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Patterns of Settlement Following Forced Migration: The Case of Bosnians in the United States

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Abstract

This article provides a descriptive analysis of the geographic distribution of Bosnian-born U.S. residents using data from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey. The data show that Bosnians remain highly concentrated in a handful of metropolitan areas, with little evidence of dispersal or of residential changes between these areas. Patterns of settlement within each area vary, with Bosnians in Chicago and St. Louis spread across middle-income census tracts, those in Utica concentrated in the lowest-income tracts, and those in other cities distributed more uniformly in terms of tract income. These patterns suggest that future research might usefully focus on the causes of this variation, including the role of networks and historical migration patterns as well as internal divisions within the Bosnian diaspora.

Keywords

Immigration, Integration, Segregation, Diaspora, Bosnians

Author's biographical note

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1. Introduction

Refugees are most likely to enter public consciousness when they are in motion. Images of masses in flight capture television audiences, mobilize donations and drive pressure for government action. The appearance of new neighbors with new needs inspires solidarity as well as fear and hostility, sparking local and national debates over refugee policy. Whatever the dominant public perception of refugees comes to be, attention fades once they stop moving, as they settle into host communities or return to live again in their countries of origin. Yet it is important to consider refugees during these more sedentary phases as well because it is from these vantage points that refugee policy may be most adequately judged and the consequences of forced migration best understood. Apart from addressing emergencies and immediate needs, governments and support groups need to know how policy influences refugees' lives in the long run.

It is with these goals in mind that a number of scholars have begun assessing the situation of some 1.4 million Bosnians who remain outside their country two decades after Yugoslavia's collapse—a mixture of refugees who fled during the war and emigrants who departed before and after. Although popular attention has shifted to other issues, the Bosnian diaspora is the subject of a growing body of academic research in fields ranging from economics and sociology to anthropology and psychology (e.g., Dimova and Wolff, 2009; Valenta and Ramet, 2011; Coughlan and Owens-Manley, 2006; Franz, 2003; Searight, 2003; Matsuo, 2005; Kelly, 2003; Jansen, 2008; Craig et al., 2008). One challenge for this research has been to link focused studies of individuals and local communities to patterns and structures at larger scales. Simply obtaining a broad picture of the Bosnian diaspora is difficult because the population is small and scattered.

The present article addresses this challenge with respect to Bosnians in the United States by analyzing new data from the Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS). This is an important source of information because the ACS is administered at the country level with a large enough sample size to make inferences about small populations and detect of small-scale patterns. By using the ACS data to analyze the spatial distribution of Bosnians in the United States, this article offers a basis for integrating and comparing the richer small-scale studies and making decisions about future research.

2. Background

The Bosnian refugees who fled to the United States at the end of the twentieth century entered a country with a long history of immigration from Bosnia and other South Slavic territories, and they entered cities in which socioeconomic divisions had been built up over years of international and internal migration and were often manifested and reinforced through patterns of spatial segregation.

2.1 Bosnian Arrivals in the United States

Immigration from Bosnia to the United States goes back at least as far as the late nineteenth century (Martin, 2011; Kralj, 2012; Roucek, 1935; Davie 1942) and Chicago was an important center of early Bosnian settlement (Puskar, 2007). Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats in Chicago gravitated toward their respective co-ethnic communities from Serbia and Croatia, while Bosnian Muslims founded a Benevolent Society (*Džemijetul Hajrije*) that provided health insurance, funerary benefits, religious services, and social events (Puskar, 2007; Kralj, 2012). As with immigration from other countries, the flow of Bosnians to the United States was reduced by the First World War and then by the national origin restrictions Congress imposed on immigration in the 1920s (Puskar, 2007; Martin, 2011). Congress lifted these restrictions in 1965, but by then migrant flows from southern Europe were largely being diverted into western Europe by rapid economic growth and guest worker programs (Martin, 2011).

With Yugoslavia's collapse in the 1990s, Bosnians began entering the United States in larger numbers. They did so in two ways: (1) by arriving at or crossing a U.S. border and seeking asylum or a related form of relief under the Immigration and Nationality Act, and (2) through the refugee resettlement program. The first mechanism involves a process of administrative adjudication within U.S. territory and accounts for a small proportion of the Bosnian entries. The second involves multiple federal, state, and local agencies and voluntary organizations in the process of selecting refugees outside of the United States, bringing them into the country, and helping them to settle in specific locations. Settlement locations are selected based, in part, on input from state and local governments and voluntary organizations. Resettled refugees are free to move from these destinations after their arrival, but the destinations are the points at which they can receive

resettlement assistance and these destinations play important roles in shaping refugee integration (Singer and Wilson, 2006).

Figure 1 shows data compiled by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (2006; 2010) on the numbers of Bosnian refugees admitted to the United States each year under the resettlement program. The first admission was in 1993, a year after the war in Bosnia started, and the last in 2006. The peak year was 1998, 3 years after the war had ended, with 30,906 Bosnian admissions. In total, 143,770 Bosnian refugees were admitted through the program.

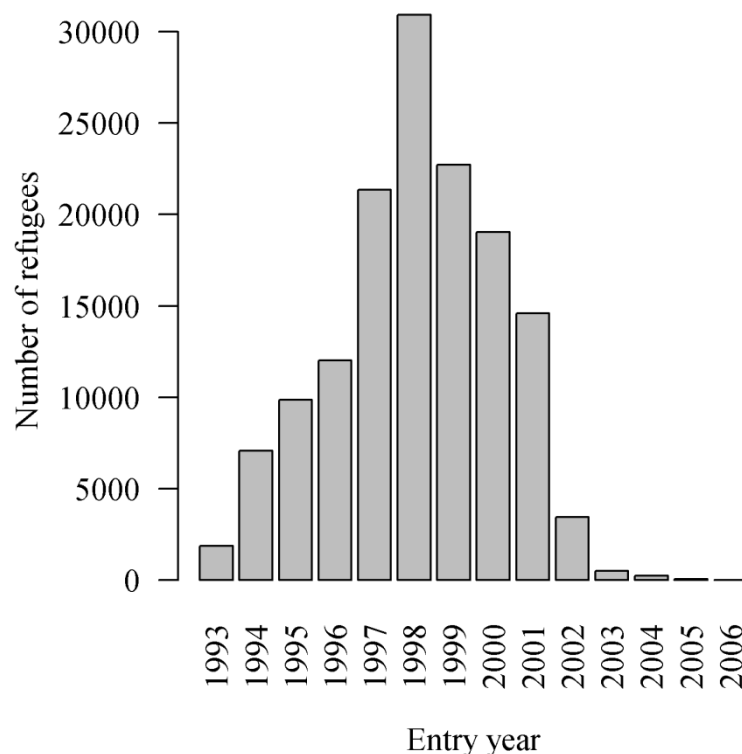


Figure 1: Number of Bosnian refugees admitted to the United States by year, based on data from U.S. Department of Homeland Security (2006; 2010).

Singer and Wilson (2006) report the metropolitan areas into which refugees were resettled during this period. Although they aggregate Bosnians with other refugees from the former Yugoslavia, the refugees counted under their Yugoslavia category are mostly Bosnian. (The total number for Yugoslavia is 160,951.) The top five metropolitan areas for their Yugoslavia category are: Chicago (13,843), St. Louis (9,816), Atlanta (7,708), Phoenix-Mesa (6,616), and Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater (4,947). These metropolitan areas are a mix of traditional immigrant destinations and cities with little or no recent immigration history. Chicago was the most important destination for Bosnians

historically. It is also a traditional immigrant gateway to the United States, with the country's third largest foreign-born population in 2000. At the other end of the spectrum, St. Louis ranked at 60 among U.S. metropolitan areas in terms of foreign born populations in 2000, but the second most important destination for resettled Bosnian refugees.

2.2 Bosnian Social Divisions

Social divisions within the population of Bosnian refugees in the United States exist between Bosnia's three primary ethnic groups, Muslims, Serbs, and Croats, but identity in Bosnia (as everywhere) is complicated and there is substantial mixing between these groups. Membership in these groups often, but not always, coincides with some level of adherence to a corresponding religious practice (Islam, Orthodoxy, and Catholicism), and Bosnian Muslims often identify themselves as Bosniaks to distinguish ethnic from religious identity. In addition, many other ethnic identities exist in Bosnian society.

Perhaps more important than ethnic identity are two sources of division that Coughlan and Owens-Manley (2006) identify among Bosnian refugees in the United States: (1) rural versus urban origin, and (2) wartime allegiance. They report that the urban Bosnians in their sample (primarily in Utica, New York) tended to be more cosmopolitan, to identify less with any particular Bosnian ethnic group or religion, and to have fewer ties with the Bosnian community in the United States or in Bosnia (Coughlan and Owens-Manley, 2006). They also report that Bosnian refugees who opposed the Bosnian government during the war tended to have fewer ties to Bosnia and often faced barriers to interaction with the rest of the Bosnian community in the United States (Coughlan, 2011, Coughlan and Owens-Manley, 2006; Owens-Manley and Coughlan, 2000).

These divisions also exist among Bosnians in Bosnia, although the make-up of wartime allegiances differs as a result of the way refugees were selected. The primary allegiance-based divisions in Bosnia are between people who supported the government's goal of a unified, independent Bosnian state, and those who sought to carve out separate Serb or Croat republics. These divisions run partly along ethnic lines, with the Serb and Croat separatist camps consisting almost exclusively of members of those ethnic groups. Bosnian Muslims tended to favor the independent, unified state, but they were joined in

this position by many Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats, and people of mixed or other ethnicities.

In contrast, the primary division among Bosnian refugees in the United States is between people who supported the unified, independent Bosnian state, and those who supported Fikret Abdić, a Bosnian Muslim politician who broke with the government and sided with Bosnian Serb forces in the northwestern part of the country. The Abdić supporters are almost entirely secular Bosnian Muslims from the northwestern town of Velika Kladuša and surrounding areas that Abdić controlled during the war. When Abdić's stronghold collapsed in 1995, these people faced serious threats and violence, and many ended up as refugees. As a result, while this group is relatively small in post-war Bosnia, it is highly represented among Bosnians in the United States. Moreover, the Abdić refugees mostly arrived in the United States after the end of the war, whereas other Bosnian refugees had been arriving since 1993 (Coughlan and Owens-Manley, 2006; Owens-Manley and Coughlan 2000).

2.3 Bosnian Integration

The Bosnians entering the United States encounter a society highly segregated along lines of race, ethnicity, and class (Lichter et al., 2012; Lichter et al., 2010; Rothwell, 2011; Massey et al., 2009; Anderson and Massey, 2004; Wilson, 1987; Wilkes and Iceland, 2004; Massey and Denton, 1993; Du Bois, 1903, 2007). How they fit in and navigate this social structure can have important consequences for Bosnians' lives and those of their children, as well as for the lives of non-Bosnians who are already disadvantaged by this arrangement.

One risk is that integration may involve decreases in socioeconomic status, particularly in the case of families who face discrimination, and those who lack access to resources through government programs or co-ethnic networks (Portes, et al., 2005; Portes and Zhou, 1993). As European refugees, Bosnians are likely to face less discrimination than many non-white immigrants (Matsuo 2005; Coughlan 2011), but many European immigrants in the past were treated as inferior when they first entered American communities (Foner, 2005; Foner and Alba, 2006). Bosnian Muslims may be particularly vulnerable to discrimination in the anti-Islamic climate that exists in the United States (Miskovic, 2007). Moreover, some Bosnians may be uncomfortable identifying themselves as white, may reject the U.S. system of racial categories, or may

adopt “non-white” styles of speech or dress that trigger discrimination (Cutler, 2008). In fact, among the sampled people who listed Bosnia as their place of birth on the 2000 Census long form questionnaire, only 87.1 percent listed themselves as being monoracial and white. “Some other race” was selected as the sole response by 1.3 percent, “Black or African American” was selected as the sole response by 0.2 percent, and 11.4 percent listed themselves as falling within two or more racial groups (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Co-ethnic networks and spatially concentrated communities may protect immigrants against downward assimilation, helping to preserve native culture and maintain strong relationships between the first and second generations (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Portes and Zhou, 1993). They may be especially important drivers of immigrant economic advancement (Tienda and Raijman, 2004). These networks can provide access to tangible resources like credit and capital for starting small businesses (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990). They can also provide intangible resources like training and information, or referrals to potential jobs or customers (Raijman and Tienda, 2004; Raijman and Tienda, 2000). Spatially concentrated co-ethnic communities, although potentially harmful sources of isolation and environmental disadvantage, may also provide good markets for small businesses, stimulating immigrant entrepreneurship (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990).

These issues manifest themselves in many accounts of the Bosnian population in the United States. Although the Bosnian refugee community has often been portrayed in the popular press as a traditional “immigrant success story,” observers and members of that community are increasingly noting that reality is more complex and varied. The New York Times has reported concerns within the Bosnian community that many Bosnian teenagers are dropping out of school and becoming involved in crime (Clemetson, 2007). The St. Louis Beacon has reported similar concerns (Wexberg Sanchez, 2012), quoting local Bosnian community leader Amir Kundalic’s description of the problem:

He says that young Bosnians, relocated mostly to "areas with weak schools and gang problems," imitated not only the urban style of their American peers, but also the social dynamics. They organized their own gangs.

Their parents, for a host of reasons—workplaces in which they spoke Bosnian, little time outside of work to spend with kids, physical and psychological damage from the war—didn’t understand the changes they

saw in their children. Kundalic describes kids and parents who “live in the same house, but are in completely different worlds.”

This description captures perfectly the dynamic predicted by the theory of segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). At the same time, the protective qualities of the Bosnian-American community are also evident. Matsuo (2005) reports that Bosnians in St. Louis “exchange information about affordable housing, used cars, less expensive grocery stores, after-school activities for children and cheaper English classes. They also help each other by providing their own skills in car repair, plumbing, electronics and other areas which would be costly if they had to use paid services”. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch reports that Bosnian refugees have “remade” St. Louis’ Bevo Mill neighborhood into a “thriving business district, with restaurants, bars, markets and a newspaper” (Moore, 2013). Among the factors that facilitated this process, the paper notes that a local bank began giving Bosnian refugees small loans in the mid-1990s, ultimately hiring a large staff of Bosnians to better serve the growing community. These loans often went toward the establishment of Bosnian-owned businesses, which catered to and hired within the Bosnian community.

The extent to which the benefits of co-ethnic community are felt, however, may depend on the cities and neighborhoods in which individual Bosnian families settle. Given Chicago’s historical position as a destination for Bosnian immigrants, Bosnian refugees who settled there presumably have greater access to established co-ethnic networks than those who settled in other cities. According to Puskar (2007), “[t]he Bosnian Americans of Chicagoland . . . offered emotional and economic support, places to live, and guidance for the newcomers to navigate their new homeland”.

Although St. Louis was not historically a major destination for Bosnians, there were at least some Bosnians in prominent positions in the St. Louis community before the war, and they appear to have assisted in the refugees’ process of integration. Dijana Groth, a Sarajevo-born journalist, who had immigrated to St. Louis as a teenager in 1978 has been credited with playing an important role in this regard, writing about arriving refugees for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and then creating a bimonthly Bosnian-language magazine focused on the new community (Nathanson 30, De Voe). St. Louis may also be able to provide important network benefits simply by virtue of having become such a large destination since the 1990s. In addition to the refugees resettled there, there are reports that the city’s affordable housing and abundant jobs have made it a destination for

secondary migration by Bosnians who originally settled in other cities (Singer and Wilson, 2006, Matsuo, 2005). Matsuo (2005) characterizes the Bosnian population in St. Louis as having reached “critical mass” and achieved ethnic enclave status.

Even within these cities, however, Bosnians encounter an array of different social environments. It appears that former Abdić supporters are often marginalized from the rest of the Bosnian community, as are Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats (Wexberg Sanchez, 2012, Clemetson, 2007, Coughlin, 2011, Owens-Manley and Coughlan (2000), Coughlan and Owens-Manley). Moreover, Bosnians who succeed economically often move out of their original neighborhoods, leaving behind those who are struggling (Clemetson, 2007). Coughlan and Owens-Manley (2006) found this tendency toward residential mobility existed only among the urban-origin Bosnians they interviewed in Utica, New York. Many members of this group looked to higher education as a source of economic advancement and sought to cut ties with the Bosnian community as soon as they could. In contrast, their rural-origin respondents followed entrepreneurial strategies that depended on co-ethnic networks. These people concentrated in areas of Utica with the most affordable housing (mainly East Utica), they purchased and refurbished inexpensive, run-down houses—often within the first two years of their arrival—and they remained in these houses over time (Coughlan and Owens-Manley, 2006).

3. Data and Methods

The present article adds to this research by examining data on Bosnians available from the ACS, which has not yet been the focus of empirical work on Bosnian refugees. The ACS is a detailed survey that the U.S. Census Bureau administers every month, with data compiled and disseminated for periods of 1, 3, and 5 years. The survey was first implemented at full scale in 2005, with the goal of providing continuous measurements of the U.S. population instead of the decennial measurements provided by the census. The 5-year compilations provide sufficient sample sizes to make reasonable estimates about many population characteristics at geographic scales as small as census tracts or block groups, and about rare population characteristics at larger scales.

This article uses the ACS 5-year compilations for 2005-2009 and for 2012-2016. Estimates and confidence intervals of population numbers and census tract composition are taken from the ACS summary tables, with confidence intervals for aggregated estimates and proportions calculated from the published margins of error (U.S. Census

Bureau, 2008). Estimates of year of arrival and household income are taken from the Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS), with confidence intervals calculated using replicate sample weights (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). In all cases, 90% confidence intervals are used—shown in parentheses following all point estimates reported in the text below and in the thin vertical lines shown in the bar charts.

The primary variable of interest is each respondent's country of birth. This information comes from the responses given to the survey question, "Where was this person born?," which has check boxes and entry fields for, "In the United States – Print name of state," and "Outside the United States – Print name of foreign country, or Puerto Rico, Guam, etc." Respondents are thus free to list their country of birth however they want, and these responses are then geocoded to standardized country names.

Although the geocoding process allows for multiple alternate spellings and utilizes an automated algorithm for misspellings based on word sounds and common errors, the flexibility given to respondents leaves room for variation among the responses given by people born in states, like Yugoslavia, that have dissolved during their lifetimes. Someone born in Bosnia during the 1970s, for example, might list Yugoslavia as the place of birth or might list Bosnia even though it was not yet an independent state at the time. If the person were to list Yugoslavia, the geocoding process would not be able to derive a more specific result, since this could be a reference to any of the republics or autonomous regions.

We may speculate that people born in Bosnia prior to dissolution may be more likely to list Yugoslavia as their place of birth the older they are or the more they opposed Bosnia's independence, but there does not appear to be any good way to disaggregate the Yugoslavia responses. For purposes of this article, we must simply recognize that this is a source of error that cannot be quantified.

A related problem regarding country of birth arises specifically in the context of our focus on refugees. Even for people who report their republic of birth within Yugoslavia, this is not necessarily the country in which they fear persecution. In other words, many of the ACS respondents who report Serbia or Croatia as their country of birth, may have subsequently migrated to Bosnia and acquired Bosnian citizenship, and their refugee status may be based on their fear of persecution in Bosnia.

The other variable relied on here is median tract income. This is the median income of individuals who reside in the tract, who are over 15 years old, and who have income. It is computed, along with associated margins of error, by the Census Bureau as

part of the data compilation. For each county selected in the tract analysis, tracts are classified into 10 categories according to quantiles computed for the county tracts' distribution of median incomes. This makes it possible to compare the distribution of people across these tracts to the county's unique distribution of median incomes, determining the proportion of each population group that is allocated to tracts falling within each median income quantile interval. On the other hand, this also means that the quantile values may be different for each county, and this should be taken into account when making comparisons across counties.

Finally, this analysis relies on the year of entry variable within the PUMS data, and it compares this to yearly refugee admissions figures going back to 1992, obtained from the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (2006; 2010).

4. Results and Analysis

The following analysis begins with estimates of the total Bosnian-born population. It then moves to progressively smaller geographic scales, examining Bosnians' distribution across counties and then across census tracts.

4.1 Total Population and Timing of Arrival

The ACS estimate of the number of U.S. residents who report Bosnia as their place of birth is 117,696 (113,410-121,982) for the 2005-2009 period and 110,461 (106,570-114,352) for the 2012-2016 period. In addition, 108,969 (105,102-112,836) U.S. residents are estimated in 2005-2009 as reporting Yugoslavia as their place of birth and some of these were likely born in Bosnia or later became Bosnian citizens, as explained above. Even if we sum these figures on the assumption that all people reporting Yugoslavia as their place of birth were born in Bosnia (which is unlikely), the result is lower than the estimate of 350,000 to 390,000 people of Bosnian origin reported by the Bosnian Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees (2008). This is easily explained, however, by the fact that the Bosnian government estimate includes not just people born in Bosnia but also their children and grandchildren. Although the ACS includes questions on ancestry, it is not clear that these provide reliable indicators of Bosnian origin because of the variety of responses people may give (Bosnian, Yugoslavian, Slav, etc.), and they have not been analyzed here.

On the other hand, even taking the ACS estimates and not including any of the people who report Yugoslavia as their place of birth, this is a large number of people from such a small country. The 117,696 figure for 2005-2009 represents over 3% of Bosnia's total 2013 population of 3,791,622 (Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2013), and 10% of the 1.2 million refugees estimated to have fled Bosnia between 1992 and 1995 (U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, 2000). It also makes Bosnia the former Yugoslav republic with the highest number of natives residing in the United States: Based on the ACS for 2005-2009, there were only 44,593 (42,786-46,400) U.S. residents who report that they were born in Croatia, 26,180 (24,607-27,753) who report that they were born in Serbia, 22,692 (20,829-24,555) who report that they were born in Macedonia, and even fewer who report that they were born in Slovenia and Montenegro.

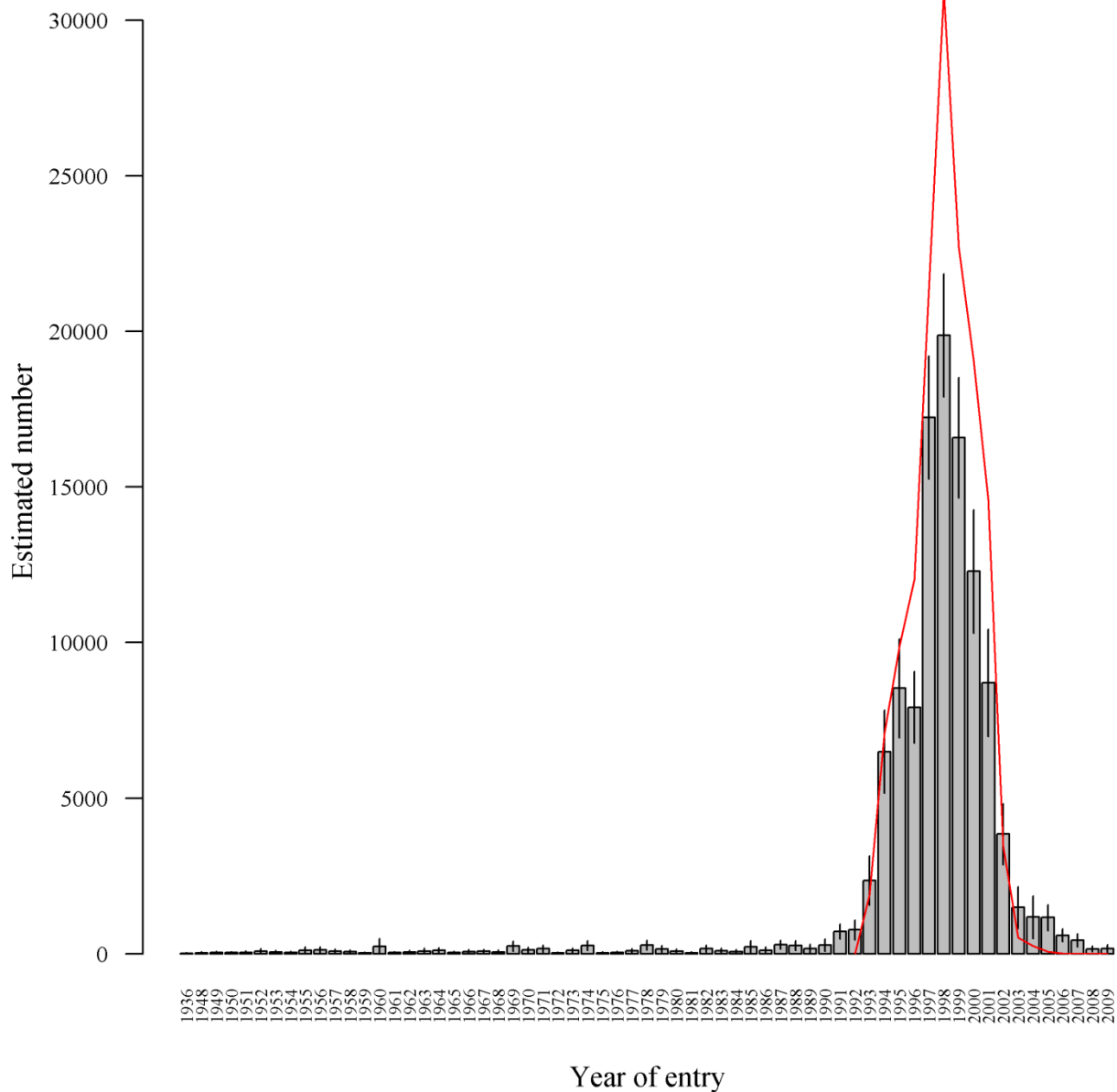


Figure 2: Bosnian-born population by year of entry. Red curve shows annual Bosnian refugee admissions from Figure 1. Data from 2005-2009 ACS.

It is not possible to distinguish refugees from other migrants in the ACS data, but the reported years of entry suggest that most Bosnians came to the United States through the refugee resettlement program. Figure 2 plots the ACS data on years of entry for U.S. residents born in Bosnia along with the U.S. Department of Homeland Security data on yearly refugee admissions from Bosnia. As can be seen, the curves track each other closely, although the ACS figures fall short of the settlement ones during years of peak resettlement (suggesting mortality, return migration, and/or underreporting in the ACS,

all of which are likely) while slightly exceeding them during other years (suggesting non-resettlement migration channels).

4.2 Distribution Across Counties and Metropolitan Areas

Figure 3 displays a map of the United States with the size of each county's Bosnian-born population indicated by color. It is clear from this that Bosnians are concentrated in a small handful of counties while largely absent from most. Based on the ACS estimates, only 147 counties contain more than 100 residents born in Bosnia, only 26 contain more than 1,000, and only 10 contain more than 2,000. In 2,778 counties, none of the surveyed people reported being born in Bosnia.

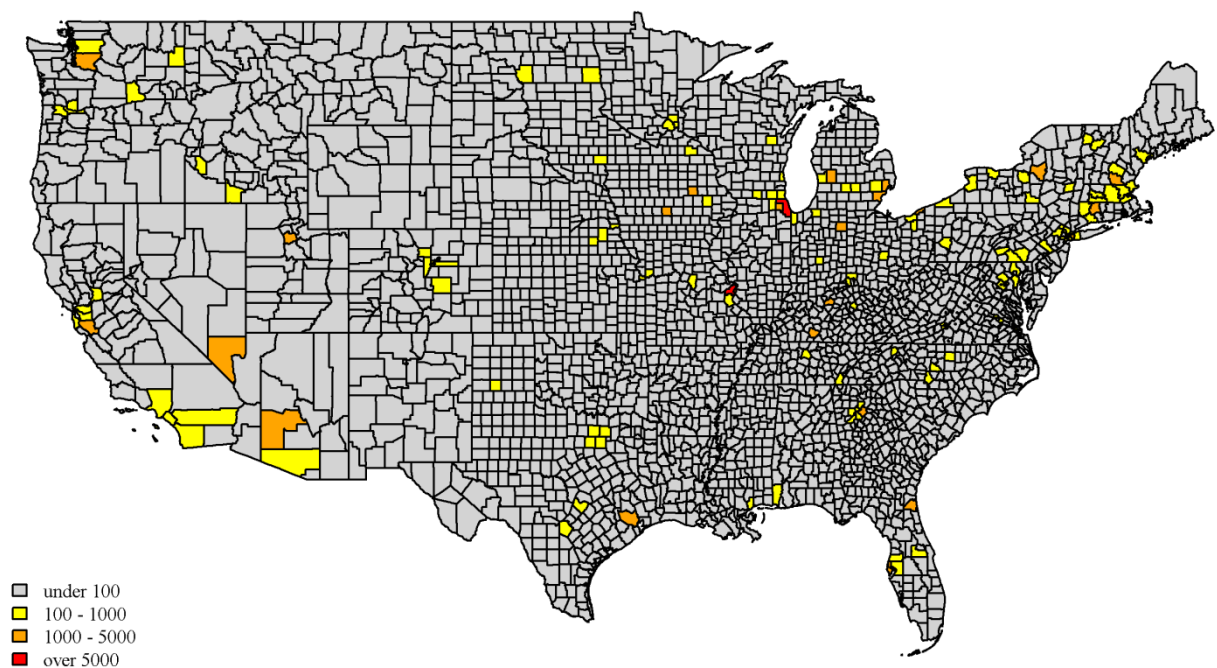


Figure 3: U.S. county populations reporting birthplace as Bosnia. Based on data from 2005-2009 ACS.

Figure 4 shows the ten metropolitan areas with the highest Bosnian-born populations based on the 2005-2009 and 20012-2016 ACS data. Chicago and St. Louis tower over the other areas, with over 9000 Bosnian-born residents during each period—more than double the populations of most of the others. This uneven distribution of Bosnians across U.S. counties is probably connected to three issues. First, this is a

population of relatively recent arrivals, and immigrants to the United States typically start out in highly concentrated areas, spreading out over time. Second, it is a population that arrived largely through the formal process of refugee resettlement, which meant that Bosnians were initially placed and given access to services and benefits in a set of specific host communities. While this type of process might be expected to either counteract or reinforce the social forces that tend to concentrate arriving immigrants, in this case it appears to have reinforced them. Third, we cannot rule out that part (or even all) of the observed differences in concentration and dissimilarity here is the product of statistical bias related to sample size.

The Bosnian-born populations in these metropolitan areas also appears relatively stable over time. The estimates mostly decrease from the 2005-2009 to the 2012-2016 periods, but, with the exception of Atlanta, it is impossible to distinguish these decreases from random noise. If we move beyond the top-10 metropolitan areas, we find only 8 others in which the change in population is statistically significant. As shown in Figure 5, Atlanta's change is the largest, with an estimated decrease of 1440 people. San Jose, Louisville, Nashville, and Boulder also appear to have lost Bosnians, while Sheboygan, Rochester, Washington, and Fargo had small gains.

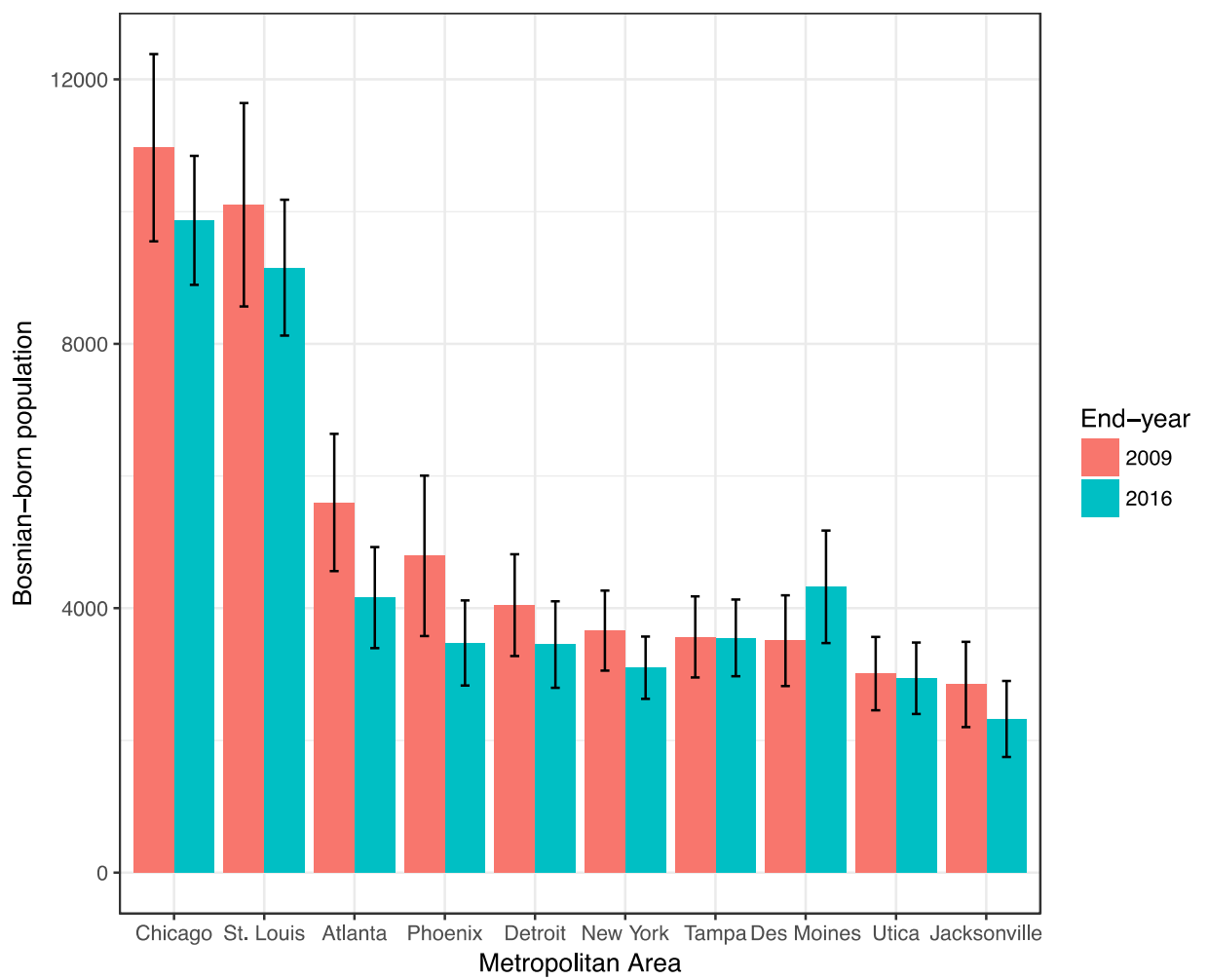


Figure 4: Estimates of the 10 largest Bosnian-born populations in metropolitan areas, based on 2005-2009 (red), and 2012-2016 (green) ACS data. Black lines indicate 90% confidence intervals.

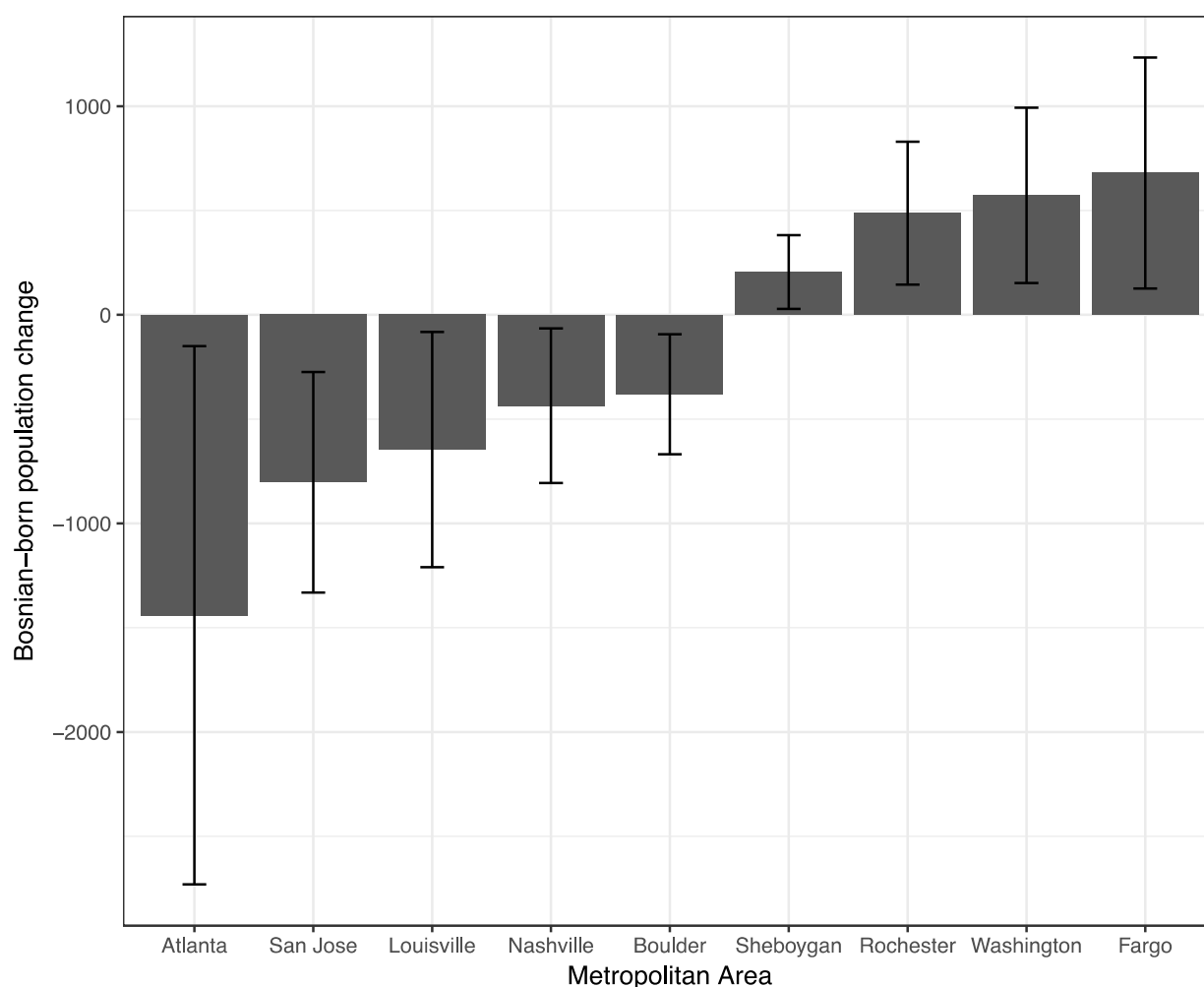


Figure 5: Estimated changes in Bosnian-born population between 2005-2009 and 2012-2016 in the 8 metropolitan areas for which such changes are statistically significant. Lines indicate 90% confidence interval on the difference in population estimates between the two periods.

4.3 Distribution Within Metropolitan Areas

The distribution of Bosnians across counties and metropolitan areas helps to illuminate their migration and settlement patterns and may have a variety of economic and social impacts on this population and its local hosts. Of more direct relevance to individual lives, however, is the population's spatial distribution at smaller scales. It is at the level of the neighborhoods in which people make their homes, go to work, bring their children to school, shop, and relax with friends that the effects of settlement patterns are often most clearly observable. It is also at this level that they encounter the highly segregated American society described above. It is, therefore, worthwhile to look at the socio-economic characteristics of the neighborhoods in which Bosnians live.

One way to do this is to group each metropolitan area's census tracts according to their total residents' median household income, and to look at the distribution of Bosnians across these groupings. Figures 6 and 7 show results of this approach for the 10 metropolitan areas with the largest Bosnian-born populations. The tract median incomes are grouped according to 10 quantiles calculated separately for each metropolitan area.

Figure 6 shows the results for the 2005-2009 ACS data, while Figure 7 shows the 2012-2016 data. In both cases there is an interesting pattern: Whereas the distribution of Bosnians in Chicago and St. Louis is centered on the middle-income census tracts, the Utica distribution is highly skewed toward the lowest-income tracts. Bosnians in other cities are distributed more uniformly across tracts, with some signs of population growth in the higher end tracts in Des Moines and Tampa. Results do not change if the quantiles are calculated for all tracts pooled and held constant across metropolitan areas.

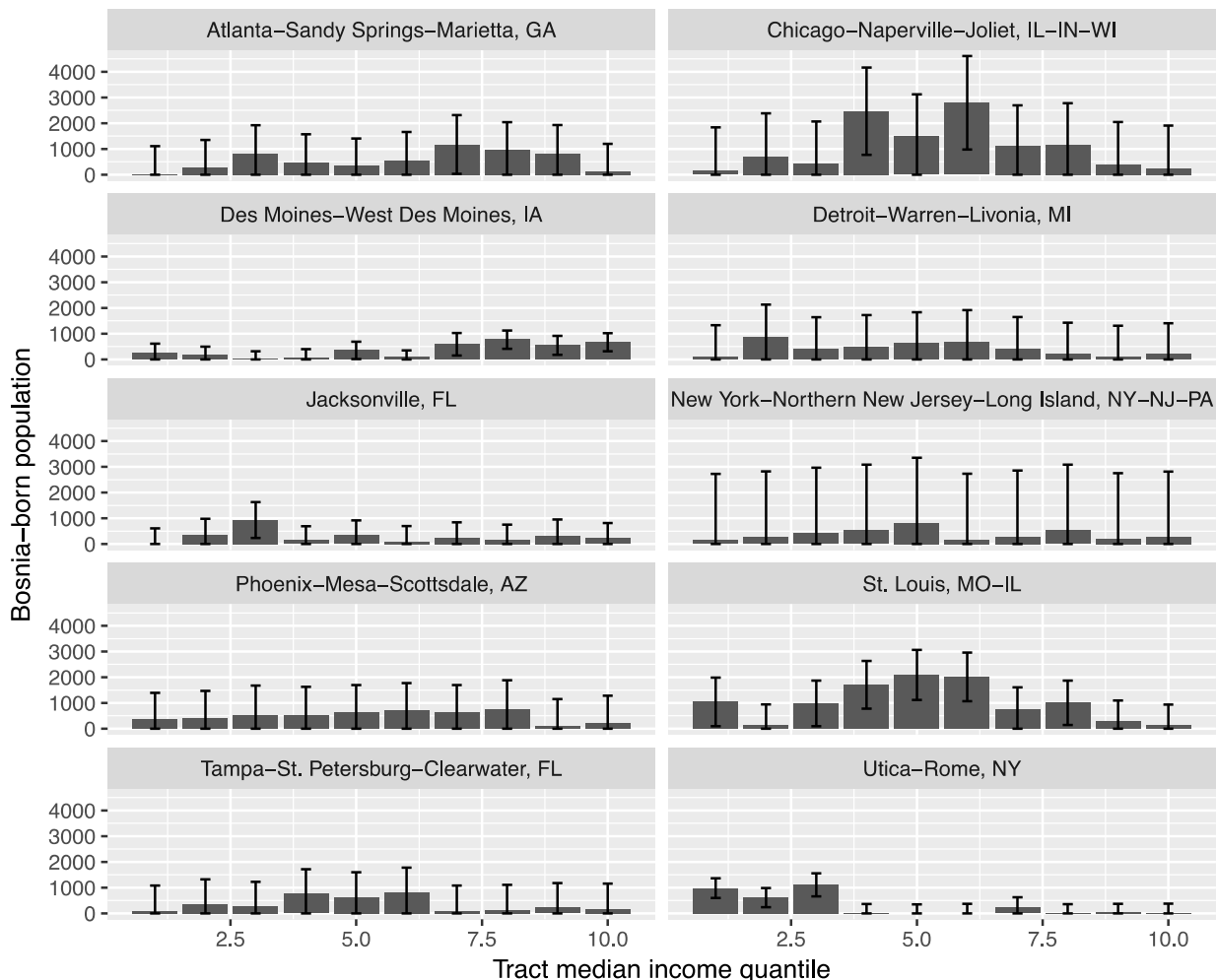


Figure 6: Distribution of Bosnian-born population across census tracts within selected metropolitan areas from 2005-2009 ACS. Census tracts are groups into quantiles according to median household income (all households); estimate and 90% confidence interval for Bosnian-born residents is shown for each quantile. The metropolitan areas displayed are the 10 with the largest Bosnian-born populations according to the 2005-2009 ACS.

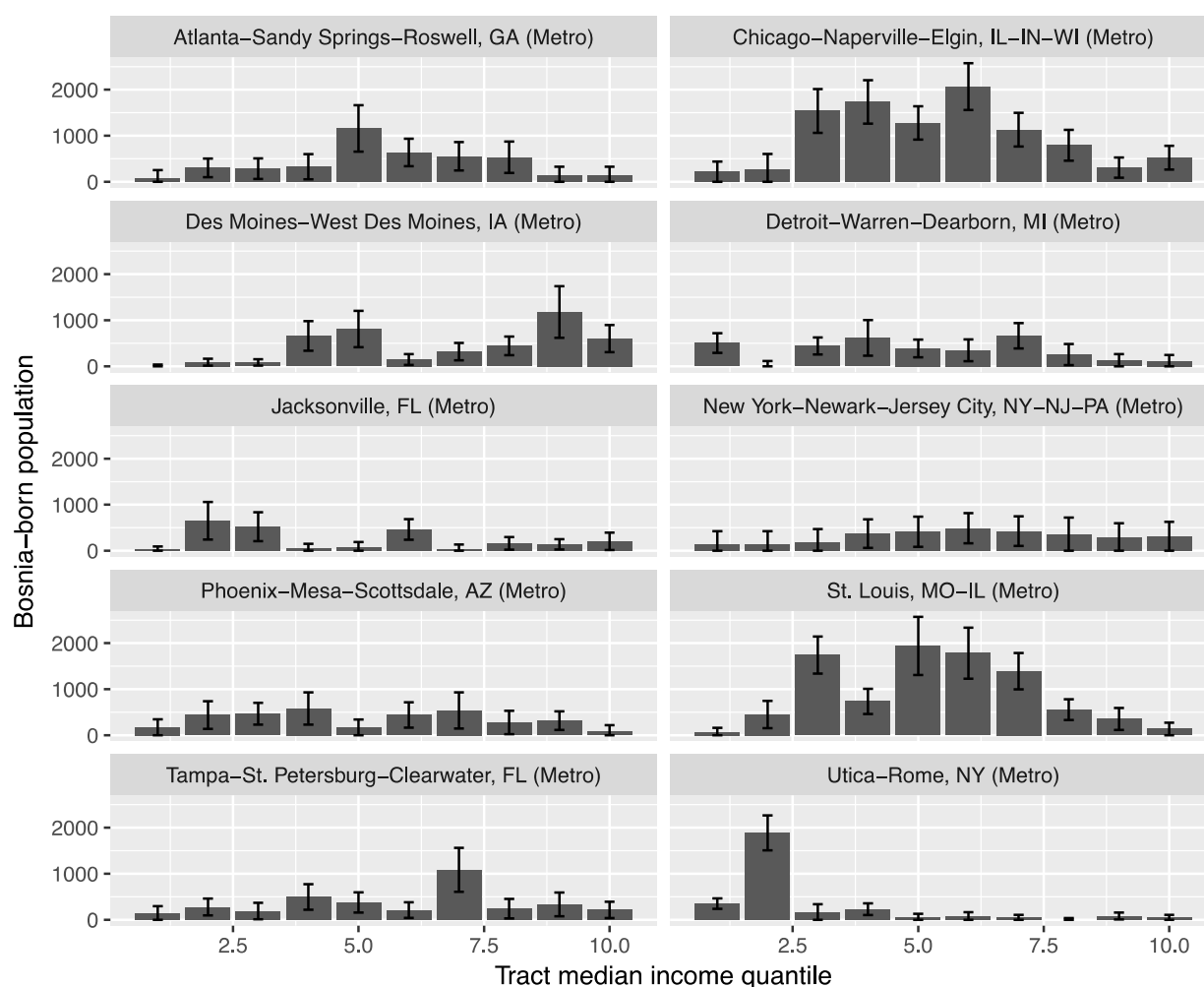


Figure 7: Distribution of Bosnian-born population across census tracts within selected metropolitan areas from 2012-2016 ACS. Census tracts are groups into quantiles according to median household income (all households); estimate and 90% confidence interval for Bosnian-born residents is shown for each quantile. The metropolitan areas displayed are the 10 with the largest Bosnian-born populations according to the 2005-2009 ACS.

Beyond the economic characteristics of Bosnians' spatial context, of course, it is also important to understand individual outcomes. The public ACS data does not include individual responses to the survey for areas smaller than PUMAs. Nonetheless, it is instructive to compare the responses of Bosnians to those of the rest of the population at the PUMA level. Figure 8 shows estimates of median PUMA family income among families with at least one Bosnian-born member compared to that for all families in the PUMA. Marker diameter is drawn in proportion to Bosnian population size. Horizontal and vertical error bars show the 90% confidence interval for each estimate and the PUMAs that overlap the Chicago, St. Louis, and Utica metropolitan areas are shown in color for ease of comparison with the census tract quantile results. The dotted diagonal lines indicate where the Bosnian population has equal median income as the rest of the

population; points lying under the diagonal are PUMAs in which the Bosnian family median is higher than the population median; those above it PUMAs in which the Bosnian families have lower medians. Although there are plenty of PUMAs on both sides of the diagonal in each time period, we see interesting movements over time as well: The incomes of Bosnian families in Utica appear to be decreasing relative to the rest of the population, while those in Chicago and St. Louis and are moving in the opposite direction.

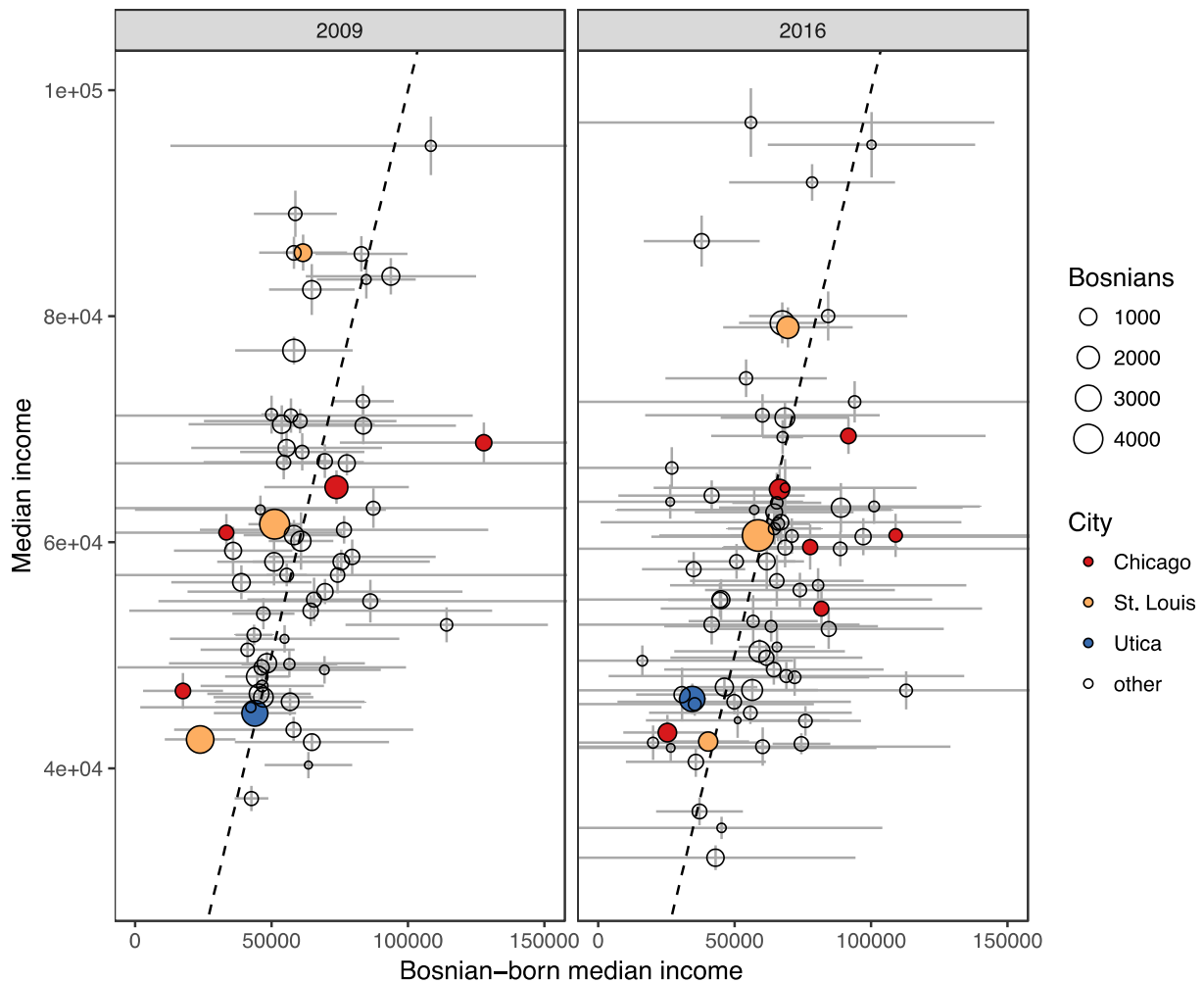


Figure 8: Median income of Bosnian-born residents versus that of all residents for each PUMA with at least 6 Bosnian-born respondents in the 2005-2009 (left) and 2012-2016 (right) ACS data. Marker diameter is proportional to Bosnian-born population size. PUMAs overlapping Chicago, St. Louis, and Utica metropolitan areas are marked in color for ease of reference. Dotted diagonal lines indicate equal values.

5. Discussion

The picture emerging from the ACS data is of a population that ballooned during the Bosnian war and the post-war period, remains highly concentrated in a small number of metropolitan areas. The population does not appear to be moving much between metropolitan areas, and within these areas it has different distributions that may reflect varying modes of incorporation. This picture raises two important questions: (1) What accounts for these patterns? and (2) What implications do they have for Bosnians in the United States and for their non-Bosnian neighbors? Although further research and additional sources of data will be needed to answer these questions, this section assesses the available information, sketches some of the possible shapes that the answers may take, and serves as a roadmap for future analysis.

5.1 What accounts for the observed patterns?

The rapid growth of the Bosnian-American population and its concentration in a handful of counties are both clear products of U.S. refugee resettlement policy. Although some refugees have returned to Bosnia and many Bosnians have come through other immigration channels, most Bosnian-born U.S. residents today came through the resettlement program, and they remain mostly in the primary resettlement destinations. Although there are reports from other sources of Bosnian refugee movements between population centers, there is little evidence of this in the ACS data.

The more difficult question has to do with the patterns observed within metropolitan areas. Why are Bosnians concentrated in the low income tracts in Utica, in the middle income tracts in Chicago and St. Louis, and more uniformly in other metropolitan areas? From what we know so far, it is possible to hypothesize that some combination of the following factors is at work:

First, Chicago was home to America's largest population of Bosnians before the war, and these people provided a valuable social network that aided the new arrivals. For a sense of the relative magnitude of this network, consider the country of birth data from the U.S. Census's long form questionnaire in 1990, just a few years before the outbreak of the war and the start of the resettlement program. Although Bosnia cannot be distinguished from other Yugoslav republics in this data (it was not yet independent), the estimate for Yugoslavia-born residents in Cook County (Chicago) is 19,334, compared

to 1,214 in St. Louis County and City combined, and 1,114 in Oneida County. A similar pattern (albeit with much smaller values) can be seen specifically among the Bosnians in the 2005-2009 ACS data: Looking only at people who reported their country of birth as Bosnia and their year of entry to the United States as pre-1992, the estimate for Cook County is 872 (580-1164), compared with 285 (72-498) for St. Louis County and City, and 107 (30-184) for Oneida County. Although relying on the Bosnian country of birth responses in the ACS surely leads to underestimates of the full Bosnian-born population while relying on the Yugoslavia country of birth responses from 1990 surely leads to overestimates, and while neither approach accounts for the Bosnian second generation, Chicago clearly stands out as the center of the pre-1992 Bosnian population, and this position very likely made it easier for Bosnians in Chicago to move to middle and upper income neighborhoods. As Puskar (2007) explains, Chicago's preexisting Bosnian community "offered emotional and economic support, places to live, and guidance for the newcomers to navigate their new homeland".

Second, although it started out with a much smaller Bosnian population than Chicago, St. Louis was home to a number of Bosnians who had already established themselves in the community when the refugee arrivals began (Nathanson, 2013). On top of that, the growing community of Bosnians in St. Louis ultimately became large enough to serve as its own protective network. This community reached, in Matsuo's (2005) words, "critical mass," achieving ethnic enclave status and driving economic advancement. In contrast, Utica's Bosnian population started out smaller and it has remained so. Although Utica's Bosnian population is large compared to that of other area, it is not driving economic growth at the same level as St. Louis's.

Third, the social and economic attraction of St. Louis may pull Bosnians away from smaller cities like Utica as they advance economically. Whereas refugees arriving in both St. Louis and Utica tended to settle in the poorest neighborhoods, those who were subsequently able to move out of these neighborhoods in St. Louis moved to other areas of the county so as to remain near the Bosnian population hub there. In contrast, it may be that those who have been able to move out of the poorest neighborhoods in Utica have moved to St. Louis or Chicago rather than to a wealthier Oneida County neighborhood. Although this is not showing up in the ACS data, it may be that the movements are too small to be detected.

Fourth, the heterogeneous nature of the Bosnian-American population is likely playing an important role. Social divisions within this population may exclude some

groups of Bosnians from important network benefits or may drive strategies for advancement with different spatial implications. These divisions may also coincide with individual skills, preferences, and other characteristics that directly influence socioeconomic conditions. It may be that the Bosnians in Utica's lowest income neighborhoods are pursuing strategies for advancement that revolve around the purchase and refurbishment of low-cost housing—a proposition that is clearly supported by the interviews conducted by Coughlan and Owens-Manley (2006). Or it may be that they simply started out with fewer resources as a result of the way different waves of refugees were selected.

Finally, there may be important differences between the poorest and wealthiest neighborhoods in Chicago and Utica such that the poor neighborhoods of Utica are more attractive for Bosnians than those of Chicago, while the wealthy neighborhoods of Chicago are more attractive or more accessible for Bosnians than those of Utica. Such differences might depend, in part, on the location of jobs and refugee support centers in each city, as well as on the functioning of public transportation systems.

5.2 What implications do these patterns have for Bosnians in the United States and for their non-Bosnian neighbors?

The broad spatial patterns shown here, on their own, tell us nothing about social outcomes. However, combined with theory derived from other immigrant experiences and rich details gathered through interviews with Bosnian-Americans in other studies, it is possible to begin formulating hypotheses as to the consequences of the Bosnian spatial arrangement.

Social networks and the social capital that may be derived from them stand out as important elements. Network effects may be causes of the settlement pattern, attracting secondary migration to St. Louis from initial places of resettlement, but they are also clearly channels through which this arrangement has other consequences for the lives of Bosnians. The extent to which Bosnian families are able to advance economically, but also the extent to which future generations retain their native language ability, culture, and connections to Bosnia, are all issues that will likely be determined to a large extent by the functioning of Bosnian social networks across the country. How these networks function, in turn, will depend on where Bosnians reside.

These issues relate to the question of how future generations of Bosnians integrate within American society. It would be too speculative to conclude, at this stage, that the presence of large portions of the Bosnian population in some of America's poorest neighborhoods is a sign or cause of downward socioeconomic mobility. The Bosnians in these neighborhoods may well be on their way to economic advancement, and the data analyzed here tell us little about characteristics of the Bosnian second generation that will need to be understood before any conclusion as to the process of incorporation is reached. Many accounts suggest that Bosnians in these neighborhoods do not face significant discrimination—indeed, that they tend to be given favorable treatment by employers, banks, and other important institutions. Nonetheless, the risk of downward assimilation may be present given the settlement patterns of Bosnians within the unequal structure of American cities. A growing distance between some Bosnian parents and their children—driven in part by language barriers—is evident in accounts of contemporary Bosnian-American life (Wexberg Sanchez, 2012).

At the same time, however, Bosnian refugees have been credited with driving economic growth and revitalizing the neighborhoods into which they have moved (e.g., Strauss, 2012; Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2013). Strauss (2012) argues that immigrants and refugees have been highly beneficial for the St. Louis economy, and he reports that Bosnian refugees, in particular, have

revitalized parts of South St. Louis City and South St. Louis County by moving into older neighborhoods, opening businesses and rehabbing housing. Bosnians opened many thriving small businesses including bakeries, butcher shops, coffee shops, construction and heating and cooling companies, insurance companies and a truck-driving institute, and continue to be a key source of high skilled production work.

Similarly, Coughlan and Owens-Manley (2006) report from Oneida County that “Bosnian entrepreneurs have opened restaurants, beauty shops, construction business and other enterprises to serve both the ethnic and general public.” Hagstrom (2000) estimates that the net fiscal effects of refugee resettlement in Oneida County start out negative (net costs) but become positive (net benefits) over time, with benefits stemming primarily from refugee participation in labor and real estate markets.

6. Conclusions

Refugee resettlement has transported a large portion of Bosnia's population to the United States and it has made Bosnian-Americans highly prominent in many parts of the country. Two decades after the first Bosnian refugee arrivals, there are many reasons to view the program as a success. Resettlement to the United States has provided a durable solution for many Bosnians in need of international protection. It has also helped many American cities make up for population loss and profit economically from new businesses, workers, consumers and homeowners.

The patterns of Bosnian settlement shown in this article suggest that the initial choices of resettlement destinations are important ones. Although Chicago was already an important center of the Bosnian-American population, other cities, like St. Louis and Utica, have become important centers largely as a result of these initial choices. Whereas immigration policy often has a hard time competing with social and economic forces in influencing migration, here we see a clear example of policy playing a big role in shaping and directing the flow of Bosnians into to specific communities.

Within those communities, the spatial distribution of Bosnians across neighborhoods raises important questions that should form the basis for further research. The distribution of Bosnians across middle income census tracts in Chicago and St. Louis and the skewed distribution toward low income census tracts in Utica is consistent with the theory that co-ethnic networks play an important role in the incorporation and economic advancement of immigrants in the United States. It may also reflect the heterogeneous nature of the Bosnian-American population, and it suggests that the Bosnian-American second generation may experience multiple modes of incorporation into American society.

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