. The master narrative usually refers to the facts about who were the victims and perpetrators in the war; who was right and who was wrong. The victimization characterized by the feeling self-importance and self-righteousness is the most important element of the master narrative. The importance of the master narrative tends to loose its strength in the context of a new society.

Identity is best understood as a relational dynamic that is constantly being redefined. It is not primarily about negotiating an agreement to solve a material problem, but rather is about protecting a sense of self and group survival. While it is rarely explicitly addressed, identity shapes and moves the expression of conflict. At the deepest level it is lodged in the narratives of how people see themselves, who they are, where they come from, and what they fear they will become. It is also deeply rooted in their relationships with others.[23]

Miodrag B., a refugee from Bosnia, says: *"Who should we blame for starting the war - the politicians, the other side. It made us hate our neighbors and it left our life in total disarray. We had to leave our beautiful Mostar. I often dream about my hometown, but even if I go back, it will never be the same. I don't like it here, but I do not have the place to go to if I would want to return."*

Young respondents generally do not follow their ethnic group master narrative and there are more interethnic connections as well as interactions with the host community members among the young. In the era of globalization, young people form efficient networks through internet, clubs, and church and help one of their own rather than some outsider to find jobs, rent apartments etc. The important link between them is the language, ethnic background and similar interests.

90 per cent of my respondents stated the importance of cultural orientations sessions. When they came to the US, they were faced with many different and new rules and practices. It has been their priority and their interest to

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[23] Lederach, John Paul and Michelle Maiese. "Conflict Transformation." Beyond Intractability. Eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder. Posted: October 2003 <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/transformation/>.

get acquainted with the new set of rules and customs so that they could become economically independent and have access to all the advantages and benefits that the new country offers.

Advantages of government sponsored and community based organizations' programs

Government sponsored and CBO programs have certain similarities and some of their programs such as language and cultural orientation coincide. I have identified advantages and disadvantages to the government sponsored mainstream programs and concluded that the disadvantages of government programs can be supplemented by the advantages of CBO programs. Therefore, it is necessary for these organizations to collaborate, support and learn from each other since they have the same goal – successful integration of refugees into the host society.

Advantages of government sponsored programs:

- Better and more structured institutional capacity;
- Established regulations and procedures that can limit unpredictability
- Developed network and political constituencies
- Facilitated and better funding

Advantages of CBO programs:

- Specialized cultural, customary and linguistic knowledge of refugees and their communities
- More immediate and adequate response to refugees' needs
- Less bureaucratic and ready to apply current ideas and adjust to the new situations

Challenges

1. The language skills are very important for integration of forced migrants. The level of competency can imply the degree of integration. In societies segregated by ethnic and racial lines, to learn the language is sometimes not seen as necessary by either incoming forced migrants, or by those who came earlier. There can be reluctance to learn the language even on the part of refugees, which might result in fewer programs, services and teachers for learning the language. There should be even compulsory programs for learning the

language as well as developed monitoring system of the acquired skills since the knowledge of language influences attitudes of the host society towards migrants and vice versa. Therefore it can bring about either segregation or healthier relationships.

2. Intercommunity workshops, dialogue and mutual projects and programs should be developed for a long term socialization of host community and newcomers. The main goal should be the change of "us" and "them" thinking. This attitude implies generalizations and prejudice of both sides towards each other and it impedes integration.

3. Ignorance about the real conditions in many of the countries where the refugees come from can result in prejudice. Therefore, it is necessary to expand educational efforts and programs that would reach every member of the community with true information.

4. If people are humiliated or constrained by the new set of rules and behaviors of the host community, they will be likely to resist or find the solution in informal activities. It is necessary that they feel confident about their own culture and understand the culture of the host society. Therefore, the synergy of CBOs and government programs should exist and be aimed at creation of positive attitudes and cooperation between communities

Conclusion

1. General policies and improvement of programs

For the refugees to be fully integrated, it is necessary that the policies and regulations are introduced and implemented to prevent discrimination and promote better access to education, training and jobs. From the organizations' point of view, more funding from the state is necessary for additional and improved programs that would facilitate integration. From the point of view of the refugees there should be more courses and trainings as part of cultural orientation. Refugees should get acquainted with the set of rules of the new society. They should learn how to get by, how to get the necessary documents, access to government services such as health and welfare. This should be an ongoing process that would help refugees at all times with resources and education until they get the sense of being fully independent. That would not

only facilitate the integration but it would significantly speed up the process. Organizations such as the IIB and CBOs that are dealing with refugees should include refugees or former refugees in their programs as volunteers or employees. The refugees would be able to provide the organizations with a broader perspective, which would help to improve the existing programs and give ideas for the future ones. It would also enable better monitoring and evaluation of the programs. The U.S. government should increase MRA installments in addition to increase of annual refugee ceilings.

2. Community Based Organization as a bridge between refugees and the host community

A significant contribution to the American multicultural setting is the ongoing flow of the refugees and immigrants. Multiculturalism and pluralism has to be supported by the state. Policies that would facilitate minimum economic and social rights for the newly arrived should be introduced and implemented which would ensure more equitable and less violent society. In the US approach to pluralism, diversity is tolerated and encouraged. But the state as such does not support the maintenance of ethnic cultures. If the refugees do not have access to certain socio-economic benefits and services such as quality healthcare and housing, retirement plans, education and access to non-manual jobs, they can turn to other sources that would give them sufficient income to subsist in a consumer-oriented society such as the US. They could turn to black market jobs and crime which would in turn create clashes with the host community on the whole. The community based organizations are of the greatest importance for the preservation of the mother tongue and maintenance of the groups' cultural identity. They also serve as locale for creating social networks and facilitating integration as well as adding to their socio-ethnic conformity. Therefore, in order to avoid ethnic and cultural clashes, the government should think about investing more in projects and programs of community based organization. These organizations can serve as bridge between government sponsored organizations and refugee community. That is how the political radicalization and social mobilization of underprivileged communities can be prevented. Group of Ex-Yugoslav refugees in Boston is relatively small and it would be overstated to expect that this group

could in some way cause major political stir in the direction of policy changes and more support for the ethnic programs and organizations. However, there is a necessity of this group to be recognized. These needs have to be addressed for the members of this group to become fully functioning in the context of the new society and to the benefit of all. Migrants receive some support from the state for setting up their own community based organizations where they meet one another and conduct various educational and cultural activities such as language schools for children, festivals, exhibitions, news papers and pamphlets etc. More funding for CBOs are necessary for support and maintenance of specific community programs. CBO programs can serve as a bridge between government programs and host communities and fill in the gaps that the government sponsored programs failed to fill.

3. Better access to social benefits and employment

Refugees' eligibility for public benefits is currently limited to their first five to seven years after settlement even they had gone through trauma of war and devastation. Citizens and legal immigrants have no time limits in receiving, for example, health benefits while refugees do not have sponsors who can be compelled to support them. Therefore, new government policies should be introduced that would provide additional support for the refugees in terms of financial support or welfare, free healthcare, access to educational programs etc. Policies that standardize professional and educational credentials awarded outside the U.S. would help relieve labor shortages and provide adequate use of refugees' potential. The prevalence of foreign workers in low-wage industries and the slow wage increase imply that greater policy attention should be drawn to enforcement of wage, health, safety, hour and other social rules in the workplace. The capacity of refugee entrepreneurs should be built by providing technical and financial assistance such as training, grants and micro-grants so that their businesses can become both more stable and more compliant to regulations.

4. Education

Education should be a two way process. The NGOs such as IIB are suggested to extend their class periods and numbers of English and cultural orientation classes by increasing their teaching staff. That would give the refugees more access and time to master English and other topics. Also, evaluation tools and techniques of the language and other programs should be improved and based on the participatory model that would include both recipients and staff. For the refugees, it is essential to acquire essential education about new culture and language. Host community members should also get acquainted and understand the people and communities other than their own. Therefore, there is a necessity for the programs that would disseminate information and knowledge about different cultures, customs and values to the members of the host society such as TV shows, documentaries, and intercultural workshops. Some middle ground of acceptance is possible only through understanding of the difference.

5. Trust and healthy relations

The aim and the indicator of successful integration is creation of healthy relations between the new comers and the host community. Trust and confidence in oneself and in others can be a great unifying force in a multicultural society. Curiosity and creativity is based on trust. Trust can be built through educational projects and learning about each other's culture and history. It subsumes dialogue, listening and humility. Healthy relations can be built on common integration platforms where people can meet, do things together, conduct artistic activities (music, theatre, and singing). It is very important to acknowledge each other as well as the difference between each other so that they could move on and build on that. Being a part of the society is very important for the refugees and so is sense of order and coherence for the host community. This can be accomplished only on the basis of healthy relations.

6. Discrimination, racism and marginalization

Discrimination is present towards the poorest, less educated and minorities. "Racism does not always seek to exclude or exterminate the other. It is

common for racists to seek to inferiorize and exploit minorities" (Balibar 1991:39-40). New ethnic cultures represent a potential threat to the national culture. If the newly arrived try to preserve their language, customs and tradition, it can be seen as a threat to the mainstream Anglo-Saxon culture and way of life. Looking at possible ways in recreating adoptable policies based Swedish model of welfare state and education in all levels of society can contribute for both sides to reduce the envisioned threat and tension. Alongside these ethnically defined cultures, "there are the subcultures of women and those of men; there are also the cultures of the elderly and the youth; there are the cultures of the intellectuals, the peasants, the workers; there are the cultures of the believers and of the non-believers; there are the cultures of the poor and those of the rich[24]." Better relationships should be built on similarities rather than differences.

If the newly arrived are socially and economically marginalized, formal citizenship or constitutional rights is not a guarantee for full political and civil rights and privileges. The American philosopher Iris Marion Young (1989) argues the right for groups to be different. She defends a concept of "differentiated citizenship" with two main aspects. First, democracy must mean not only enfranchisement of all, but also mechanisms to secure participations of usually excluded social groups in decision-making and political life. Second, the principle of equal treatment is based on the concept of generally applicable norms of behavior. But these back them. Cultural identity of a group has to be recognized. Refugees cannot accept full participation in the life of a new country if they are not recognized as a group with specific cultural and ethnic background. The analysis shows that group's identity threat is the greatest obstacle to social harmony; social arrangements that threaten social identity produce defensive reactions that result in conflict. Social harmony is best achieved by maintaining, not weakening, subgroup identities, and locating them within the context of a binding super-ordinate identity. The policies should not only endorse individual rights but also rights of underprivileged communities whose "difference" should be protected.

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[24] Anton Pelinka.. "On the Pitfalls of Multiculturalism - Against the Simplification of an Ethnic Notion of Culture"; originally published in: Appelt, Erna (Ed., 2001): *Demokratie und das Fremde: multikulturelle Gesellschaften als demokratische Herausforderung des 21. Jahrhunderts.* Innsbruck: Studien-Verlag.

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APPENDIX 1

Refugees and IDPs by Numbers at the end of 2007

Category of forced displacement	Total (in mln)
Refugees under UNHCR mandate 11.4 Refugees under UNRWA mandate 4.6	11.4 4.6
Total number of refugees	16.0
Conflict-generated IDPs Natural disaster IDPs	26.0 25.0
Total number of IDPs	51.0
Total number of refugees and IDPs	67.0

APPENDIX 2 - Questionnaire

I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. How long have you been in the US?
❒ Less than 6 months   ❒ Between 1 and 5 years
❒ Between 6 months and 1 year   ❒ More than 5 years

2. What best describes your position?
❒ Refugee   ❒ Other: _____

3. What is your family status?
❒ Married   ❒ Single ❒ Widowed   ❒ Other _____

4. Nationality: _____
5. Sex: ❒ M   ❒ F
6. Age:
❒ Less than 25   ❒ 45-54   ❒ 25-45   ❒ 55 or older

7. Have you participated in a cross-cultural/diversity training?
❏ Yes, multiple day training   ❏ Yes, less than one full day training
❏ Yes, one full day training   ❏ No

7b. If yes, was this training offered through any organization?
❏ Yes   ❏ No

8. Have you attended classes or tutoring in basic English and computer skills?
❏ Yes, multiple day training   ❏ Yes, less than one full day training
❏ Yes, one full day training   ❏ No

8b. If yes, was this training offered through any organization?
❏ Yes   ❏ No

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

9. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements?

	Strongly disagree					Strongly Agree
I find it easy living independently	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
I find it easy living in a family	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
I make decision on whatever I want	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
I consult in my decision-making with an organization/family	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
I socialize and interact with my community members	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
I socialize and interact with the host community members	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
I am recognized	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
I get support from host community	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
My communication with the host community members is easy	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
I participate in social events and engagements	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
I have support from my own community	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
I have organizational support	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
I have opportunities for self improvement	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
I am able to solve problems by myself	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
There are employment opportunities	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
I have access to education	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
The programs offered by the host organization helped me get a job	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel comfortable at my work place	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
Diversity training offered by the host organization helped me accommodate to the new environment	1 2	3	4	5	6	7

10. Which of the following statements do you agree with more? (Rank them in order of importance starting from 1)

❑ If the refugees have as much independence as possible and the maximum opportunity to develop themselves, the quality of their life will improve as a result.

❑ If the refugees are continuously being taken care of by the host organization, the quality of their life will improve as a result.

❑ If the refugees are given both certain level of independence and support from the host organization, the quality of their life will improve as a result.

11. Are you satisfied with the overall usefulness of host organization programs (organizations that first helped you when you arrived to the US)?

❑ Yes. ❑ No. ❑ I haven't thought about it.

❑ If no, explain why? _____

_____

_____.

12. What do you perceive as the major obstacles for adapting to the new environment?

_____

_____

_____.

APPENDIX 3- LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARP - Asylum Representation Project

BiH – Bosnia and Herzegovina

CBO – Community Based Organizations

DS - Department of State

EE - English for Employment

ESL - English as a Second Language

FG - The Federal Government of the United States of America

IDP – Internally displaced person

IIB – International Institute of Boston

IRSA - Immigration and Refugee Services of America

MAA – Mutual Assistance Association

MG - Matching Grants

MORI - Massachusetts Office for Refugees and Immigrants

MRA- Migration and Refugee Assistance

MRRP - Massachusetts Refugee Resettlement Program

NGO – Non-governmental organization

ORR - Office of Refugee Resettlement

PPESS - Post-Placement English for Self-Sufficiency

PPVST - Post-Placement Vocational Skills Training

R&P - Reception & Placement

RCA - Refugee Cash Assistance

RCA - Refugee Cash Assistance

RJS - Refugee Job Services

RJS - Refugee Job Services

TAFDC - Transitional Aid to Families with Dependent Children

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

USCRI - US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants