

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Tired Bodies and Traveling Women: Gender and Economy in the Bosnian Refugee
Migration to the United States, 1992-2005

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS

for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Field of Anthropology

By

Christiana M. Croegaert

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

(June 2007)

© Copyright by Christiana Croegaert 2007
All Rights Reserved

Abstract

Tired Bodies and Traveling Women: Gender and Economy in the Bosnian Refugee Migration to the United States, 1992-2004

Christiana M. Croegaert

Bosnian women war refugees are not only trauma survivors, but are actively engaged in economic and social practices that shape their American sites of relocation. These economic activities—wage labor, and unremunerated volunteer and kin labor—are embedded in a moral framework of mutual obligation rooted in the concept *veze* / connections, and in householding practices in which women's work is prominent and valued. Refugees entered the United States during the end of the Cold War and the global rise in neoliberal approaches to governance both in formerly communist Europe and in America. Economic strategies cultivated during the socialist era prove useful in this new context characterized by refugee interactions with neoliberalizing state and faith-based institutions that posit a moral frame hinged on the figures of the Bosnian victim and American savior, who together enact a culture of dependency wherein women's work is not recognized. These figures travel as iconic images in popular media, but also are embodied in everyday interactions among American caseworkers and volunteers, and Bosnian refugees. I identify the tensions between peoples' sensibilities surrounding obligation and dependence through an ethnographic exploration of peoples' home, work, and cultural sites, and narrative depictions of war and refugee life. Here, the politics of representation is viewed as central to women's negotiations of postwar material life. American and European-produced

television, theatre, film, and textual depictions of refugees circulate widely in Chicago and in “Southtown” Massachusetts. I find that Bošniaks’ distinct status as both white ethnics and Muslims is central to these storylines. Finally, war narratives reveal the impacts of large-scale economic shifts in formerly socialist Europe, and in late capitalist America on Bosnians’ postwar lives. I engage scholars of neoliberal globalization, refugee studies, moral economy, and communication studies to investigate the circumstances under which women refugees are making do in America.

Acknowledgements

I owe a great deal to the mentorship of my dissertation committee members: Micaela di Leonardo, Katherine Hoffman, Helen Schwartzman, and Mary Weismantel. Drs. Hoffman and Weismantel taught me how to be an ethnographer. They challenged me to be attentive and sensitive—sometimes humble and at other times assertive—when learning about the lives of people who have come of age in a culture cultivated in a context different from my own. Each one of these teachers shared her desire to contribute to knowledge about regions of the globe outside the United States. Dr. Schwartzman urged me to pay close attention to how women situated their stories socially. Dr. di Leonardo's commitment to the effective use of the written word provided many occasions of frustration and laughter for both of us, and this dissertation would not look the same without her careful input in this regard. I am so grateful for her sharp tongue and extraordinary wit, through which she communicated her ambition that I always connect and subject what I learned as an ethnographer to broader theoretical and social concerns. Her life-long pursuit to trace everyday manifestations of large-scale global inequalities informed many moments of fieldwork, and the writing of this dissertation.

I am grateful to other readers as well. Victor Friedman, Larisa Jasarević, Snežana Žabić, Öykü Potuoglu-Cook, Niki Fabricant, Craig Tower, and Andrea Muehlbach all provided especially useful critical readings of portions of this dissertation. Paper presentations at UCLA, Stanford University and the University of Chicago also elicited insightful queries that contributed to my write-up.

In the field, I owe an enormous debt to Adela Sajdel-Cerić, Ajna and Goran Marić, Hasnija and Lejla Dedić. Azra Heljo, Jasmina Pojskič, Mensura Periš, Selena Seferović, Dr. Senad Agić and all the women at the community center, who contributed each in their own way to my research. Tim Amstutz, Dori Dinsmore, Diego Bonisatti and Scott Laing, along with numerous other staff at World Relief in Chicago, and at the local school and hospital in Massachusetts, generously set aside time in their busy schedules to talk with me about state immigration and refugee guidelines and services.

I received funding support for the research and writing of this dissertation from many sources. Research grants from the Mount Holyoke College Alumnae Foundation, Friends of Anthropology Northwestern University Alumni, and the Center for International and Comparative Studies at Northwestern University, allowed me to conduct field research from 2002-2005. The Northwestern University Alumnae Dissertation Year Fellowship write-up award made the first iteration of this dissertation possible, and a research fellowship with Jim Spillane in Northwestern University's School of Education and Social Policy saw me through the final stages of revision. Grants from The Graduate School and the Department of Anthropology at Northwestern University supported my presentations of this research at conferences at UCLA, Stanford University, and the 2006 AAA meetings.

Finally, friends and family cheered me on throughout this entire endeavor. Catherine Wirth and Janalee Croegaert located dozens of sources for me (on very short notice!) at the Northwestern library. Doug Bolender helped me prepare maps with GIS software. I might not have arrived at Northwestern at all were it not for the encouragement of Lynda Morgan and Roger House at Mount Holyoke who urged me to pursue graduate studies. Janalee, Jim, Jacob, Jubal, Care, Renee, Clivia, Frances, Katiti, Penny, Kelly, Jean, Miki, Marija, and Anna all helped

sustain me during this intensive and lengthy research project. In the end, this dissertation could not have been written without the support offered, and questions posed, by Tony Dugandžić.

Preface

September in Chicago

On a warm September Saturday night in Chicago a long line of people winds down Randolph Street towards Michigan Avenue, the eastern edge of the city's cultural and financial center "looped" by the Elevated train. We are waiting to see an outdoor play presented by Performing Arts Chicago and the School of the Art Institute in Chicago's not-yet-complete (and significantly over-budget) Millennium Park. Every few minutes a young frazzle-faced woman emerges from behind the ticket table to survey the line. It is the final night of the troupe's run here, and as they have received several favorable write-ups in the weekend entertainment sections of the city's daily newspapers, there isn't enough room to admit everyone in line. My companion and I confer anxiously with the spikey-orange-haired woman in front of us: will we get tickets, or will they sell out before we make it to the head of the line?

I was particularly interested to see "Carmen Fenubre"—Funeral Song—because the show centered on the recent wars that marked the dissolution of the Yugoslav state—events that made refugees of more than two million people, upwards of 30,000 of whom had recently made the city of Chicago their new home. Their postwar lives were the topic of my dissertation project, and I hoped I might see some of the Bosnian Yugoslavs I had already met in this beginning stage of my ethnographic fieldwork.

Luckily, I did not. The performance was a truly terrifying event that powerfully enacted forced displacement, destruction of homes and cultural sites, mass killings and rapes—the

hallmarks of war all-too-familiar to the women and men with whom I had spoken. They didn't need reminding. So who did?

What story could this performance narrative, staged by an internationally acclaimed avant-garde Polish theatre troupe against the backdrop of Chicago's museums, elite hotels and corporate headquarters, and sponsored by the Consulate General of the Republic of Poland, the Polish Cultural Institute, the Chicago Park District, the Mayor's Office of Special Events, and the Polish National Alliance of North America—how could it relate to the Bosnian Wars and the wartime creation of a refugee population of nearly one million people?

Carmen Funebre in Millennium Park

The Bosnian Wars (1992-1995) were the topic of Polish theatre group *Teatr Biuro Podrozy*'s original production, *Carmen Funebre/Funeral March*. The cast included five soldiers, two warlords, one grim reaper (all male figures) and five civilian victims (two women and three men). The performance attempted to create audience confusion and terror by making use of the informal everyday outdoor space and a minimal set against the backdrop of the Chicago skyline. Spotlights beamed from the arms of masked warlords draped in long dark capes, as they roamed to and fro on stilts to ferret out select actor-victims planted next to unsuspecting audience members. Soldiers made a circle around one of the warlords' female victims, and used a rope to pen her, fling her about, all the while drunkenly spitting red wine at her. The men's wine-soaked mouths and the woman's torn red dress signaled the bloody rape we witnessed.

Shaken throughout the performance, I watched and listened for other audience responses. People seemed disoriented—perhaps the troupe members felt this disorientation would help communicate the victim's horror. The program contained a note about the play, “inspired by the

war in Bosnia and other ethnic conflicts,” but I overheard confused remarks: “Okay...what was that all about?” and relief: “Glad that’s over,” once the performance ended. So, the audience seemed successfully disoriented and frightened—the perspective of the victim—but their apprehensions of the story were also in keeping with most of the American scholarship and journalism I had encountered about the wars: Bosnians were victims, nothing more, and nothing less. Victims of their own catastrophic chaos.

But here in the city of Chicago lived more than 30,000 survivors. At this show about Yugoslavia, about Bosnia, where were the Bosnians? Where were the Yugoslavs? I didn’t see any people I knew, and while I heard many people speaking Polish, I didn’t hear anyone speaking Bosnian. This seemed odd to me in a city with such a large Bosnian refugee population—the largest outside of Europe—and hundreds of thousands of second and third generation immigrants from former Yugoslavia. Later that week I checked with some of my interlocutors to see if they had heard anything about the performance. None of them had. Rather than an exploration of Bosnian subjectivities, the performance seemed to highlight the recent symbolic currency of the region as a site of political violence and backward ethno-nationalism enacted by victim and victimizer—the dark side of Europe.

Broadway Avenue

Chicago’s Broadway Avenue begins on Devon Avenue in the northside neighborhood of Rogers Park. It stretches south through Edgewater, Uptown, Lakeview, and Lincoln Park. The length of Broadway from Devon Avenue to Hollywood frames the eastern border of the Edgewater and Uptown neighborhoods, two of five northside communities with the highest concentration of Bosnian refugees in the city. Among the video stores and groceries located

between Devon and Wilson, and catering to African, Latino, and Asian immigrants—from Ethiopia, Nigeria, Mexico, Colombia, China, and Vietnam—are cafes offering Bosnian *burek*. Ground beef or lamb sweetened with onions is rolled into tubes of paper-thin, handmade phlo-dough. Once filled, a tube—often several feet in length—is wound in the shape of a pinwheel and baked for an hour or so; the result is a fragrant meat pie, typically about 6-8 inches in diameter, that is eaten with kefir yogurt. The heavy burek fills the stomachs of many Bosnian men, such as Adil, who work as contract or day laborers on building rehabilitation projects that mark the gentrification of the city's northeast corridor.

When I first met Adil, he lived with his two daughters in a HUD-subsidized apartment in a high-rise apartment building in Lakeview. It didn't look very different from the concrete high-rises on the outskirts of Sarajevo, where he and his wife had lived. She had died during the war. Adil is a quiet man with a tired face, and often smells of alcohol. His seventeen year old and twelve year old daughters are more talkative, but I was warned by another Bosnian woman to watch my belongings when around them: they are rumored to pick pockets and purses. Substance abuse, domestic violence, and teenage pregnancy are reported to occur at higher rates among Bosnian immigrants than in the general population¹. To earn cash, Adil did odd jobs for the building superintendent, sometimes working on other residences in the city owned by the same man who owned Adil's building. While Adil's work situation was common among male Bosnian

¹ Personal communication, John Psiharis and Jasmina Pojskič. To date, no formal studies of these phenomena among Bosnians in the United States have been conducted. People expressed great concern about these issues, which they explicitly defined as effects of militarization and wartime violence, and the difficult circumstances of living in America: finding stable employment, accessing health services, and adequate care for the very young and very old. Concern for the sick and very old pertained not only to those in American, but those who remained in Bosnia as well. Although refugees were concerned with these aspects of wellbeing, they were also cognizant of the stigma many Americans associated with them and with their homeland, and were thus often reluctant to discuss these problems with people outside of the refugee community.

refugees to the city, Bosnian women were more likely to find employment in the unskilled or semi-skilled service sector.

Fatima worked in the bakery at the local Jewel, at Berwyn and Broadway on the border of Edgewater and Uptown. Across the street from banks, churches, a car wash and auto repair shops, the supermarket sets off the city's eastern skyline: the CTA Red Line set against a mixture of low to mid-size multi-family residences. Between the building gaps is the blue-gray of Lake Michigan. Signs advertising "luxury condominiums" litter side-street lawns of buildings like the ones in which Adil worked, upgrading the interiors for new owners who would displace the previous renters who could not afford to become homeowners—many of whom the newcomers would never meet.

It is likely that some of the audience members at Millennium Park lived in the city's Edgewater neighborhood, and shopped at the Jewel on Broadway. Maybe they had visited family members at Resurrection Medical Center, near O'Hare International Airport. Or perhaps they were out-of-towners staying at the four-star Sheraton Hotel near the elite Gold Coast district on the Chicago River at Columbus and Water Streets, where the Chicago River meets Lake Michigan. If this were the case, then Adil may have knocked down the old plaster walls and hung the new drywall in their bedroom, or Fatima may have baked the loaves of Italian bread they ate with dinner before heading downtown to Millennium Park. Nadija and Hadidja might have replaced their wet towels with dry ones at the hotel. Perhaps Mediha cleaned the urine around the outside of their mother's toilet in the hospital.

In any event, it seemed that while Americans readily consumed the wartime drama of these refugees' lives, they were oblivious to the laboring bodies of refugees all around them: baking their bread, transforming their homes, cleaning their toilets and sheets. We consumed not

only their stories, but also their labor. In this dissertation, I attempt to tack back and forth, between these war narratives and the working and domestic lives of Bosnian refugees in the United States.

Neoliberalism and Bosnian Refugees

The hallmarks of neoliberalism and attendant policy reforms are central to understanding how Bosnian refugees arrived in the United States, and how they negotiate their postwar lives. Geographer David Harvey describes neoliberalism as “in the first instance, a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey 2005:2). According to Harvey, this theory has “become hegemonic as a mode of discourse,”—a taken-for-granted set of economic premises that, rather than envision the state’s role as a regulating body that alleviates the extraordinary wealth disparities produced by free-market capitalism, presumes governments’ involvement only as guarantor of free markets and military force. Neoliberal logic dictates that government should abandon existing amelioration of extreme poverty and wealth, move to privatize public resources, and finally withdraw entirely once full free-market capitalism is attained (Ibid. 3).

Harvey’s vision of the spread of neoliberal ideology helps to place the Yugoslav wars in a global political-economic perspective. As a non-aligned state, accepting foreign loans from both the west and the east, the nation found itself beholden to structural adjustment policies in the form of “shock therapy”—the name given to deregulation and privatization policies demanded by foreign investors such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund—

earlier than any other East European Communist country (Woodward 1995: 28, 256). Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo were the poorest of the Yugoslav state's six republics and two semi-autonomous territories, and they were the areas with the most fighting, sustained the most infrastructural damage, and suffered the largest refugee flights during the Yugoslav Secession Wars (Ibid. 258). And not only did Yugoslavs begin to feel the crushing demand of structural adjustments in the 1970s and 80s, but they entered the United States as refugees at the height of neoliberal policy implementation here. The welfare reforms of 1994, 1996, and 1998, and the continuing deregulation of the financial services industry from the late 1990s to the present, have significantly shaped the ways that Bosnian refugees live in America, and the ways in which they relate to their former homeland. In the United States, this reform was characterized by the shift in perception whereby "[welfare] benefits were no longer seen as an entitlement...but as an exchange for labor" (Goode and Maskovsky 2001:5). Access to such benefits in socialist Bosnia were technically available to every Yugoslav citizen, but in reality—as in the United States—were dependent on one's social networks. Now in both Bosnia and the United States, the institutions of "civil society" are increasingly integral to the dispersal of social benefits.

But Harvey's claim—that neoliberalism has become a hegemonic form of discourse—bears closer scrutiny. Among whom is this discourse hegemonic? I found that Bosnians in the United States adhere to somewhat different principles about what a market should be, and how governments should deal with wealth and poverty. Kinship networks, religious tenets, and socialist principles all figure prominently in Bosnians' engagement with American institutions. Many refugees are actively involved in gaining access to social services provided by various governing bodies, at the federal, state, county, and municipal-level. They are also very much enmeshed in credit card and mortgage debt as a way both to finance connections with Bosnia,

and to manage expenses in the United States. As we will see, living and working in America in this period of neoliberal reform does indeed place great strain on Bosnian social relations, and shapes the ways that people think of themselves and their kin as moral beings. This study, then, is situated to apprehend “the diversity of ‘actually existing’ neoliberalisms,” (Gledhill 2004:334) by focusing on the everyday lives of refugees.

Performance and refugee life

The performance of everyday life—where individuals are viewed and view themselves as social actors—is one domain through which social scientists have attempted to understand the effects of broad shifts in social and material life (Lefebvre 1991; Thompson 1964). Some scholars emphasize what they view as people’s resistance in these everyday interactions (de Certeau 1984) and people’s strategies for shaping an encounter (Goffman 1997), while others view daily practice as comprised of endless repetitions circumscribed by an extraordinarily limited performance repertoire (Bourdieu 1977). Judith Butler expresses this latter view in her elaboration of the concept of “performativity” (Butler 1990:145).²

I find the focus on constrained performance to be useful, but I understand interactions to be dynamic—as opposed to static—encounters, through which interlocutors produce unique social material, a substance whose effects and reception we cannot predict. While I focus on the performance of everyday activities—preparing food and coffee, working, and returning home from work—I also focus on staged performances, including live theater, television, and film, that attempt to depict—as did the performance in Millennium Park—the wartime and postwar lives of Bosnian refugees. In stressing individuals’ agency as social actors in their everyday lives, and

² Philosopher John L. Austin is widely credited with the concept of a “performative utterance” (2001 [1962]:6). Austin employed the idea of the relative effective performativity of an utterance to theorize the constitutive functions of language in social life.

their depictions in explicitly staged performance, I hope to identify the social categories and moral forces that such performances index, or point to. This approach is similar to the one taken by anthropologist Alaina Lemon in her study of Roma in Russia, where she sought “[t]o both differentiate and connect performance and the performative...by unpacking ideologies about what frames them” (Lemon 2000:25). As we will see, the plights of refugees have generated a significant body of scholarship and popular productions drawn from refugee narratives. But these works fail to investigate the social and economic work done through the exchange of these stories.

Anthropologist Liisa Malkki, for example, focuses in on what she labels the “mythico-history” (1995: 54) narratives of Hutu refugees living in exile in a Tanzanian refugee camp during the 1980s, and funded by western-based Protestant evangelical church groups. Malkki chooses to represent these narratives as a montage of “panels [that] sometimes...present a record of one person’s words; at other times composites of several persons’ accounts on the same theme or topic will form one panel. The particular constructions of each panel will be explained in an appended footnote” (Ibid. 56). Thus, Malkki ignores the particular contexts of interaction, without which we fail to grasp how individuals and groups may use a story to persuade, instruct, critique, negotiate or affirm certain positions. We get no sense of these refugees as individual social actors who, through their daily interactions, differentiate from and align themselves to various places, and social categories. Rather they are presented as members of an opaque collectivity. In contrast to Malkki’s approach, I employ an ethnography of communication paradigm to record and present Bosnian refugee narratives in order to discern how people strategically use sites and situations to manage their postwar lives.

Is Bosnia in Iraq?

The ideological work that people do with stories about Bosnia depends on who is narrating and to whom they are speaking. Among the policymakers whom Victor Friedman labels “Internationals,” Bosnia is a metonym for western apprehensions of ethnic and sectarian conflict (Friedman 1996). This trope was brought home to me personally in an encounter with an American delegate of the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMiK). Jim Wasserstrom described himself as “overseer” of the Office of Oversight of Publicly Owned Enterprises (POEs) and came to give a talk at my university about his experiences in this role, focusing especially on telecommunications and electric utilities. Seated around an oval wooden table in an old Victorian house—now home to Northwestern University’s Center for International and Comparative Studies—graduate students and faculty listened to Jim describe the “blank slate” this “new country” offered where the plan was for “government-owned businesses to be run by business people.” The boards of directors for the utilities he described currently consisted primarily of international corporate executive officers (CEOs). Jim viewed privatization as inevitable—people (he referred here explicitly to Kosovar Serbs) had to understand that “electricity is not a human right; they’re going to have to pay for electricity like everyone else in the world.” Despite my astonishment at his apparent disregard for the socialist paradigms that were prominent in parts of the world such as Latin America, what was most striking were Jim’s explicit and consistent analogies drawn among the cases of Bosnia, Kosovo, and Iraq. In fact, after five years stationed in Kosovo—whose status as an independent country will be decided in June 2007—Jim was leaving to consult on the United States’ state-building project in Iraq. And it is not only among international policymakers for whom Bosnia and Bosnians serve as a special kind of example.

Bosnia among Cultural Theorists

Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai attempts to outline a new way of thinking about ethnicity and “the new violence”—an alternative to the “ancient ethnic hatreds” model for thinking about the role of ethnicity in contemporary conflicts. In a chapter subsection titled “Ethnic Implosion,” the case of Bosnia—along with Rwanda—becomes a site of Lacanian betrayal: “When the neighborhood merchant is revealed to be, in his heart, a Croat, when the schoolteacher turns out to be sympathetic to the Hutu, when your best friend turns out to be a Muslim rather than a Serb, when your uncle’s neighbor turns out to be a hated landlord—what seems to follow is a sense of deep categorical treachery, that is, treachery about group identity as defined by states, censuses, the media, and other large-scale forces” (Appadurai 1996: 154).

Cultural Critic Slavoj Žižek uses Bosnia as a rhetorical device that opens and closes his series of essays, *The Metastases of Enjoyment: on Women and Causality* (2005 [1994]). Žižek also employs Lacanian theory, to interrogate the “ancient ethnic hatreds” reading of the wars in Bosnia, and posits that “The principle obstacle to peace in Yugoslavia is not ‘archaic ethnic passions’ but the very innocent gaze of Europe fascinated by the spectacle of these passions” (Ibid. 212). I attempt here to describe the everyday lives of people—what Žižek writes is so noticeably lacking in western depictions of post-Yugoslav life. The author, writing from Slovenia, reminds us of the “The unbearable fact that...*there is no difference* [between western Europe and Yugoslavia]: there are no ‘Balkanians’ in Sarajevo, just normal citizens like us...it is no longer possible to draw a clear and unambiguous line of separation between us who live in a ‘true’ peace and the residents of Sarajevo who pretend as far as possible that they are living in

peace—we are forced to admit that in a sense we also imitate peace, live in the fiction of peace”

(Ibid. 2)

The heavy scrutiny Bosnia and Bosnians have received from international aid organizations, scholars, policy analysts, and reporters is deeply felt by the refugee diaspora in America. When I first interviewed Selma in a Starbucks coffee shop in Edgewater, she acknowledged the difficulties Bosnians encountered in the United States, including what I had observed with Adil and his daughters: substance abuse, early pregnancies, gang activity, but she implored me to record the “success stories” of her generation’s last six years living in this country. Here, then, I bring together refugee studies, ethnographic and discursive analysis and political economy to investigate gender and migration in a time of dramatic shifts in labor, wealth, and poverty policies. I hope to have captured some semblance of what Selma would view as “success” among the diaspora, while also documenting the struggles of living and working, postwar, in a new country during a time of global economic change, manifested in the bodies of everyday people living in very local places.

List of abbreviations

AFDC	Assistance to Families with Dependent Children
BCSN	Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian/Montenegrin internationally recognized acronym for languages that were officially given the label Serbo-Croatian, the southern Slavic language of the Yugoslav state.
BiH	Bosnia-Herzegovina
FYROM	Free Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDHS	Illinois Department of Human Services
JNA	Yugoslav National Army
PRWORA	Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act
RS	Republika Srpska
SDA	Stranka Demokratske Akcije / Party of Democratic Action
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WR	World Relief

Note on Language and Pronunciation

(adapted from Petković, Nada 2003 and Bringa, Tone 1995)

j	“y” like yes
c	“ts” like cats
č	hard “ch” tip of tongue
ć	soft “ch”=blade of tongue
ž	“zh” “s” as in “leisure”
dz	“dzh” tip of tongue
dj	“dzh” blade of tongue
š	“sh” as in show
nj	like “ne” in “news”
lj	“llio” as in million
a	“a” as in father
e	“e” as in bet
i	“e” as in she
u	“oo” as in food

I refer to the language spoken by Bosnians as “Bosnian,” as this was the way people most commonly labeled their language. But “Bosnian,” like the ethnic label “Bošniak” is a relatively recent term applied to the language that under the Yugoslav state was called “Serbo-Croatian.” The Serbo-Croatian standard was based on the late nineteenth century Bosnian *ijekavian* variant associated with the Herzegovina in particular. It is a phonetic language so that every written letter is heard when spoken. Officially, Yugoslavs were to be conversant in both Cyrillic and Latin scripts, although this skill varied widely and was especially depending upon the speaker’s regional and class affiliations. I use the Latin script. The language “Serbo-Croatian” is undergoing great transformation in the region, and in how it is taught outside of former Yugoslavia. When I took formal instruction in 2003-04, the language was listed as “BCSN” Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, the label affixed to it by the International community. I have never heard this term used by anyone I met from the region. Although language is a highly sensitive issue for some—and was a site of contest during and after the war—many people in the United States refer to the language with the encompassing label *naš jezik* / *our language* when they are in settings that include Yugoslavs from different regional and ethnic backgrounds.

I dedicate this project to my son, Sean Croegaert-Key:
May you greet the world at every moment with curiosity and contemplation

Table of Contents

Preface	7
Chapter One: Introductions	25
Is Bosnian a Keyword?	25
Settings & Methods	37
Chapter maps	46
Conclusion	49
Chapter Two: Clever Women and Chaotic Kinship	54
Café Chat: work, war and coffee	54
Making Refugees	58
Sexible Bodies	60
Wartime Violence Hits Home	77
Conclusion	78
Chapter Three: A Trade in Stories	80
Stories for Sale	80
Weaving Connections: Chicago to Bosnia	95
Promućurna Žena: A concept lost in translation?	111
Conclusion	113
Chapter Four: Tired Bodies and Turkish Coffee	115
Preparing Bosnian Coffee in America	115
Bosnian Coffee, American Coffee: Coffee Communications	118
Histories and Icons	125
Conclusion	140
Chapter Five: Migration Melancholy in the new Bosnian Diaspora: Demanding Mothers, Spent Sons and Daughters	142
Yugoslavia, the United States, and Capitalist Cannibalism	143
Bosnia Bound?	162
Conclusion	169

Conclusion 171

References 180

List of Maps & Figures

Maps

- 1 Map of the Balkan Peninsula, ca. 2007
- 2 Map of Bosnia-Herzegovina, ca. 2007
- 3 Map of Eastern United States, ca. 2007
- 4 Map of Bosnian residential areas in Chicago, ca. 2007

Figures

- 2.1 Lana's Rain
- 2.2 Characters from "The Last Witness"
- 3.1 Berger Park event, "Women of Bosnia"
- 3.2 Terrorism timeline, Srebrenica memorial
- 3.3 Woman narrates war at Srebrenica memorial in Daley Plaza
- 4.1 Dunkin' Donuts advertisement
- 4.2 Devon Market coffee aisle
- 4.3 Šehovic coffee installation in Sarajevo

CHAPTER 1: Introductions

Is Bosnian a Keyword³?

In spring 2005, Sabina, enrolled at one of Chicago's local colleges, wrote her undergraduate honors thesis about small businesses operated by Bosnian immigrants to the city. As well as being a college student, Sabina was among the 30,000 Bosnians who had relocated to the city as refugees between 1992 and 1999. After we shared Bosnian bibliographies, Sabina told me of her difficulties in locating scholarship about this recent migration: she had been searching for references using the keywords "diaspora" and "immigration" in association with "Bosnian"—but these combinations produced no results. I responded that during the course of my own research on this new movement of people out of the former Yugoslavia to the United States, I quickly learned that most of what had been published thus far could best be located using the keyword "refugee."

In Bosnian the word for refugee, *izbjeglica*, is derived from the verb *izbjegavati*, meaning to avoid, evade, escape or elude. A refugee is someone who runs away, a person to be pitied, not trusted. Becoming a refugee can bring shame and rob one's dignity. These meanings do not share the more accommodating English associations (from the French) with a distressful situation that one flees in search of shelter and protection: a place of refuge. *Dijaspora* (diaspora), on the other hand, has no Bosnian or English translation from the original Greek. Like the English "refugee," *dijaspora* emphasizes expulsion from a place, dispersal in new places, and connections across space—referring to a group of people who feel they share a common origin linked to a place they

³ I draw here on the organizational and analytical scheme of Williams (1977) and Weismantel (2001).

were made to leave against their will. *Imigracije* (immigration) refers neither to flight, nor to expulsion, but emphasizes choice: movement from one country of residence to become formally resident in another. Sabina's frustration directs us toward key points central to this dissertation's premise: I suggest that by focusing on the social relations attendant to this population transfer, we learn something both about social forms that are unique to this migration, as well as the broader political economies that temper people's trajectories. Thus, my analysis will be useful to scholars interested in similar processes of cultural and political economic change. An appreciation of the significant meanings Bosnian coffee-making practices, and the circulation and exchange of debts generated by filial duty hold in the lives of some of these newcomers, is deepened by a firm grasp of the role of neoliberal institutions like USAID, World Relief, the Department of Human Services, and financial services industries, in mediating the new Bosnian arrival to the United States.

Refugee, Immigrant, Economic Migrant?

War produces refugees. Hundreds of thousands of homes were destroyed or damaged during the violent contest over the postcommunist future of the Yugoslav state in Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia between 1991 and 1999. Nearly one quarter of the 4.5 million people living in Bosnia-Herzegovina were displaced as a result of these "small" wars. Because Slavic Muslims were targeted disproportionately for wartime violence, and had no "ethnic" homeland to which they could flee (as did Croats and Serbs)⁴ many states classified them differently than Slavic Christians under their guidelines for admitting refugees. According to the United States 2000

⁴ Of course, co-ethnic refugees were not met with open arms in Serbia and Croatia either. Bosnians are generally stereotyped as bumbling peasants in other parts of former Yugoslavia—particularly in the northern republics. Villagers—negatively referred to as *seljaks*—have been displaced to urban spaces across the region, where they are often looked down upon by established city-dwellers.

census, 114,000 persons listed their “area of birth” as the former Yugoslavia; 98,000 listed their “area of birth” as Bosnia-Herzegovina.⁵ The majority of these people entered the country as refugees, and were Slavic Muslims from Bosnia-Herzegovina, with smaller refugee populations from Kosovo, Montenegro, and Serbia. Chicago is the largest relocation site for Bosnians in the United States, with nearby St. Louis coming in a close second. By the year 2000, nearly 45,000 Bosnians lived in Chicago and ca. 40,000 in St. Louis.

Living by the label “refugee” greatly colors Bosnian experiences of migration. As Liisa Malkki has noted, “[T]he refugee is not a self-defining, generalized category, but ... a particular social construct which enters in complex ways into the politics of everyday life” (1995: 7). In addition to recognizing the social constructions involved in the category “refugee,” I argue that Bosnian experiences of refugee life—as with any refugee population—are inextricably intertwined with material life and the political economies of postwar Bosnia and their new home-states. One of our problems in apprehending the creation of refugee populations is that economic factors are erased within the official refugee rubric. According to the United Nations High Commission on Refugees, a refugee may be any person who

[O]wing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinion, is outside the country of his [or her] nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear or for reasons other than personal convenience, is unwilling to avail him [or her]self of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his [or

⁵ QT-P15, Region and Country or Area of Birth of the Foreign-Born Population: 2000, Data Set: Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF-3), American Fact Finder. Other former Yugoslav republics are not listed in the census because emigration from Slovenia, Croatia, and the Free Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia F.Y.R.O.M., to the U.S. was not statistically significant. For much of the 1990s, “Yugoslavia” encompassed Serbia and Montenegro—including highly contested Kosovo. Stripped of international recognition of the title “Yugoslavia,” and with Montenegrin independence (2006) and the status of Kosovo to be decided in June 2007, this area is now potentially comprised of three sovereign territories: Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo.

her] former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear or for reasons other than personal convenience, is unwilling to return to it.”⁶

Most countries, including the United States, uphold this standard, set by the UNHCR in 1951.

Refugees are not permitted to claim persecution based on economic status. As a result, scholarly analyses of refugee migrations often obscure—or omit entirely—economic statuses of refugees.

Much of the writing on Bosnians displaced by the war, for example, emphasizes disorder and destruction of the individual psyche, a preoccupation that simultaneously erases differences within, and is a conflation of, refugee experience. For example, Eva Huseby-Darvis’ comparative work on “cognitive dissonance,” defined as “the conflict between belief and action,” among Bosnian refugees in Hungarian and American refugee camps focuses on refugees’ expressions of conflicting emotions regarding the desire to return home (Huseby-Darvas 1997). Such cognitive models presume a psychological as well as socio-political homeostasis and fail to account for the social and material realities in which people negotiate their refugee migrations. Indeed, one of the key findings in Malkki’s comparative study of Hutu refugees living in exile in a Tanzanian township and a Tanzanian refugee camp is that people in the camp developed a more explicitly political relationship to the homeland, in contrast to that of their township counterparts. Thus, Malkki’s study highlights the role of place—and context—in shaping experiences of refugee life. I found that Bosnian refugees in Chicago and Massachusetts do not choose between an old Yugoslav life and some new homogeneous American life.

Hundreds of thousands of people of southern Slavic descent and Balkan origins live in Chicago. The presence of established markets for regional Slavic and Balkan foods, along with

⁶ “Self-study module on Refugee Status Determination,” United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, September 2005, pp. 5-6. www.unhcr.org

vendors, shopkeepers, employers and state employees who speak varieties of Serbo-Croatian, predate the recent Bosnian diaspora arrival in the city. In my other research site located in “Southtown,” western Massachusetts, Bosnian refugees made use of ethnic markets catering to the large Polish immigrant population in nearby Springfield and Holyoke. Employment patterns in both sites were similar: the state permitted refugees to receive TANF (Temporary Assistance to Needy Families) for a limited amount of time, and urged people towards wage-labor most often found in the rapidly expanding service sector. Housekeeping, home health care, hotel and hospitality sites in the backstage of the kitchen, retail sites—also in the “back of the house”—and waste removal, semi-skilled factory and construction work, were among the primary places of employment for refugee newcomers in Massachusetts and in Chicago. Some men in Chicago also found work in relatively high-paying industries such as meat-packing and trucking.⁷

As welfare recipients and service sector employees, Bosnians are linked to other poor populations. At the same time, many Bosnians achieved high levels of skill and education in Yugoslavia and have been able to enjoy some upward mobility during their years in the United States. Some of the women who worked first as housekeeping staff at Chicago’s Sheraton hotel, for example, are now employed as clerical workers for the hotel. Other refugees were able to gain access to some of their assets before leaving Bosnia—or forced to sell things under duress—and brought modest lump-sums of money with them which they cleverly failed to declare to religious and state agency caseworkers.⁸ This money could then be invested in small-scale informal economic ventures. Finally, Bosnians in Chicago were able to access networks of

⁷ Several World Relief employees told me that a meat packing company—they weren’t clear on the name of the company—approached the organization asking for referrals for workers the company could use to replace employees they had lost during an INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) raid at one of their Chicago plants. Starting wages at this site were reportedly \$9/hr. in 1996, according to WR staff.

⁸ Evidence of any sum of money beyond several hundred dollars would disqualify a person for welfare. In Massachusetts during this time of massive welfare reform, a car was considered a disqualifying asset. As a result, many people did not declare ownership of a car, or put title in someone else’s name.

established Yugoslav migrant communities, opening up avenues of employment and housing. But even with these “success stories,” the 23 percent poverty rate among Bosnians is the highest among immigrant groups in Chicago—compared, for example, with the 2 percent poverty rate among Filipino immigrants—and most closely approximates the 24 percent poverty rate found among the metropolitan region’s black American population.⁹

Refugee experiences also have varied greatly based on place of residence at the time of displacement. Each town and its surrounding villages occupied different strategic positions during the war. Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, was the most heavily defended site during the war. The SDA-led green berets fought off the invasion of the Bosnian Serb-led JNA (Yugoslav National Army, essentially controlled by the Milosevic regime based in Serbia). In contrast, Prijedor, located near the borders of Serbia and Croatia in the north of Bosnia, was taken over by the JNA who forced Muslim residents to leave their homes and relocate to concentration camps outside the city limits, such as the infamous Omarska camp. Not far west of Prijedor is Bihać, the political base of Fikret Abdić—an industrial agricultural farmer who opposed the SDA (Stranka Demokratske Akcije) Sarajevo government led by Alija Izetbegović. Abdić and his supporters allied with the Bosnian Serb Army against the JNA and the Izetbegović’s SDA “greens,” and drew controversy by brokering deals with both Croatian and Serbian parties in order to avoid more fighting in western Bosnia. In Chicago, there are large numbers of people who supported Izetbegović along with many Abdić supporters. These political divisions were especially salient for those who arrived in Chicago after 1995, and shaped refugee social networks in the city.

⁹Rob Paral and Michael Norkewicz (2003). Latinos and Asians have poverty rates of 16 percent and 9 percent respectively. See Rob Paral, Timothy Ready, Sung Chun, Wei Sun (2004) United States 2000 Census, File 3. The Chicago Metropolitan Region here includes city and suburbs with the six-county area of Cook, DuPage, Kane, Lake, McHenry, and Will.

Population Shifts

Rather than limiting analyses of refugee migrations to the elements contained within the definition of refugee—race/ethnicity/nationality, religion, political opinion—it makes more sense to extend and connect refugee studies to other analyses of population movements so that political economy is not elided, but remains central to our understanding of the production of refugees within the matrix of global inequalities.

Migration studies find that economic migrants are produced by “push-pull” factors in the sending and receiving states. In the United States context, a classic example of this is the Bracero Worker agreement between Mexico and the United States established during WWII. United States employers directly recruited Mexican nationals through this program to labor legally in the U.S., often for lower wages than Americans were willing to accept. This “pull” factor worked in tandem with the “push” of lower wages and lack of employment options in Mexico. Gina Pérez narrates the deliberate recruitment of Puerto Rican laborers to Chicago in the immediate postwar period (2001: 48) and Black southern laborers migrated to northern cities enticed by employment offers and entrepreneurial opportunities in what became known as the Great Migration beginning in the post-Reconstruction era (Drake and Cayton 1962 [1945]: 430, 523). Worker recruitment programs such as these often benefit employers because when laborers are far from families and lack English language skills, and are unaware of their rights in the United States, they are much less likely to organize collectively and bargain with employers.

Southern Slavs began migrating to the United States in the late nineteenth century—coincident with the decline of Ottoman rule in the Balkan Peninsula, and the rise of Austria-Hungary. Subsequent migratory waves flowed into the U.S. during the founding of the first Yugoslav state, post WWI, and the second Yugoslav state, post WWII. It should not be

surprising that Chicago has been a primary site of Balkan migration throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century. In fact, most of the states receiving Bosnian refugees during the recent war are states that had an established history of Bosnian labor migration—among these Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Sweden. The push-pull phenomenon encourages long-term relationships and movements between places, a dynamic that scholars have tried to understand through various analytical frames within the recently established and rapidly growing field of globalization studies (Sassen 1998).

Increasing mobility and communication between places facilitated by more nonstop flights, the Internet, and cellular phone technologies are changing the ways that people relate transnationally. Some scholars have shown that these new developments are not always liberating for the masses as is often claimed by their proponents. Aihwa Ong, for example, explores the use of *guanxi* – a concept tied to family honor, obligation and discipline practiced among Hong Kong émigrés. Ong finds that these elite immigrants are able to “[b]oth circumvent *and* benefit from different nation-state regimes by selecting different sites for investments, work, and family relocation” through what she labels “flexible citizenship” (1999: 112). The practice of *guanxi* in the context of global capitalism creates a “regime of kinship” about which Ong is careful to make clear that “there may not be anything uniquely ‘Chinese’ about flexible personal discipline, disposition, and orientation; rather, they are the expressions of a habitus that is finely tuned to the turbulence of late capitalism” (136). Ong builds on earlier research on “transnationalism,” a category meant to encompass migrants’ sustained connections between different nation-states, and is further refined to refer to “transnational processes” that are always historically, socially, and spatially “embedded in the local” (Glick Schiller, Basch, Blanc-Szanton 1992: 1; 1995: 684).

Bosnians in the United States are bound by workplace and home-life demands for increased productivity and decreased remuneration that are the hallmarks of neoliberal capitalism (Went 2000, Sassen 1998, Harvey 2005). Rather than limiting our purview to a “refugee study” that omits the work and family economies to which they are subject, refugee life must be understood not only as a product of nation-state development and devolution (Malkki 1992, Appadurai 1996) but also in terms of their social roles as laborers and kin members.

Social Networks

One way in which scholars understand and write about by the Bosnian Wars is as evidence of the failure of communism in Southern Europe (Wachtel 1998). Even if they are not interpreted as communism imploded, the wars are an indication of—and are produced by—shifts in the organization of state sovereignty and the nation in Eastern Europe. In responding to Glick Schiller, et al’s conceptualization of “transnationalism,” Katherine Verdery alerts us to different understandings of “nation” (1994: 4). Distinguishing between the predominant notion of “nation” in western Europe and the New World—implicit in Glick Schiller et al’s definition—and that of “nation” in Eastern Europe, the fragmentation of Yugoslavia figures as the tragic version of Verdery’s Eastern European national actualizations, where “[p]eople in Eastern Europe see things differently; they see ‘nation’ as having to do with ethno-cultural homogeneity and as having at best a tenuous relation to the territorial limits of polities. A nation, in Eastern Europe, is not a ‘country,’ though it is unfortunately—as the examples in collapsed Yugoslavia all too painfully show—ever in quest of one” (1994: 3).

One of Verdery’s insights with reference to this latter conception of nation is the role such ethno-national affiliations may play in the organization of social networks that were central

to the practice of getting by in communist Europe.¹⁰ Among Bosnians, such connections are commonly referred to as “*veze* / connections” from the verb “*vezati* / to bind/tie.” In the case of former Yugoslavia, Susan Woodward suggests that the relatively high rates of unemployment in the country—in contrast with other socialist states—created an economic setting in which most people relied on multiple sources of income: official wage employment, small business and trade in the unofficial economy based on agrarian and urban trade networks, and remittances from workers living abroad. According to Woodward, Yugoslavs began working on the production of “personal capital” earlier than any other East European communist country. She attributes this phenomenon to the country’s “international position” and its “global market integration” (1995: 28). Indeed, Tito opened the country to foreign loans in the 1950s, thereby establishing relationships with the IMF and World Bank in the form of debt that would continue to grow.¹¹

Citizens of Yugoslavia (with the exception of those found to be enemies of the state regime) had much greater freedom to travel than did other communist citizenry. Most commonly, men, and later women, went to Germany or Austria to work as *gastarbeiter/pećalbari* or guest workers/migrant laborers. But Yugoslavs also worked in Libya, Syria, Turkey, Pakistan, Egypt, Sweden, and emigrated to France, England, the United States, Canada, and Australia. War refugees working abroad today send back remittances to Bosnia that the World Bank conservatively estimates at 22.5% of Bosnia’s Gross Domestic Product, in an economy where nearly two-thirds of the annual budget services an onerous foreign debt (ICG

¹⁰ Verdery describes communist Europe as “shortage economies” wherein people developed a “variety of personalistic ties, which enabled [them] to avoid having to queue for goods and thereby facilitated acquisition or procurement” (15). The role of social networks in postcommunist Europe is studied in a number of scholarly projects, see Humphrey 2002, Gal & Kligman 2000, Mandel & Humphrey 2002, and Burawoy 1992.

¹¹ Woodward argues the foreign loans also masked the realities of unemployment.

2001: 2).¹² The war devastated economic infrastructure through damage to physical, bureaucratic, and social relations, but the scaffolding of the postwar economy is held in place by social networks that preceded the dissolution and reorganization of the state. As early as 1961, for example, wage remittances were equal to 50% of Yugoslavia's foreign trade debt (Woodward 1995: 315).

I found that Bosnian refugees to the United States are involved in social networks through which they constitute a set of kin-based obligations. I understand these obligations not as a holdover from Titoist Yugoslavia, nor derived from a necessarily Bosnian sensibility, but as linked to neoliberal transformations in global capitalism that lead to shifts in the everyday labor of work and affective care. I select the work "kin" in order to encompass the various sets of belonging—family, friends, "ethnic community," patrons and clients—that comprise the relationships that significantly modify people's connections with state and private institutions. I label "care networks," these dense and overlapping social networks through which people give and receive material and affective care. Bringing Caroline Humphrey's call to identify and understand what sort of social assemblages neoliberal capitalism creates—not only what this ideological force in practice destroys—to the U.S. context, I foreground the connections between postwar Yugoslav economies and late-capitalism in America.

Is Bosnian a keyword? part ii

Although ethnicity is just one among many claimed affiliations for people in the Bosnian diaspora, it is an important aspect of postwar life. Returning to Sabina's comments and the problem of keywords and subject headings: the label "Bosnian" is a *new* category for immigrants

¹² The World Bank estimates are based on numbers gathered in 2005; the ICG (International Crisis Group) numbers are based on Bosnia's annual budget from the year 2000. According to the World Bank, the countries joining BiH in this heavily remittance-reliant category are: Haiti (24.8%) Lesotho (25.8%) Moldova (27.1%) and Tonga (31%).

to the United States from Bosnia. While the boundaries demarcating Bosnia as a region have hardly changed over the course of the past six centuries, territorial sovereignty has: Ottoman occupation lasted from the 15th to 19th centuries, transferred to Austro-Hungarian rule (1878-1914), and then Bosnia became part of the first Yugoslav Kingdom (1919-1941) and the Yugoslav Communist state (1945-1990). During this recent history, Bosnia has always been a territory within a rubric of broader state authority. The first, second, and third waves of immigration from Bosnia to the United States coincided with the transfer from Ottoman to Austro-Hungarian rule, the installation of the interwar Yugoslav Kingdom, and the Communist state led by Josip Broz Tito. Immigrants to America were categorized variously as “Slavs,” “Serbs” and “Croats,” and their places of origin listed as Austria-Hungary and later Yugoslavia. Post-1995 Bosnia-Herzegovina bears the dubious distinction of being an internationally recognized state as well as largely occupied and operated by international authorities, a condition I revisit in greater detail below.

As far as official labels are concerned, the 2000 census is the most relevant for my purposes, as the vast majority of Bosnians entered the United States between 1992 and 1999. In this census, “Bosnian” is not listed as an option for first-language or national ancestry for foreign-born respondents, although Bosnia-Herzegovina is listed as a possible “region and country or area of birth” (U.S. Census Bureau QT-P15, 2000 Census). Slavic Muslims were not counted as an official “*narod/nacije* / nation” in socialist Yugoslavia until the 1971 census, where people were given the option of identifying as “Muslim,” instead of only Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian, Macedonian, or Yugoslav. Slavic Muslims claim a Southern Slavic and Turkish Ottoman heritage and are heavily represented in Bosnia, Kosovo, Montenegro, the Sandzak, and Macedonia. These are areas that have recently been most contested in the Balkan

Peninsula, and were also the most well established Ottoman provinces on the Peninsula [see maps 1,2].

The label “Bošniak” is now used by many Slavic Muslims in the above regions to identify as a “nation” of the kind Verdery describes. The use of Bošniak in this way dates back at least to the late nineteenth century and Austro-Hungarian administration of the region. A Bošniak political entity was viewed by Austro-Hungarian authorities as a buffer between the growing Southern Slav unity among Croatia and Serbia, at the time also occupied by Austria-Hungary (Greenberg 2004:140). Many Slavic Muslims in the United States identify as Bošniak, but as I have shown, other affiliations are often equally salient, among these regional, and town/village associations. I do not use the term Bošniak uniformly to refer to Slavic Muslims from Bosnia, and choose instead to use “Bosnian” to refer to people from Bosnia unless Bošniak ethnicity becomes relevant within the ethnographic encounter.¹³ But ethnicity is not the only way that religion is relevant to Bosnian refugee migrations.

Settings & Methods

Neoliberalism and the increasing role of faith-based agencies in fulfilling social welfare needs

My introduction to the presence of Bosnian refugees in the United States came in 1995, when Hana’s sister Lejla arrived at the park across the street from my apartment in Northampton, Massachusetts. Lejla was twelve at the time, and was in charge of her brother, Seod 6, and her nephew Tino, 8. Lejla introduced me to Hana and her husband Goran when they showed up at the park weeks later. I came to know their three-generation family over the course of the next two years and maintained contact with them, visiting many times after I moved to Chicago in

¹³ I did find significant ethno-national political organizing, and cultural productions, centered on Bosniak identity in Chicago, but not in Massachusetts.

1997. Through the Marić-Dedič families I was introduced to several other refugee families who had been resettled to “the happy valley”.

The role of religious institutions and state welfare programs in organizing the “resettlement” process for refugees was undeniably large. These institutions and their representatives loomed in the background of many interactions, especially in initial introductions to America, and they seemed often to cause personal discomfort to Hana and her family. In order to arrive as a refugee during this time, one needed sponsorship by a family member (at first quite broadly defined), or a faith-based institution. “Sponsorship” in the case of a family member or employer required those entities to demonstrate capacity for, and legally commit to, supporting their “client,” guaranteeing that the refugee would not make extended use of the state welfare system. “Sponsorship” in the case of a faith-based institution meant that the institution would oversee locating housing and employment, ensuring that this process took no more than three months. In exchange, the sponsoring organization received a per capita grant from the federal government for each refugee served. The Friends Meeting (Quakers) and a Lutheran congregation sponsored Hana’s family.

Welfare employees and congregants were entitled certain access to refugees’ lives. In the public assistance office, Hana met with caseworkers who—through an interpreter, another refugee named Mujko—asked her to declare any money or valuables she might have brought with her, and attempted to ascertain all the members of her household and their relation to one another. She had to visit the local hospital and undergo a physical exam to make sure she did not have any undetected illnesses. Congregants would stop by her apartment—sometimes unannounced—for home visits. I recall one such very awkward visit by two women Friends/Quakers. Rather than the expressive woman I’d grown accustomed to, Hana became

very quiet and reserved in the presence of these women, producing one-word responses to their questions. They had brought some used kitchen items, donations from other congregants: several cooking pots and a set of drinking glasses. After the visitors left, I helped Hana carry the items from the front room down the hallway to the back of the apartment, to the kitchen. As Hana found space in her cupboards to stow the items, I asked her what she thought about the visitors. In response, she pointed to a large pressure-cooker on the stove. This was one of the items she had managed to bring with her from Bosnia. Touching the pot's heavy copper bottom, she informed me that the dense underside contained twenty layers of metal, and was much better than the tinny pots the church-women had brought. Hana felt the women didn't expect her to know about quality cookware, and further, they had asked how she liked another donation now in the front room. This large and imposing sofa was upholstered in a nubby polyester fabric of mustard-yellows and yellowed-greens. She hated the couch. It was one of the first donated items she replaced, with a set of thin modern black aluminum-framed futons purchased from Caldor.¹⁴ Hana sewed black slipcovers for the futons and made throw pillows of brightly colored orange, yellow, and black patterned fabric.

Kumstvo Vacation

Hana managed the power imbalance between her family and their religious sponsors by establishing a godparent relationship between her son, born two years after their arrival in Massachusetts, and a Lutheran pastor and his wife, Jeff and Sally. The institution of godparent relations is referred to as "kumstvo" and is documented in English most extensively by Eugene

¹⁴ Caldor was a Northeast department store chain that went bankrupt in 1999.

Hammel. Hammel even cites the use of *kumstvo* in the migration context as a way to establish membership and stake a claim in a new community (1968: 87).

Hana hid Leo's baptism from her mother, as her mother would not have approved of her grandson being baptized a Christian. Hana's and Goran's initiation of the godparent relation highlights the patron-client relation that the sponsorship organization of refugee relocation resembles. They established a long-term relation with this couple that helped them gain access to resources ranging from school admission advocacy for Leo to vacations on the Connecticut seaboard. During my visit to Southtown in summer 2003, for example, Hana informed me one afternoon that we would all be driving into the hills the following morning in order to spend several days at Sally and Jeff's "lake house". The next morning, Hana, Goran, Tino, Tino's friend Karma, Leo, and my son Sean and I all piled into their minivan to head into the hills. An hour later we entered the lake house—an uninsulated wooden cabin situated on the banks of a tiny muddy lake. The place was a shambles. It looked as if it had been years since anyone had stayed there. During the drive up, Hana had informed us that we would be straightening up the house for Sally and Jeff, who in return for our work had agreed to let Hana and the family spend four days and nights at their house on the coast in Connecticut.

It was obvious that we had more to do than straighten the place up—it required a full-on cleaning. We labored hard for the next three hours with Hana serving as our forewoman. Once we had finished, we propped ourselves up on crates around the wooden door over horses that served as our table, and ate a lunch of Wonder Bread, Oscar-Mayer hot dogs, and Kool-Aid.

Contestations

The links among social categories, communication, and individual and group identities are central to my understandings of Bosnians' experiences in the United States. I explore these connections by attending to the minutiae of everyday encounters in which we observe the tensions involved in migrating from Bosnia to the United States, surviving a war, and Bosnian refugee links to at least two different market economies, each guided by often disjunctive moral economies. I find Kate Crehan's proposition—that anthropologists and ethnographers are uniquely situated to identify hegemonic struggles—to be a useful roadmap for this project. Crehan addresses specifically Antonio Gramsci's struggle to develop the concept of hegemony in his *Prison Notebooks*, finding that Gramsci grounded his understanding of hegemony in a focus on social practices understood in historical context (Crehan 2002). I hope here to have identified competing ideologies brought into focus through my situated study of the Bosnian refugee migrations to the United States. These ideological frameworks are broad in scope, reaching regional and sometimes global salience. Even as I attempt to capture this far-flung reality by documenting, for example, the impacts of neoliberal incursions into social reform in both the United States and Bosnia, I also render what is particularly Bosnian—at the time of my writing—in the ways these changes are felt and managed. In this way, my study emerges from the vein of scholarship Micaela di Leonardo has labeled a “culture and political economy” approach to social science, grounded in the ethnographic method of participant-observation (1991: 36).

I chose to use primarily ethnographic methods for this project. Because I was interested to learn about how large-scale policies such as the neoliberalizing welfare and financial reforms in the United States, and the decline of the communist state in former Yugoslavia, were felt by individuals and what kinds of group practices people engaged in to negotiate these changes,

participant observation was an integral part of the research. I conducted participant-observation over the course of three years at a community center in Chicago. In Massachusetts I attended hospital visits and school meetings with members of the Marić-Dedič families. I conducted semi-structured interviews in both Southtown and Chicago in people's homes, the community center, World Relief, the Bosnian mosque in Northbrook, restaurants, and worksites. I collected eight life histories through which I gleaned case studies for this project.

I realized early on that a focus on communication was critical for capturing the complexities of migration, and especially of the urban site of Chicago. Attention to framing and indexicality of activity—how people select their words, their gestures—allows us to understand people as individuals *and* group members. I draw here on the work of language and communication, most especially Goffman's "participation frameworks" and Goodwin's "participant frameworks" (Goffman 1974, 1981; Goodwin 1990).

Finally, I move between evidence of the grand narrative of nationhood and modernity (in which Bosnia and its people figure as lagging behind in a global race to nation-state formation, just as the European nation-states are to reconfigure into the greater entity of the EU—doomed always to play catch-up) and the conversations that accompany the mundane everyday tasks of tidying a home, shopping for and preparing food, and caring for children, to engage the subjectivities that arise out of encounters between Bosnian newcomers and others in America. Women refugees' perceptions and characterizations of the United States, and of their former homeland, interrupt ubiquitous stories of American Progress and Balkan Backwardness. Their disturbances suggest the teleological tropes of American-bred democracy and neoliberal capitalism offer less-than-desirable explanations and remedies for their displacements.

My Bosnian language approximates the English skills of the elder generations: those who emigrated as adults. With these people—often women—I conversed in a patched-together mixture of Bosnian and English. Younger generations more often preferred to talk with me in English because this was easier for them than listening to my beginner’s Bosnian, and also because they were proud of their English skills, which they wanted to display and refine. During much of the field research I had a partner who was born in the United States, but whose parents were born in Herzegovina and migrated to America after WWII. His family identified as Croatian. I was not aware of how this relationship would shape my encounters in “the field” prior to conducting research. Some refugees saw me as a uniquely positioned American, who because of this intimate relationship had a better understanding of their background and “*kulturna* / culture”. People sometimes extended this view to include me as one of theirs: “*ona je naši* / she is ours” was the introduction one woman gave me. Pragmatically, my connection to my partner’s family was viewed as a potential connection for those I grew to know during research. Alternatively, others viewed me with suspicion and wondered why I was interested in the new Slavic Muslim migrants; one woman asked me why did I volunteer at the Bosnian Community Center instead of the Croatian Cultural Center located on the same street, two miles west? I found this position extraordinarily difficult to navigate at times, and was frustrated by the severing of certain lines of communication I attributed to this association.

But like many challenges encountered during research, this affiliation was perhaps one of my project’s more instructive elements. When I discussed my frustration with my friend Snezana one afternoon, she suggested that my social position provided me with a lived insight—an experiential “realism” through which to approach post Yugoslav social connections. By this she meant that every Yugoslav in Chicago, and elsewhere, whether they were members of the earlier

migrations such as my boyfriend's parents, or the most recent migration, wanted to figure out their affiliations with one another. "*Odakle je [iz]* / Where are you from?" was inevitably the first orienting question put to another during first introductions. I had myself been asked, or seen other people ask/reply to this question hundreds of times during my fieldwork. And I learned that it didn't really mean, "where are you from," but more often, "where are your parents from"?

Because I could speak some Bosnian and my appearance could pass for Bosnian, people often assumed I was Bosnian. An encounter with 5-year-old Muhammed, a participant in the summer program offered at the community center, serves as an example. We were working together one afternoon coloring a picture of "Little Nemo," and talking together in English—a requirement for staff and participants at the center unless the children were in Bosnian language class held on Saturday mornings—when Muhammed became so excited that he switched into Bosnian to tell me that he had watched the film "Finding Nemo" (on which our character's illustration was based) with his older sister over the weekend. I kept up initially, but as the rapid-fire description of Nemo's adventures sped up, I had to stop Muhammed and ask him, *molimte, govori u Engleski, zato što ne razumijem* / speak in English please because I don't understand. Muhammed looked at me in confusion as I explained to him—in English—that I was just learning Bosnian and I couldn't understand him when he spoke so fast. He asked me why I was learning Bosnian, when I already knew English. I replied that I think Bosnian is a very beautiful language and that I wanted to be able to talk with people like his parents about their lives in Bosnia and in America. He continued to look confused and quietly returned to coloring Nemo. I realized then that Muhammed had assumed that I was Bosnian, and that, in his world all the adults were trying to learn English. My plan to learn Bosnian when I already knew English just didn't make any sense.

My status as the young single mother of a black son also greatly shaped my encounters with interlocutors. As with my affiliation with my partner's family, my parental status opened up some avenues of communication, and limited my interactions with others. In Bosnia, it is common for women—especially women without advanced degrees obtained through formal education—to marry for the first time and bear a child in their late teens or very early twenties. Women with advanced degrees—such as myself—often viewed with pity or disdain women who married and bore children at a comparatively young age. Because I had become a parent in my late teens, I was able to establish rapport across class lines, with highly educated women, and with women who grew up under more modest circumstances. Educated women had to respect my education even if they disapproved of my early parenthood, and less educated women felt I would not judge their parental status—although I was highly educated—once they learned I too had been a young mother.

I had also transgressed ethnic boundaries as a white woman, partnered at the onset of parenthood with a black man. This piece of my personal history also seemed to put certain people more at ease. Many Bosnians have “mixed” ethnic families: Serbian, Slavic Muslim, Croatian, Turkish, German, and Gypsy, to name just a few of the more common combinations. As Selma remarked to me more than once, “As Chris Rock says, get ready, because whatever [kind of people] you don't like, they're gonna end up in your family!” The message being: don't spend too much time cultivating dislike for others because eventually you'll have to reconcile this animosity among your own kind. Selma applied this warning to the Bosnian context, and to her personal struggle with her uncle's choice to partner with a Serbian woman in Chicago.

While young inter-ethnic motherhood helped me learn more about the lives of some refugees, I found I was less welcome among others. I was very well received, for example, at the

Bosnian mosque in a Chicago suburb, but these same social markers inhibited my interactions with this pious and more socially conservative group of Bosnians.

Chapter maps

Chapter Two is comprised of close readings of U.S. and British film and television productions devoted to the subject of the Bosnian Wars. Interspersed among these analyses are ethnographic vignettes that help us to consider both non-Bosnian and Bosnian response to these renderings of wartime violence, depictions that sometimes contrast with refugee memories of pre-war, wartime, and postwar Bosnia. A BBC Prime Suspect episode “Last Witness” (2004) is grouped with a Chicago-based production of the war: Michael Ojeda’s feature film “Lana’s Rain” (2003). This “entertainment” turns on tropes of gendered antagonisms: the macho Balkan man, and the wispy Balkan refugee woman; their pairing suggests these characters are borne of a flawed kinship system. Edward Said’s “Orientalism” (1978) and other scholars’ re-interpretations of his paradigm (Abu-Lughod 2001, Iordanova 2001, Todorova 1997, Bakić-Hayden 1995) help identify apprehensions of Bosnian Muslims and Islam as they emerge in these gendered narratives.

Finally, I suggest the focus on flawed kinship resembles the “culture of poverty” theory that guided United States social policies aimed at poor black Americans in the 1960s and 1970s, transmogrifying to underclass ideology in the 1980s. As a population deeply engaged with social welfare programs, these readings suggest the Bosnian war destruction was interpreted as an event structured primarily by cultural forms embedded in Bosnians themselves, a position that evades the impacts of the difficult political and economic realities of post-Tito, post-communist Yugoslavia.

In Chapter Three, we see what happens when Bosnian women themselves take up the image of the refugee woman. Focusing on exchange, we follow how the refugee woman is animated in survival narratives. While these discourses share topics—war, survival—they differ in ways that are suggestive of power differences in the refugee and migration circuit. The contrasts between the repertoires that scaffold these stories and their circulation illustrate the value of participant-observation to understanding the relationships between language and power. The emphasis on exchanges leads us directly to interactions based on social relations and to the question: what is being traded? What kind of currency does the image of the Bosnian refugee woman carry?

I analyze the co-constructions of women's survivor narratives by employing the ethnography of speaking/communication paradigm for goal-oriented functions of language-use (Hymes 1974, Hymes & Gumperz 1964, Irvine 1989). I consider various views on language use here, through an exploration of Bosnian women's assessments of their storytelling in reporter interviews, and through a discussion of American aid workers' concept of "voice" and the goal of "giving voice" to women refugees.

Chapter Four takes coffee and coffee making and drinking practices among the diaspora as its subject. First, I present a brief history of coffee in Bosnia that includes its introduction in urban coffeehouses, and then into village homes and bars. I consider urban/rural differences and gendering of the two domains. I argue that because coffee condenses myriad traditions, histories and places—Islam, village, city, the masculine space of the coffeehouse and the feminine space of the home—it serves as a strong symbol for the nation.

Finally, I discuss the discourse of "tired bodies" that accompanies coffee-drinking among the diaspora. In contrast to the mainstream American approach to coffee—purchase it outside of

the home and drink it alone, on the way to work, or while one works (eg. Starbucks and Dunkin' Donuts)—Bosnian coffee practices create spaces where the difficulty of work and additional challenges of living as an immigrant in the United States are discussed and evaluated in a communal setting.

Chapter Five sustains the focus on immigrants' tired bodies, and centers on kinship dynamics that appear to generate layers of debt relations. Here I explore these layers: in particular, filial duty between generations, and the increased credit card and mortgage debts that people accumulate in order to meet and exceed these expectations to kin in the diaspora, and those who remain in Bosnia. These debt relations are nested in a larger system of exchange in which the Bosnian government and economy are beholden to the international Great Powers of Europe and the United States. International reports, ethnographic case studies, and scholarship on kinship and debt are interspersed to illustrate the burdens and benefits of these different kinds of debt, and the tensions involved in meeting these social and material obligations.

Conclusion

As much as this is a dissertation about people's lives—mainly women, who migrated as war refugees from former Yugoslavia to the United States between 1991-1999—it is also about America. The economic, social and cultural changes occurring in the postwar state Bosnia-Herzegovina are similar to those in many other parts of the global South, where remittances from the diaspora comprise the majority of the Gross Domestic Product, a significant portion of which services foreign debts. Economic and social changes in the United States are also strikingly similar to other northern contexts where immigrant labor comprises a significant segment of the workforce in the rapidly growing service economy. Thus, while the data from this project are

based on research in two sites in the United States—the City of Chicago, and “Southtown,” in western Massachusetts—the views from these places will be valuable to people who are observing similar processes in other parts of the world.

While indebted to the contributions of structural and symbolic anthropology (Denitch 1994, Malkki 1995, Hayden 1996) and to poststructuralist concerns with agency and identity formations (Humphrey & Mandel 2002), the subjects of this dissertation are not limited to the postwar ethnic partitioning of Bosnia-Herzegovina, or the rituals memorializing the wartime dead. I am not concerned only to detail the autumnal Bošniak Ramazan fasts and Bajram feastings, and the ethnic groceries and coffeehouses that color storefronts on Lawrence, Peterson, and Devon Avenues in Chicago’s north and northwest neighborhoods. I am concerned with the everyday struggles, contests, and negotiations in which identities are shaped and contested, with the moral frameworks through which people organize their days, and make choices about how to make a home; how to maintain a home; how to find work, and how to organize and fund return trips to Bosnia-Herzegovina.



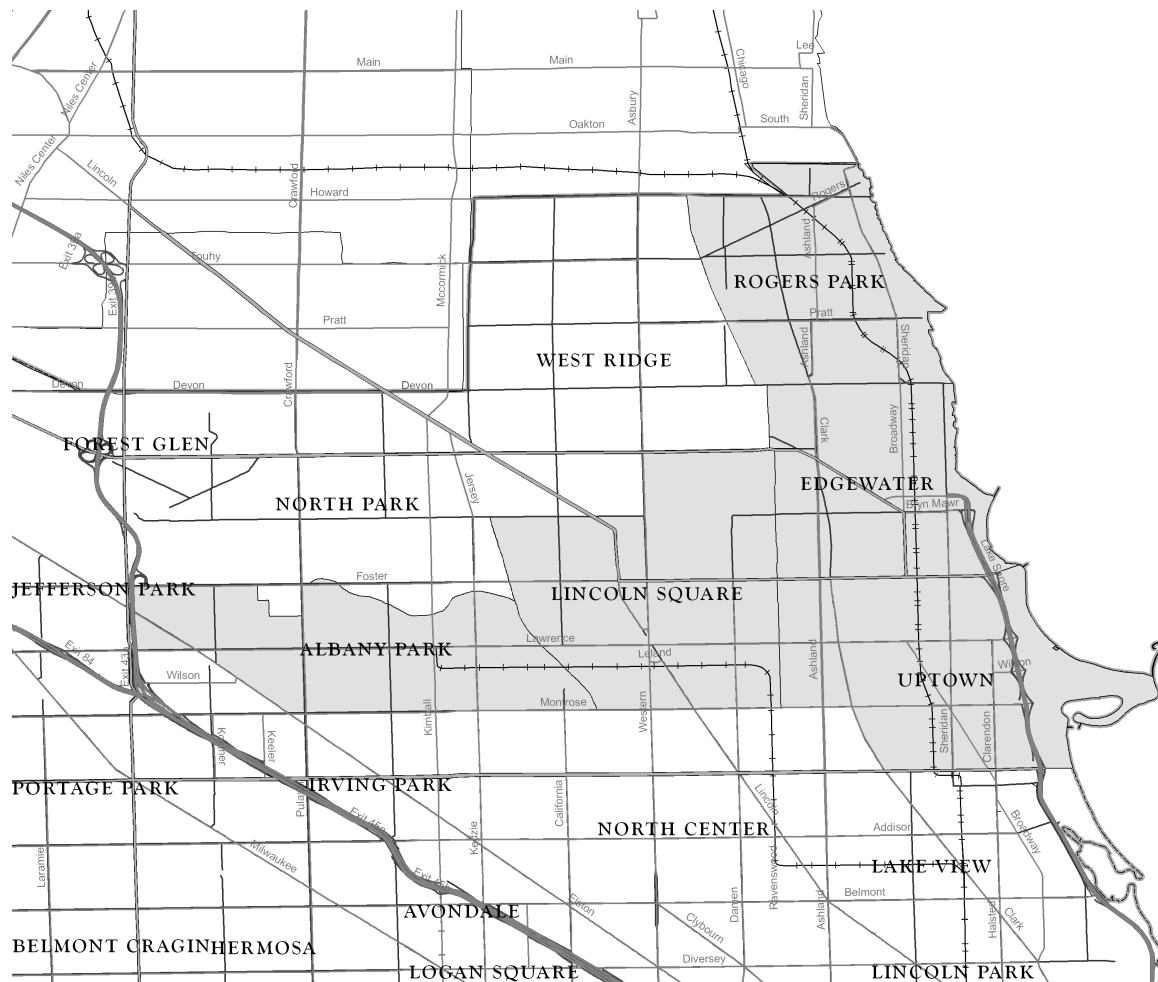
Map 1. Balkan Peninsula ca. 2007



Map 2. Bosnia-Herzegovina ca. 2007



Map 3. United States: Chicago and Southtown



Map 4. Bosnian residential areas in Chicago

CHAPTER 2: Clever Women and Chaotic Kinship

Café Chat: work, war and coffee

On a steamy September Friday in Chicago in 2004, I sat with Lejla, her mother Hadidja, and her mother's two friends Azra and Senada at a northside café where they met after work. Dressed in dark slacks, soft sweaters and blouses, the women sported hairstyles that ranged from short to long, red, blonde and black, curly to straight. They greeted one another with happy exclamations bringing in the winding down of their work-week. Though it served many immigrants from former Yugoslavia, the café was not one of many Bosnian establishments that had recently sprung up in neighborhoods bordering Lake Michigan. Along with the Serbo-Croatian variants heard in the latter venues, customers also spoke English, Spanish and Arabic; some had found their way to Chicago from the small East African country of Eritrea, or Colombia and Ecuador in South America. Regardless of their routes to the City that Works, it appeared all had arrived this evening prepared to enjoy coffee or tea, and to talk.

Over cups of hot coffee and glasses of cold water, the three older women seated around our table spoke frankly about their recent east-west migrations as war refugees from Yugoslavia to the United States. They joked about how they met on the job; like many of their countrywomen here their first employment had been in the housekeeping staff at a national hotel chain. Azra, tall and reserved, relayed a common narrative of worksite disappointment: "One day I came to work and my boss told me we had a special project today. I got so excited! I thought, this is very good—we have been cleaning, cleaning, and I am so bad at that (the other women laughed and nodded their heads, exclaiming what a bad housekeeper Azra was, how slow

she was) but now we will have a ‘project’ like in school! I had studied foreign languages and literature, specializing in Arabic and French, and I thought maybe we would make something—a presentation or something! I was so disappointed when I found out ‘the project’ was to learn a different cleaning method!”

More talk ensued, centered on the kinds of jobs for which the women were considered eligible when, beginning in 1995, they arrived as refugees in the United States. Remembering together, they traded stories, an exchange that evoked encounters with their employers’ and coworkers’ understandings of their homeland, and of the wars that brought them here. Azra summed up: “They think we are just animals in a jungle [making aping motions] running around killing each other” [pantomimes wielding an axe or sword].

The other women laughed nervously, chiming in, “Yes, that is so true!”

Exchanging tentative glances, they lowered their eyes and voices:

“We never talked about this before,” said Senada. That the subject qualified as taboo among such close friends suggested to me this was a sensitive—even embarrassing—topic. Over the course of my ethnographic field research among refugees from Bosnia who relocated to the U.S., I found that the imaginary of violence is the fundamental means through which Americans conceive not only the recent wars, but more generally, the region and its people. Indeed, Bosnian wartime violence captivated audiences worldwide. European and American commentators recycled the term “genocide” from earlier in the century, and coined the label “ethnic cleansing” to define the violence, yet many of those east of the Balkan Peninsula categorized the events as simply another example of European barbarism (Zubaida 1996). I explore how this preoccupation with Balkan war violence leads analysts to frame the history of the war and of its

survivors in terms of a bipolar gender narrative, a process that effaces the actual complexity of sex relations, and creates a “just-so” citizenship story.¹⁵

I suggest this storyline is part of a post-Cold War Western discourse, portraying Yugoslav women as terrorized by their men, in need of rescue, and thus ultimately as desirable Western citizens. Balkan men, in contrast, are portrayed as base, macho and incapable of recuperation to proper citizenship. This gendered narrative operates in tandem with United States and British-led occupation of the war-torn region where elections, borders, and even the national flag are externally imposed. The oversight of “High Representative” Paddy Ashdown (also the country’s “Special Representative” to the European Union), installation of a rotating tri-presidency, and division of the former republic into two sovereign territories—Republika Srpska and the Bosnian-Croatian Federation—suggests that Bosnia today may be described as a neo-colonial state. Thus, this preoccupation with the failed national kinship of the place that was Yugoslavia is a discourse best understood as part of an uneven global social terrain where Bosnians are the object of scrutiny. Gender functions here, within the social rubric of the family, as the focus of scrutiny. I argue that such characterizations hinge not only on Bosnians’ affiliations with Islam and Communism, but relate also to their status as refugees and laborers employed in low-wage, unskilled service work. Membership in only one of these social categories places runners behind on the gravel-to-glitter road to modernity in the west; Bosnian immigrants encounter many roadblocks as refugee immigrants to America.

But post-refugee Bosnian women instead narrate war experiences and negotiate contemporary work and home-making decisions in terms of gender complementarity, where they focus primarily on family-position, life-stage and economic circumstances. My three years of

¹⁵ I make use here of Roger Lancaster’s (who notes the influence of Roland Barthes’ *Mythologies*, (1957) on this project) recent discussion of “just-so” stories that render “nature,” sex, and science in reductionist terms (Lancaster 2003).

ethnographic research among Bosnian refugee migrants in Chicago and in western Massachusetts have led me to direct our attention to the ways that women and men invoke material and emotional support through their use of kin terms. It may at first appear that what I describe here as a disconnect between Bosnian framings of gender in relation to appropriate provisioning within families, and scholarly and popular Orientalist tropes that offer up male predators and female victims—a forward-looking, civilized west that will punish male aggressors and rescue damsels in distress—is an example of parallel narratives operating on separate and uneven planes. I suggest that each is understood best in relation to the other, and to the historical circumstances of the wars and migrations that produced them both.

In the first section of this chapter I treat the topic of kinship and gender in the scholarship devoted to the wars. How do kinship and gender enter into scholars' discussions of the wars? What other concerns do these categories allow scholars to address? What sorts of inquiries does a focus on sexuality, reproduction, and national belonging leave unexplored? How might we explain this preoccupation with broken national kinship and local family forms?

In responding to these queries, I move to a discussion of popular renditions of the wars and their survivors. Here we can clearly identify the workings of what Edward Said famously labeled "Orientalism." As scholars have subsequently noted, gender was central to Said's positing of the western construction of an exotic and Oriental Eastern "Other" as a domain of knowledge and desire (Said 1978). While acknowledging the historical and regional specificities of the recent Yugoslav wars, and their home in the Balkan Peninsula as a place long connected to European, Mediterranean, and Middle Eastern cultures, I demonstrate the utility of Said's Orientalist frame to understanding the production of knowledge about the wars. I reveal that

Bosnian women and men in American discourse represent in this new post cold-war era what Micaela di Leonardo has described as “Exotics at Home.”¹⁶

Then, I enter into the arena of simultaneously existing—and perhaps mutually influential—gender discourses among Bosnians in the United States. Strong women, strong men, and filial duty are valorized in narratives of war and relocation, and in allocations of wages and domestic labor, wherein people insist on economic collaboration and gender complementarity rather than divergence. I demonstrate that U.S. refugee admission policies, and domestic social welfare reforms combined with employment found in the low-wage, expanding service-sector, created a migration context that required Bosnians to rely on kin networks. But American public cultural depictions of Bosnian kin relations criticize this reliance on family, and ignore the American circumstances that intensified family obligations among refugees. Bosnian gender conventions throw the shortcomings of this relentless focus on family strife into stark relief, and command a reframing that entails attention to the social and material demands of their new homes and former homeland, favorably recalling their Bosnian multi-ethnic, Islamic, and Yugoslav heritages.

Making Refugees

Kinship is politics, or at least, such is the supposition behind the historical study of kinship in anthropology. However varied their conceptual paradigms, Meyer Fortes’ and E. Evans Pritchard’s structural-functional analyses in *African Political Systems* (1940), Levi-Strauss’ symbol-laden structuralism in *Elementary Structures of Kinship* (1969), and Gail Rubin’s positing of a “sex-gender system” in her influential essay “The Traffic in Women”

¹⁶ di Leonardo, Micaela, (1998) documents the long fascination among social theorists and practitioners with domestic “exotics,” often comprised of various southern European and nonwhite immigrant groups.

(1975), all frame kinship—or the cultural categories for reckoning relationship and belonging—as central to the organization of politics and political power. While they were initially thought to describe the social organization of pre-state and pre-capitalist societies, recent scholarship alerts us to the use of kinship metaphors in the construction of modern—and postmodern—nationhood. So, for example, in the cases of Yugoslav successor states, and the United States, the very questions of who belongs inside national borders, and of who is worthy of state benefits are debated fundamentally through discourses of family and kinship. Just as the classic kinship theorists asserted the primacy of the logic of inclusion/exclusion, these debates often turn on whose relationships will be recognized, and whose will not. Rather than focus on the recognitions—and refusals—outlined in official policies, here I consider as well scholarly depictions, ethnographic accounts, and media representations that have shaped the experiences and receptions of Bosnian refugees in the United States.

Scholars of the colonial and postcolonial era have commented extensively on fears of indigenous authority, and accompanying sexualized fantasies of an indigenous Other.¹⁷ That these fears are made manifest in symbols of extreme masculinity and femininity variously embodied in female and male figures, providing contrast to and definition for proper and desirable adult sex roles helps us to understand the popular caricaturization of Bosnian immigrants in America.¹⁸ The reams of scholarship devoted to the Yugoslav wars emphasize symbolic meanings associated with ethno-religious identities, at the expense of investigating locally derived social roles mediated through everyday encounters wherein people provide mutual material and emotional sustenance.

¹⁷ See for example (Fanon 1963) and (Stoler 1991).

¹⁸ See (van der Veer 2001; Haraway 1989; Roberts 1997) for discussions of antagonized gender characterizations of other populations in the American context.

Political analysts closely monitored the secessions from Yugoslavia, first of Slovenia (1990), Croatia (1991), followed by Bosnia (1992), and framed the separations as examples of post-Cold War political transitions.¹⁹ While the Slovenian and Croatian splits were met with less resistance than in the case of Bosnia, and achieved almost instant recognition as autonomous states from the international community, the Bosnian secession was violently opposed within Yugoslavia, lacked international recognition, and ended in a brutal war. Recently, scholars have explored many facets of how the wartime violence was enacted during the Bosnian Wars. Political scientists and historians describe nationalist political parties and their appropriation of state institutions and the roles occupied by external states such as Germany, Austria, England, the United States, Turkey, and France in the changing status of post-Cold War Yugoslavia in the arena of international geo-politics (Denitch 1996, Milosevic 2000, Stitkovic 2000, Noel 1996, Power 2002). Anthropologists and cultural theorists focus on the symbolic, analyzing individual and collective use of ethnic signifiers to lay claim to place during the wars (Denich 1994, Hayden 1996, Wachtel 1996, Verdery 1999). Sex/Gender scholars document the widespread use of sexual violence, and examine the links among dominant gender, kinship, and ethno-national ideologies in charting the symbolic language through which people communicated the logic for such acts (Allen 1996, Hague 1999, Nikolić-Ristanović 2000).

Sexible Bodies

One way to achieve or dismantle kinship is through sex acts. Feminist scholars and symbolic anthropologists have focused on the well-documented widespread use of rape during

¹⁹ Macedonia and the “semi-autonomous” republic of Kosovo would follow; the latter was another violently fought separation. Katherine Verdery argues persuasively for the use of “transformation,” rather than “transition” in describing the unprecedented political, economic, and social developments of the postsocialist era in Eastern Europe (Verdery 1994).

the wars—in particular on the symbolic aspects of this sexual violence.²⁰ The role of rape as an act of impalement linked to Ottoman occupation of the Balkan Peninsula, the equation of statehood and masculinity as expressed in Serb nationalism and enacted in rape of non-Serb women, as well as the feminization of other men through sex acts involving them or their women are elaborated on at length (Ibid, Boose 2002). But in these discussions of masculinity and femininity, women are too often left out of the conversation, appearing only as passive objects that circulate messages of masculine power.

Beverly Allen's *Rape Warfare*, based on her work with women refugees in Croatia and Italy provides one example of such scholarly contributions. Allen detects in the organized military use of rape an impregnation theme, what she calls "genocidal rape," which she defines as "[A] military policy of rape for the purpose of genocide," (Allen 1996: xviii) that is specific to the Bosnian wars. In taking this approach she separates these experiences of Balkan women from the long history of gendered state violence, and fails to include the rape of African slave women by European men, Tasman women by English colonials, the systematic rapes of Hindu and Muslim women in the India/Pakistan Partition Wars, and the rapes of ethnic Tutsi and political dissenters during the Rwandan genocides—events that in 1994 occurred concurrent with the Bosnian Wars.²¹ Allen's view of genocidal rape as something new and entirely unique to the

²⁰ Women were not the only victims of rape; men and children were also raped. As with all violence during the war, women of all ethnicities were raped, and men of all ethnicities were perpetrators, though the vast majority of women raped were Muslim, raped by Serb men. Concentration camps and rape camps have been documented across former Yugoslavia and were housed in restaurants, hotels, hospitals, schools, factories, peacetime brothels, animal stalls in barns, fenced-in pens, and sports arenas (Allen 1996, Hague 1999, Nikolić-Ristanović 2000).

²¹ See Stocking (1987) for British rapes of Tasman women, and Das (1995) for rape during India/Pakistan Partition Wars; Nowrojee, Binaifer (1996) for the case of sexual violence in the 1994 Rwanda massacres.

Bosnian context places us in a synchronic victim/aggressor paradigm wrought with chaos, and no real understanding of the events that occurred.²²

Stunned by survivors' testimony, Allen struggles with the disassembling effects of what she has witnessed: "what I am thinking about can never be bound by form...what I am thinking about is unthinkable" (Allen 1996:41). She seeks to avoid the re-imprint of violence by avoiding the "voyeuristic" elements of linear narrative; she hopes that by jumbling the narrative form she will destroy some of the sense-making of the violence. Dividing her book into six themes, she will simply list the atrocities in "Theme 3: Facts": torture, amputations, castration, throat damage from forced fellatio, rapes on top of bloody rags. Allen obviously writes from a place of deep compassion and respect for survivors of rape and torture. But, although her intention is precisely not to repeat the violence, her postmodern account does exactly that: in describing the violence as "unthinkable," and in her reluctance to describe the "form" of violence in this context, she reduces it to primordial ethnic hatreds, and repeats the dissemblance and essential difference inscribed by the perpetrators. In the following paragraph Allen describes Serbs' "legendary knife fixation":

The knife fixation that seems to characterize both the legendary Serb dream of a Great Serbia reaching to the Austrian border and the official Serb military policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina goes beyond individual accounts of torture and suggests instead a collective madness that sweeps all before it in a sea of butchery.

Civilians are the main victims of this diseased conflagration: peasants, town

²² Part 3, Article 27 of the fourth Geneva Convention (1950) defined rape as a war crime. The first real application of rape as a war crime and act of genocide was during the International Criminal Tribunal trials for Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

dwellers, city dwellers, women, men, children. The knives tear into so much that there is scarcely anything left to kill (Allen 1996: 81)²³.

“Sea of butchery...collective madness...victims...diseased conflagration...scarcely anything left” – Allen is caught in the horrifying visceral theatre of violence and in this portrait the survivors remain hidden from view. We finish the book with no real sense of the women who survived such tortures, nor the political, economic and historical circumstances of the wars — wherein we can track the meanings and uses of the symbolic.

I discern three related domains of destruction within this body of scholarly work: the state, the home and the body.²⁴ Significantly, kinship is a focus across domains, whether national-state kinship or ethno-religious kinship both conceiving the individual body as a collective conduit.²⁵ But this emphasis on destruction renders Bosnians variously as invisible by their absence, for example in the case of ethnic Muslims, or as hyper-visible spectacle, in the case of ethnic Christians—mainly Serb Orthodox. Attempts to document the wars, then, reproduce—however inadvertently—the ethnicity-defined disappearances sought by wartime aggressors. This focus on displacement obscures the fact that people, institutions, and cultural forms survived the wars. Further, refugees occupy social positions shaped not only by wartime and pre-war experiences, but also in the cultural and material landscapes of various postwar locales. The circulation of images, narratives, and myths through which “natives” attempt to

²³ Allen describes the Serbs’ “knife fixation” (81) as rooted in the knife’s utility in a pastoral economy, implying an equation between peasant and Serb, and positing yet another ethnicity-driven explanation for the war violence.

²⁴ Croegaert, Christiana unpublished Master’s Thesis 2003. We have only to look at some of the book titles on the wars to find evidence of this preoccupation: *Yugoslavia Dismembered*, *Yugoslavia Unraveled*, *The Process of Disintegration*, *Dismembering the State*, *To Kill a Nation*, *Burn This House*, *After the Fall*, *Rape Warfare*, *Women, Violence and War: Wartime Victimization of Refugees in the Balkans*, *The Suitcase: Refugee Voices from Bosnia and Croatia*, *The Tragic Death of Yugoslavia*. See also Buroway, Michael and Katherine Verdery (1999) for a discussion of a general scholarly preoccupation with disorder in the “collapse” of Communism in Eastern Europe.

²⁵ Verdery, Katherine, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change*, Columbia University Press: New York, NY, (1999); Boose, “Crossing the River Drina: Bosnian Rape Camps, Turkish Impalement, and Serb Cultural Memory”

account for the presence of these newcomers proves a link between scholarly and popular renditions—a link that suggests the oppositions contained within them are arranged in part according to a prevailing Orientalist paradigm.

Balkan Caricatures

Mafia Men and Wispy Women: Popular Culture Genders the Bosnian Wars

Two such problematic representations in public culture are: *Lana's Rain* and “Last Witness”. *Lana's Rain* (Ojeda 2002) is written and directed by Columbia College graduate Michael Ojeda. The primary setting in this film is the city of Chicago, currently home to the largest Bosnian population outside of Europe. “Last Witness,” (Berry 2004) is an episode of the BBC’s *Prime Suspect* series, written by Peter Berry. This story takes place in London, with the exception of several scenes that are filmed in Bosnia-Herzegovina.²⁶ While these narratives highlight western horror at the ethnic cleansing projects that punctuated the wars and sympathy for the victims, I suggest they also index continuities in western representations of eastern “Others,” and in so doing, provide a description of who among these is a desired “kin” member in the western nation-states of United States and United Kingdom.

Lana is a Bosnian woman who must depend on her warlord brother Darko for safety—due, apparently, to her loss of any other friends and family as a result of the wars. The film also suggests she was among the large number of women who were brutally raped as part of a deliberate war strategy. Darko has profited from the war by preying upon those who were most victimized, to the tune of 20,000 U.S. dollars that will provide a new beginning for him and Lana in Chicago. Opening with re-enactments of the devastation of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the

²⁶ While the Dayton Peace Accords (1995) guaranteed refugees the right to return to their prewar homes, returns have been slow and difficult given official ethnic partitioning—to a great extent endorsed by the two republics—and economic hardship, particularly in the interior, eastern, and rural parts of Bosnia.

film moves from one horrifying scene to the next in which we watch Lana--played by Ukrainian actor Oksana Orlenko--being brutalized by one man after another. First rape-victim in Bosnia, then prostitute-victim in Chicago--pimped by her very own brother--Lana is finally torture-victim of Hague-official impersonators. In the end, the filmmakers lead viewers to perceive Lana as triumphant in her orchestration of the deaths of another Balkan warlord and the Hague impersonator. In the aftermath of these events, the heroine inexplicably emerges from a café, dressed in a modest working-woman's suit, happily displaying that treasured document of United States citizens: a social security card.

Ojeda's treatment of these phenomena paints a portrait of South Eastern Europe, urban space, and immigrant experience dominated by images of chaotic interactions between predatory men and victimized women. This is merely a newer rendition of the old, familiar story that Leila Ahmed describes as "colonial feminism" (Ahmed 1992: 151). Here, the plight of "Other" women and the barbarity of "Other" men served as complex rhetorical devices for proponents of women's rights in 17th and 18th century Europe and America, as well as proponents of European colonial projects and American slavery and segregation projects. Ahmed shows that, despite men's resistance to and rejection of feminist projects in the metropole, they selectively took up the frame of female oppression and victimization to justify their presence in India, the Middle East and Africa: "the idea that Other men, men in colonized societies or societies beyond the borders of the civilized West, oppressed women was to be used, in the rhetoric of colonialism, to render morally justifiable its project of undermining or eradicating the cultures of colonized peoples" (Ibid). While Ahmed clearly links "Colonial feminism," defined as "feminism as used against other cultures in the service of colonialism," to the Victorian era, in fact we may detect

elements of this type of feminist discourse in a recent BBC drama devoted to the Bosnian war and refugees.

In Berry's *Prime Suspect* episode, Samira and her sister Jasmina are the "Last Witness(es)"--because they are the only survivors--to the atrocities of two particular war criminals. Dušan Žigić reported to Dragan Janković during their participation in a Bosnian Serb paramilitary unit. Now the two women and two men have encountered one another again, in London. *Prime Suspect*'s lead character, Police Inspector Jane Tennison, is brought on the case after Janković has successfully had Samira killed. The bulk of the story revolves around Tennison trying to prevent the death of Jasmina. Janković succeeds in having both Jasmina and then Žigić killed before Tennison's team gathers enough evidence to have him indicted.



Image 2.1. Ticket Stub for Lana's Rain screening

There are striking similarities across the two narratives. In each story, Bosnian men are portrayed as lawless, machismo-driven, reactionary creatures. Alternatively, Bosnian women are beautiful, waif-like and feminine, preyed upon by their male countrymen. For example, all of the promotional materials for *Lana's Rain* contain portraits of Orlenko with wind-blown hair, and take care to describe her physical beauty along with the fact that she is a "former Miss Ukraine" title-bearer [Image #1]. Lana is a stark contrast to her brother Darko who wears a black eyepatch, dresses in dark Italian suits, thick dark hair slicked back, and totes a gun throughout much of the

film. In “The Last Witness”, the film opens with Samira’s death, and within the first twenty minutes we are treated with no less than six different assessments of Samira’s beauty. Jane Tennison herself cannot help but comment, “She was beautiful—very beautiful indeed,” upon viewing Samira’s dead body at the coroner’s quarters. Tennison is able to make this observation because while Samira’s body bears the marks of torture, her face was left seemingly untouched. Of the three main Bosnian male characters in the *Prime Suspect* episode, two are Bosnian Serb war criminals and torturers, and Jasmina’s boyfriend is a Bosnian Muslim who is labeled “Balkan Mafia” and makes his money in the informal economy, smuggling cigarettes [Image 3].



INGEBORGA DAPKUNAITE
AS JASMINA BLEKIC



HELEN MIRREN STARS AS
DS JANE TENNISON
WITH LIAM CUNNINGHAM AS
ROBERT WEST

Image 2.2 Characters from “The Last Witness”

It is perhaps not inconsequential that this preoccupation with Samira’s physical beauty accompanies speculations regarding her ethnic origin. “Ethnic cleansing” projects were carried out on all sides during the Yugoslav Wars, though the main perpetrators were of Serb origin, and

the primary victims were of Muslim background. Shared practices and histories were effectively eclipsed in early postcommunist Yugoslavia, and allowed for neighbors and countrypeople to treat one another as ethnic “Other.” This “decommunizing” of the South Slavs’ history also involved what anthropologist Milica Bakić-Hayden has described as “nesting orientalisms,” reproduced through a series of recursive practices in the region²⁷. Here, Edward Said’s concept of Orientalism explains western objectification of eastern peoples—in part by exoticizing these people in the construct of the “Orient,” conceiving of their cultures as backward, barbaric, and static—Orientalism, argues Bakić-Hayden, is reproduced within Yugoslavia, whereby those in the western parts of the region are viewed as more civilized than those in the eastern parts (Bakić-Hayden 1995).²⁸ Slavic Muslims, because of their association with the legacy of Ottoman occupation of the Balkans (late 15th c.—late 19th c.) and with contemporary Turkey and Islam—thus are more “oriental” than Slavic Christians. While such an approach runs the risk of reproducing a binary East/West gloss, I align myself here with other scholars who recognize the usefulness of Said’s concept in understanding the ideological frames involved in the production of knowledge about Islam within and outside of Middle Eastern Studies, as well as national modernizing projects within the East (Abu-Lughod 2001, Schein 2000).

Although Lana moves forward in her narrative and is actually alive—unlike Samira—at the end of her film, her movement resembles more an empty cipher than a fully embodied personage. Tumbling from place to place, man to man, she is filled with offensive material at every pass—not unlike the silent women victims in the rape/kinship section—and all she can manage is a reaction. In fact, all the characters of Balkan descent—male, female, choose your

²⁷ See Verdery, (1994, 1999) for a discussion of processes of “decommunizing” history in postsocialist transformation, and Irvine and Gal (2000) for an explanation of “fractal recursions” in processes of language change.

²⁸ See Todorova, Maria (1997) for an interesting symbolic history of the Balkan Peninsula, wherein she posits “Balkanism” rather than Orientalism (8) for understanding the region as a liminal space between East and West.

ethnicity, fill the function of object, not subject, in these media pieces—moving the narrative toward ultimate resolution attained in the safety and justice provided by representatives of the state in the U.S. and U.K. (Note promotional materials for the episode that photograph Tennison and her male partner together, while Jasmina and her boyfriend figure in separate individual photographs, turned away from one another [Image 2.2]).

Made for an English-speaking audience, neither the film nor the television show was viewed by any of the Bosnian refugees I knew, despite the fact that *Lana's Rain* was filmed on location in Chicago, and the filmmakers held a Chicago debut screening at the Music Box Theater located on the city's north side, not far from where many refugees reside, along with the cultural and state agencies that serve them. Bosnian roles work only to propel the westerner's movement—in one case Tennison, in the other, Lana herself as she transforms from eastern to western citizen by killing her countrymen and distancing herself from Darko.²⁹

Thus, the above scenarios exemplify the tendency in the west to apprehend Muslim women as oppressed and subjugated by their male counterparts, and then freed from patriarchal tyranny through the democratic feminism of the west. We just witnessed two versions of this story. The first is Lana's, where she is the only remaining Bosnian—all the men have been left behind. The second is Jane Tennison's story in which none of the Bosnian lead characters survive: male or female. And it's not just in the movies. Throughout my fieldwork, I listened to comments at dinner parties about "those rough Muslim men on the streets of Sarajevo—all they

²⁹ Film scholar Laura Mulvey's famous analysis of 'Visual Pleasure' (1989) in film-viewing provides a useful analytical frame for these media. Taking as her subject the gaze of the film viewer, Mulvey persuasively argued that a predominant male gaze structured the female roles—and the filming of them—in mainstream 1950s Hollywood film in such a way that the only way to perceive woman was through the lens of (1) the voyeur, or (2) the fetishist. While Mulvey's theorizing of the look is organized by Freudian psychology, and she later admits additional 'pleasures' available to the viewer, her positing of a dominant viewing paradigm is useful in understanding the above media pieces as telling a story meant to resonate for a "native" audience during the contemporary renegotiation of east and west in Europe.

did was curse,” from an American woman describing her trip to Yugoslavia during the 1980s, and, from a Manhattanite regarding the contemporary modeling scene in New York City: “Who could compete with Svetlana from Bosnia, who weighs 90 lbs, is ten feet tall, and has incredible breasts?!” These representations say more about the West than they do about the people whose lives they appear to illustrate, and seem to exemplify portrayals of Bosnians as Other: the repulsive circumstances of the war—neighbor killing neighbor—as embodied in the criminal Balkan man, and the erotic lure of the fallen Balkan woman, who may ultimately be saved and integrated by the west.

But how, if at all, do these gendered polarizations kept in tension by cycles of violence fit with actual Bosnian refugee quotidian gender conventions? Bosnian women’s narrations of their migrations and organization of their postwar households and family relations provide an alternative framework to this hyped-up art fantasy.

Coming to America in the 1990s

From War to “Workfare”

Hana arrived in the U.S. in May 1995, along with her husband, Goran, and eight year old son. They left their home in a city in the southwestern Herzegovina region of Bosnia and joined Hana’s mother, father-in-law, and younger sister and brother who had arrived one year earlier. The three-generational family lived in a small town in western Massachusetts and shared a two-bedroom apartment for three months. In July Hana and Goran moved into their own apartment, one floor above her mother’s apartment. The Marić families’ relocation story is typical of many Bosnians’ migration trajectories. They arrived as official refugees under “asylum” status. Under the U.S. Public-Private social welfare model, people admitted as asylees were sponsored by

faith-based non-profit organizations that received a lump sum from the government to subsidize the cost of finding and furnishing a living space. Refugees had access to certain public assistance programs, their citizenship clock started immediately, and their family members—defined quite broadly until 1997—were eligible to apply for immigration under the same guidelines from 1992-1997.³⁰

Instant legal status combined with the new “workfare” welfare model meant U.S. employers had immediate access to Bosnian labor, and while Bosnians had official rights as legal residents, those who did not speak English were less likely to be aware of and exercise their worker rights. Finally, the “family-reunification” clause that guided U.S. immigration and refugee policy and gave priority to family members must be viewed as working in tandem with reforms in domestic social policies and changes in employment practices that left poor people in the lurch, scrambling for kin networks to cover the deficits produced by almost immediate immersion in low-skilled, low-pay employment that lacked social provisioning such as health insurance, or avenues to upward mobility. Despite their legal status, like many of the employed poor, Bosnians have often combined work in the informal sector with legal employment in order to provide for themselves and their families.³¹

³⁰ Guidelines for receiving refugees varied internationally; for a comparison of Bosnians relocated to New York City and to Vienna, Austria, see Franz (2003). Asylum status placed Bosnians immediately in a recognizable legal status, providing them with some protection and recourse against the abuses involved in human trafficking (significantly the filmmakers place Lana and Darko in the U.S. as illegal immigrants—in reality a rare status among Bosnians in the United States). “Workfare” revisions in the welfare system meant that while Bosnians were eligible for AFDC, food stamps, and some housing assistance, they were placed on the same three-month time-restriction as native U.S. citizens.

³¹ See Gal & Kligman, (2000) for a discussion of the interdependent co-construction of private/public and family/state economic strategies under socialism in East Central Europe. Woodward (1995) and Bax (1992) describe the migratory labor strategies of Yugoslavs from Bosnia and Kosovo during the Cold War period when many men and women worked as “guest workers” (*gastarbeiter*) in Austria, Germany, Italy, Libya, and Turkey. Their migrant wage labor in construction, agricultural production, maintenance and housekeeping services provided much needed income to these areas—the poorest in Yugoslavia. I also encountered during my research in Chicago many earlier migrants from the region who had arrived in the decades following WWII and continued to remit portions of their earnings to family in Bosnia.

This emphasis on family networks in the context of reduced social welfare provisioning by the state—both in the United States and in postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina—created a migration context that intensified the need for male and female interdependence in sustaining home and employment. I ask how these material realities interact with Bosnian gender conventions that valorize provisioning practices. My discussion here centers primarily on the war and migration experiences of two extended families.

Hana's and Edita's Families

Hana's father was a successful mid-level member of the communist party, and she took on his flair for favors. She prides herself also on the accomplishment of leaving an abusive marriage at a young age, and starting a small business in her hometown several years before the war. After leaving her first husband she moved back in with her father (her parents were divorced) who helped raise her young son. She contributed to the household by operating a grill and a jukebox in a small storefront that catered to students at a nearby high school in her hometown in Southern Bosnia.

Hana's 22-year old brother fought in the Bosnian Muslim army and was killed during the fighting in their city. Women were not allowed to enlist officially as soldiers during the war, but many found other ways to participate in the conflict.³² Hana had several times told stories of assisting Muslim men escape during the war when she used language cues to identify herself variously as Muslim or Croatian in order to pass through military checkpoints and political boundaries. (Her marriage is a "mixed" marriage: she is Muslim and her husband Croatian, and in their region, much of the fighting was between Croats and Muslims). Hana and Goran paired

³² There are stories of female snipers, but such roles were not typically open to or occupied by women during the recent wars.

his formal employment as an assembly-line worker at a local factory that manufactures component parts for portable radios and her work as a manicurist with informal work: Hana's housecleaning business, and Goran's car repair work. These four sources of income allowed the couple in 2002 to purchase a decrepit house located in the gentrifying outskirts of their small New England college town. They enlisted the help of Hana's mother's husband, younger brother, and teenage son in fixing the house. While Ivica's "second shift" involved repairing car, motorcycle, and boat engines, Hana's "third shift" included all of the cooking, and most of the grocery shopping and housekeeping. Some of their work was indeed gendered, along with domains of work that were shared such as the house renovations. Hana didn't pour the cement for the basement, but she did help hang drywall. She also designed and directed most of the projects, deciding which walls would be knocked down, what kinds of windows would be installed. Far from appearing preyed upon, Hana projected a commanding presence in her home and as she conducted business.

I encountered a similar household wage pool and collective unremunerated work in Edita's home. Edita is 60 years old. She and her husband Arman, their two daughters and husbands, their adult son and four grandchildren also arrived in the U.S. in 1995, and came from a small town just south of Hana's city. First renting apartments in Chicago's northeast neighborhoods, in the fall of 2003, Edita and her husband along with one of their daughters and her husband managed to purchase a small home on the city's far northwest side where they all live together with her two grandchildren, ages 9 and 11. Their home is tucked into a residential neighborhood behind a large shopping mall. Small wood frame and aluminum-sided single-family homes house primarily first and second generation white ethnic families: their next-door neighbors to the west are from Greece, to the east from Italy.

The first time I visited their home, Edita and her husband Arman cooked an afternoon feast for me: Edita made bread and salad, and prepared the afternoon Bosnian coffee; Arman made lamb, potatoes, and walnut cake. While this is a more elaborate meal than usual, I found in subsequent visits that the couple together cooks a large meal nearly every day that feeds their adult daughter and her husband upon their return from work, and their grandchildren after school. To my great amusement, every time Edita left the room, Arman winked at me, and said, looking admiringly in Edita's direction, "*eh, La Sultana, eh?*" He continued to accord her this Muslim title for a female ruler in other places I accompanied them in the city: on the street, in a community center, at a cultural event. In using this title to refer to his wife, Arman expressed respect for her authority—not only in the domestic sphere of the home, but in public spaces as well. This respect is tied explicitly to her Islamic ethnicity and heritage, characteristics that were deeply stigmatized during the war.

Every visit to their home entailed a tour: the couple took great care to show me all their craftwork, which was a fairly extensive and constantly expanding collection. Edita embroiders curtains and table runners with white thread and red and pink floral embellishments, and cross-stitch patterns depicting idyllic peasant scenes. Arman's medium is wood, and he makes trays and benches that he embellishes with patterns of his own design through a wood-burning technique, in the final stage applying a stain and varnish. He also presses and frames flowers. Their handicrafts are displayed throughout the home. Arman plants and cares for the roses in the front yard, and both he and Edita cultivate the vegetable garden in the rear, where they grow tomatoes, bell peppers, and collard greens. Arman had also made extensive interior renovations to the home, with the help of his daughter's husband.

In addition to sharing the cooking and household tasks, Arman and Edita care for their grandchildren, whom Arman walks home every day after school, while their parents are at work. Their son-in-law drives a truck for a suburban trash removal company and leaves at 6 a.m., returning around 4:30 in the afternoon. Their daughter works at a nearby TJ Maxx, four blocks from their home, and her shifts typically end around 6 or 9 PM. This household structure is similar to the multi-generation household living arrangements observed in a western Bosnian *selo* (village) by anthropologist Tone Bringa just before the wars (Bringa 1995). It also resembles household structures found among other immigrants and economically and politically marginalized groups in the United States. Arman's and Edita's unremunerated household labors enable Ivan's and Azra's wage labor, which in turn provides the cash and credit required to own and furnish the home, and to meet monthly expenses. Thus, as with Hana's and Goran's employment and household arrangements, there is here an expectation that all adults should contribute to the upkeep of the home, and while sex difference is a recognizable factor in organizing some projects—Edita works with embroidery, Arman with wood—gender difference is not viewed or activated as an antagonizing set of social relations.³³

These two households provide a portrait of existing kin relations and their material contingencies among Bosnian refugees in the United States. Their organization stands in stark contrast to the war scholarship emphasis on destruction and the antagonistic renderings of male and female refugees as rendered in *Lana's Rain* and *The Last Witness*. Yet they tell also of the stresses involved in the migration, of engaging in the more intensive work and consumption demands of capitalism in the United States, and of encounters with stigma associated with the war and with their homeland. During my fieldwork, for example, much discussion took place

³³ See Hoffman, Katherine, "Moving and Dwelling: Building the Moroccan Ashelhi Homeland," *American Ethnologist*, V 29, i 4, 928-962 (2002) for a discussion of gendered labor, migration and discursive constructions of sex differences in rural Morocco where men and women emphasized gender complementarity.

over how money earned by household members should be allocated. The conflict in these debates often centered on parents' and their children's different conceptions of appropriate generational roles.

Generational reciprocity

Younger and older generations continuously negotiated expectations of reciprocity. Those who were able tended to the wellbeing of adult children as one way of securing some of their labor for the present as well as the future. Once Hana's eldest son, Tino, reached employment eligibility, he too was expected to get a job and contribute to the household. He worked part time after school and weekends at a "Stop & Shop" grocery store and was allowed to keep 1/3 of his paycheck to use at his discretion; the remaining money went to Hana. At least, this was the way things were supposed to work out. Tino was aware that many of his peers who had jobs were allowed to keep most, if not all, of their pay, and felt it was unfair of his mother to allow him only 1/3 of his earnings to do with as he pleased. This disagreement was the cause of many mother-son arguments, and a major source of tension in the household. Tino wanted to use his earnings to buy DVDs and CDs and purchase prepared food, things that Hana and Goran viewed as unnecessary and frivolous. Tino eventually quit his grocery job and subsequently worked at and quit several other low-wage jobs including a "Quiznos" sandwich shop and a local video rental store.

Goran was frustrated with Tino's lack of industry and seeming unwillingness to stay at a job and contribute consistently to household income, but Goran is not Tino's birth-father, and married Hana when Tino was seven years old. Hana felt the parenting—including disciplining—of Tino was her job, and Goran respected this, but ended up expressing his frustration not to Tino, but to Hana. This communicative cycle often led to arguments between Hana and Goran in

addition to the quarrels between Hana and Tino. Tino hoped eventually to do what Edita's youngest child and only son, Damir, had managed shortly after the home purchase in 2003: move into his own apartment.

Every Wednesday Damir drove out to this mother's house, and brought Edita back to his apartment where she stayed until Friday afternoon. She spent those two days and nights cooking and cleaning for him, and visiting with him. In this way, Edita was able to retain some control over her son's life. She could be aware of who he might be dating at the time, and through her labors remind him of the obligations he accrued as her son—to care for her as she grows older. Keeping tabs on adult children proved challenging, though.

Wartime Violence Hits Home

Edita's other daughter, Azra, lived in another part of Chicago—about a 40-minute bus ride from Edita's and Arman's home—with her husband and their two teenage daughters. Azra's husband came from eastern Bosnia, near Sarajevo, and fought in the Bosnian Muslim army for nearly two years during the war. Once they arrived in the United States, Mirsad began drinking excessively, and fighting with Azra—fights that escalated into physical violence. Rather than involve police or social workers in the domestic violence, Azra told her parents what was going on, and they intervened. During the last fight, Azra called Arman, who came to their house, pinned Mirsad against the wall and told him if he hit Azra again, Arman would take her and the girls to live with him and Edita. When Edita later told me this story, she offered this explanation: “[H]e (Mirsad) is from Sarajevo.” This statement was part of a set of recurring east/west contrasts and pairings I encountered over the course of my fieldwork.

Bosnians often compared people from Eastern Bosnia and Western Bosnia/Herzegovina, and characterized men from the East as more restrictive than their western counterparts in their attitudes towards women.³⁴ While it is true that in some parts of Eastern Bosnia women were expected to be more submissive towards their husband than women in western Bosnia, this expectation was tempered by many factors including education, urban or village locale, observance of Sunni religious tenets, as well as proximity to the wife's family of origin. Given Edita's other comments to me regarding her family's experience of the war and migration from Bosnia, the link she identified between Mirsad's violence towards Azra and his Sarajevan background may be viewed as commentary on the war: that the fighting he had endured and participated in had affected his relationship with Azra. Edita and Azra both had previously told me that Mirsad was missing during the war for nearly 16 months: they didn't hear anything from him, didn't know where he was, or if he was alive or dead. Indeed, the rise in substance abuse as well as incidences of domestic violence among former soldiers in postwar Bosnia and the diaspora was the subject of much conversation among the women I knew, nearly all of whom—Edita and Hana included—interpreted these behaviors as products of war, the culture of war, and the economic and social voids left by the war.

Conclusion

These women's comments, and Azra's reluctance to involve the police in Mirsad's abuse of her, are all indicative of the pressures women must negotiate in their refugee relocations. Their actions demonstrate an awareness of the stigma foisted on them and their countrypeople in western understandings of their homeland. I have shown that this stigma is evident in scholarship

³⁴ Conversely, people from the east often expressed views of their western counterparts as not properly observant of religious tenets.

and in public culture, wherein kinship is the theoretical cynosure across this constellation of signs.

But these new productions about global events bear the imprint of the past. Discourses of modernity /tradition and civilization/barbarism permeate these narratives, emptying Bosnian lives of their subjective variations only to load them with American fantasies that envision violence as originating somehow outside of the United States. Here, western women and men may act as agents of change, and see that justice is served, in scenarios that depict Bosnian damsels-in-distress who are saved from their savage male counterparts. I focus on the distinctly gendered symbolic features of these narratives in the context of their circulation, for “[I]t is in the circulation, not the creation, of images of difference that power asymmetries usually become determinative,” writes Louisa Schein of the emplacement of Miao people within contemporary Chinese nationalism (Schein 2000: 130).

Clearly counter to this relentless conflation of experience, Bosnians with whom I worked cultivated understandings of gender shaped in part by family roles and how well one adheres to acts of provisioning that sustain connections and delineate social ties. In these exchanges, war survivors conceived ethnicity as flexible and negotiable, rather than fixed and primordial. People insisted on regional and individual variations in experience even as they demanded recognition of collective mobilizations and of violent victimizations when discussing the wars. And women emerged in these encounters as strong, capable, and authoritative.

CHAPTER 3: A Trade In Stories

On the cover of a 1996 issue of the free Southtown newspaper, *The Valley Advocate*, a photo of a harrowed young woman refugee advertised the feature story: an interview wherein she recalled her survival of the Bosnian War. I didn't recognize the woman, but wondered if my Bosnian acquaintances knew of her. Days later I mentioned the story to Hana, Lejla, and Hana's friend Fata, who replied that they knew the woman, but disapproved of her public interview. Later that evening, I recorded Hana's summation of the story publication in my fieldnotes: "She sold her story".

Western feminist aid-workers articulate an image of the Bosnian refugee woman-victim for western audiences. But what happens when Bosnian women themselves take up the image of the refugee woman? Here, focusing on exchange, I follow how the refugee woman becomes animated in Bosnian survival narratives. While these discourses share topics—war, survival—they differ in ways that are suggestive of power differences in the refugee and migration circuit. The contrasts between the repertoires that scaffold these stories and their circulation illustrate the value of participant-observation to understanding the relationships between language and power. The emphasis on exchange illuminates interactions based on social relations and raises the question: what is being traded? What kind of currency does the image of the Bosnian refugee woman carry?

Stories for Sale

The communicative context in which a story is shared is part of its meaning. The language-genre of refugee-narrative is best understood by attending to participant-roles, and to the negotiation of time and space as the story is told. Judith Irvine, drawing on earlier sociolinguistic research on the “ethnography of speaking” (Hymes 1964, Gumperz 1968), writes: “[L]inguistic signs are part of a political economy, not just vehicles for thinking about it. Only a conception of language as multifunctional can give an adequate view of the relations between language and the material world, and evade a false dichotomy between ‘idealists’ and ‘materialists’” (Irvine 1989: 248). Rather than approach the study of language as an exclusively descriptive and/or referential activity, researchers now also seek to understand how communication is layered with indexical items that point to (or index) social categories/moral forces, past events, institutions; in short, the constant interplay among communicative practices and other taken-for-granted frames of reference within a social scheme. For example, Hana’s unfavorable characterization of the story publication as a “sale” indexes a moral prohibition against selling one’s story. It may further suggest a taboo against selling certain wares—Bosnian war stories—to particular customers: Americans. While the women agreed the story should not have been sold—one assumption being that she had taken cash for her story—this was only the first among many more deliveries of Bosnian refugee narratives to American audiences I observed during the course of my fieldwork. The trade in Bosnian refugee stories highlights the tension between Bosnian exchange models based on extensive social networks maintained through acts of reciprocity—including patron-client arrangements—and American systems where cash is the primary currency.

Irvine’s article on language and political economy draws primarily on her ethnographic research among the Wolof in Senegal, in particular on griot praise-speech: a communicative

activity that involves the delivery of convincing compliments, and indexes social categories (Irvine 1989). According to Irvine, through the exchange, these social statuses are constructed and re-affirmed: nobles need praise speech in order to gain status, maintain status and display wealth, which they achieve by publicly paying the griot for their praise; this is how griots earn their living. Irvine suggests that the value of praise speech resides in the view of the songs as a form of property that conveys formal and exclusive rights over content and performance. Thus, there is an exchange value generated by this form of speech, not simply a use-value (262).

I found that there was an exchange value associated with these refugee stories that was not always explicitly acknowledged. Some Bosnian women attempted to draw on the resources associated with their storytelling to extend their social networks for the benefit of their families and friends. These attempts built on trends in American-led fundraising practices along with a western psychology talk-therapy framing of the stories as tools necessary to achieve states-of-being, namely healing and recovery. They were also assembled through Bosnian understandings of storytelling and the link between this kind of talk and the cultivation of social networks. The storytelling projects and moments described below are full of interactions wherein the contradictions, ambiguities, and agreements embedded in communicative practices are apparent. The circulation of the figure “refugee-woman” suggests the waxing and waning of the symbol’s weight among Americans, while versions of the image collide with Bosnian diaspora politics and insistence on the material elements—meat/food, labor, as well as the social connections—family, gender, regional, religious—that mediate senses of identities.

Stories in Transit

To understand how Bosnian war stories circulated in the United States, we need a sense of their significance in the international aid scene that accompanied the war and is still very much part of the postwar landscape. The narration of personal testimony of wartime victimization was central not only to identifying and prosecuting war criminals through the International War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague. At the everyday level, personal testimony provided the basis for international refugee status and access to the possibility of mobility outside of Yugoslavia, most often to North America, Europe, Australia, and sometimes Turkey (Franz 2005). During and following the war, international and faith-based agencies such as the International Red Cross, USAID, Catholic Relief Services and some Islamic organizations served as conduits, disbursing food staples and arranging shelter for the more than two million people displaced by secession fighting. Thus, one's ability to narrate a believable story, often through a translator to an international aid worker, was immediately and directly linked to access to food, shelter, travel, and even jobs.

Women Aid Workers, Women Refugees: Evoking the "Voice" of Refugees

In September 2005, along with Larisa, Nasiha, and Fadila, I attended a Loyola University student production of American feminist playwright Eve Ensler's *Necessary Targets*. Ensler has made headlines over the past decade by promoting a global feminism aimed at publicizing and discussing violence against women through performance. The most well-known example of this work is Ensler's play *The Vagina Monologues*. While one of the ensemble characters in *Monologues* is a composite based on the experiences of women who were sexually attacked during the Bosnian Wars, the themes developed and explored in *Necessary Targets* are illustrated by five refugee Bosnian women and their interactions with two American feminists who have

arrived in the refugee camp in order to encourage the women to “tell us your stories” (Ensler 2003:15).

This directive rests on a particular view of language—or what we may call a language ideology. Language has been viewed as critical to Second and Third Wave feminisms as a tool to intervene on behalf of women and girls by interrupting male-dominated discourses and thus initiating a paradigm-shift in worldview.³⁵ These strategies range from textual pronoun changes to female homosocial support groups that openly discuss taboo subjects such as sexual violence and spousal abuse, to very public pronouncements on these same taboo subjects. A recent example of the latter is Ensler’s “V-Day” conglomerate that organizes annual worldwide events aimed at developing a “global movement” focused on drawing attention to violence against adult women and girls, “until the violence stops” (Seligson 2006). Women refugees, refugee camps, and Bosnian women in particular provide much of the material for Ensler’s art, and for journalism and scholarship concerned with documenting and understanding the impacts of war. Stories, narrating past traumatic events in the context of war and displacement, occupy the center of many of these projects.

The Suitcase, an anthology of Yugoslav refugee stories from women, children, and a few men, was published in 1997, and is co-edited by Julie Mertus, a law and policy scholar and colleague of Ensler’s, Jasmina Tesanović, a literary scholar and translator, Habiba Metikos, an attorney, and Rada Boric, a language and literature scholar. The following excerpt demonstrates the reasoning behind soliciting stories and their interpretation and organization of the stories

³⁵ Susan Gal writes of the effort to document “voice” in feminist and nonfeminist social science: “Terms such as ‘women’s language,’ ‘voice,’ or ‘words’ are routinely used not only to designate everyday talk but also, much more broadly, to denote the public expression of a particular perspective on self and social life, the effort to represent one’s own experience, rather than accepting the representations of more powerful others” (Gal 1991). See also Deborah Tannen (1990, 1993).

within the schema of the anthology. After commenting on the global deficit of women in leadership roles with access to state and military decision-making, Mertus and Tesanović write:

Here, however, women refugees have a voice....[N]one of these women wanted to tell their stories. Few of them thought anyone would care to hear about their lives as refugees. But all of them knew that they would write a different story than the official version, that they would tell the ‘little stories’ of real life as a refugee. When they realized that they would be taken seriously, some of them even wanted to sign their names...[W]omen’s words are the substance which qualifies victory or defeat, the wisdom which challenges the slaughter, the power of the powerless which demands to be heard. Women refugees write differently than other authors about war: they use details from their everyday lives to tell us about the killing of the most visible life during times of peace—everyday life (Mertus, et al 1997: 14-15)³⁶.

Leaving aside for a moment the introduction of the concept of “voice,” and “giving voice” in the above passage, we can discern further evidence of the pervasive reach of these ideas about language in guiding research and international aid projects, along with associated publications. For scholars writing in a special issue of *Anthropology of East Europe Review* devoted to “Women Refugees of the Balkans,” stories and talk are methods of inquiry and analysis. Eva Huseby-Darvas writes in “Voices of Plight, Voices of Paradox”:

³⁶ The very first story in the anthology is composed in the format of a play script, of which the editors note: “The mother decided to tell her story only after Julie Mertus and Eve Ensler (a screenplay writer) had spent over two weeks listening to refugee stories in the Hajji complex.” (Mertus et al 1997: 28)

The voices of plight that I refer to in the title of the present endeavor are those of refugee women, while the voices of paradox are those of their hosts. By evoking some of these voices I examine here two facets of the current refugee crisis in Hungary. First I look at how refugee women talk about their predicament and how they interpret the reactions of the host society to their presence. Then I discuss a couple of different responses of Hungarians to the flood of refugees in the past few years. The present work is based on refugees [sic] narratives, in addition to primary and secondary data I have collected in and around four refugee camps in Hungary during May of 1992 and August of 1993 (Huseby-Darvas 1995).

Like *The Suitcase* editors, Huseby-Darvas views part of her role as researcher and writer to bring forth, call out, or in her words “evoke” refugee women’s stories and in so doing provide the “voices” of those who are typically not heard. In a different article in the same special issue, Mary Kay Gilliland describes the search for narrative as a method:

In 1993 we carried out research among displaced persons and refugees on the island of Hvar in Croatia. We had three objectives. First, we wanted to collect narratives of war and of refugee experience before the passage of time had dulled the sharp edge of that experience. We believed that these narratives would provide an important historical record. We also hoped that the telling of stories by refugees, and our listening to and recording the stories, might be of some therapeutic benefit to the individuals. Second, we were interested in collecting information about previous family life, particularly gender roles and the relative distribution of authoritarian and egalitarian family structures. Many refugees in

Croatia come from isolated, homogeneous village communities and may find themselves living semi-permanently or even permanently in communities that are structured very differently. We were looking for information that might help resettlement and other programs aimed at facilitating refugee adjustment. Third, we were interested in the gendered aspect of the refugee experience because so many refugees are women (Gilliland 1995)

The concept of “voice” used here expresses several significant metapragmatic notions about language—or apprehensions of the functions of language (Hymes 1972, Silverstein 1993). First, talk is the main object and method in the recording of oral history, particularly the experiences of those who are otherwise unlikely to appear in mainstream publications and communication venues. This view of talk comes out of the oral history movement linked to the political activism of the early and mid twentieth century (WPA/Federal Writers Project, civil rights, and women’s movement). Second, voice distinguishes social groups and marks group coherences and alliances. Thus, we are told “women refugees write differently than other authors about war” because “they use details from their everyday lives to tell us about the killing of the most visible life during times of peace—everyday life”. Presumably the “other authors” are scholars and journalists writing from an outsider’s perspective, and perhaps refugee men: refugee women write differently than these writers because of their attention to the details of everyday life. Third, talk is understood to be therapeutic, meaning it helps resolve tension and transition us from one state of being to another. In the case of refugee women such talk is viewed as necessary in order for them to survive the experiences of displacement and wartime violence.

This last view on language derives from Freudian and post-Freudian psychological theory. These projects are perhaps best understood as belonging to the spate of research marked

by the 1982 publication of psychologist Carol Gilligan's *In A Different Voice*, wherein Gilligan describes different moral frameworks among men and women in America, and the broad cultural devaluation of those guidelines women use to identify, evaluate, and reason through dilemmas and problems encountered in life. Stories, both in interview and in written-response form, comprise the data that Gilligan seeks to contest, and that which she uses to question previous research findings. In their study of these gendered differences, Gilligan and colleague Susan Pollack identify "[T]he themes of separation and connection... based on an analysis of stories, written prior to the study, by [college] students as a class exercise in a psychology course on motivation" (Gilligan 1982: 39).³⁷

Finally, Foucault's discussion of the history of confessional narratives in western societies is relevant here. Foucault follows the practice of confession out of the medieval Church into the home, schools, and the offices of social reformers and psychiatrists—such as Freud (1978: 63). What is important to Foucault in his analysis of confession is that the practice is a social ritual that produces "a discourse of truth" through interaction (67). This production involved both the confessor and her recorder, whose job it was to complete the process through interpretation and verification of the confession. For Foucault, the power in this relationship resides in the interpreter, in the judge. A similar power imbalance seemed particularly present—and discomfiting—in the narration of war stories to American audiences, in contrast to those told amongst kin and friends.

The international aid workers' and journalists' solicitation of refugee "stories" illustrates the social dynamics involved in the definition both of refugee populations and the institutions associated with them. Too often, research on refugee life focuses on the crises that produced the

³⁷ The concept of "voice" and metaphor of revival through voice is further evidenced in psychologist Mary Pipher's *Reviving Ophelia* (1994), and college student Sara Shandler's response to Pipher in her edited anthology, *Ophelia Speaks* (1999).

refugee experience. Yet, “refugee” is also a socially produced category (Malkki, 1992), and what it means to be a refugee varies a great deal according to one’s context and particular refugee-trajectory (Malkki, 1995). In Chapter One, I introduced the variety of refugee-experiences among Bosnian refugees to America. Regional origin, political party affiliations, gender and generation, ethnicity, religion, and educational background all played a significant part in their migrations, and in their regional emplacements within the United States. Even as I was confronted with an array of routes to refugee-life during my field research, I learned that people shared a number of common experiences, of which narrating a refugee story to outsiders figured prominently. But much of the research that sought to document refugee life through recording stories failed to recognize adequately the social contexts in which stories were told, and further, that both the researchers and the individuals who occupy refugee status bring with them a range of ideas and practices related to communication and communicative modes that are employed to initiate, navigate and interpret their interactions with one another.

Without acknowledging these deeply held beliefs we lose sight of the ways in which people actively seek to shape their encounters, and crucial connections among communicative practices, economy, and identity formations. This view on the links between language ideologies and social categories holds that cultural symbols—refugee, woman, refugee woman—are intimately linked with language use and that both symbolic and linguistic changes occur through communicative acts (Gal and Irvine 2000, Woolard 1998). By viewing the stories as narrative co-productions³⁸ that involve speaking and listening roles we arrive at the realization that through their interactions with one another, Bosnian refugees and aid workers built a shared

³⁸ Scholars of narrative co-constructions emphasize the interactional elements of narration. These interactions—verbal responses, utterances, bodily gestures—may affirm, discount, or reposition the narration, thus demonstrating both collective agreement and individual and collective dissent that are part of narrative practices (Ochs, Smith & Taylor 1989; Ochs & Capps 1995).

discourse of victimhood, endurance, and triumph centered on the symbol of the refugee woman. The following sections explore the social dimensions of this discourse by following women into their homes, a public plaza in Chicago, a backyard stoop in Southtown, and returning to Loyola University's stage. Their interactions within these spaces, along with film, newspaper articles, and other local publications, demonstrate the reach and limits of the refugee-woman and her stories in their lives after the war.

Bosnian War Narratives, Made in the U.S.A.

Some psychiatrists who worked with refugees in the United States viewed talk in the form of testimony as necessary to achieving the above "voice" objectives. Early on in my research I found that a few of the people I came to know through a community center on Chicago's northside had been interviewed previously for a study on Post Traumatic Stress Disorder conducted by a group of researchers at the Chicago campus of University of Illinois. A study published by the lead researcher for the group in an initial project located at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut describes the methods and aims of the research in this way:

Before the interview, refugees were told by the resettlement organization that clinicians at Yale were available to listen to their accounts of experiences of the war and of the impact that these experiences had on their lives. A number of the refugees had already told their sponsors within the refugee agency that they wanted their stories to be known. Many had already given interviews to the mass media...Because our aim was to use the testimony not only as a clinical

intervention, but also as a means of bearing witness to historical events and processes, interviewers helped the refugees to focus upon broader historical considerations. For example, refugees were encouraged to give vivid descriptions of how the process of ethnic cleansing worked in their communities as they came to know it. When atrocities were recalled, the person was asked to give names of perpetrators for possible use in the future war crime tribunals, should he or she choose to use the information in this manner. (Weine, et al. 1995: 539)

What this explanation of methods is not prepared to capture are the positions of alignment and distance individuals may take in an utterance—what Erving Goffman labeled “footing” (Goffman 1979, Bateson 1972). There is, however, a great deal of information contained within the paragraph about how interviewer and interviewee might find their footing: people attached to a large elite American institution (Yale University) have set aside time to hear war stories from Bosnian refugees. Many refugees have been interviewed through another major (and global) American institution (the media). “Ethnic cleansing” will be a prominent discussion topic, and refugees should arrive prepared to name offenders. Thus, we see how the interviews are structured according to participation, or participant, frameworks (Goffman 1979, Goodwin 1990) that are more easily identified when we understand this to be a communicative event (Hymes 1974, Gumperz 1977) within a context defined by social interactions in that space. By taking the structure of the interaction seriously, the interview can better be understood as an encounter that is interactive, participatory, and negotiated. Oral historian Alessandro Portelli notes that “[a] good interviewer facilitates the history-teller’s agenda and overall strategy, but a good history-teller subtly shapes the tale according to the presence and manner of the interviewer” (Portelli

1997: 24). An excerpt from an interview I conducted in fall of 2004 illustrates these dynamics well.

Azra tells her story

On a noisy late summer Wednesday evening, I climbed the stairs to Azra's second floor apartment in a three-story walk-up in Chicago's Andersonville neighborhood. She met me at the door and invited me inside the small two-bedroom apartment she shared with her husband and their two teenage daughters. Her husband was still at work. Their younger daughter, Lejla, was home, and the elder daughter, Adriana, was expected to return home soon from volleyball practice. Azra, Lejla and I sat on comfortable old couches in the front room. Azra's mother, Fadila, had introduced us, and I phoned the week prior to arrange a visit with Azra to find out more about how she and her family had arrived in Chicago, and how they had found employment in the city. As soon as I was seated in the dark front room filled with Azra's cigarette smoke, she told me that she had noticed the Yugoslav surname transmitted on her caller-ID with the phone number I had called her from earlier that week. I responded that I had used my friend's phone to make the call. Azra asked me where he was from and I told her that he was born in the United States, but his parents were originally from Herzegovina—which was also where Azra and Fadila's original home. This link led to some discussion of Herzegovina, to the wartime destruction and postwar reconstruction in the region. Then Azra offered me some Croatian chocolates and Coke, and asked me what kinds of questions I had for her.

After I explained that I would like to understand how Azra and her family ended up in the U.S., in Chicago instead of, for example, Stockholm, Vienna, or Sydney, and that I was interested also in what it was like to find work in Chicago, Azra lit another cigarette and

launched into an almost rapid-fire delivery of her journey out of Herzegovina.³⁹ She and her daughter found their way first to a refugee camp near Rijeka inside the Croatian border on the Istrian Peninsula where they were joined by her parents, younger brother, sister and sister's husband.

Egyptian and Arab men ran an aid organization that was giving nice items, for example sugar, oil, coffee. I worked for that organization to support my whole family. My husband stayed in Sarajevo to fight. Really this organization was a front for marrying Bosnian women [to Muslim men from Egypt and Germany]. My friend worked there too. Her husband was also in Sarajevo. We did not know when/if they would return, and hadn't heard from them for almost one year. I was giving nice things for people who came to the organization; I felt good because I was able to help people and help my family. These men—the men who owned the organization—were talking to me and my friend one day and I was smoking. This man—this boss—told me that it wasn't nice for me to smoke; didn't I want to put my cigarette out? I said, no, thank you very much, I do not; I like to smoke and I do not need you to tell me what you think about that. After that he kept pushing on me; my friend did not hear from her husband and married one man—one man from Germany found by the aid organization—and she was telling me to do this too. I did not want that, even though I could have left the country then right away. I stopped working at that organization.⁴⁰

³⁹ Azra, her eldest daughter who was 4 years old at the time, her parents, her adult sister and her husband, and Azra's younger brother all migrated out of Bosnia-Herzegovina together; Azra's husband remained to help defend the capitol city, Sarajevo.

⁴⁰ Azra told her story in English.

Azra's narrative tumbled out so quickly that I thought she must have told it before. As I tried to keep up, inserting affirmative nods and utterances, I glanced at Lejla, who was seated to the right of Azra, to discern how she might be responding to her mother's story. Lejla was looking at her hands, fingers fiddling with a wrapper that had contained one of the chocolates. In this story, Azra figures as a hard-working, loyal person, and a defiant woman. She provides for her entire family: mother, father, daughter, elder sister and her husband, and younger adult brother, as well as other needy refugees. She resists the invitations and demands of male outsiders—compelling as they may have been given the circumstances of war—and remains with her family. Azra effectively illustrates these choices through contrasting her actions with those of her friend. And she refuses to put out her cigarette, ultimately choosing to quit working for the men who demanded it. Through her story, Azra is not only able to portray herself in ways that are valued among many Bosnians—a hardworking wife, daughter, sister and mother, loyal to her family. But her portrayal also contains characteristics that are valorized among western feminists: defiance of male authority, particularly of men associated with Islam. In fact, Azra made it a point to tell me that when she quit working for the Islamic relief agency, she began working for the local Red Cross outpost.

In addition to serving as an introduction of her family and self to me, her story may also be viewed as serving the function of socializing Lejla into womanhood. I learned later in the year that Lejla was having trouble in school. Her grades had fallen and other students were harassing her. Azra and Adis felt that Lejla needed to develop a thicker skin, to speak up when the classmates picked on her. In this story, Azra models the kinds of behaviors she hoped Lejla would develop in order to make her way through the world as an adult.

After telling me the relief agency story, and discussing Azra's and Adis' current employment, Azra inquired about my friend's work. Some of his cousins worked in Chicago's booming building condominium-conversion and construction market. Adis and his brother had worked on several building rehabilitation projects and were interested in possibly purchasing a rental property, so she asked that I tell him to keep them in mind should he come across any interesting properties for sale, or in need of reconstruction. Azra also shared with me the news that Adriana would soon be applying to colleges and asked if I would provide her with some information about my university. These requests bring us back to the women's response to the publication of the refugee woman's story in the Massachusetts newspaper. By asking for assistance, Azra recognized our interaction as one of exchange: her story would help my research, she had invited me into her home and offered me refreshment, and was thus in a position to extend the reciprocal chain.

Weaving Connections: Chicago to Bosnia

Chicago is known as "The City That Works" not only because it is the Midwestern industrial and financial hub of the United States, but because of the Metropolis's notoriously entrenched patronage-based political system. Social networks that connect organized labor, municipal legislators, and corporate officers link institutional resources and extend authority, intensifying webs of political and economic power in the city. Social network analyses have been a key focus in social science research based in capitalist economies—most notably developed among Chicago School urban sociologists (Hannerz 1980). In the socialist economies of formerly communist European countries, people also developed intricate social networks (Gal 2000, Burawoy & Verdery 1991).

My life-history interviews with people about their pre-war economic lives yielded evidence of the types of economic strategies described by political scientist Susan Woodward (1995). In the late 1980s, Hana returned to her parents' home after leaving an abusive marriage. Hana's father and mother had built their home in Mostar together in the 1950s, and even though they had divorced years later and her mother, Habiba, had remarried, they both continued to live in the home, occupying separate floors. Habiba worked in a tobacco factory in Mostar, and her husband also held a factory job. Hana, along with her toddler son, moved in with her father and rather than look for employment in nursing—her secondary school specialization—opened a small café near a local high school. The students were her primary clients; they came for Hana's Bosnian sandwiches and pizza, and to play songs on the jukebox. Hana's father had a stable position with the Communist Party. Goran, who was Hana's second husband, operated an auto body and repair shop with his father and brother. The shop was in Mostar, but Goran's parents continued to live on the more agrarian outskirts of the city where they cultivated a large vegetable garden and raised chickens. This combination of factory employment, bureaucratic appointment, small business enterprise, and semi-rural food cultivation worked to sustain Hana's extended family.⁴¹ Social networks were critical to this kind of economy, and to the political system.

During her research in Yugoslavia in the 1980s, Woodward found that people characterized politics as operating on the principles of "*veze i protekcija*," which in this usage

⁴¹ The type of household that Ajna shared with her mother, father, and other kin, was referred to as *zadruga*, literally "with others," and in Yugoslavia denoted a situation in which a household was shared by more than one nuclear family (see Halpern, Hammel for literature on *zadruga* organization). Woodward suggests these kinds of living arrangements were necessary to protect against the uncertain employment offered by the state (Woodward 1995: 315). I found similar modes of household organization among Bosnian immigrants in the United States, which I describe in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5. Such systems are common among immigrant groups in the U.S.—in particular following the immigration reforms of the 1960s that emphasized the principle of "family-reunification" in immigration policy—as well as among other marginalized social groups (see for example Stack [1974] on household arrangements among poor black Americans in the Midwest during the 1970s).


roughly translates to “connections and pull” (Woodward, 1985: 252). “*Protekcija*” is a word incorporated into Bosnian through the German language of the Austro-Hungarian state, and connotes political favoritism and influence. “*Veze*” in the noun form can refer either to cords, bands, ropes, and embroidered objects (“*vez*”) and in verb form (“*vezati*”) describes the action of tying, connection, and binding.

Such connections are often stigmatized within American capitalist ideology, particularly through the notion of individualism. Here the individual is valued above all else, and the rags-to-riches metaphor of “pulling oneself up by the bootstraps” is the ultimate goal to be realized. While the cult of the individual has ebbed and flowed throughout United States history, the neoliberal reforms (1994-96) of the welfare system that organized refugee relocations were framed by a strong individualist discourse. The language of empowerment and self-help directed attention away from the unavoidable fact that the new policies required people to rely more, not less, on their social connections. However devalued and denied social ties and their attendant obligations may be, scholars have shown that such networks are central to the organization of class systems under capitalism, sustaining elite statuses (Bott 1971, Castells 1995, Ong 1999), and that patron-client arrangements flourish among those populations that are—however integral to the workings of the formal economy—in some significant ways excluded from the broader mainstream formal political-economic system (Schneider & Schneider 2003).

The root “*vez*” is embedded also in the verb “*izvesti*,” that describes in particular the act of embroidery. We might view Bosnian women as weaving such links between themselves and Americans by sharing their stories of refugee life, stories that often center on the refugee woman-protagonist. Several examples from Chicago demonstrate the relationship between the public performance of these stories and establishing claims for Bosnian spaces within the city.

Refugee Women's Day in a Chicago Fieldhouse

In October 2000, women refugees and women volunteers gathered in a Chicago Park District cultural center to celebrate *Dan Žena Izbjeglica*, “Refugee Women’s Day”. A bilingual Bosnian/English women’s publication, *Nova Žena*, “New Woman,” supported by the local Catholic Charities office published a write-up of the event. The article’s author describes a female solidarity she felt during the event, in which Bosnian women read their war stories in Bosnian, and then she read their stories in English: “I connected to these women and their stories. Their pain and their joy has been imparted [sic] to me. They are my sisters. I began to understand that we are all a part of a universal family” (Johnson 2001: 5). This communitarian sensibility has limits, though. The advertisement for the event reads: “Hear real-life stories of women who survived the war in Bosnia. Their experiences will change your life forever” (Image 1). In this call to listen, American women may look forward to the type of transformation/transition we encountered earlier in Freudian constructions of talk-therapy. And while this image acknowledges the listener by hoping there will be an impact—a change—upon the listener, there is no attention given to the story-teller as a performer or to the ways in which the women speakers might shape their stories in the context of this particular audience. Nor is there speculation as to how the telling may transform the Bosnian women—it seems they are there simply to facilitate a sense of benevolent sisterhood among the American women, whom we see entering embrace with a Bosnian woman in the image above the story’s caption.



*We're coming
to you with the
best
in live
performances
from new
and emerging
local and
community
artists.*

Women of Bosnia

October 20, 2000, 6:30 - 8:30 p.m.

*Hear real-life stories of women who survived the
war in Bosnia. Their experiences will
change your life forever.*

Music - Dance - Poetry

A photo exhibit will also be on display.

*Berger Park Cultural Center
6205 N. Sheridan
Chicago, IL 60660
312/742-7871*

**CHICAGO
PARK
DISTRICT**
COME OUT AND PLAY

4 • NOVA ŽENA Mart 2001

Image 3.1 Berger Park event, "Women of Bosnia"

The sharing of war stories under the label of "refugee" was a key instrument in gaining public visibility for the plights of Bosnians in Chicago, and in postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina. A community center for Bosnian refugees that began in 1994 as a project of the local non-profit

collective known as The Heartland Alliance, had incorporated by 1997 as a stand-alone not-for-profit agency to serve the needs of refugees. The center provided ESL classes, citizenship classes, after-school programs for children, and programs for seniors. I volunteered with this agency for the duration of my field research, and was witness to their ongoing struggle to obtain funding. The Board of Directors was a mix of Bosnians and Americans, but as the “experts” in the field of grant-writing and non-profit development, the Americans developed much of the content for agency materials: brochures, websites, and grant applications. The first sentence of the organization’s mission statement read: “To provide a voice to those who cannot speak.” The “voice” Bosnians were encouraged to develop in this context was that of a refugee-victim. This strategy had grave repercussions for the stability of the organization: the largest donor to the community center was the Illinois Department of Human Services, Office of Refugee Resettlement. When, in early 2003 the refugee profile of Illinois began to change and Bosnians were no longer the majority population, IDHS directed its support to other agencies that served the new refugee populations from Sudan, Somalia, and Sierra Leone. For an agency this small to lose its primary grantor was a bad thing indeed: the smaller donor agencies soon followed suit and a financial crisis ensued. The center cut its staff by half in 2005, and by summer of 2006 decided to fold and move its services to a larger umbrella organization.

In a *Chicago Tribune* article covering the closing of the center, associate director Azra Heljo, is quoted in enlarged bold-faced script: “If these walls could speak, how many tragic stories they could tell because of what happened in Bosnia. It’s like a part of them is gone. What will happen to these people?” (Biemer 2006: 2, 1). The decision to focus on a refugee identity left little recourse for claims to grant money and community space once the refugee status was

no longer convincing to American audiences. But even upon the closing of the center's doors, staff at the community center insisted it was their stories that deserved a space.

The community center folded not just because it lost the financial support of American grantors, but due to lack of funding from the 35,000 Bosnian refugees in Chicago. Chicago is home to numerous "mutual aid societies" founded and sustained by immigrant communities including ethnic Chinese, Polish, Romanian, Armenian, Indian, and Croatian immigrants. Constituents pay an annual fee to become and remain a member of a mutual aid society. The membership provides access to the physical space, and sometimes to small short-term loans financed through the membership fee pool.⁴² The lack of financial support for the center may have been linked in part to the reluctance of people to rally around the rhetoric of victimhood associated with a refugee identity.⁴³

Two examples illustrate the uses of refugee women's stories to communicate with American audiences about the Bosnian Wars, and at the same time show that these narratives didn't play well overall to Bosnian audiences.

Refugees, or Not?

⁴² The Bosnian immigrant organization that most closely resembled a mutual aid society was BACA—a group associated with the Islamic Cultural Center headquartered at a Bosnian mosque in a northern suburb. The mosque, ICC and BACA was founded before the recent Bosnian migration and traced descent to early twentieth-century migration from the region, preceding the Yugoslav socialist state. Many of the new immigrants did not find it easy or comfortable to affiliate with the suburban mosque. [In discussions with leadership at the mosque, including the resident hodža-imam, I was told the recent immigrants were uneducated and did not know how to be properly observant of religious practice and doctrine.] For local versions of the Chicago-based histories of Bosnian Muslims see Agić (2004) and Zulfić (2003).

⁴³ In addition, the "not-for-profit" organizational structure of the community center and the language of "fundraising" introduced by the American members of the board of directors created a situation that did not build on the mutual aid model, and more transparent ways of circulating money and other resources. People expressed concern and doubt about how their money would be used and who would benefit were they to make a "donation" to the center. Some people's discomfort with the victim-role was also likely due to the fact that many who had been victimized had also played the role of victimizer at some point during the war.

Heljo, the associate director cited in the *Tribune* article, also attended the fall 2005 production of Ensler's *Necessary Targets*, and participated in a panel discussion after the play. "Creating Community Across Cultures—Women in Bosnia and Local Responsibility," included professors of theatre, communication, and women's studies, a documentary filmmaker, and a student community volunteer. When given the opportunity to introduce herself to the audience, Heljo launched into a narrative about the horrors of the war. Beginning first with personal details about how she and her family were forced from their homes and jobs, and how difficult the language barriers in the United States had been for her and for her family, she transitioned to general statements about the war, making links to the Nazi Holocaust of the Second World War.

Unlike the majority of the audience—who were not Bosnian—the women with whom I came and I had heard Heljo's story many times before. It was the same one she told at the annual benefit dinner, in letters to the local alderman, state representative, and congressional representatives, and to me when I first interviewed her at the beginning of my field research. After the panelists had made their introductions and commented on the play, they began taking questions and remarks from the audience. Almost immediately another Bosnian member of the Board of Directors for the community organization stood up and began to speak. Making note of her affiliation with the center, she too delivered a personal war narrative of wartime victimization, drawing connections also to the Nazi Holocaust. Next, Larisa stood up and took issue with these narratives, first pointing out how wartime experiences differed according to time and region, for example Prijedor in 1992 compared with Sarajevo in 1993 or Mostar in 1994, and then pointed out examples of diaspora "success stories" such as the jobs people held, the apartments people had found, the education some had attained, finally asking "it has been ten years [since the wars in Bosnia officially ended] are we really refugees anymore?".

By bringing the wartime narrative to American audiences, the Bosnian representatives of the community center were insisting that their stories should be traded for something, for American patronage to help sustain the community center (and their positions at the center). But the Bosnian audience members in Chicago disapproved of this display; their responses suggested a discomfort with the collective label “refugee”.

Remembering Srebrenica in Daley Plaza

During a bumpy ride in a rented school bus from the north side of the city to its center, where Daley Plaza is located, several organizers distributed white t-shirts with green lettering reading: “Don’t Forget / Srebrenica / 1995-2005 / Chicago” and green ribbons for us to wear around our biceps⁴⁴. In July 1995, nearly 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men were murdered by Serb nationalist military forces and piled in mass graves on the outskirts of the Eastern Bosnian city of Srebrenica. To commemorate this decade-old wartime atrocity, the Bosnian diaspora organized memorial events held in various places around the world. Among these events was this one in Chicago’s Daley Plaza, a rally orchestrated by the Bosnian-oriented Islamic Cultural Center in Chicago.

My group joined others at the foot of Picasso’s famous steel sculpture, where we assembled ourselves behind the rows of chairs outlining the front of a stage. The speaker line-up included representatives from organizations with a variety of transnational agendas, including The American Jewish Committee (AJC), The Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago (CIOGC), and Human Rights Watch. In addition to the presence of these Non-Governmental Organizations, there were numerous transnational alliances invoked.

⁴⁴ The color green was selected because it is an international symbol of Islam. Those Muslims who defended Sarajevo were known as “Greens.”

Demonstrators carried signs reminding onlookers that the Srebrenica massacre was the largest genocide in Europe since the WWII Holocaust; one sign portrayed a terrorism time-line that began with Srebrenica and ended with the then-recent subway bombings in London:

SREBRENICA:	7-12-1995
NEW YORK:	9-11-2001
MADRID:	3-11-2004
LONDON:	7-7-2005

Image 3.2 Terrorism Timeline, Srebrenica memorial

Following speeches delivered by the NGO representatives, a young woman refugee from Srebrenica who had lost her parents in the war took her place in front of the microphone on stage and narrated her personal story [IMAGE 2]. In her amplified voice, she detailed the shelling of her parents' apartment and related the utter fear and helplessness she felt as a nine-year-old witness to war. She ended the story by focusing on her survival, illustrated with the metaphor of a phoenix rising from the ashes. Within the structure of the program, the woman's narrative enabled a move from individual experience to a collective memory that we as audience uneasily re-enacted. Once she had completed her story, an elder man took the podium and, after interpreting the young woman's survival as a sign of strength, he asked the men and women in the audience to separate from one another. The sex-separation mimicked the gendered structure of violence during the Srebrenica massacre, when men were separated from women; women were often targets of sexual violence while men were simply killed outright. Once we had

separated we were told to get down on our knees and kiss the ground while a recording of machine-gunfire exploded above our heads through the loudspeakers on stage. During this bodily reenactment an older woman who had lost her teenaged son in Srebrenica fainted, and other women crowded around, holding her, fanning her, and sprinkling cold bottled water on her face.

While the woman's story provided an individual version of the event we were invited to experience as a collective audience, the memorial ended with an abrupt re-enactment of the strict gender segregation and gendered violence that was so central to the production of war. Only several hundred of ca. 45,000 Bosnian refugees in Chicago (and ca. 35,000 more in nearby St. Louis, Missouri) showed up for the public memorial that day. Many of my elder women companions were shocked by and critical of the dramatic public reenactment, commenting that they had been through enough (as war survivors) and worried that the reenactment would stir up bad memories and feelings, and possibly bring harm to survivors, like the woman who had fainted.



Image 3.3 Woman narrates war at Srebrenica memorial in Daley Plaza

Story and Memory, In Dispute

The telling of these stories brings to the fore a number of issues about the functions of language, the relationship of language to identity formations, and how taken-for-granted ideas about language direct interpretations of language use. Gender, for example, emerges as a key component in storytelling to American audiences, where women are the central narrators. This is suggestive both of Bosnian gender conventions for mourning and the image of the strong kinswoman, as well as American apprehensions of Bosnian femininity and masculinity described in Chapter Two. The image and voice of the refugee woman is central to a focus on the collective plight of the Bosnian people in the Srebrenica massacres, a fact that directs us towards the equation of the reproductive capacity of woman to the reproductive capacity of the nation, a symbolic rubric providing the logical backbone to the mass rape of women from every ethnic

group, committed by men of every ethnic group—estimated at twenty thousand (Stigalmayer 1994, Allen 1996). I have yet to learn of any public memorials in America devoted to the sexual violence committed against these tens of thousands of women, but the refugee-woman narrative seems to be the vehicle through which the murders of men in Srebrenica are remembered. Yet, rather than demonstrate an uncontested nationalist collectivist modality as described by some scholars of former Yugoslavia (Hayden 1994, Denitch 1994, and Verdery 1999), a focus on the evaluative exchanges that accompany their telling directs us towards resistance to the collective narrative, as well as insistence upon recognizing the material exchanges that should—or should not—accompany the narrative.

Indeed, not dissimilar from the western feminist researchers' focus on "voice" discussed above, my own attention to war stories developed in part out of an interest in documenting Bosnian versions of ethnicity that were not simply fixed and coherent, but changeable and partial. As Victor Friedman has shown, much of the "Great Powers" understanding of Balkan identities and ethnicities is informed by Romantic European nation-state conceptualizations of language and ethnicity. Friedman describes how a "Group of Experts" appointed to orchestrate a national census of Macedonia in 1994 (during the wars in Bosnia) virtually was unable to recognize and understand the multilingualism and long history of "lability of identity" within the region (Friedman 1996: 99).⁴⁵

⁴⁵ In response to the widespread political interpretation of "Balkanism as politically and ethnically fragmented...an Austro-Hungarian public policy relating to the Balkans," Friedman directs us toward the meaning of "Balkanism" among linguists: "There is, however, a widely accepted meaning of the 'Balkanism' that is precisely the opposite of fragmented. In linguistics, a Balkanism is a feature shared among the unrelated or only distantly related languages of the Balkans. The grammatical structures of the Balkan languages attest to centuries of multilingualism and interethnic contact at the most intimate levels. Some features shared by Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance, Albanian, Greek, and even some Balkan Turkish dialects result from people speaking each others languages" (Friedman 1996: 101).

Pričaj mi

Some women's stories of the war seemed to engage the very kind of "lability" of identity Friedman describes. These stories were told in the presence of kin, and myself, and did not emerge in the seemingly more formulaic structure of war narratives told to largely American audiences.

If we return to Azra's narrative about her work at the two non-profits in Istria, we can discern uses of irony and humor embodied in her role as protagonist: a clever trickster. As an ethnic Muslim, she was able to gain employment and assistance through the Islamic aid association run by non-Bosnian Muslims. But as a Yugoslav or Bosnian woman, she would not be dictated to by men, will continue to smoke her cigarettes, and ultimately refuses to work for men who suggest marriage is her ticket out of Yugoslavia. You can't keep a good woman down here, and Azra is able to find employment with a Red Cross outpost—a Christian-affiliated organization. Throughout the story, she provides for her extended family. Another story Hana told me in the presence of her son and husband describes her actions as similarly clever—a label she ascribed to herself after telling the story.

In July of 2003, I sat with Hana in her backyard in Southtown. Her six-year-old son Leo played on his bicycle nearby. We were drinking coffee sweetened with Coffee-Mate hazelnut flavored half & half and eating thin, flakey fizzle-stick pastries filled with hazelnut cream. Goran was fixing their car in the garage. Later that day I would go to work with Hana, cleaning houses for professors at the nearby colleges and university. Goran had recently taken their son Leo to Bosnia for a visit while Hana had remained in America. We were talking about Goran's cousin, with whom Hana was very close and whom she hoped to see on her next return trip to Bosnia. Goran's parents still lived in Bosnia, and were having a difficult time. Goran's mother was upset

that none of her children lived by her, and as protest against this situation, refused to take medications that prevented her from experiencing delusions until one of the children called her and pleaded with her to take the pills. This made life very difficult for Goran's father who had to tend to Goran's cousin who, since the war had been diagnosed with schizophrenia.

We were all living in one building in the city [Mostar] everyone was afraid to go out. Right next to the building was a butcher shop. Everyone was so hungry in the building. One night, Ivo [Goran's cousin] helped me to take meat from that shop. The shop owners were gone because it was Christmas, we could hear their gunfire [shooting guns to celebrate the holiday] so we knew where they were. I climbed on Ivo's shoulders and he pushed me through the window that separated our stairwell from the shop. I gave the meat to Ivo, and then climbed back through the window and we drove the meat in Goran's minivan to his parents' home outside the city. (If they decided to search our building after they learned the meat was gone, we didn't want them to find it in our apartments). I fed 65 people—adults and children—in our building for ten weeks with that meat. I was beautiful then.

Like Azra's, Hana's story emphasizes her independence and leadership. She is the one who has the idea to raid the butcher shop, and when I asked her what Goran thought, she said she had asked him to help her first (instead of Ivo) but he had refused and told her she was crazy to try such a thing. She defies Goran and takes on his younger cousin as an assistant. There are also elements of humor in the story that index religion and the politics of war. First, the meat: if the owners of the butcher shop were celebrating Christmas, they were Christian, which means in addition to beef and lamb, the shop most likely contained pork. Many Bosnians who are also

ethnic Muslims do eat pork, but many do not. Hana for example, attempted to hide the fact that she ate pork from her mother, who observed the Islamic prohibition against pork. (On more than one occasion, Hana had prepared a dish with ham that would feed their family, as well as her younger brother and sister who lived in the apartment downstairs. Her mother would find out from the kids what Hana had cooked and then confront her. Hana would reply—not very convincingly—that only Goran had eaten the pork dish, not herself and the children). Second, the story describes the religiously nationalist Christians as fools, taken advantage by those who were held captive by fear in the apartment right next door. Goran—Hana’s second husband—considered himself ethnically Croatian and was the son of parents who entered into a religiously mixed marriage. Estimates show that prior to the wars nearly 25% of the marriages within cities in Yugoslavia were religiously mixed marriages—a phenomenon that continues in many places even after the wars. Thus, in telling the story, Hana pokes fun at those who during the war took their religious identity too seriously—the moral implied is that you’ll lose what you have, and be made a fool of, at the end of the story.

Leo didn’t talk during the story, or ask questions afterwards, but he stayed within hearing range the entire time. Goran was repairing a car in the driveway near to where Hana and I sat together. Periodically, he would interject an exclamation: shaking his head when Hana mentioned his refusing to help, inserting a “yah!” when she reported his calling her “crazy,” regularly “tsk, tsk”-ing, and then offering a resigned acknowledgement of her bravery/craziness in obtaining the meat. When I remarked—in English—at the end of the story on how smart and daring Hana had been to undertake such a raid, she replied in Bosnian saying, “Ne, ja sam promućurna” meaning “No, I am clever”.

Promućurna Žena: A concept lost in translation?

While we have seen the stories of women circulate between refugee women and American audience-patrons, Bosnians' lukewarm responses to these war narratives suggest what I have described as a discomfort with the persona of individual-refugee-in-plight and with portrayals of collective victimization hinged on uncontested and taken-for-granted renditions of ethnic and religious identities. Azra's and Hana's stories emphasize their flexible social networks through which they generate activities. But as interesting as are the characters and plots of their stories, perhaps even more significant is what they attempt to accomplish through telling these stories to me, in front of family members. It is through the actual telling of the story that they are able to create a situation in which they might establish relations of reciprocity with me and with their children, spouses and family members.

Story-telling-as-therapy, as "truth"-locating, and the goal of attaining "voice" seem rather weak concepts when compared with these women's narratives and the uses to which they put them. A feature film depicting the lives of people in postwar Sarajevo introduces us to women who insist on the necessity of reciprocal relations and acknowledgement of economic hardships in the postsocialist state.

We Want Work, Not Talk

Jasmila Zbanić's postwar film *Grbavica*⁴⁶ opens in a community center in Sarajevo with a group of adult women seated on the floor, eyes closed, singing a mourning song together. Most of the women were made widows by the war; some of them are rape survivors. They must attend meetings at the community center in order to collect a small monthly widow's pension. The

⁴⁶ Zbanić took home the "Golden Bear" award for *Grbavica* at the 2005 Berlin Film Festival. The film was distributed the United States and England in 2006 under the English language title *Esma's Secret*.

meetings are led by a Bosnian female psychologist who asks that they share their war stories with the group. Esma, the lead character, attends the meetings, but we understand early on that she does so in order to receive the support voucher. She struggles to find work, pairing piece-work as a seamstress with nighttime work as a cocktail waitress at a nightclub called “America.” The film revolves around Esma’s dilemma in trying to pay for her daughter Sara’s school field trip: a weekend of skiing in the nearby Dinaric Alps—site of the 1984 Winter Olympics. In one telling scene, Esma attends a widows’ meeting at the community center where one of the participants narrates a tragic story about her husband’s wartime death. As she progresses through her story, we hear one woman, then another, and then another, begin to laugh. The camera pans across the erupting faces of laughing women before it centers on the female psychologist who attempts to lecture the women about their impropriety. As she says: “We must talk to heal,” the laughter becomes louder. Now everyone—including Esma and the woman whose storytelling they interrupted—all are laughing. One of the women yells from the back of the room, “We want work, not talk!”

Like the women in Southtown and in Chicago, the women in Zbanić’s film insist that talk—their stories—should bring something in return; the woman who “sold her story” only got money, but the story should extend and intensify the social network, and bring resources. Esma finally obtains the money for Sara’s school trip not through work or the community center, but through the network of her best friend, Sabina. Over the din of the factory floor in the shoe factory in which Sabina, and many other women work, the camera follows Sabina as she approaches woman after woman explaining Esma’s and Sara’s dilemma. Zbanić does not make us privy to what the women are saying, inviting us to read the women’s gestures and mouths. We understand some women are not able to contribute as they shake their heads and return to their

work, while others step away from their machines, go to their purses and hand Sabine pieces of currency. Once she has made her round, Sabina returns to a worn Esma, seated on a bench in the back of the warehouse, and hands her the money. “That is very Bosnian,” remarked Selma, with whom I viewed the film.

In Bosnian, *priča* is a story, and as in the English usage of “story” can connote fables, myths, or gossip (*ispričati*). Telling these kinds of stories is often associated with women and discounted as a trivial activity—this is the approach taken by the laughing women in the Sarajevo community center. Yet many of the refugee women I encountered insisted that storytelling had very material underpinnings. This view is also expressed in Zbanič’s film, as Sabina’s pleas on Esma’s behalf to the factory women—individually—ultimately resolves Esma’s dilemma about how to pay for Sara’s field trip.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen how many Bosnian refugees insist on the functions of language in particular as part of a rubric of social networks. Attempts to enact the symbol of the refugee-woman to use strategically in communicating to American audiences were sometimes successful, but simultaneously confined the framework in which Bosnians could communicate their contemporary lives in Chicago. Lost in translation to American audiences is the clever woman who has no fixed ethnic identity, but is savvy precisely because she is a socially-adept shifter. Women’s reluctance to rally around a publicly announced discourse of victimhood and their affinity for more particular renderings in intimate settings are suggestive also of a resistance to the demands of individualist capitalism. While social networks operate through reciprocity, an exclusively capitalist economy aimed at individual emancipation turns on consistently uneven

exchanges. Hana's comment "she sold her story," and Larisa's rebuttal of a refugee-identity after Ensler's play might be understood as evaluations of the women "selling out" to American audiences, that they had failed to recognize their stories' true exchange value. We will encounter more of these conflicting responses to American capitalism and the Bosnian presence within the United States in the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER 4: Tired Bodies and Turkish Coffee

Preparing Bosnian Coffee in America

Hasnija's Instructions: Cooking Stop & Shop Coffee Beans in Massachusetts

Making Bosnian coffee is not easy. Hasnija used a large wooden spoon to turn the coffee beans over on the cookie sheet, and placed the tray back inside the hot oven. She stood to the side of the stove so I could see what she was doing as I sat on the corner of a wooden bench at the end of the table. Both pieces of furniture, along with the spoon, were donations from the religious organization that sponsored Hasnija's family's arrival in America, their journey from former Yugoslavia to small-town western Massachusetts. For her, coffee was essential to the project of remembering all she had lost, and an expression of cultural pride.

We were in the kitchen located at the rear of the 2-bedroom apartment Hasnija shared with her husband Salko, her younger son Seod and daughter Lejla, her adult daughter Hana and Hana's husband Goran, and their ten year old son Tino, in a 3-story brick walk-up above a storefront on the town's main road. She was showing me how to make *Turska kafa*/Turkish coffee. Although I hadn't requested the lesson, she took it upon herself to show me. She had expressed great distress and unhappiness in learning that my own coffee routine consisted of drinking coffee alone—a brew I prepared using decaffeinated coffee beans purchased at the local outlet of the New England Stop & Shop grocery chain. Hasnija also purchased her beans from Stop & Shop. The location was easy to reach, and the store accepted food stamps—the government aid currency she used to purchase her groceries. Her dismay at my routine was focused on two points. First, I did not recognize that the beans were not properly roasted as

purchased, and thus required further processing at home. Second, I most often drank my coffee alone, rather than in the company of family and close friends.

Like the yuppie coffee drinkers William Roseberry describes (1996), Bosnians signal and experience taste and distinction through their coffee preferences. But unlike the flavored syrups, various sugars, and milks added to the yuppies' cups, Bosnian coffee drinkers seek authenticity in the uniformity of the beverage: it should be dark, with perhaps a sugar cube added (some people drink their coffee through the cube by holding the cube between their teeth as they sip). To make Bosnian coffee, you need a carafe—sometimes called a *dzezva*—that holds approximately four cups of water. You start by filling the *dzezva* with the desired amount of water. Most people I observed do this with a readily available smaller container, for example, a coffee mug. The carafe is placed over the heat. When the water has boiled, finely ground coffee is added: typically one heaping spoonful per cup served.⁴⁷ The carafe is placed over the heat again. As soon as it begins to boil a second time, it is immediately removed from the heat. At this point, there is more variation; some people attempt to produce a foam and use this to top off the individual espresso-size cups. Others prefer not to have the foam and may sprinkle a bit of cold water in the coffee to prevent its formation. This process, then, is rather more dramatic than watching coffee being brewed in an automatic coffeemaker, or even watching a barista prepare an espresso with a machine, behind a counter. And not only is it dramatic, but it is labor-intensive in comparison with percolators, French presses, and automatic drip machines. The brewer must mind the carafe the entire time; if she leaves the fire, she risks over-boiling the coffee and ruining it by producing a burnt and diluted-tasting liquid. The coffee must be consumed immediately. People very rarely drink this kind of coffee alone. Thus, because of

⁴⁷ Very few people continue to use the old tall narrow wooden hand grinders to grind their own whole beans. Some people, like Hasnija, use a small electric grinder at home, others simply purchase their coffee already ground.

mode of preparation, and because drinking it is a social occasion, the brewer always has an audience.

In this chapter I explore the production of Bosnian coffee rituals in homes and community spaces. I focus in particular on the discourses—talk and bodily comportment—accompanying these practices. During coffee visits, Bosnians in the United States comment on the rhythm of life and labor in their new home place. I suggest that attention to these everyday coffee practices leads us to what Henri Lefebvre describes as “[A]n awareness of what is familiar,” that once arrived at “becomes transformed into an awareness of something strange” (v. I 1947: 17). In the vignette above, we begin to sense Hasnija’s encounter with the “strangeness” of American coffee practices. These discourses also provide an optic through which to view the “strangeness” of American work practices and concepts of time. In what follows, I suggest Bosnian coffee practices not only reference time and place: they also mark time and create space. In these seemingly mundane activities people evaluate the logic of the organization of labor in a capitalist society, and turn our attention towards other modes of work and economy.

I begin with a brief review of relevant anthropology of food scholarship and direct us toward an understanding of food practices as communicative practices that constitute social differentiation and sameness. I move next to a discussion of the historical significance of coffee in the Balkan region, Yugoslavia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina in particular. This section identifies the link between coffee and space in constituting gender status and social wealth. Finally, I recount coffee conversations occurring in Bosnian homes and a community center. In these spaces, the discourse of tired bodies becomes most apparent.

Bosnian Coffee, American Coffee: Coffee Communications

Scholars focusing on the anthropology of food find that food—and food practices—are central to our understandings of social organization. Studies of food provide insights to a population's health, culture contact and change, and demonstrate that the production, preparation, consumption, and disposal of food are all intimately linked to processes of identity formation.

Food and language

Structural anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss sought “deep structures”—universally held realms of meaning that reside in our minds and find expression in our food practices—in his study of myth (Levi-Strauss 1964). Levi-Strauss and other structuralists of the period were greatly influenced by linguistic structuralism, most especially in the domains of theory and analysis. The repetitive aspects of food preparation and consumption were of special interest here; food was a code—a language—to be deciphered for the moral and social meanings embedded in the organized practices in which it was contained. Anthropologist Mary Douglas, for example, suggested that once the code was broken, “[t]he common meal...as much as any poem, summarizes a stern, tragic religion.” (1984:79). Later, scholars criticized structuralist approaches for their lack of attention to other aspects of food systems, or ‘food-ways’ (Goody 1982: 38). In their search for universal coherent cognitive systems, structuralists lacked the theoretical and methodological tools that would allow them to account for regional and global inequalities related to food practices, such as environmental and political-economic factors shaping people's food-ways across time and space (Ibid 28-29).

Although she also theorized food as central to the maintenance of a universal social interior boundary that was never to be breached by “outsiders,” Douglas' approach allowed for

food to be understood *as* language, as communicative practice. We can think here of food as a communicative apparatus, as a tool used to convey a variety of sentiments and to construct a number of social relations, rather than simply a code to be deciphered. Food practices encode multiple uses and interpretations and—like language—these are directly linked to issues of power and status, and always are subject to revision. And coffee indeed is used as a communicative tool.

Anthropology and coffee

Coffee as commodity has been the subject of many scholarly queries into colonial histories and economies. These studies focus on primarily the consumption practices of elites and the laboring bodies of coffee harvesters, and inequalities among first, second and third worlds (Clarence-Smith, Topik 2003; Talbot 2004; Topik, Marichal, Frank 2006).

On coffee in the United States, William Roseberry writes about the cultivation of cosmopolitan taste—“the shaping of taste”—among yuppie Americans (1996: 763). Analyzing industry trade journals, Roseberry tracks the market segmentation of coffee consumers during the 1980s rise of specialty coffees. Quoting Arjun Appadurai’s earlier essay (1990) on global cultural economy in the postmodern era, Roseberry argues that this new imagination of a cosmopolitan lifestyle is achieved through a ‘fetishism of the consumer’ in marketing relations and strategies that ‘mask...the real seat of agency, which is not the consumer but the producer and the many forces that constitute production...The consumer is consistently helped to believe that he or she is an actor, where in fact he or she is at best a chooser.’ (1996: 771). But is a consumer only a chooser? Don’t baristas drink coffee too? And what about coffee berry pickers in producing countries? Do they drink coffee? Chew coffee beans? What about the actual

practice of preparing coffee in one's home? What kinds of social relationships are established and maintained through acts of preparation and consumption of coffee? What is the economy of these relationships?

These questions focus on the kitchen, and the table—what Jack Goody described as the places where the third and fourth phases of food-related processes, preparation and consumption, take shape (1982: 37-8). By drawing attention to immigrant coffee practices, I hope to alert us to some of the cultural specificities of food practices that also offer a glimpse at how large-scale political and economic shifts are made manifest and given meaning in the quotidian. More specifically, by viewing coffee rituals as a discursively productive practice in the Foucauldian sense, we detect the emergence of the discourse of tired, laboring Bosnian bodies, a phenomenon connected to intensified demands on their time and labor in the workplace, in the American home, and in the homeland. In coffee conversations, people identify themselves as unfairly worked by these places, and also are able to express their needs and sometimes offer support to others. Coffee rituals thus create a space wherein identities are mediated and social networks are initiated, maintained, and intensified.

American coffee

Roseberry's article was published before the mass marketing of "specialty coffees"⁴⁸ through Starbucks and suggests that the status achieved through specialty coffee consumption derives in part from the fact that—at the time of his writing—the point of specialty coffee was precisely that it was not marketed to the American masses. The industry aimed rather to tap and develop a "niche market" of consumers who might be persuaded to signal and distinguish their

⁴⁸ "Specialty coffees" are variously defined as Arabica rather than Robusta beans, produced by small growers, shade-grown, perhaps fair-trade, variety of roasts: light, medium, dark; sweet, nutty (Roseberry 1996: 772).

class status by drinking gourmet coffees (773). Now, even more than at the time of Roseberry's writing, coffee increasingly is part of the "American lifestyle". Gourmet coffee-drinking signaling status and customized style enters ever more deeply into the cultural matrix: lattes, cappuccinos, and extra shots of espresso obtained at Starbucks and McDonalds, provide the fuel for the everyday-American body, "America runs on Dunkin'" proclaims Dunkin' Donuts' recent ad campaign. Next to the text version of the slogan is a pictorial depiction of the message: 1.) A national map of the U.S + 2.) A human torso with arms pumping in running motion; in place of legs, the figure springs forth from a cup + 3.) The preposition "on" + 4.) "DD," the shortest version of the Dunkin' Donuts logo = "America runs on Dunkin'" (fig. ##). This slogan's story fits uncannily with Sidney Mintz' characterization of certain foods: sugar, chocolate, tea—and coffee—as "proletarian hunger killers" (Roseberry 1996: 770). Although Roseberry finds that "...in the case of specialty coffee, one of its interesting features is that it is not, or is not meant to be, a 'proletarian hunger killer,'" and while Dunkin' Donuts and McDonalds doesn't do business in the fair-trade coffee market, they do now advertise use of Arabica beans and tastes that approximate "gourmet" sensibilities (Ibid. 773). These developments suggest that a decade past Roseberry's analysis, the industry has expanded into the mass-marketing of specialty coffees to working people. Americans have moved their coffee practices completely out of the home and into the café and the car.



Image 4.1 Dunkin Donuts advertisement

Bosnian Coffee

Appadurai and Roseberry are both preoccupied with a postmodern disaggregation of consumer preference, and the endless industry quest for new markets—like the Bosnian diaspora market. But I found that immigrants in their coffee practices seek both disjuncture and conjuncture, both difference and similarity. And it is precisely where, when, and how these boundaries are drawn that is of interest. One of the first and most obvious distinctions made is that Bosnian coffee is not American coffee. In fact, completely counter to the American mode of consumption—on the run a la Dunkin Donuts—the whole point of Bosnian coffee making and drinking is to do it slowly. Further, rather than customizing one's coffee (other than with sugar

cubes) and consuming it alone, Bosnian coffee should be the same every time, and most importantly, should never be drunk alone.

Everyone in Chicago knows about Devon Market's Bosnian food section. For Bosnians visiting from out of town, often from places like Southtown, where the Yugoslav immigrant population is not large enough to establish a market for consumer goods from the homeland, the grocery store is high on their list of places to visit while in Chicago. The market—owned by a Greek immigrant family and located on the east end of Devon Avenue—is one of many stores specializing in imports for immigrant groups on a two and half mile stretch bounded on the west by the Skokie Canal, where ethnic urban ends in West Rogers Park, and ethnic suburban begins in Lincolnwood and Skokie. Along this thoroughfare are stores catering to new arrivals from Nigeria, Ghana, Armenia, Greece, Romania, Jamaica, Israel, Pakistan, India—with religious and cultural organizations nestled in between. Synagogues line the street, as well as institutions associated with the Yugoslav diaspora: the Croatian Cultural Center, the northside Croatian parish “Angel Guardian,” the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Community Center, and Hamdard Center—an organization serving Muslim immigrants primarily from the Middle East, South Asia, and Bosnia.

The market's Bosnian food section includes cakes and sweets, pickled peppers and *ajvar*—a condiment made from red peppers typically eaten with the Bosnian sausage *civapi/civapcici*—and coffee. For a country of only 4.5 million people, and a diaspora population of between one and two million, the number of different coffee brands produced in the former Yugoslav republic is staggering. Images of home-life adorn the colorful caffeinated packages (see fig. ##). A medieval Bosnian castle, a female queen, a female hostess, and variations on the *dzezva*—an ornate Turkish-style coffeepot, typically displayed in people's homes rather than

used. Bosnian items comprise the largest section of the “ethnic foods” aisle at Devon Market; Mexican, Turkish and Romanian foods along with fresh produce make up the unmarked—or non-ethnic—inventory (see fig. 4.2). The white and turquoise cans of “Aroma” coffee—a “Turkish style” coffee, roasted and packaged in Chicago—are stocked in both the Bosnian ethnic foods section, and with the non-ethnic coffees: Maxwell House and Folgers.



Image 4.2 Devon Market coffee aisle

Coffee products and coffee practices among the diaspora in the United States prompt questions about identity related to ethnicity, class and status, history and time, gender and space. I direct us to the histories that shape Bosnian cultivation of taste, for, like Roseberry’s American yuppies, Bosnian immigrants experience their coffee through a kaleidoscope of sensibilities, informed by their Ottoman heritage, householding practices, gender and ethnicity, and the

rhythm of labor. This chapter explores these various social dimensions through the discursive cadences of immigrants' tired bodies. Bodies are rendered tired, and deserving of rest and care over cups of hot coffee, delivered by or consumed in the presence of family and friends. Immigrants' tired-bodies discourse—talk that cannot be shared with those who remain in Bosnia—provides assessments of political and economic changes they encounter in the American context.

Histories and Icons:

Coffeehouses and kuće, city and village, men and women

Coffee, Empire, Islam

The Ottoman Empire brought the coffee beverage to the Balkan Peninsula, where it first was introduced in the cities, and later flowed into the villages in the countryside. Coffee cultivated in colonies in Northeast Africa and the Arabian Peninsula was used across the Empire's metropolises in practices primarily involving men (Hattox 1985). Sufi Muslims used the beverage to help reduce the need for sleep and to stimulate the energy required for *dhikr* ceremonies (religious praise ceremonies).⁴⁹ But the real spread of coffee occurred through the institution of the “coffeehouse,” a place where men could go to socialize outside of the hospitality codes of the household, but remain within social norms of the “proper.” In the multi-faith empire, Muslim men were discouraged from socializing in taverns that served alcohol. But while various local ulema debated the proper application of Qur'an-ic doctrine to coffee-drinking, coffee ultimately was declared a legal substance, whereas alcohol always remained

⁴⁹ Hattox likens the *dhikr* to the Christian Eucharist because the coffee-drinking among such Sufi orders was conducted by consuming the drink by ladle from a communal bowl, thus signifying brotherhood among those present (Hattox 1985: 74). Among Bošniaks in Bosnia, Macedonia, and Kosovo, these rites are called *zikir* (Bringa, 1995: 220-224).

officially prohibited. Thus, initially, coffee drinking practices in the Balkans were connected to urban spaces, and restricted primarily to social uses among cosmopolitan elite groups of Muslim men. In more recent times, Bosnian coffee became associated with the domestic sphere—rural and urban—and with women and men of all faiths and ethnicities. But Bosnians often acknowledge coffee’s descent from Ottoman-era Islam today, as, for instance, in Aida Šehović’s art installation in a Sarajevo plaza.

Remembering Srebrenica in a Sarajevo Plaza

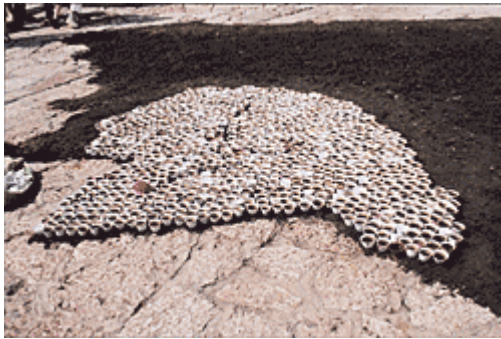


Image 4.3 Šehovic coffee installation in Sarajevo

Bringing coffee into the space of the Sarajevan streetscape, Aida Šehović’s 2005 Srebrenica memorial leads us to the intertwined histories of coffee, gender, and place in the Balkans. She references time and place, animating and interrupting space by staging the memorial in the pathways of people shopping, touring, and strolling in the public plaza of the city’s Old Quarter/*Stari Grad*. Šehović’s memorial is different from the one staged by the event-organizers in Chicago. Like the Chicago event recounted in Chapter Three, Šehović’s memorial is viewed in a public plaza, and invites the participation of audience members and passers-by. But rather than herding people into scripted positions, under the direction of amplified male voices and machine-gun fire, Šehović’s art installation, comprising dirt, small Bosnian coffee

cups, coffee, sugar cubes and one red rose, interrupts the foot-traffic of visitors to the Muslim quarter in the city of Sarajevo. The title of the three-minute documentary short film recording the memorial and people's responses to it is a question: "*Što te nema?*" "Why are you not here?"⁵⁰

Šehović belongs to the postwar diaspora, and returned to Sarajevo to install the memorial after developing the project during her studies as a MFA student in New York City. In the Balkans, coffee indexes the peninsula's Ottoman and Islamic heritages. I heard many diaspora members, for example, refer to the kind of coffee used in the memorial as Bosnian coffee, and also as "*Turska Kafa*"—Turkish coffee. The open-ended question, "*Što te nema?*" may appear to elicit myriad responses, but the simplest—and simply indisputable—reply is that those who are not here were murdered because of their affiliation with Islam. Playing on the tactile and visual similarities between finely ground coffee and soil, Šehović marks the murders visually and geographically by spreading the dirt across a 30-yard stretch of the stone-paved plaza in the shape of the state borders of Bosnia, in front of the old Sarajevan mosque. Huddling next to the eastern border between Serbia and BiH where the town of Srebrenica is located are 989 coffee cups representing the number of bodies that had been identified and ceremonially buried at the time of the memorial (See Figure 4.3).⁵¹ Solitary sugar cubes lay in 44 of the cups to mark the deaths of youths under the age of eighteen, those who were, according to Šehović, too young to participate in the coffee drinking ritual. One cup contained a red rose to distinguish the lone female body recovered. Šehović's voice emanated through three tape recorders embedded in the soil, reciting the names and birthdates of those who had died.

⁵⁰ Šehović collaborated with Gates Gooding to make the documentary short of the installation in Sarajevo.

⁵¹ Srebrenica is located in the Republika Srpska section of BiH, a territory that continues to be heavily disputed and divided by religious affiliations, a situation facilitated in no small part by cantonized entities produced by the American and British-brokered Dayton Peace Accords.

Thus, with coffee as her primary tool, Šehović also indexes gender, age, religion, and the nation in her Srebrenica memorial, albeit more quietly than the men and women at the Chicago memorial in Daley Plaza. Here coffee is an icon of Islam, of Bosnia, and of Ottoman Turkey. Šehović suggests that coffee preparation and drinking provide an interesting focus for understanding refugee life in America: “[A]s a refugee, it [Bosnian coffee] becomes even more important...In most other ways, whether you want to or not, you adjust to the American lifestyle. This is a part of our identity we can keep” (Vermont Quarterly 2005). We will see that Bosnian coffee is also an icon of Islam, Bosnia, and Ottoman Turkey in the United States.

Turkish Coffee: a pan-Balkan symbol of gendered spaces

While increased urbanization and intensification of industry in Yugoslavia during the 1960s and 1970s drew more women onto the factory floor and into urban commercial life more broadly, public social spaces—streets, coffeehouses, taverns—were still most often gendered male spaces. During this period, anthropologist Bette Denitch observed a “separation between public, male arenas and the women’s household” in mostly rural areas of Slovenia and Montenegro (Denitch: 1974: 257). In 1980s Central Bosnia, anthropologist Tone Bringa commented similarly on the village household as a female domain, and also as a central feature of socialization into adulthood (Bringa 1995: 105-118). Among the diaspora in the United States, in particular the generations that came of age in Bosnia, such gendered spatial distinctions are prevalent as well.

Jasmina, for example, commented to me that “my mother would die if she saw me now,” as we walked on Jackson Street in downtown Chicago on a blustery December evening. Jasmina was in her early forties and had been a music teacher at a school in a small city in Central Bosnia

before coming to the United States. We were on our way to a holiday exhibit hosted by the Cook County Treasurer's office where each "ethnic" group in the city is invited to decorate a miniature Christmas tree with select cultural emblems. The Bosnian-Herzegovinian tree bore ornamental renderings of the European-Union-imposed yellow and blue Bosnian flag crafted by the women's group at one of the community centers. Jasmina loved to smoke cigarettes, and was puffing away on one as we walked down the street. "Why?" I asked, thinking that her mother would disapprove of Jasmina's smoking. But it was not the smoking that would have sent Jasmina's mother into cardiac arrest. Jasmina replied that her mother would be mortified to find her daughter simultaneously walking and smoking on the street. I sought further clarification, and she explained that her mother had no problems with Jasmina smoking, but that she should be sitting down and smoking at a café, or better yet, at home; walking on a public street while smoking was considered improper, for women in particular. Smoking—like coffee drinking—should be done socially and slowly in place, not solitarily speeding through space.

Jasmina's imagination of her mother's evaluation of her behavior here indicates the depth of concepts relating to pace and practice in comparing Bosnian and American sensibilities; bodily consumption practices such as smoking and drinking coffee should be socially connected, marking and slowing time, not hurtling through it. By speaking in her mother's voice, Jasmina directs our attention to her mother's authority, juxtaposed against Jasmina's transgressive act: smoking while walking down the street. I find Mikhail Bakhtin's [Vološinov's] insight—that every utterance is both our own and someone else's—useful for understanding Jasmina's words here (Bakhtin 1981; Vološinov 1973 [1929]). By invoking her mother, Jasmina also invokes relevant spatial and gender distinctions. Her actions indicate tensions wrought among these paradigms Bosnians encounter with a more hurried comportment that reflects the rapid

movements of everyday life and work in the United States. The evaluation here may not pertain exclusively to a Bosnian/American contrast, but to an individualist modernity/communal collectivist opposition as well. The latter contrasting pair pertains especially to generational differences such as those that often obtain between mother and daughter.

Bosnian coffee allows people to connect village and city, *selo i grad*, female and male, diaspora and homeland. It is precisely the fusing of gendered spaces that allows coffee to stand for nation and region.

Home Spaces & Coffee

Although most American anthropology of Yugoslavia during the country's communist era focuses on rural communities (see Halpern 1958; Hammel 1968; Denitch 1974; Bringa 1995), and social science studies conducted by Yugoslav researchers often provide more information about life in the cities, the home as a space constituted by predominantly female and feminized labor emerges as a prominent theme in projects based both in villages and cities. Woodward, for example, cites a 1971 time-budget study conducted on women and men living in cities in Slovenia and Serbia showing that employed women performed household labor activities such as laundry and cooking more often than men, although men and women engaged more comparably in other typically female household tasks such as gardening, marketing/shopping, errands and childcare (Woodward 1985: 247-249).

Woodward goes on to suggest that after the 1946 reforms and throughout the socialist era, economic and social reforms were aimed primarily at the public sphere—that there was a “public/private compromise” wherein a sex-based “division of labor and labor ideologies endured,” women's domestic sphere was not reformed, while men's public sphere was, and a

state was created on the basis of male authority, supported by female labor (Ibid. 241). While Woodward's analyses are largely based on secondary sources, Bette Denitch's are based on primary and secondary data, and she offers a somewhat different view of the implications of a Yugoslav gendered public/private for men and women. Contrasting rural agricultural and pastoral household formations, Denitch describes the former as complementary, where women are still subordinate to men in the larger social order, but "the subordinated status of women is mitigated by the de facto partnership between spouses, in which it is possible to argue that parallel spheres of influence exist—the wife's in the kitchen, the husband's in the village square" (Denitch 1974: 259).

In contrast to her counterpart in the pastoralist system of social organization, "[t]he wife excluded from the coffeehouses is still queen of her own kitchen, rather than one who must defer even there to superiors among her husband's kinsmen" (Ibid. 257). I certainly encountered such "queens" during my dissertation research—such as Edit, who we met in Chapter Two, and whose husband frequently referred to her as "la Sultana" both in their home, and on the street. Arman had grown up in an agricultural household in Herzegovina, and after their marriage he had moved to live with his wife and her mother in their family home located in a small town on the banks of the Neretva River.

Thus, the household was central to the functioning of the Yugoslav state, and was also a domain where wives might sometimes govern. Food, drink, and the activities surrounding their production and consumption were among the most important resources over which wives presided in homes, and were key distinguishing features of a proper home and the relations that sustain it. If one failed to do his or her part in provisioning these, a divorce claim could be

brought on the basis of their absence. Consider, for example, this woman's testimony in a divorce case in Bosnia:

I got married in the belief that I would find a solution to my material survival and to cease being a burden to my aunt since I am a war orphan. However, I have been completely disappointed by him. Ten days would pass and he wouldn't bring anything home; he would eat in town, and I survived only by the kindness of my neighbor⁵² (Woodward 1985: 253).

No doubt, this delinquent husband spent at least a few of those ten days in a coffeehouse.

Women in their homes have their own ways of "doing" coffee, an activity that is central to communicating social status and connection. For women, coffee visits between homes are very important, in part because hosting practices are a way to communicate independence and status. In Bosnia, among newly married couples who did not have a separate apartment from their parents, women would often set up their own makeshift kitchens, and host coffee-visits with their own services. If a woman could offer coffee, a visit to her or to her mother or her husband's mother—even when they resided in the same apartment—was considered a separate occasion (Bringa 45). Thus, coffee rituals are key elements for marking life-cycle stages.

Bringa observes that during these visits, women would engage in talk that men did not consider important, in particular, gossip. Typical gossip-talk, though, often involved discussion

⁵² This excerpt is from testimony in divorce cases in the Yugoslav republic of BiH between 1952-72, Alija Silajdžić, "Borba žene za ravnopravnost jedan od uzroka razvoda braka," [The Struggle of Women for Equality—One of the Causes of Divorce] in *Društveni Konflikti I Socijalistički Razvoj Jugoslavije: Referati, I. Deo* (VI. Naučno Savetovanje, Jugoslovensko Udruženje za Sociologiju i Slovensko Sociološko Društvo, Portorož, February 1972), pp. 205-16. As cited in Woodward 1985: 253.

of local power dynamics and politics, as well as disputes and personal hardships. This demonstrates that although this talk was categorized—by both men and women—as insignificant because it was women’s talk, it was integral to the operations of individual and village/neighborhood daily life as women together identified areas of concern and collectively debated and designed strategies to tackle their agendas.⁵³ In nearby Greek Macedonia, Cowan describes a younger generation of women who begin taking coffee in coffeehouses and in the newly invented “Kafeteria”s, where they continue to use the time to discuss more intimate and personal details of their lives—and the lives of others. Although they have entered a social space typically reserved for men, they bring not only their female bodies, but their female discourses to the coffeehouse, where women’s presence provides material for reiterating and reevaluating traditional gender norms (Cowan 1991: 187).

I have devoted the above pages to the history of coffee and gendered spaces in Bosnia, because this is what allows us to understand why coffee makes a potent place for the diaspora in America—marks space where dissent can be expressed, where pan-Yugoslav and even pan-Balkan affiliations can be expressed and denied.

Coffee is integral to hosting and hospitality conventions among many populations influenced by Islamic traditions. The ability to host demonstrates a person’s status, as well as the statuses of those with whom she is closely associated. A coffee visit emphasizes the social value of both the host and those whom the brewer serves. Attention is trained first on the brewer’s labor-intensive, single-person activities: we cannot help here, but we can watch. When ready to serve, the brewer shifts the focus to her audience. Often lingering over individual cups as she pours, making eye contact and conversation with each person at the table, the brewer’s actions

⁵³ Susan Harding (1974) observes women’s gossip as a powerful speech genre. In this Spanish village, gossip serves both as a tool whereby individual and group interests may be expressed, squashed, or otherwise manipulated and thus serves also to keep women in a subordinate position in the wider social order.

show that she has the means to serve, and guests—whether clients, patrons, or kin—deserve being attended to in this way.

Turkish Coffee at Christmas

At a Christmas day celebration hosted by a large extended family who had migrated from the Herzegovina region of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1960s, before the 1990s wars, I witnessed a coffee invitation through which an elder woman and younger man demonstrated their affection for one another, and emphasized their regional affiliation.

Anica is a seventy-year-old woman, and wife of the family's eldest brother. She, and most everyone of her generation present at the gathering, is Croatian. Some of the elder men had actively participated in Croatian diaspora politics and had even lent support to a Croatian separatist movement during the recent war in Herzegovina. Once the Croatian-Bošniak alliance expelled Serb militias, this alliance crumbled in contest over rights to resources in this southwest region bordering Croatia and Montenegro. A new topic of interest, and sometimes the target of disapproval among this elder generation, was the dating practices of the younger generation—those adults born and raised in Chicago—who had begun to date and marry other adults who were part of the more recent Yugoslav migration to the city. Most often, their partners shared either ethnic or regional affiliation: they were either Croatian, or Herzegovinians of other ethnicities. Disapproval ranged from comments that questioned the sincerity of the new migrants' intentions, to the ethnic allegiance of these younger family members. For example, I heard men and women of all generations wonder about these new migrants—did they want a marriage partner, or American citizenship? But the young people also reported among

themselves that some of the senior men had expressed unhappiness over one of their female cousins' engagement to a Herzegovinian from a Bošniak family.

Emir, the young Bošniak man, was present at the Christmas celebration hosted by his fiancée and her father (her mother had passed on).⁵⁴ Most of the cousins had met Emir and accepted Christina's decision to marry him, and he spent most of his time visiting with these cousins, or helping Christina and her father host, bringing large trays of food in from the kitchen, and making sure everyone had plenty to drink. At one point, Anica approached Emir and asked him if he would like coffee. He asked her, was it Turkish coffee? The women were brewing American coffee, much easier for serving such a large group, but Anica responded that she would make Turkish coffee for herself and Emir. Emir's face lit up at this offer, and Anica's lit up in response (she had already confessed to her children that she thought Emir was very handsome and that her niece was lucky to have landed such a catch). Anica went back to her husband's brother's kitchen, took out her dzezva, and prepared the Turkish coffee. She then served Emir and herself and together they drank the coffee in the midst of this large gathering. Thus Anica communicated her support for her niece's marriage in front of the entire family by preparing the coffee and serving Emir. Through the Turkish coffee ritual, Anica and Emir emphasized their regional affiliation over their ethnic differences, and reminded the rest of the family of this shared practice and history.

Edita's Neighbor and Deta's Café

⁵⁴ It is traditional for the family who will hold a wedding in the following spring, summer or fall to host the Christmas gathering. During the dinner feasting they wait on their relatives and visit with them providing all the current details of the wedding plan. This is an occasion for the extended family and the new marriage partner to spend time together, and for the host family to remind their kin of their obligation to attend the approaching wedding party.

After moving into their new home in a northwestern suburban working class neighborhood, Edita invited her next-door neighbor for a coffee visit. As had Emir, the neighbor asked, what kind of coffee? Edita responded that it was Bosnian coffee. The neighbor—a Greek woman of Edita’s age—declined Edita’s invitation. Edita was very upset by this affront, and relayed the story several times at both the women’s group she attended at the community center, and during my subsequent visits to her home. It was clear to Fadila that the woman had refused her hospitality because of religious differences—the woman being Orthodox Christian, and Fadila being Muslim. This interaction indexes the role of coffee as shared, pan-Balkan communicative praxis. If Edita’s response to the type of coffee offered had been “American” rather than “Bosnian”—which connoted “Turkish” for the Greek neighbor—perhaps her invitation would have been accepted. As Edita understood it, because she chose to assert her Balkan ethnic and regional affiliations, her hospitality was declined as a way to refuse recognition of these aspects of her identity.

Alternatively, at Deta’s Café, one of Deta’s regulars is a Greek man who comes especially for her Turkish coffee. At Deta’s, Turkish coffee is a specialty item; one may order “Tea, Coffee, or Soft Drinks, \$1.50,” or “Turkish Coffee, \$2.” Deta is from Montenegro, and owns a small café in the far northeast city neighborhood of Rogers Park. She is Bosniak, and prepares a range of Yugoslav and Balkan dishes. Many of her regular customers are Bosnian men who work in the area—generally as contract laborers on building rehabilitations and conversions. These men come in at various times in the afternoon to buy their lunch. Sometimes they eat in the café, and sometimes they leave with their hot food in Styrofoam containers and eat in trucks or at their worksites. Her adult daughter, Amra, also came to eat with her every evening, after work. Amra was unmarried and, in addition to her full-time clerical job, took

classes in accounting at a local college. Women often discussed over coffee the work demands on people like Deta's customers. Common topics were unstable employment, lack of social benefits, and the need to work longer hours to meet their obligations for the well-being of kin.

Women talk over coffee in the community center

Take Ifeta and Edita, for example. In a community center on Chicago's north side, a group of older women met on Friday afternoons to have coffee and work on handicrafts such as crocheted, knitted, and sewn items that were for public displays and off-site sales whose proceeds supported programming for senior and children at the cultural center. Even though there was an automatic coffee brewer in a nearby room, the women made Bosnian coffee just as Hasnija had, except that they used already ground beans and a hotplate instead of a stovetop. Each week, one of the women would take her turn to serve coffee to the rest of the women while they talked together.

Much of the women's talk centered on their working adult sons and daughters. While drinking coffee sitting together around the table on aluminum chairs, seats adorned with cloth placemats to cushion their soft bottoms against the cool hard surface of the chairs, Ifeta commented on the only major difference between America and Bosnia: "there (in Bosnia) you would work for 8 hours and have a good life, here you must work nonstop to have a good life—to vacation, spend time with your family." Edita and her husband Amir lived with their adult daughter and her husband, and their two school-age children. She and Amir did the cooking, childcare, and housekeeping. Their daughter worked as a sales assistant at a nearby TJ Maxx; their son-in-law worked for GROOT—a sanitation service that holds the garbage removal contracts for many suburban municipalities. As Edita spoke, other women chimed in about their

sons and daughters, some of whom did not have work and were subsisting on public aid. Edita and Ifeta were only able to avoid public assistance because they had access to the income of several employed adults, living in the same household. Other women were not able to rely on family in this way.

Ifeta works in food services. In Bosnia, she worked for fifteen years as a cook for workers at a large shoe factory in Derventa. In America she found work at a residence for elderly people in the wealthy northern suburb of Wilmette. She averaged 60 hours a week, at \$10/hour and paid \$240 a month for health insurance for herself and her two teenaged children. Like many Bosnian refugees, Ifeta lived in Germany for several years before finally arriving in the United States. She prefers to return “there [Germany], where it is better, where you have a job guarantee, a pension, and a more relaxed life.”

Working and Poor

Edita’s and Ifeta’s families fit the profile of many working poor American families. As we have seen the vast majority of Bosnian refugees in America are employed in the service economy, and in semi-skilled factory and construction work. Their poverty rates resemble those of Blacks and Latinos in the Cook County region. In some ways Bosnians appear to be faring better than many other of the American poor: many of them have jobs, and even some upward mobility.⁵⁵ Ifeta, for example, was able to find a new job working as a prep cook for the Sheraton Hotel in downtown Chicago. Her daughter has a college scholarship at the University of Illinois

⁵⁵ Although English language proficiency is a barrier many Bosnians—in particular those who arrived as adults—unlike some of the low-wage latino workers, they have their papers: refugees have official residency status and are fast-tracked for citizenship. The effects of American racism are trickier to gauge. Many Bosnians are taken as Mexican or Middle Eastern in ethnic origin, though none are viewed as black. Several people expressed racist evaluations of black people to me during my field research, and at the same time, some felt they had a shared experience with black Americans who have been discriminated against because of their skin color, because of their experiences with discrimination based on their status as Muslims in Yugoslavia.

at Chicago (UIC). The new job pays better, pays overtime, but also requires less of it. She characterized the new job as having a different—more diverse—set of co-workers. Whereas most of the people who worked in the kitchen with her at “Elder Care” were black Americans, at the Sheraton she works with “many different kinds of people: Asians, Spanish [speaking] Bosnians, Polish and blacks”. And Fadila was able to combine her and Amir’s unremunerated household labor (cooking, cleaning, childcare) with the paid labor of her adult son and daughter whose wages provided the money for rent, food, household items, and return trips to Bosnia.

The point here is that women evaluated their collective context of laboring in America in these coffee meetings. And women put time and place at the center of these evaluations. Scholars have recently traced the impacts of the rapidly growing service economy, wage depression, lack of job security, and scaling back in social programs in education and healthcare on poor people (Sassen 1998, Collins 2001, Goode and Maskovsky 2001; see Franz 2005 and Ong 2003 on refugees). Missing from these accounts of change in the organization of work and social life are the ways in which people talk about work outside the workplace.⁵⁶

UIC CAFES Project

The symbolic role of coffee in the lives of refugees was not lost on those professionals involved in relocation and refugee assimilation projects in the United States. Psychiatrist Steven Weine, for example, headed a project located in Chicago, funded by the National Institute of Health titled “Coffee and Family, Education, and Support,” CAFES. The aim of the project was to provide a structured space where “Bosnian families meet[ing] for coffee and informal discussion at a community setting.” I met several people who had participated in this project.

⁵⁶ See Hoffman (2002) for an exception. Hoffman describes Moroccan Berbers’ discursive constructions of a rural home characterized by female hard physical labor as distinguished from urban areas that are associated with less physically demanding male activities.

They felt the project was a nice idea, but didn't address more basic needs such as employment. Like the women meeting in the Sarajevo community center at the end of Zbanic's film, these immigrants wanted work, not talk. Further, an explicit goal in Weiner et al's CAFES project was to "strengthen families". This emphasis on relying on kin for social and affective care worked in some situations, but often the stress under which people functioned every day in difficult circumstances produced a home-life in which people mistreated those family members with whom they lived. This was true, for example, for Edita's elder daughter Azra, whose husband had become physically abusive after they arrived in the United States. In such cases people needed access to non-kin networks to find safety and well-being because "the family" could comprise an abusive set of relations. Though well-intended, the primarily talk-therapy approach taken in the CAFES project elided the rough realities of people's lives. Over coffee, Bosnians themselves identified these realities—increased productivity for which they are poorly paid, so that individuals must work multiple jobs and thus lose time for family life—now resoundingly familiar effects of neoliberal social welfare and labor policies (Harvey 2005).

Conclusion

By drawing comparisons between the United States and Bosnia, and the United States and Germany in the everyday organization of work and family life, these women bring to the fore the American "strangeness" of hectic over-work, even as remuneration and benefits shrink rapidly. In addition to evaluating their difficult lives, this talking over coffee intensifies social ties, reminding women of their obligations to one another, enacted by service to one another in the form of coffee. In homes, coffee also serves this purpose among kin. Edita, for example, would often have coffee in the morning with her daughter, before she left for work, and again in

the early evening, when her son-in-law returned from his job at GROOT. When the weather permitted, these visits would take place on their small patio in the backyard, and Joso often had a beer while Edita drank her coffee.⁵⁷ This was a time for Joso to talk about how hard he worked, often emphasizing that he labored this hard because he had to care for his mother in Bosnia, as well as his in-laws in Chicago. This talk over coffee is significant because talk is connected to people's understanding of themselves and of places—the United States, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Europe—and talk is one of the primary means through which identities are communicated and constituted. While anthropologists have considered coffee production and elite consumption, not enough attention had been given to immigrant coffee practices. Bosnian immigrant coffee consumption directs our attention to far-reaching shifts in the intensifying demand for worker productivity that brings increasingly less remuneration, a phenomenon that powerfully shapes relations between adult sons and daughters and their parents.

⁵⁷ The mixing of coffee and alcohol is common in family social visits, as well as at many of the Bosnian cafes in Chicago.

CHAPTER 5: Migration Melancholy in the new Bosnian Diaspora:

Demanding Mothers, Spent Sons and Daughters

A series of contemporary scholarly projects recount and analyze immigrants' nostalgic yearnings for the homeland. Researchers focused on immigrants from the Balkans are concerned mainly with senior men—and sometimes with younger male generations—and the connection between homeland nostalgia and diaspora nationalisms. Paul Hockenos' *Homeland Calling* describes the transnational male diaspora networks of Serbs, Croats, and Albanians. Hockenos finds the homeland “call” to these men during the recent wars to be “[s]o strong...that at times it appeared to elevate the émigrés above the law. In violation of international sanctions, all sides used transnational networks to funnel arms, and money for arms and frontline supplies” (2003: 13). Although Hockenos and his peers attempt to trace the financial networks that provide the money for political maneuvering in Yugoslavia, they stop short of linking these networks to global political economic shifts, and to local manifestations of these shifts. Their approach lingers on cultural explanations for war and nationalisms, focused mostly on “big man” personalities, failing to embed these personas in the cultural and economic matrices in which they are generated.

Hockenos, for example, devotes a significant amount of text to caricaturizing Gojko Šušak, a prominent Herzegovinian Croat, founding member of HDZ (*Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica*/ Croatian Democratic Community), the Croatian nationalist party that ascended to power in Croatia under the Presidency of Franjo Tudjman in the 1990s, during which time Šušak occupied the post of Defense Minister. Šušak spent much of his life in exile and ran a small

pizzeria in Ottawa, Ontario. Croatian reporters and opposition leaders often disparagingly referred to Šušak as “the pizza man” (Ibid. 19). Hockenos never questions Šušak’s social position as an immigrant in Canada: why it is that Šušak is a pizzeria owner, instead of, say, a real estate tycoon, a schoolteacher, a factory worker? How does his status as an immigrant shape his experience as a diaspora nationalist? In other words, how does his low-status immigrant position as someone with no formal education in the new country—or old country for that matter—and his heavily accented and limited English proficiency, affect his participation in homeland politicking? How do obligations to parents and siblings who remain in Bosnia factor in Šušak’s choices to remain so heavily involved in the politics of the homeland? What impact does deepening regional inequality within the Yugoslav state over the course of the 1970s and 1980s have upon Šušak, men like him, and their relations to attendant political maneuvers within Yugoslavia during this period?

Immigrants are caught up in discordant scenes of late capitalism in the United States, and in the challenges of helping family and friends achieve well-being in postcommunist, postwar, occupied Bosnia. There is barely mention made of women immigrants in these diaspora projects: the mothers, daughters, sisters, aunts and female cousins are eclipsed. When they are acknowledged, they are merely nationalist functionaries or servile subjects, birthing babies, feeding families, and stoically loyal to their men. If we include women, kin networks, and life-cycle categories in these diaspora analyses, we get a picture of Bosnians’ relationships to their homeland that is imbued with conflict and emotion. Their links to both the United States and former Yugoslav as places traversed via moral economies are inescapable.

Yugoslavia, the United States, and Capitalist Cannibalism

I focus here on the experiences of adult sons and daughters in the recent Yugoslav diaspora, and their relationships to their parents, most especially their mothers.

Said the doctor to the patient:

I have good news and bad news, which do you want first?

The bad news.

The bad news is we had to cut off your legs,

The good news is I sold your shoes—here is the money....

Money is everything in America. --Zumretta, 57 year old Bosnian immigrant

Zumretta is known for her colorful language, used often to embellish already controversial material. She is as likely to break into song without notice, as she is to speculate about how she might find a wealthy husband for herself, or Plan B: a wealthy daughter-in-law via her 31-year old son. Preferably American. Maybe me. Sporting a broad-rimmed pink hat patterned alternately sheer to opaque with a large pink rose on the right side, she delivered this assessment of the United States in a still, sweltering Chicago afternoon in August of 2004.

The other women seated around the rectangular table alternately laughed and clucked *tsk-tsk* at Zumretta's adage. The proverb was delivered in response to a question I had asked these women immigrants about the ways they experienced the United States to be different from Bosnia. Here America figures as the doctor and Bosnian refugees as the patient. It may be read as a parable of capitalism that entails dismemberment, opportunism, and questionable compensation, or, in a more benign interpretation: making lemonade from lemons. While Zumretta's was among the more obvious renderings of their recent migration as a form of uneven exchange, over the course of my years of field research I witnessed hundreds of

conversations and heard many statements articulating the unfairness of being a refugee from Bosnia, living in the United States.

I found it particularly interesting that, although Zumretta, along with all the other women and their families, was in the United States as a direct result of fleeing the wartime violence in her former home-country Yugoslavia,⁵⁸ it was the American doctor in the parable—not a countryman—who dismembers the infected Bosnian patient, albeit in order to save him.⁵⁹ I could hardly have asked for a clearer indictment of U.S. involvement in the “reconstruction” of the former Yugoslav republic, Bosnia-Herzegovina, as an arguably ethnically cantonized postwar partitioned “state.” The portrait of Eastern Europe as a territory infected with communist degeneration and thus in need of capitalist shock therapy and democratic transfusions from the west, has been used since the early 1990s—and even earlier in Yugoslavia—to promote structural adjustment policies and neoliberal reforms in postsocialist eastern Europe, a dynamic that scholars of the region have commented on extensively (Gal & Kligman 2000, Burawoy & Verdery 1999, Woodward 1985). Poverty rates and unemployment have skyrocketed even in countries that did not experience the violent breakup that Yugoslavia did in Bosnia, parts of Croatia, Serbia and Kosovo, where built infrastructure—housing, industry, bureaucratic and cultural sites—literally were demolished or significantly damaged, and their postwar status contested. In 2000, the Bosnian unemployment rate was 35%, and two-thirds of the state budget serviced foreign debts—primarily held by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

⁵⁸ As I stated in Chapter One, Bosnian Muslims were considered differently than were Bosnian Serbs and Croats under refugee guidelines, and the vast majority of those who emigrated to the U.S. were Bosnian Muslim (Bošniak), or of mixed ethnic background, or in a multi-ethnic marriage. These facts were reflected among the women seated at the table in the community center: most were Bosnian Muslim, and a few—including Zumretta—had a parent who was Muslim, and a parent who was either Serbian or Croatian.

⁵⁹ Other characterizations of capitalism and capitalists—as cannibalistic—are well documented within the anthropological and historical record. See M. Weismantel on the Ecuadorian Andes (2001), M. Taussig on the Colombian Andes (1987) and P. Turner on Afro-Americans in the United States (1993).

According to the World Bank, in 2005 remittances from abroad comprised 22.5% of Bosnia's Gross Domestic Product.⁶⁰

What were the effects of this war-torn region and its devastated economy on those who had left? In particular, what processes shaped the experiences of elder women like Zumretta? Given the above measures, and reports issued by International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) such as the United Nations and International Crisis Group (ICG), as well as reports from refugees who had returned for visits, it is obvious that the economic and political situation in BiH is tenuous and urgent. In addition to their experiences of displacement from Bosnia, how were they faring as newcomers in the United States? Most of them had arrived in the midst of the 1994-96 period of neoliberal reform of the social welfare system, were employed through the affiliated expansion of the supply of low-wage jobs, and lacked the social and economic means to escape poverty (Sassen 1998: 45, Paral & Norkewics 2003). But identifying these challenges does not explain the social relationships through which such difficulties are experienced, how they may be expressed as needs, and how they are—or are not—met.

Mortgages for the Homeland: Moral Economy and the Bosnian Diaspora

In this chapter, I sketch the creative work and income strategies of Bosnians in the United States, and the moral economies on which people draw to guide these activities. Immigrants combined wages from official employment, income from the informal economy, credit card and home-mortgage debts to make a home in America, cover the costs of trips back to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and to send money to family who remained there. My approach here is built on the

⁶⁰ Among the countries who join BiH in this category are: Haiti (24.8%) Lesotho (25.8%), Moldova (27.1%), and Tonga (31%).

anthropological understanding that economic matters are socially governed--not driven solely by market forces--and are thereby subject to intimate encounters and deeply felt beliefs.

Marcel Mauss used analyses of the social and economic functions fulfilled by gift-giving in societies without capitalist market systems to show that, contrary to popular liberal economic opinion, prestations are not voluntary but are generated by obligation (Mauss 1968: 3). From this finding, Mauss extrapolated that the same moral frameworks that guide gift-giving practices are central to the ways that capitalist markets take root and are understood within a given social and historical context (Ibid. 2). E.P. Thompson and Karl Polanyi apply this kind of anthropological approach to the development of capitalism in Western Europe. Their focus is primarily industrial England and France, and the role of Western Protestantism is taken as a central force in shaping these capitalist contexts. Thompson finds that in the constitution of cadres of industrial workers, “the pressures toward discipline and order extended from the factory, on one hand, the Sunday school, on the other, into every aspect of life: leisure, personal relationships, speech, manners. Alongside the disciplinary agencies of the mills, churches, schools, and magistrates and military quasi-official agencies were set up for the enforcement of orderly moral conduct” (Thompson 1963: 401-2). These studies also identify the creation of poverty, and classes of poor people—“paupers”—within capitalist modes of production (Polanyi 2001[1944]: 115). “Pauperism,” according to Polanyi, “fixed attention on the incomprehensible fact that poverty seems to go with plenty...it was in relation to the problem of poverty that people began to explore the meaning of life in a complex society” (Ibid. 89). The “people” Polanyi refers to here are economists and social engineers—those in the position to philosophize about and write policy for “society.”

The introduction of Bosnian refugees to the United States during a time of great social reform reveals the persistence of the problem of poverty within capitalism; the agendas of

resettlement projects clearly outline the goal of teaching Bosnians how to properly sell their labor and stay off state welfare rolls. But there is another layer to coping with the problem of poverty during this era, and this is the use of personal consumer debt to meet the shortcomings of “the market” in tending to the needs of individuals and of those with whose well-being they are charged. Most Bosnians are responsible not only to family and friends in the United States, but to family and friends remaining in remittance-reliant Bosnia. They use consumer debt to manage their livelihoods in the United States, livelihoods that are deeply embedded in the demands of their homeland.

I elaborate a view of economy and social life recently taken up by Ara Wilson in her research on transnational capitalism in Bangkok. Wilson offers this definition of moral economy:

This view sees economics in kinship and gender systems, in the gendered division of labor, for example. Kinship and gender systems—or sex/gender systems—organize work, property, and the distribution of resources: another way to say this is that sex/gender/kin systems and economic systems shape each other. Kinship is also economic by virtue of its reliance on exchange; families, for example, are constituted by material and symbolic exchanges—including weddings and many sexual relationships. This kin economy or folk economy has also been connected to a ‘moral economy,’ an economy that may rely on markets and money but that is governed or at least constrained by local community values and expectations. The logic and values of various kin, folk, or moral economies are generally guided not by extracting and accumulating profit (although families may accumulate great wealth) but by the need to define, maintain, and elaborate

relationships to kin, community, patrons, temples, and the spirit world (Wilson, 2004: 11-12).

Thus, economic strategies employed by Bosnian refugee-immigrants to the United States cannot be explained by a uniform accumulation/profit motive, but are understood best within the social histories of their migrations. Although people were forced to leave Bosnia, many remain in almost constant contact with family and friends who remained. While great geographic distance divides many families, their interactions are informed by sensibilities shaped through interactions that preceded their wartime separation.

I include material from interviews and participant-observation among a range of my field informants and sites, but I focus especially on the relocation and return experiences of three families, and interactions occurring in their homes. I begin with a discussion of the rubric of United States social policies and reforms that shaped refugee relocations to this country, in particular the doctrine of “family reunification,” suggesting that refugee kin from the outset of their migration here were expected to rely on one another for material and social support. However, it was not only American ideals but Bosnian sensibilities that connected kin to one another in this way: generations within and across families were expected to contribute care and support in the form of childcare, food preparation, airfare, and sometimes housing. Adult sons and daughters especially were challenged to care for elderly parents, those who lived in the United States as well as those who had remained in Bosnia. In the final section I describe debates over return trips to Bosnia and the activities involved in preparation for these trips as well as the activities that enabled one to appear as an appropriate return-tourist from the U.S to the homeland. In these debates, gender differences emerged as a pressing concern.

Bosnian Migration to the United States, 1992-1997: Sponsors and Kin

American immigration policies have since the 1980s emphasized “family reunification,” a goal that has been variously interpreted, and, like all policies, variably practiced. Family reunification places emphasis on kin relations in processes of immigration; immigrants may send for family members by acting as their sponsors. A sponsor guarantees that the sponsee will not become a burden to the general public. That is, if for some reason the sponsee cannot support herself, the sponsor will intervene and provide for the immigrant family member so they do not draw on social welfare services such as TANF (Temporary Assistance to Needy Families) Food stamps, Medicaid, or unemployment benefits. While family members comprise the majority of cases in which newcomers arrive legally in the United States, employers may act as sponsors, and a small number of people may self-sponsor: meaning they can demonstrate they have the ability to support themselves initially, and will continue to do so, or leave the country. Obviously, such policies are designed around the recognition—however implicit—that the domestic sphere and domestic relationships often may be relied upon to act as a buffer between individuals, their encounters with the “job market,” and any unanticipated needs that arise (for example, as the result of serious injury, illness, or death in a family). Such immigration policies are enormously beneficial to employers, as immigrants often accept lower wages and benefits than their American counterparts, and are less likely to join unions. Further, both employers and the state benefit from placing the costs and labor of social reproduction squarely upon the shoulders of the immigrant and her sponsor.

The vast majority of Bosnians whom I met during my research arrived in the United States as refugees, between 1992 and 1999. Although individual cases varied a great deal, most

refugees entered the country with little or no money—due to the war, people did not have access to their bank accounts, and had to spend what money they did have in order to survive, often to pay their way out of their town or region.⁶¹ Some were poor before the war, and had little or no money to begin with. Refugee immigration policies for Bosnians operated on similar premises of family reunification and sponsorship, but with some differences. Perhaps the most significant difference lay in the area of sponsorship, where the government and voluntary agencies (known as VolAgs—many of are faith-based) entered into a complex public-private venture under the rubric of the Matching Grants Program whereby they served jointly as sponsors for people who qualified to emigrate from Bosnia to America as refugees. For the purposes of this chapter, the most significant of the policy initiatives affecting these refugees was the model of family reunification, and the 1994-96 welfare reforms, culminating in the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) that officially eliminated AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) and JOBs programs, creating block grants; the “new federalization” in America.

“Family reunification” was interpreted quite broadly for refugees from Bosnia: between 1992 and 1996, refugees could send for parents, children, grandparents, aunts and uncles, and first cousins. (After 1996, the “family” guidelines followed more closely a “nuclear” family model and favored marital, parent-child and sibling relations). This was during the height of the wars, and people sometimes exercised the guidelines liberally to help friends leave Bosnia by categorizing them as cousins, a neighbor as an uncle, and so forth.⁶² The liberal reunification

⁶¹ People reported paying large sums of money as exit bribes to various military or paramilitary officials: eg. 500 marks/person to leave a contested area. Similarly, those who controlled scarce goods and necessities: cigarettes, coffee, flour, sugar, oil, charged exorbitant amounts of money for these items.

⁶² I also heard stories of people taking payment in exchange for their pledge to pose as kin, but no one ever disclosed participation in this type of migration venture. Similarly, I was told of “white marriages”: inter-ethnic marriages

policy thus helped produce a refugee population that included large extended families, including many elderly family members.

The period of the 1994-1996 PRWORA reforms and attendant burdens these placed on refugee-newcomers is remembered by many in terms of heightened pressure—even as a speed-up in time. The PRWORA created a time-line for public assistance to poor people in the United States, including refugees. Under these welfare revisions, people could collect public assistance—given that they qualified—for up to three months, at which point they had to begin seeking a job.⁶³ Alma remembers that when she arrived in the U.S., she was given three months of assistance and language training, all of which were discontinued as soon as she found herself employed as a floor assistant in an office supplies chain store: “I had short English classes—I was surprised!” Alma’s “surprise” centered on the lack of time and support for language training. Elderly people—for whom wage labor and English language skills were especially challenging—found that their access to S.S.I. (social security income) would also be capped. The reform stated that in order to draw on S.S.I., individuals must have logged at least 40 quarters (ten years) of official paid employment in the U.S. For the vast majority of elderly refugees, this was simply impossible. Refugees were given a seven-year limit (1996-2003) during which they could receive S.S.I. benefits.

Deny & Distract

In 1997, this reform was officially revised in the case of refugees. Currently, refugees are allowed to draw on S.S.I. if they became citizens within the seven-year period outlined in the 1996 PRWORA. While this is the case legally, many refugees were not made aware of this

people entered into in order to leave the country. It is certainly likely, given people’s vulnerability during the war, that there were such arrangements, but that they comprised a relatively small number of cases overall.

⁶³ The official benefits timeline for a qualifying individual is five years over the course of a lifetime.

window of opportunity. This is due in part to what critics have labeled “deny and distract” tactics within Human Services offices, where the process of gaining information about eligibility criteria is made extremely cumbersome, frustrating, and intimidating through jargon-based applications and appointments with overworked, often inaccessible caseworkers.⁶⁴ Lack of accessibility combined with the stigma attached to public assistance meant that many people—knowingly or not—who were eligible for assistance did not receive it. Azra, for example, told me that “[I] felt bad with food stamps because the older people had it,” and Hajra was especially proud to live with her daughter and son-in-law because she did not have to collect welfare since their wages paid for the apartment they shared with her.⁶⁵

But the focus here is not the welfare system in America, nor the fractured state of Bosnia-Herzegovina; it is the lives of the people who traveled from Bosnia to America, in particular the elderly and their adult children. My purpose in outlining the United States refugee and welfare policies is to describe the institutional and moral frameworks within which refugees found themselves upon arrival.

Thus, the family reunification refugee policies combined with people’s material needs created a situation wherein initially at least, families clustered in multi-generational households, and even after establishing independent homes, remained in daily contact through visits that often involved childcare and food. Alma’s family may serve as a typical example. She was 18 years old when she left her native town Banja Luka in 1992, with her brother and his wife, bound

⁶⁴ Franz uses this phrase, for example, in her discussion of Bosnian refugee interactions with social services in New York City (2005).

⁶⁵ Bosnians in Chicago especially commonly expressed senses of stigma attached to their receipt of welfare and attendant associations with American poor populations such as Afro-Americans and Latinos. Ong (2003) employs Foucault’s notion of “governmentality” to describe similar interactions between social service providers and Hmong refugees they are involved resettling during the late 1980s and early 1990s in Northern California.

for Germany.⁶⁶ First settled in Munich, then in Bremen, they sent for her parents. Everyone lived in the same apartment complex for six more years, at which point they left Germany for the United States, where her aunt already lived. In Chicago, Alma lived with her parents and worked two jobs: at the above-mentioned office retail sales chain, and at a national eyeglass chain. Her father was employed at a Chicago steel factory. Her mother seemed frequently sick with headaches (a common complaint among the elder women) and stayed home.

In 2001, Alma married a Bosnian man originally from a small town in northwest Bosnia. Both couples lived together and in 2003 moved out of their rental apartment into separate condominiums. Shortly after the move, Alma became pregnant with twins. She quit the office supplies store due to the stress of pregnancy and carrying two jobs. She brought her babies to her mother's home where she cared for the infants all day while Alma was at work. Her mother—Amra—also prepared an evening meal to feed her, her husband, Alma, and Alma's husband. Alma's husband worked as a valet for a restaurant in the city's Gold Coast neighborhood, which meant he was home from work between 11:30 PM and 2 PM and often asleep when Alma left for work in the morning, and not there when she arrived home with the twins in the evening. Because Alma and her parents had arrived after the 7-year window for citizenship applications and SSI benefits, they had even less time to acclimate and learn enough English to cope with employment and navigate the steps toward American citizenship.

The kinds of labors Amra provided for her home and for Alma's home were unpaid, and clearly underwrote the wage labor of her husband, daughter, and son-in-law. Such services—called *baka servis* / grandmother service—in Bosnia, were relied on to support the wage economy in Yugoslavia as well (Woodward 1985). It is not simply the family reunification

⁶⁶ In the late 1990s, Germany and Austria forcibly repatriated many Yugoslav refugees who were recognized as such under Temporary Protection Status (TPS). Some of those who were subject to repatriation were able enter the United States and Australia as refugees (Franz 2005).

model of refugee reception and attendant demands for immersion in wage labor that shaped extended kin relations and household relationships such as Alma and Amra's, but individuals' understandings of what a home and a family should be. And these perception are shaped not only by American conventions, but are informed by Bosnian notions of selfhood and community.

Homes and Households

Anthropologists of home in Yugoslavia have often focused on the *zadruga*, and the associated concept of *zajednica*. Although these concepts are related, they also are important to differentiate. The term *zadruga* is derived from the words *za drugi*—translated as, “for friends” or “for others,” while *zajednica* derives from *za jedan*—literally “for one.” The *zadruga* is both a political and an economic unit—a rural cooperative based originally on extended patrilineal and patrilocal family households, and distributed throughout the Southeast Balkan Peninsula. This was a system that expanded and contracted according to the regional economy. In times of plenty the *zadruga* contracted, and in times of scarcity the *zadruga* form expanded. According to Philip E. Moseley, there were three major *zadruga* regions: (1) tribal societies in Montenegro and Northern Albania, (2) mountain pastoral systems of Bosnia, Herzegovina, western Croatia, central and northern Macedonia and Central Albania, and (3) the plains and valleys agricultural systems of Croatia, Slavonia, Serbia, western and central Bulgaria, southern Macedonia and southern Albania (Moseley 1940, 1943, 1953: 61, Hammel 1976). Although most people in the Balkans no longer live in a *zadruga* household, in certain parts of the second region—including Bosnia-Herzegovina—there is evidence of the *zadruga* into the 1970s. Thus, for many of the elder generations of the Bosnian diaspora, the *zadruga* was a familiar householding form.

The concept of *zajednica* has in recent history been used to describe agnatic ties and neighborhood affiliations (Woodward 1985: 236) as well as political affiliations, such as the nationalist HDZ, *Hrvatske Demokratika Zajednica* mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. As I discussed in detail in Chapter Four, during the 1970s, Bette Denitch described the rural Serbian household—and the labors associated with the household space—as a female domain. Tone Bringa described a similar association based on her research in the late 1980s and early 1990s in a Bosnian *selo*. Both studies demonstrated that these village women—mothers in particular—exercised a great deal of authority within the domestic sphere, while they remained marginalized in public sphere spaces and activities such as education, urban industrial employment, government posts and informal political spaces like coffeehouses. Given the historical anthropological preoccupation in Eastern Europe with folk studies and peasantry, there is far less research on household arrangements in town-urban settings.

My point in bringing us back to the Bosnian village at this juncture is not to suggest some sort of cyclical reproduction or cultural continuity of these models among refugees in the United States. As we have seen, the people whom I met during the course of my field research included Sarajevan elites, townspeople from Mostar and Prijedor, as well as villagers from outside these urban areas, and offered life-histories characterized by high mobility, a point to which I will return in the remainder of this discussion. Rather, I hope here to provide some context for the aesthetics and ideals with which the elder generation in particular met their relocations. Elders did not use the terms *zadruga* or *zajednica* to describe their living situations, and yet, they did hold expectations for household participation that incorporated communal ideals. Further, at this point it should be clear to the reader that town and countryside in Bosnia were increasingly and inextricably connected during the 1960s onward. At the same time, however interconnected the

two spheres are, the social division between *selo i grad* is prevalent, and relevant even to immigrant patterns in the United States. Immigrants whose families had for generations lived in cities such as Sarajevo and Mostar expressed barely veiled disdain—bordering on contempt—for immigrants who came from villages, and even smaller less-cosmopolitan cities such as Prijedor. Thus, while acknowledging the significant differences between town and country, I want also to recognize the continuous movement between village and town that increasingly characterized the lives of men and women alike.⁶⁷

Making Home in America: Habiba's Moves

Several months after I met Habiba—a woman in her late 50s from Mostar, who had grown up in a village east of that city—she handed me a piece of paper. We were sitting on a donated couch in her apartment in Massachusetts, waiting for her adult daughter Hana to return from the local Stop & Shop grocery store. I unfolded the tattered piece of paper and read: “I need a friend.”⁶⁸ Typically Habiba resisted communicating with me in English, insisting that I understand her in Bosnian. She made it no small secret that she was not happy to be in America, and planned to return to Bosnia as soon as possible. Unlike her husband Salko, Hana, and Hana’s husband Goran, she had not been able to manage the jobs she had been assigned through the welfare office. She had quit both the job in the stockroom at Marshall’s and work at a dry cleaner’s down the street. Nor had she found the English classes at a local community college

⁶⁷ I heard many people from urban areas—Sarajevo in particular—characterize those from rural areas as ignorant and uneducated, and people from villages expressed little affinity towards urban elites. Hockenos (2003) and Bringa (1996) describe the suspicion and desire that village dwellers expressed towards those from the city, and Bringa describes movement between the two spaces for both sexes of the younger generations in particular.

⁶⁸ The paper Habiba gave me read “I ned a frend,” written phonetically, as Bosnian is written. I change the spelling here to reflect a correct spelling in recognition of Habiba’s application of Bosnian grammatical conventions to English language use.

accessible. While her husband remained in the United States, Habiba managed to relocate outside of the country with her teenage son twice before returning in winter of 2003.

She left first in 1998 to return to Mostar, where she stayed with her sister. But she found this too difficult: much wartime tension remained, and there was little work available for elder women like herself. Prior to the war she had worked at a canning factory, but the factory's ownership was contested, and thus, so was her job. She remained in Mostar for close to a year, and then returned to Massachusetts. Her husband, Salko, could not alone afford to purchase the two return plane tickets, so her daughter Hana and her husband had to help pay. But Habiba was unhappy still in America, and left again, in 2001, this time for her other sister's home near Frankfurt in Germany. This also did not last. The complicated process of gaining status as a guestworker (*gastarbeiter*) in Germany was daunting and competitive, and Germany had already begun repatriating many of the hundreds of thousands of Yugoslav refugees they had accepted during the wars. She returned home again, and again the cost of her return was borne by Samir and Hana.⁶⁹

Her family experienced Habiba's moves as very taxing. Upon her second attempt to leave the United States, Hana remarked: "My mother is driving me crazy." For their first years in the United States, Habiba and Hana lived in the same apartment building, and Habiba would prepare meals and care for her own young son, and Hana's eldest son, who were the same age. As with Alma and Amra, these labors relieved Hana, Goran, and Samir of household work, and freed them up to work outside of the home, and to continue their English language classes. But Habiba's insistent returns to Europe deprived the rest of the family of her labors, and saddled them with the work of helping her return to America each time she left. Hana was frustrated that

⁶⁹ Habiba's travels present an interesting case for space and place theories that suggest women are generally associated with place and space as static and synchronic, in contrast to men with time and movement through places and spaces.

Samir—Habiba’s second husband, she had divorced Hana’s father in 1981—was apparently unequipped to persuade Habiba to remain in the United States, and retain her employment. The local factory that manufactured component parts for radios, where Samir was employed, had twice reduced employee wages and benefits since he began working there in 1997. His wages alone were not enough to support their household of three, which meant that Hana and her husband Goran were consistently called upon to help them cover their living costs, or even to offer a place to live.

Fatima’s Medicine

And it was not only Hana’s mother, but also Goran’s mother who demanded attention and care. Unlike Habiba, Goran’s mother had remained in Bosnia. She lived with his father and a nephew who was mentally ill in their home on the outskirts of Mostar. Like many of the war survivors, Fatima had been prescribed anti-depressant medications. According to Goran and Hana, Fatima’s depression was due to the war, and the resultant migrations of her three adult children: Goran’s sister and her husband lived now in Toronto, and his brother and wife lived in Veneto, Italy.

In 2003, Fatima began resisting her medications, and would not take them unless Goran and Hana phoned and begged her. These conversations occurred daily, lasted for an average of thirty minutes, and were comprised of lengthy lamentations on the loss of her children. If Fatima did not take the anti-depressants, she became paranoid and disoriented, and difficult for Goran’s father to care for. The phone calls were a great source of stress for Goran and Hana. Both of them worked official jobs—she as a manicurist at a local salon, and he in the same factory where Samir worked—but they also had unofficial income through side businesses. Hana cleaned

houses five days a week, and Goran repaired cars in the garage of the home they had recently managed to purchase. In addition to their increasingly needy mothers, they had their two sons, Leo and Tino, to care for. Throughout the year Goran complained of migraines, nausea, and sharp abdominal pains, the latter of which were finally diagnosed as kidney stones after an emergency room visit to the local hospital.

Returning to Habiba's note to me returns us also to the notion of *zajednica*, and the visiting to which women were accustomed. When I told Hana about her mother's note, she commented that Habiba missed having friends and visiting with other women, including her sisters. Unlike those who had relocated to Chicago where there were a large refugee community, Habiba did not have elder women with whom to visit, and none of the adults in her family had the time for such things given the pressures of wage labor. Although she remained in Bosnia, many of Fatima's elder family and friends had died, and none of her children lived close enough to visit regularly. The creative combination of wage labor income, informal income, and credit that Goran and Hana devised was meant not only to support themselves and their two sons, but were practices entered into in order to help them meet the expectations of their elderly, frustrated parents. At the same time, this was an exhausting course of action, the symptoms of which—such as Goran's kidney stone—were attributed to their parents. In order to understand how adult children such as Hana and Goran were able to meet these demands, we need to know about how credit worked for these refugees in the United States.

How to Build a Credit History and Buy a House

Simultaneous with decreased wages and benefits, and increasingly tenuous employment, deregulation in banking and finance made credit in the 1990s newly available to people who

were previously ineligible: for example, college students and poor people with little or no official employment history. Brett Williams views this newly available credit and the rapidly growing debt carried by most Americans as a way to partially mask the decreased living standards people experience through downsizing and demotions, moving off welfare supports to low-wage employment, and life-changes such as divorce and illness.⁷⁰ As the above sections noted, Bosnian refugees also experienced a decrease in their quality of life through their displacements and immediate immersion in low-wage work found primarily in the service sector. Several of the VolAgs in Chicago offered classes for refugees on “how to build a credit history.” A survey of advertisements in a monthly Bosnian magazine during between 2004-05 reveals that nearly 50 percent are for real estate and mortgage-related lending services.⁷¹ Thus, while many Bosnians were told they should not take welfare, and should work any job they could find, they were also taught the benefits of using a credit card and of home financing.

Nearly all of the adult children I met had several credit cards, and the offers for cards generally increased once people secured a large loan, such as that for a car or a house. As described in Chapter Two, Hana and Goran managed to purchase a wood-frame fixer-upper on the outskirts of Southtown in fall of 2002. The entire family (including Habiba once she and Seod returned in early 2003) was enlisted to transform the home: men and women together knocked out walls, hung dry wall, mixed and poured cement, installed new windows, and cleared the land in the back of the house. They financed the transformation through credit cards: Hana would open an account with a “zero interest” time limit, and before the offer expired, open

⁷⁰ In “Babies and Banks” (1992) and *Debt for Sale* (2004), Williams shows that low-income people tend to use credit cards to purchase food, to cover the cost of a doctor visit, utility bills, braces for their children, or extracurricular activities such as athletics or music lessons. These are the people who pay the highest interest rates, and are most likely unable to pay off their steadily mounting debt, but continue to meet their monthly minimum. These are the most desired credit customers, and are also known as “revolvers” and “preferred customers.”

⁷¹ The other ad categories include housewares and home appliances, groceries, auto supply and repair, international phone service, travel agency services, and beauty salons/products, *Zambak* magazine.

another account and move her debt to a new interest-free account. In 2004, they used some of the equity in their home to purchase a condominium in a local subdivision. They planned to rent out the apartment and use the property as an investment to help finance relocating their family to Veneto, Italy, where Goran's brother lived. Once they took over the condominium and began fixing it up, Habiba asked Hana to let her, Samir and Seod live in the apartment. Hana did not want to rent the apartment to her mother, but felt she could not say no. She and Goran offered the apartment to her mother at a below market rate monthly fee, but one that would cover the costs of the condominium mortgage and the repairs they had done. Habiba felt this was unfair, and lobbied for a lower fee, but finally accepted and moved in. Three months after moving into their new residence, Samir's hours at the factory were reduced and they had difficulty making the rent.

In Chicago, Alma's family had similarly transitioned to homeownership. In 2003, both she and Abdo, and her parents, were able to purchase condominiums in the city's gentrifying Uptown neighborhood. Yet, shortly after her parents' purchase, her father lost his job due to downsizing at the steel company. He found a new job at a factory that manufactures refrigerator doors, but the factory was located in an outer-ring suburb that required three hours of commuting time every day. Alma worried that her ageing father would not be able to keep up the work hours and long commute, and Abdo was never guaranteed hours at his job as a valet, so her income from the eyeglass store was their main source of stable income. Alma and Abdo used credit cards to cover their monthly expenses when their work wages fell short, and to free up cash for Abdo to make an unanticipated trip to Bosnia the following spring when his mother became ill. It seemed that as much as the younger generation became increasingly tethered to house payments and work in the United States, their duties to elder parents kept them bound to Bosnia.

Bosnia Bound?

As we have seen, many refugees have managed to return to Bosnia. Although I had met several people—such as Habiba—who attempted to return to stay, no one had succeeded. The “right of return” policies outlined in the Dayton Peace Accords were viewed by many as an empty promise: for those who lost homes that were in Republika Srpska territories such as Prijedor, they have felt entirely endangered, found the economy in shambles, and no viable paid employment. Those in interethnic marriages no longer felt there was a place for them in places like the Federation’s Herzegovina region, where the current education system is divided by ethnicity: in many of the cantons, Catholic and Muslim children attend separate schools, with separate curriculums. While I have focused thus far on the creative economic strategies in which people engaged so that they might make a life in the United States, as well as assist those living in Bosnia, it was to show that these strategies were guided by understandings of filial duty, and constrained by the economic situations in both the United States and in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Younger and older generations continuously negotiated expectations of reciprocity. It is perhaps not surprising that tensions regarding these expectations became most apparent in activities aimed at planning return trips.

Dobar Sin / The Good Son

Like Alma’s and Hana’s families, first renting apartments in Chicago’s northeast neighborhoods, in the fall of 2003, 64-year old Edita and her husband Arman along with one of their daughters and her husband managed to purchase a small single family home on the city’s far northwest side, where they all live together with her two grandchildren ages 9 and 11.

Money was an issue in Edita's home. One afternoon when her daughter's husband arrived home from his job as a garbage man, he sat down in the entryway to take off his heavy work boots, preparing to head off to the shower. I sat with his nine-year old daughter, Marija, and Edita, and we exchanged greetings. When I asked him how he was, he replied that he was "tired of working, all the time working, they [nodding towards his mother-in-law and daughter] are always wanting money, always...money." Edita's face flushed, and she said to me in a low, quiet voice, "*Joso je dobar sin* / Joso is a good son."

Like Habiba's and Amra's grandmother's service to their families, Edita and Arman covered many household duties for their adult children. In addition to sharing the cooking and household tasks, they cared for their grandchildren, whom Arman walked home every day after school, while their children were at work. Their son-in-law left at 6 a.m., returning around 4:30 p.m.; their daughter worked four blocks from their home, and her shifts typically ended around 6 or 9 PM. Joso's comments about money and Edita's characterizing Joso as a "good son" were connected to the family's commitments to those who remained in Bosnia. The entire household planned to travel to Bosnia at the end of the summer, and even though they had booked the trip off-season, when ticket prices were lower, the plane tickets were \$900 apiece, bringing the amount of air travel alone to \$5400. Family in Bosnia would provide room and board during their stay, but they would need to spend a lot of money on gasoline and car rentals for local transportation, were expected to bring many gifts with them, to fund and host large meals, and to make purchases at shops, restaurants and cafes during their stay. They estimated the total cost of their two and a half-week trip at close to \$8,500, and expenses needed to be paid for the most part in cash: the small local travel agencies that catered to the diaspora operated on a cash-only basis. Joso in particular would need to bring a lot of money because his mother (his father is

dead, and she lives with his sister and her husband) still lived in Bosnia and he was expected to take care of her, including expenses for any health care she required. The fact that he lived so far from her made her angry, something that was difficult and frustrating for him, as he expressed to me on more than one occasion. Edita and Arman had small monthly incomes from Social Security payments (they had become U.S. citizens within the 7-year limit), and there was Nejra's income from her job at TJMaxx, but the bulk of the trip would be financed by Joso.

Joso's complaint to me probably embarrassed Edita, and possibly Marija, and reflects the pressure many adult sons feel regarding the care of their aging parents who remain in Bosnia, where jobs and healthcare are extremely difficult to obtain due to an economy ravaged by war damage and a government bureaucracy with so many layers and discontinuities, most people don't even know where to begin. Simultaneous with his family's needs in Bosnia, Joso was expected to help support his family in the United States. Yet his comments also may be seen as a lack of recognition of the unwaged labor his in-laws contributed to the household, as if he experienced his work—that produced money—as the most difficult and important labor; “they” his mother-in-law and daughter, “just wanted money.” But of course, “they” needed money; they didn't just want it, and his employment was the highest paid, and the most secure. Nejra's schedule at TJMaxx, like Abdo's as a valet, was inconsistent, and she was never guaranteed a certain number of hours. She was constantly asking for more shifts at the store, and they kept putting her off. Edita's and Arman's English was rudimentary, and they were in their mid-sixties. Their options for entering wage labor were extremely limited.

Overworked, Overweight, and Broke

Hana and Goran had been arguing for four months. Goran wanted to visit his ailing mother and father in Herzegovina for three weeks during the summer months. Hana wanted to take a vacation somewhere in the United States. Goran had already visited Bosnia without Hana twice (she had gone with him once) and was insistent that she accompany him this time. Among the reasons she gave him for not wanting to go was her weight. Since her arrival in America, she had gained fifty pounds. She wanted to lose weight before returning again, but had been unsuccessful thus far; twice she had used diet pills, the second time culminating in an emergency room visit for heart palpitations. After that episode Goran had become increasingly worried, and had even implored me to “talk sense” to her with the hope that maybe she would listen to me, since she had not heeded his warnings and pleas to stop taking the pills. As a holiday gift, he had paid for a gym membership, which Hana had taken up enthusiastically for two months, combining this with a Weight Watchers diet plan. But work demands encroached on her regimen; still cleaning houses five days a week, and weekends at the salon left her with little energy for workouts and attention to special food preparation for herself. Cutting back on work wasn’t an option now that there was credit card debt to pay. Goran’s patience was worn, but so was Hana’s and they were unable to agree on the pending Bosnia trip.

When I asked Hana about why she didn’t want to go, she replied, “I will be broke for two years,” referring to the money they would have to spend in order to make the trip.⁷² She went on to describe how in Bosnia, “women have to cook, entertain,” and since Goran’s brother’s wife was “lazy,” that is, she would spend the entire day at her own mother’s house, and then show up at Goran’s parents’ home in time for evening coffee. Goran’s mother was not in a position to be

⁷² While Hana’s preoccupation with her weight might be viewed as a screen for the more pressing issue of gendered labor expectations in Bosnia, I suggest it should also be viewed as part of the increasing “Ceca” and PINK TV phenomenon found in Bosnia and among the diaspora, where women—many of whom lack employment opportunities—spend large amounts of time cultivating a heavily idealized and sexualized feminine appearance.

much help, and so the bulk of the labor for cooking, entertaining, and cleaning up after everyone—at the least seven adults and four children—would fall on Hana. While Goran said he would help, Hana felt this was not a realistic offer, and that even if he did help some, she would have to organize and orchestrate everything.

Similarly, if she wanted to go to the Adriatic coast in Croatia for a couple of days, she and Goran would need to pay for everyone else to accompany them. Going without the rest of the family would be seen as rude and stingy, but none of the others had money to pay for such a trip. They would also be expected to host meals at Goran's parents in which neighbors would arrive unannounced to be fed and entertained. According to Hana, friends and family thought that she and Goran had a lot of money, and they should spend a lot of money when they were in public: at a store, or in a café. In the end, Hana decided to go with Goran. Their 23-day trip cost nearly ten thousand dollars, including airfare for four, food and gas, gifts, money for a gravestone for her father, and dental work.

Prijedor Twelve Years Later

Nadija, 29, was from Prijedor, part of the Republika Srpska Bosnian territories. Although she and her husband—who was from a village outside of Prijedor—had returned to visit BiH once, Nadija had remained in Croatia while Abro visited Bosnia. Nadija had spent time in the Omarska war camp outside of Prijedor; Abro was already outside of the country during the wars. He was orphaned at a young age, and was left in the care of his grandparents who were poor. He left home for the first time at the age of 16 to begin working as a migrant laborer abroad, and since then had worked in Libya, Saudia Arabia, Egypt, and Austria, before coming to the United States. In the summer of 2005, Nadija and Abro planned to return to former Yugoslavia again,

and this time Abro, Nadija's mother, grandmother, and uncle were urging her to return to Prijedor. Not only did they want her to return, they wanted her to visit her father's home in a small village east of Prijedor.

Her grandmother's best friend remained in Prijedor, and struggled to survive there. Nadija's entire family was close to the woman, who had no relatives abroad to send money to her; Nadija's family all contributed to make a donation to the friend during the past year's Ramadan. *Sevap* is the term used by some Bosnian Muslims for a good deed such as this, following the Islamic tenet to give to those less fortunate—a principle that is to be observed daily, but is enacted most especially during Ramadan. Nadija's grandmother wanted her to deliver a scarf she had selected as gift to the friend. By contributing to the friend's well-being, the family was able to perform a religious duty, and in sending Nadija and Abro to visit both the friend and Nadija's father's family, the American-based family reminded those who remained in Bosnia of their presence and well-being in the United States.

The trip to her father's home was more complicated. Her father and mother were divorced when she was very young, and he had not remained a part of Nadija's life. He had drinking problems on and off, and ended up in his small village with his badly-off parents. He died shortly after the war, and his family sent word to Nadija that he had left a very modest piece of property in the village in her name. During a conversation over dinner one night, Nadija began telling me more about her father and the visit that her husband and family wanted her to make. Although Nadija's father was Croatian, his village was home primarily to Serbs, and she was uncomfortable with the idea of going anywhere near Prijedor, where "there are no jobs, refugees everywhere...someone could kidnap me! It is a crazy place with crazy people who have guns!" Abro reacted to this comment by getting up from his seat on the couch, telling me, "don't worry,

not everybody over there is crazy,” giving Nadija a disapproving look, and then heading for the kitchen, asking me if I wanted a Coke.

But Abro and her mother’s family wanted her to claim the father’s property, and to bring money to his family, who were also impoverished. Like Hana, she agonized over returning to Bosnia to visit, preferring to remain on the Croatian coast where her aunt still lived. And, like Hana, Nadija consented in the end to make the trek into Bosnia. While Nadija could not bring herself to give money to the family of a father who had done so little for her during her growing-up years, Abro insisted on giving them money when he and Nadija made a day trip into Prijedor to visit her grandmother’s friend, and then to her father’s village, where his parents and brother’s family prepared a meal for them. Since their return to Chicago, both Abro and Nadija’s grandmother have been urging her to send a “care package” of goods to her father’s family in the village.⁷³

Conclusion

Women comprise more than half of the Bosnian refugees in the United States (Paral & Norkewicz 2003). Unlike earlier migrant streams from the region that were overwhelmingly initiated by men who might after some years send for female family members such as wives and mothers⁷⁴ this new Bosnian diaspora is comprised of men and women alike, entire families who migrated all at once with elders and children in tow. I have suggested that although they entered the country as war refugees, these newcomers’ lives should be understood—as are other immigrant groups—in relation to the social policies and economic realities to which they are

⁷³ It is perhaps not insignificant that Abro has no family who remain in Bosnia, and neither does Nadija’s mother’s family. The link through Nadija’s father, then, remains the only kin relation through which any of them might claim a connection to their former homeland.

⁷⁴ See Hockenos (2003). And for a local Chicago history, Zulfić (2003).

subject. Further, affective ties shaped through interactions with kin in the diaspora as well as those who remained in Bosnia are integral to any attempt to learn why and how it is that people spend such large amounts of money on return trips.

Such a focus foregrounds the challenges faced by groups and individuals; I hope, by joining these resonant home spaces together through people's interactions with one another, to be alert to cultural difference as "a product of a shared historical process that differentiates the world as it connects it" (Ferguson & Gupta 1992: 74). For Bosnians new to America, such a shared process is the increase in demands on workers in the low-wage service economy to work more, for less, and to cover the deficit by accruing significant credit card debt, and by drawing on the unremunerated labor primarily of women and the elderly. Some of the differences that emerge in this process of connecting people in the United States to Bosnia are those of gender and generation, where under the logic of filial duty, "spent sons and daughters" feel themselves buckling under the weight of "demanding mothers," demands produced by a group of women who are, in the end, arguably among the most marginalized—economically and politically—in this refugee migration. Bosnians' precarious economic position in the U.S. is intensified by the needs of those who remain in the struggling postwar state Bosnia-Herzegovina. This research sheds light on the shifting dependencies of states and employers on family networks and the intimate domain of "home".

Conclusion

This dissertation has been an enquiry into the ways in which Bosnian women refugees in America manage the cultural and economic forces that shape their postwar lives. I find that women's ability to draw on institutional and social networks to generate connections that buffer their experiences of poverty and dislocation is tempered by the differences between an American moral economy of dependency and a Bosnian moral economy of mutual obligation. I have shown that studies of refugee life often tend to focus on symbolic aspects of identity and discourse and elide the significant role of economic processes and practices in people's post-displacement identity formations. This is true, for example, in the case of Malkki's otherwise carefully crafted examination of ethnic Hutus living in exile in a Tanzanian township and refugee camp during the late 1980s, prior to the horrific 1994 massacres in Rwanda. While scholars of refugee life place cultural phenomena at the center of inquiry, scholars of neoliberalism tend toward a different bias, foregrounding political economic matter without adequately sifting through the particular and differing frameworks through which people meet and interpret neoliberal policies. Here I demonstrate the ways in which certain neoliberal formations—the joint public-private management of refugee relocation, the speed-up in labor process, “free-market” consumer credit card and mortgage lending practices, and the postwar Bosnian “state”—are ultimately and inextricably tied to Bosnians' senses of obligation to family and friends in the diaspora, and to those who remain in Bosnia.

Myth and Symbol, Detached from Everyday Life

The value of a discursive-symbolic approach resides in the insight that identities are dialectically constructed in relation to those who may occupy the position of “other,” “outsider,” or simply “different” in a given historical context. Oppositional discursive fields—languages of contest—must share some common framework in order to be relevant to their speakers, writers, listeners, and readers. To illustrate this point, Malkki describes what she labels the “mythico-history” narratives circulating among camp refugees: “[T]hus, while the Hutu mythico-history challenged by de-naturalizing the ruling ideas of the Tutsi version of a national history, it simultaneously incorporated certain features of this opposing version into itself” (Malkki 1995:102). The example here is “beauty.” We are told that Belgian colonizers promoted a European kinship myth among Tutsi ethnics based on the theory that Tutsi physical features more closely resembled Europeans than did those of the Hutu. Linking physical and cultural traits, Belgians justified their rule in Rwanda, and Tutsis justified their claim to postcolonial rule through a similar claim of civilized superiority. Malkki finds that in Hutu narratives referencing Tutsi, the concept of an idealized European beauty is associated with Tutsi, but instead of figuring as a trait linked to positive attributes such as the ability to govern and to educate, the beauty concept is recast: “...[e]ven while the Hutu accepted the description of the Tutsi as ‘beautiful,’ they were busy revaluing beauty itself, casting it as a sign, not of nobility or virtue, but of evil and danger” (ibid. 103).

As we have seen, symbolic accounts of wartime violence in former Yugoslavia are easy to locate. Katherine Verdery’s essay on “dead body politics” describes people in the region as steeped in deeply resonant oppositional ethnic identities that are tangible in the object of the corpse properly emplaced. Claims to land and national belonging are made by tracing patrilineal descent through burial plots, and negations of these claims are enacted by the actual removal of

dead bodies from their former gravesites, or barring persons from visiting or burying their deceased kin (Verdery 1999). Like Malkki's "beauty" example, the symbolic weight attributed to dead bodies is shared across competing ethno-political factions in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia, and is thus a potent political signal marking post-Yugoslav national borders. Robert Hayden and Bette Denitch offer similar analyses in their wartime essays describing the role of unresolved World War II atrocities that resurfaced in military mobilizing rhetoric during the Bosnian Wars. As scholars have since pointed out, these symbolic accounts often leave us with images of homogeneous group identity, and teach us little about intra-group and individual differences (Ballinger 2003: 21).

Pamela Ballinger's beautifully written exploration of the construction of historical memory among World War II Italian and Yugoslav Istrian exiles belongs in this category of symbolic approaches to political and ethnic formations in the Balkan-Mediterranean region (Ballinger 2003). Like Verdery's, Hayden's, and Denitch's briefer accounts of nationalism in former Yugoslavia, Ballinger's in-depth monograph draws on primarily event analyses and archival research⁷⁵. She provides us with disturbing Italian political cartoons caricaturizing Slavs as barbarian, and rich life-history detail revealing both generational and ethnic variations in how history is narrated. But it is striking that we learn very little here about people's workaday lives. Ballinger explains her approach as a departure from "anthropology's classic modes of both research design and exposition...observing what Malinowski called 'the imponderabilia of daily life' [1984]" (Ibid. 9). She felt this research design allowed her to break with the privileging of experiential knowledge upon which her interlocutors based their claims to historical knowledge, and also posits that it is no longer methodologically necessary to take a holistic stance whereby

⁷⁵ This is the same approach taken by Paul Hockenos' book on the Yugoslav exile diaspora, discussed in Chapter Five.

we understand a set of practices and concepts by grounding them in other relevant activities. I found instead that such an approach—participant-observation—was critical to providing insights to the economic, not purely symbolic, aspects of refugee life. In fact, the work of understanding economy and identity is one of the primary reasons why anthropologists cross-reference aspects of practice and discourse.

I am reminded here of one of my earliest encounters with Habiba. In a patched-together Bosnian-English interchange at her Southtown apartment on an autumn evening, Habiba asked me if I would watch a videotape of her son Nermin's funeral. She told me I must not tell Hana, who was pregnant at the time; Habiba felt the video would upset Hana and harm the pregnancy. I uneasily consented to watch the video in secrecy. Side by side we sat on the hand-me-down church couch. Habiba placed a VHS cassette tape in the player. The television screen showed forty or so people gathered in a war-torn urban courtyard in Mostar, enclosed by a cement high-rise and several two and three-story buildings. Men stood with shovels around a grave as two *hodze* / imams recited prayers. Mixed in with the prayers was the sound of Hana mourning in an anguished voice, leaning against a man who I later found out was Nermin's best friend. Habiba sat next to me, crying silently. The men began lowering the wooden coffin into the grave, each taking turns replacing the dirt. As they did this gunshots erupted, shells exploded, and everyone ducked, yelling at the snipers. When we finished viewing the harrowing forty-five minute tape I asked Habiba where she got it and she told me a friend sent the video to her from Bosnia. "And where were you?" I asked—I did not see her in the video. She told me she fainted at the beginning and had to be taken home where two doctors were needed to revive her. I asked her how often she looked at the video, and she told me she watched it several times a week, late at night, when everyone else was asleep.

The acts I witnessed in the video were the same Habiba saw, and yet I am sure that there was more to her viewing than I could discern in this one screening. Habiba's repetitive viewing of the video suggests she created her own ritual of memory, and provides evidence consistent with that provided by the above-mentioned scholars: that dead bodies operate as important symbolic media among the recent Bosnian diaspora. Yet, far more prevalent than this video, what most occupied Habiba's and her family's daily conversations and activities was the problem of how to earn a livelihood and to provide for one another and for family in Bosnia. If I had not been able to conduct participant-observation with Habiba's and Hana's families, I would not have learned about the immense pressures they felt to provision their kin and the creative ways in which they managed to do this. Nor would I have learned about the migraines Habiba endured during her employment in the unbearably hot chemical steam room at a local dry cleaning operation, or about Goran's ulcer, or Hana's hospital visits for dangerously high blood pressure. People themselves connected all of these bodily ills—experienced by the living survivors of the wars—to the regimen of overwork that characterized their lives in America.

Indeed, where I have identified symbolic features of refugee life, I demonstrate that these are best understood within the particular moral economic rubrics individuals find most relevant. The storied symbol of the Bosnian refugee woman, the consumption of Turkish coffee, and the possibility of being a “good son” or daughter to a burdensome mother—all these phenomena are interlinked with the scaling back of state and corporate social services in both Bosnia and America, and simultaneous increasing demands placed upon family support systems.

Moral economies in the neoliberal era

As we have seen, the recent migration of Bosnians to the United States coincides with a set of distinctive historical shifts characterized by neoliberal modes of governance and economy. The wars that made refugees out of half of the Bosnian republic's population took place amidst the postsocialist transition—or “transformation” according to Verdery—in much of East Central and Soviet Europe. Unlike Yugoslavia's East European socialist counterparts, the country was subjected to structural adjustment policies and propelled toward privatization at least a decade prior to the region's official communist collapse. Yugoslavs, particularly in the poorer provinces of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo, contended with a great deal of economic and political uncertainty in the years between Josip Broz Tito's death (1980) and the outbreak of war in 1990. “Shock Therapy” economic reforms imposed by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund calling in their debts required the state to scale back social support and increased people's senses of instability. In order to negotiate this “uncertain transition” Bosnians relied more and more on social networks to gain employment and provision their families.

Some analysts have described the relationship between the “second,” or “informal,” economy and the official state economy as characterized by interdependent variables: the second economy makes up for the shortage economy created by state-planned socialism (Gal & Kligman 2000:49). Susan Woodward's studies of Yugoslavia demonstrate that the problem of unemployment there was met with migratory labor strategies, small-scale second economy entrepreneurial ventures, and the pooling of resources through barter and reciprocity among kin. I have shown that Bosnians in the United States construct similar plans to cope with economic vulnerability. As I alluded in the first chapter of this dissertation, Hana brought me into her family's social network early on in our relationship. As I had very little money, given that I was both a college student and a single parent at the time, our statuses and needs matched one

another. We ended up regularly exchanging childcare and food. Several months after the Marics' arrival in Southtown, my son and I spent the afternoon at their apartment. During our visit Hana prepared a lunch of sandwiches made out of chocolate frosting spread between soft white fluffy bread slices. Sean thought this was a terrific meal—certainly not the type of lunch he ate at home or at school. But I realized what he didn't: it was a poor person's meal. The store-bought bread cost a dollar, the frosting less than two dollars, and fed three young boys, and three young women.

The approaches Bosnians developed to cope with the problem of economic uncertainty are common among many poor populations. Carol Stack observed and participated in webs of social support constructed by impoverished black Americans in Central Illinois during the early 1970s. And Gina Perez examined the migratory labor strategies of Puerto Ricans moving between Chicago and the Island throughout the twentieth century. While the development and use of social networks alleviate the burdens of poverty is not a novel phenomenon, their contexts of use are new and constantly changing. For Bosnians in America, the circumstances in which they make choices about how to allocate their time and their earnings are conditioned by their families' experiences of postwar poverty in the former homeland, and by the increasing need to work more in order to cover the deficit left by shrinking social support as state and corporate institutions further reduce their investment in the well-being of the citizenry. But, as much as people spoke with me about money—how much they needed it, how they would get it, with great candor in contrast to the typical American taboo on such topics—their choices were not only about money; they were guided by a moral economy of mutual obligation.

Thus, ten years after Hana prepared frosting sandwiches for lunch, she and Goran had managed to purchase two properties and finance several return trips to Bosnia. Their uses of

American forms of consumer debt to cover these trips, send money abroad, and invest in projects ranging from gravestones to root canals remind us that any study of “the market” must account for “the everyday practices of ordinary people participating in the economy according to their own priorities, social pressures and values...people take part in ‘the market’ as social persons...already participating in a variety of relations” (Humphrey & Mandel 2002:12). Bosnians navigate the American “market” economy according to ethics connected to both socialist and Islamic principles. The aim of generating relations of mutual obligation I have described here is grounded in people’s experiences of socialist Yugoslavia, and achieved through hospitality rituals and attending to the less fortunate—each integral to an Islamic morality.

Thus “Islam” is integral to the “social person” cultivated in many Bosnians’ formations of personhood. But the role of Islam here is not only that of a moral philosophy. As I have shown, their statuses as Muslims in post 9/11 America also shape how Americans interact with Bosnians, and how Bosnians engage American institutions. Initially people were reluctant even to discuss their religious beliefs and affiliations. Once people did begin talking with me about their faith practices, they also expressed great anxiety about Americans’ misunderstanding and fear of Islam. I am reminded of this even in the final stages of dissertation writing. As I completed this project, the case of Sulejman Talovic appeared in national newspapers. Talovic was 18, lived in Salt Lake City, and on February 12th, 2007, he went on a shooting spree at a local mall, killing five people and seriously injuring four more before police shot and killed him. Both the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* covered the story with an initial piece that early on identified Talovic as a Bosnian refugee, and a follow-up piece that described a fear of “backlash” among Bosnians living in the city. After positing that “[T]he mystery of Talovic’s motive has been compounded by questions of ethnicity, assimilation and psychology,” followed

by several paragraphs summarizing Talovic's family's migration out of Bosnia, reporter Kirk Johnson quotes Sulejman's aunt: 'We are Muslims, but we are not terrorists' (Johnson 2007a). A photo of a medallion of the Virgin Mary hung from the Talovic's chain-link fence accompanies the New York Times piece entitled "Anti-Bosnian Backlash Feared in Utah" (Johnson 2007b).

Thus, several years after Azra and her friends in the Chicago café had described to me their experiences of American perceptions of them and of their homeland as a violent people and a violent place, Bosnians elsewhere in the country were still aware and afraid of experiencing similar judgments. My research suggests that the connections among Islam, poverty, and how the second generation fares in America are a topic in need of future research. Such a project involves engaging the complexities of race/ethnicity and gender as they interrelate with economic changes felt in the increasing challenges of getting by in the neoliberal era.

Works Cited

Abu-Lughod, Lila

2001 Orientalism and Middle East Feminist Studies. *Feminist Studies* 27(1).

Agić, Senad

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

Ahmed, Leila

1992 *Women and gender in Islam : historical roots of a modern debate*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Allen, Beverly

1996 *Rape warfare : the hidden genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Appadurai, Arjun

1996 *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.

Austin, J.L.

2001 (1962) *How to do things with words*. J. O. U. a. M. Sbisà, ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bakhtin, M. M., and Michael Holquist

1981 *The dialogic imagination : four essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bakic-Hayden, Milica

1995 Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia. *Slavic Review* 54(Winter):917-931.

2005 .

Bateson, Gregory

1972 Steps to an ecology of mind; collected essays in anthropology, psychiatry, evolution, and epistemology. San Francisco,: Chandler Pub. Co.

Bauman, Richard

1977 Verbal Art as Performance. Rwley, MA: Newbury House.

—

1983 Let Your Words be Few: Symbolism of Speaking and Silence Among Seventeenth-Century Quakers: Cambridge University Press.

Bax, Mart

1992 Female Suffering, Local Power Relations, and Religious Tourism: a Case Study from Yugoslavia. Medical Anthropology Quarterly 6(2):114-127.

Berry, Peter

2004 Last Witness. *In* Prime Suspect.

Biemer, John

2006 Chicago Tribune.

Boose, Linda

2002 Crossing the River Drina: Bosnian Rape Camps, Turkish Impalement, and Serb Cultural Memory. Signs 28(1):71-96.

Bott, Elizabeth

1971 Family and social network : roles, norms, and external relationships in ordinary urban families. New York,: Free Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre

1977 Outline of a theory of practice. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bringa, Tone

1995 Being Muslim the Bosnian way : identity and community in a central Bosnian village. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Burawoy, Michael

1991 Ethnography unbound : power and resistance in the modern metropolis. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Burawoy, Michael and Katherine Verdery

1999 Uncertain Transition: ethnographies of change in the postsocialist world: Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Capps, Lisa, and Elinor Ochs

1995 Constructing panic : the discourse of agoraphobia. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Castells, Manuel

1996 The rise of the network society. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.

Census, United States

2000 QT-P15 Region and Country or Area of Birth of the Foreign-Born Population: 2000, Data Set: Census 2000.

Certeau, Michel de

1984 The practice of everyday life. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Collins, Jane

2001 Deterritorialization and workplace culture. American Ethnologist.

Cowan, Jane K.

1991 Going Out for Coffee? Contesting the Grounds of Gendered Pleasures in Everyday Sociability.

- In Contested Identities: Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece*. P. L. a. E. Papataxiarchis, ed.
Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Crehan, Kate A. F.
- 2002 *Gramsci, Culture and Anthropology*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Denich, Bette
- 1994 *Dismembering Yugoslavia: Nationalist Ideologies and the Symbolic Revival of Genocide*.
American Ethnologist 21(2):367-390.
- Denich, Bette S.
- 1974 *Sex and Power in the Balkans*. *In Woman, Culture, and Society*. M. Z. R. a. L. Lamphere, ed.
Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Denitch, Bogdan Denis
- 1996 *Ethnic nationalism : the tragic death of Yugoslavia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- di Leonardo, Micaela
- 1991 *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era*.
Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
-
- 1998 *Exotics at Home: Anthropologies, Others, American Modernity*. Chicago: University of Chicago
Press.
- Douglas, Mary
- 1984 *Food in the social order : studies of food and festivities in three American communities*. New
York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Drake, St. Claire and Horace R. Cayton
- 1962 (1945) *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*. New York and Evanston:

Harper & Row.

Ensler, Eve

2003 Necessary targets. New York, NY: Dramatists Play Service.

Fanon, Franz

1963 The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove Press.

Ferguson, Akhil Gupta and James

1992 Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference. *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1):6-23.

Franz, Barbara

2003 Bosnian Refugees and Socio-economic realities: Changes in refugee and settlement policies in Austria and the United States. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 29(1):5-21.

—

2005 Uprooted & Unwanted : Bosnian refugees in Austria and the United States. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.

Friedman, Victor

1996 .

Gal, Susan

1991 Between Speech and Silence: The Problematics of Research on Language and Gender. *In Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge*. M. di Leonardo, ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gal, Susan, and Gail Kligman

2000 Reproducing gender : politics, publics, and everyday life after socialism. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

—

2000 The politics of gender after socialism : a comparative-historical essay. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gilligan, Carol

1982 In a different voice : psychological theory and women's development. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Ginsburg, Faye D., and Rayna Rapp

1995 Conceiving the new world order : the global politics of reproduction. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Gledhill, John

2004 Neoliberalism. *In* A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics. Vol. Blackwell companions to anthropology. D. Nugent and J. Vincent, eds. Pp. xxi, 500 p. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.

Glick Schiller, Nina and Linda Basch, Cristina Blanc-Szanton

1992 Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration. *Annals New York Academy of Sciences* 645(July 6):1-23.

Goffman, Erving, Charles C. Lemert, and Ann Branaman

1997 The Goffman reader. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

Goode, Judith and Jeff Maskovsky

2001 Introduction. *In* The New Poverty Studies: The Ethnography of Power, Politics, and Impoverished People in the United States. J. G. a. J. Maskovsky, ed. New York and London: New York University Press.

Goodwin, Marjorie Harness

1990 He-Said-She-Said: Talk as Social Organization among Black Children. Bloomington, IL: Indiana University Press.

Goody, Jack

1982 Cooking, cuisine, and class : a study in comparative sociology. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ;
New York: Cambridge University Press.

Greenberg, Robert D.

2004 Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and its Disintegration. Oxford: Oxford
University Press.

Group, International Crisis

August 7, 2001 Bosnia's Precarious Economy: Still not open for business. *In* Balkans Report No
115: International Crisis Group ICG.

Hague, Euan

1997 Rape, Power, and Masculinity: The Construction of Gender and National Identities in the War in
Bosnia-Herzegovina. *In* Gender and Catastrophe. R. Lentin, ed: Zed Books.

Halpern, Joel Martin

1958 A Serbian village. New York,: Columbia University Press.

Hammel, Eugene A.

1968 Alternative Social Structures and Ritual Relations in the Balkans. Englewood Cliffs, NJ:
Prentice-Hall.

Hannerz, Ulf

1980 Exploring the city : inquiries toward an urban anthropology. New York: Columbia University
Press.

Haraway, Donna Jeanne

1989 Primate visions : gender, race, and nature in the world of modern science. New York: Routledge.

Harvey, David

1989 The Condition of Postmodernity: an enquiry into the origins of cultural change. Oxford (England); Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

—

2005 A Brief History of Neoliberalism. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hattox, Ralph S.

1985 Coffee and coffeehouses : the origins of a social beverage in the Medieval Near East. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Hayden, Robert M.

1996 Schindler's Fate: Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, and Population Transfers. *Slavic Review* 55(4):727-748.

Hockenos, Paul

2003 Homeland calling : exile patriotism & the Balkan wars. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Hoffman, Katherine

2002 Moving and Dwelling: Building the Moroccan Ashelhi Homeland. *American Ethnologist* 29(4):982-962.

Humphrey, Caroline

2002 The Unmaking of Soviet Life: Everyday economies after Socialism. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Huseby-Darvas, Eva B.

1997 Dangling on the Fringe of Nowhere: Repatriation Ambivalence among Refugees from the Former Yugoslavia. *In* Selected Papers on Refugees and Immigrants: V. D. B. a. R. Krulfeld, ed. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, Committee on Refugees and Immigrants.

Hymes, Dell

- 1974 Ways of Speaking. *In* Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking. R. B. a. J. Sherzer, ed. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Hymes, Dell and J.J. Gumperz

- 1964 The Ethnography of Communication. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropologist (Special Issue).

Irvine, Judith

- 1989 When Talk Isn't Cheap: Language and Political Economy. *American Ethnologist* 16(2):248-267.

Irvine, Judith and Susan Gal

- 2000 Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation. *In* Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities. P. Kroskity, ed. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Johnson, Kirk

- 2007 Anti-Bosnian Backlash Feared in Utah. *New York Times*, February 15, 2007.

—

- 2007 Utah targeting anti-Bosnian fears. *Chicago Tribune*, February 15, 2007.

LÃ©vi-Strauss, Claude

- 1969 The raw and the cooked. New York,: Harper & Row.

Lancaster, Roger

- 2003 The Trouble with Nature: Sex in Science and Popular Culture. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lancaster, Roger N., and Micaela Di Leonardo

- 1997 The gender/sexuality reader : culture, history, political economy. New York: Routledge.

Lefebvre, Henri

1991 Critique of everyday life. London ; New York: Verso.

Lemon, Alaina

2000 Between Two Fires: Gypsy Performance and Romani Memory From Pushkin to Postsocialism.
Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Levi-Strauss, Claude

1969 The Elementary Structures of Kinship. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Malkki, Liisa H.

1992 National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity
among Scholars and Refugees. Cultural Anthropology 7(1):24-44.

—

1995 Refugees and Exile: From 'Refugee Studies' to the National Order of Things. Annual Review of
Anthropology 24:495-523.

—

1995 Purity and Exile: violence, memory, and national cosmology among Hutu refugees in Tanzania
Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mandel, Ruth and Caroline Humphrey

2002 Markets & Moralities: Ethnographies of Postsocialism. Pp. 1-19. New York and Oxford: Berg.

Mauss, Marcel, and Ian George Cunnison

1967 The gift : forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies. New York: Norton.

Mertus, Julie, and Cornel West

1997 The suitcase : refugee voices from Bosnia and Croatia. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Meyer, Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard

1940 African Political Systems. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Moseley, Philip E.

- 1976 The Peasant Family: The Zadruga, or Communal Joint-Family in the Balkans and Its Recent Evolution. *In* Communal Families in the Balkans: The Zadruga. R. F. Byrnes, ed. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Mulvey, Laura

- 1989 Visual and other pleasures. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Nikolić-Ristanović, Vesna

- 2000 Women, violence, and war : wartime victimization of refugees in the Balkans. Budapest, Hungary New York: Central European University Press.

Ochs, Elinor, Ruth Smith, Carolyn Taylor

- 1989 Detective Stories at Dinnertime: Problem-Solving through Co-Narration. *Cultural Dynamics* 2(2):238-257.

Ojeda, Michael

- 2002 Lana's Rain.

Ong, Aihwa

- 1999 Flexible Citizenship.

—

- 2003 Buddha is hiding : refugees, citizenship, the new America. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Paral, Rob and Michael Norkewicz

- 2003 The Metro Chicago Immigration Fact Book. Chicago: Roosevelt University.

Paral, Rob and Timothy Ready, Sung Chun, Wei Sun

- 2004 Latino Demographic Growth in Chicago: Institute for Latino Studies at the University of Notre

Dame.

Pérez, Gina

2001 An Upbeat West Side Story: Puerto Ricans and Postwar Racial Politics in Chicago. *CENTRO*
XIII(2):48-71.

Pipher, Mary Bray

1994 *Reviving Ophelia : saving the selves of adolescent girls*. New York: Putnam.

Polanyi, Karl

2001 *The great transformation : the political and economic origins of our time*. Boston, MA: Beacon
Press.

Portelli, Alessandro

1997 *The battle of Valle Giulia : oral history and the art of dialogue*. Madison, Wis.: University of
Wisconsin Press.

Power, Samantha

2002 *A problem from hell : America and the age of genocide*. New York: Basic Books.

Refugees, United Nations High Commissioner for

September, 2005 Self-Study module on Refugee Status Determination. Pp. 5-6: UNHCR.

Roberts, Dorothy E.

1997 *Killing the black body : race, reproduction, and the meaning of liberty*. New York: Pantheon
Books.

Roseberry, William

1996 *The Rise of Yuppie Coffees and the Reimagination of Class in the United States*. *American*
Anthropologist 98(4):762-775.

Rubin, Gayle

1975 The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex. *In* Toward an Anthropology of Women. R. R. Reiter, ed. New York and London: Monthly Review Press.

Sassen, Saskia

1998 Globalization and Its Discontents: Essays on the new mobility of people and money. New York: New Press.

Schein, Louisa

2000 Minority rules : the Miao and the feminine in China's cultural politics. Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press.

Schieffelin, Bambi B., Kathryn Ann Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity

1998 Language ideologies : practice and theory. New York: Oxford University Press.

Schneider, Jane, and Peter T. Schneider

2003 Reversible destiny : mafia, antimafia, and the struggle for Palermo. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Šehović, Aida

Što te nema?

Shandler, Sara, and Sallie Bingham Center for Women's History and Culture.

1999 Ophelia speaks : adolescent girls write about their search for self. New York: HarperPerennial.

St. Erlich, Vera

1976 The Last Big Zadrugas: Albanian Extended Families. *In* Communal Families in the Balkans: The Zadruga. R. F. Byrnes, ed. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame.

Stack, Carol B.

1974 All our kin: strategies for survival in a Black community. New York,: Harper & Row.

Stocking, George W.

1987 Victorian anthropology. New York

London: Free Press ;

Collier Macmillan.

Stoler, Ann

1991 Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Gender, Race and Morality in Colonial Asia. *In* Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era. M. di Leonardo, ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Szanton Blanc, Christina and Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller

1995 Transnationalism, Nation-States, and Culture. *Current Anthropology* 36(4):683-686.

Talbot, John M.

2004 Grounds for agreement : the political economy of the coffee commodity chain. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Tannen, Deborah

1990 You just don't understand : women and men in conversation. New York: Morrow.

—

1993 Gender and conversational interaction. New York: Oxford University Press.

Taussig, Michael T.

1986 Shamanism, colonialism, and the wild man : a study in terror and healing. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Thompson, E. P.

1964 The making of the English working class. New York,: Pantheon Books.

Todorova, Mariiĭ, aĭ,ĭ Nikolaeva

1997 Imagining the Balkans. New York: Oxford University Press.

2004 *Balkan identities : nation and memory*. London: Hurst.

Turner, Patricia A.

1993 *I heard it through the grapevine : rumor in African-American culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Veer, Peter van der

2001 *Imperial encounters : religion and modernity in India and Britain*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Verdery, Katherine

1994 *Beyond the Nation in Eastern Europe*. *Social Text* 0(38):1-19.

1999 *The political lives of dead bodies : reburial and postsocialist change*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Volosinov, V.N.

1973 (1929) *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wachtel, Andrew Baruch

1996 *Postmodernism as Nightmare: Milorad Pavic's Literary Demolition of Yugoslavia*. *The Slavic and East European Journal* 41(4):627-644.

1998 *Making a nation, breaking a nation: literature and cultural politics in Yugoslavia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Weine, Steven

1995 .

Weismantel, Mary J.

- 2001 Cholas and pishtacos : stories of race and sex in the Andes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Went, Robert

- 2000 Globalization: Neoliberal Challenge, Radical Responses. London, Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press.

Wesimantel, Mary

- 2001 Cholas and Pishtacs: Stories of Race and Sex in The Andes. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Williams, Brett

- 1992 Babies and Banks. *In Structuring diversity : ethnographic perspectives on the new immigration.* L. Lamphere, ed. Pp. ix, 257 p. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

—

- 2004 Debt for sale : a social history of the credit trap. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Williams, Raymod

- 1976 Keywords. London.

Wilson, Ara

- 2004 The intimate economies of Bangkok : tomboys, tycoons, and Avon ladies in the global city. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wolchik, Sharon L., and Alfred G. Meyer

- 1985 Women, state, and party in Eastern Europe. Durham: Duke University Press.

Woodward, Susan L.

- 1995 Socialist Unemployment: The political economy of Yugoslavia, 1945-1990. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

1995 Balkan Tragedy: chaos and dissolution after the Cold War. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.

Zbanic, Jasmila

Grbavica.

Zubaida, Sami

1996 Turkish Islam and National Identity. Middle East Report (April-June).

Zulfic, Muharem

2003 Dzemijetul Hajrije, 100 godina Bosnjaku u Cikagu: Muharem Zulfic, Muharempzulfic@aol.com.