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The Role of Acculturation on Bosnian Refugee Adult Child Mate Selection

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THE ROLE OF ACCULTURATION ON BOSNIAN REFUGEE ADULT CHILD MATE SELECTION

THESIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the College of Communications and Information Studies at the University of Kentucky

By

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Lexington, Kentucky

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

THE ROLE OF ACCULTURATION ON BOSNIAN REFUGEE ADULT CHILD MATE SELECTION

Forced by the atrocities of war from their native country, Bosnian families came to United States seeking refuge and a new life. Like many refugees that immigrated, Bosnians sought to adapt to the American way of life, while keeping their traditional ethnic customs, practices, and religion (Val & Iain-Walker, 2003). Many Bosnian refugee parents worked to keep the Bosnian practices prevalent in their first and second generation Bosnian American children. By doing so, Bosnian parents imbedded into their children the original customs, practices, and traditions of the Bosnian culture. Moreover, they raised their children to have great pride in their native country. Part of keeping the native culture alive, as an adult child of a refugee, involved marrying someone of the same ethnic and religious background (Inman, Howard, Beaumont, &Walker, 2007). Using Communication Acculturation Theory, this study examined the relationship between the degree of acculturation of Bosnian refugees in the United States and their preference and stress level in relational partner selection taking into consideration parental pressure and ethnic group community expectations. Results from this study find that acculturation is negatively correlated with the preference for a Bosnian mate but only the amount of interpersonal intimate communication the Bosnian members has with Bosnians and non-Bosnians is indicative of any mate selection stress experienced. Further, ethnic group community expectations and parental pressure are positively correlated with preference for a Bosnian mate, but only the expectations of the ethnic group and not pressure from parents was correlated with any stress the individual feels to find a Bosnian mate.

KEY WORDS: Mate Preference, Mate Selection Stress, Communication Acculturation Theory, parental pressure, Ethnic Group Community Expectations.

Emina Herovic
March 16, 2013
THE ROLE OF ACCULTURATION ON BOSNIAN REFUGEE ADULT CHILD MATE SELECTION

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_____________ March 16, 2013 __
Date
For the understanding and betterment of refugee life.
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THE ROLE OF ACCULTURATION ON BOSNIAN REFUGEE ADULT CHILD MATE SELECTION

Chapter One: Introduction

Forced by the atrocities of war from their native country, Bosnian families came to United States seeking refuge and a new life. Immigrating to a new country, however, involves the process of acculturation which can dilute many native practices. Like many refugees that immigrated, Bosnians sought to adapt to the American way of life, while keeping their traditional ethnic customs, practices, and religion (Val & Iain-Walker, 2003). Many Bosnian refugee parents worked to keep the Bosnian practices prevalent in their first and second generation Bosnian American children. By doing so, Bosnian parents imbedded into their children the original customs, practices, and traditions of the Bosnian culture. Moreover, they raised their children to have great pride in their native country. Part of keeping the native culture alive, as an adult child of a refugee, involved marrying someone of the same ethnic and religious background (Inman, Howard, Beaumont, & Walker, 2007). As a result, many Bosnian American children, now college aged, may prefer a Bosnian partner and as a result feel stress to find one.

While many ethnic groups may have a preference to find a partner within their native culture (Nesteruk & Gramescu, 2012), there exists reason to believe this is especially true of Bosnian refugees. Yugoslavia once consisted of Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, and Albanians all intermingled in what was the former Yugoslavia. The war emerged as a result of the break-up of Yugoslavia in the early 1990’s. Upon gaining independence, the Serbs rejected Bosnia’s wishes to gain their own independence and build a republic. Serbs wished to make Bosnia part of their territory. As a result, they placed their forces in Bosnia. The war was characterized by bombings of cities, indiscriminate snipers, ethnic cleansing, and rape. What were once door to
door neighbors became hateful enemies based on ethnicity and religion. Post war, the various ethnic groups composing the Balkans developed a strong national and ethnic identity (Johnston & Eastvold, 2004). The Bosnians, especially, developed a strong pride for their nation and ethnicity as they felt victimized and betrayed by their former neighbors.

While the war occurred in the 1990’s, this nationalism amongst this group of people is still evident today. Secretary of State, Hilary Clinton, warned Bosnians against nationalism and begged for the people to move towards unity during her 2010 visit (Euronews, 2013). Due to this strong and unique history that led to ethnic and national pride, Bosnians may seek to maintain their Bosnian culture more so than other minority groups in America.

Beyond the aforementioned strong nationalistic characteristics of this population, Bosnian adult children refugees were specifically chosen as the subgroup of this study for other key reasons. One, there are few communication studies done on Bosnians and no Communication research that specifically examines Bosnian adult child refugees. Secondly, Bosnian adult children were chosen for this study because of the large number of Bosnian child refugees that immigrated to the United States in the early 1990’s with their parents and other extended family. Lastly, immigrating here as children in the early 1990’s would mean the child would now be adult age (18 or older) and would be at the appropriate age to find a suitable mate. Second-generation Bosnian adult children were also included in the sample. While second-generation Bosnian adult children were not born in the Balkan area and did not experience the war or immigration first hand, they grew up with Bosnian refugee parents and hold a bi-cultural identity: Bosnian and American.

The primary purpose of the study is to examine the relationship between acculturation and mate selection for Bosnian American refugees first and second generation. Two different
dimensions of both acculturation and mate selection are explored. Regarding acculturation: first, a direct, general index of acculturation is explored. Second, an indirect index of acculturation stemming from Communication Acculturation Theory, interpersonal intimate communication with host members, is investigated. Turning to mate selection, the first way mate selection is examined is the individual’s preference for a Bosnian mate. Second any mate selection stress that the individual may or may not feel is assessed.

In addition to the primary focus of this study, other factors are examined which may affect mate selection, namely ethnic group community expectations and parental pressure. These factors are explored for their correlation with mate selection (mate preference and mate selection stress) and their indirect association with both measures of acculturation, with acculturation having an effect on ethnic group community expectations and parental pressure. The hypotheses posed in this study are given below. A rationale for each hypothesis is also offered throughout the progression of this document.

H1: Acculturation as indexed as a direct measure will be negatively associated with preference for a Bosnian mate.

H2: Acculturation as indexed as a direct measure will be negatively associated with mating selection stress.

H3: Acculturation as indexed by interpersonal communication with non-Bosnian intimate friends will be negatively associated with preference for a Bosnian mate.

H4: Acculturation as indexed by interpersonal communication with non-Bosnian intimate friends will be negatively associated with mate selection stress.

H5: Ethnic group community expectations will be negatively associated with acculturation as indexed as a direct measure.
H6: Ethnic group community expectations will be negatively associated with acculturation as indexed by interpersonal communication with non-Bosnian intimate friends.

H7: Ethnic group community expectations will be positively correlated with preference for a Bosnian mate.

H8: Ethnic group community expectations will be positively correlated with mate selection stress.

H9: Parental pressure will be negatively associated with acculturation as indexed as a direct measure.

H10: Parental pressure will be negatively associated with acculturation as indexed by interpersonal communication with non-Bosnian intimate friends.

H11: Parental pressure will be positively associated with preference for a Bosnian mate.

H12: Parental pressure will be positively associated with mate selection stress.
Chapter Two: Rationale/Literature Review

Approximately 300,000 Bosnian war refugees immigrated to the United States in the 1990’s as a result of the Balkan war. Bosnian refugees experienced war related trauma (Searight, 2003), and many came with their immediate family members to the United States. The split of the nation states composing the former Yugoslavia caused individuals to develop strong pride for their particular ethnic group (Hjort & Frisen, 2006). Forced to leave their homes and immerse themselves into a new culture, many Bosnian refugees fought to keep their native traditions and religious practices intact (Val & Iain-Walker, 2003).

Migrating to a different country, many Bosnian refugees were afraid their native country’s practices would be lost. A refugee’s values and beliefs can be diluted due to ethnic diversity. As a result, refugee parents strived to maintain the native cultural practices by educating their children about their native country, following traditional practices, and implanting ethnic pride in their children. This phenomenon is known as cultural maintenance. Berry (2007) defines cultural maintenance as the extent to which a refugee finds his or her cultural identity and characteristics to be important and, therefore, strives to maintain them. Cultural maintenance may be of vast importance to families who were heavily impacted by the war, especially individuals who might have lost relatives and close family members in the war, were in concentration camps, or witnessed traumatic events when compared to those who were not as affected. Preserving native identity is influenced by engagement in cultural celebrations and activities, family ties, social support, and rejection of perceived Western values (Inman et al., 2007). Specifically, however, Inman et al. (2007) found that participants identified marrying within the culture as one of the strategies to preserving and transmitting an ethnic identity. In
this sense, the native practices would survive for future generations because both persons in a relationship would share the cultural practices with each other and the offspring.

Inman et al. (2007) examined the importance of *intra*-ethnic marriage (marrying a person of the same culture/ethnicity) for migrants. They found that immigration played a large role on the retention of ethnic identity and promotion of identity to first and second-generation immigrant children. Participants in their study claimed they chose intra-ethnic marriage over *inter*-ethnic marriage (marring outside the native culture) in order to retain the original values and customs they grew up with. One of Inman et al.’s (2007) participants explained,

“I didn’t want to get married to anybody here. Once I do that, then there is no continuity. It would change a lot. My thought was always to get married to the same kind of people, that way [one] keeps the same [cultural] identity” (p. 96).

Inman et al. (2007) illustrated the importance first and second-generation refugees place on finding a relational partner of their same ethnic and cultural background and the stress that may come with such aspirations. Gonzalez-Ferrer (2006) found that second-generation immigrants, who have spent the entirety of their lives in America, speak fluent English, and have attended the American school system their whole life, are more likely to be open to the idea of marrying outside of their native culture than are first-generation refugees. Therefore, while second-generation refugees may experience stress in finding a relational partner within their ethnicity, that stress may be higher for first-generation refugees.

Pagnini and Morgan (1990) emphasized the importance nativity plays in interethnic marriage, finding that first-generation European immigrants were less likely to inter-ethnically marry than second-generation European immigrants, suggesting that those who were foreign born had a higher preference to marry within their own ethnicity (as cited in Qian, Blair, & Ruf,
Qian et al. (2001) also defined what intermarriage (i.e., intra-ethnic marriage) indicates for an immigrant saying, “intermarriage is an important indicator measuring integration and social distance among various ethnic/racial groups” (Bogardus, 1968, as cited in Quin et al., 2001, p. 558). As a result, they expected first-generation immigrants or refugees to inter-culturally marry less than did second-generation and later generation immigrants or refugees.

Another reason refugees may hold a high importance to intra-ethnic marriage is to retain and pass on their religious practices. In the case of Bosnian refugees, retaining religious homogeneity may be particularly salient as religion has been molded into an important factor of national identity. Friedmen (2000) traced the formation of Bosnian Muslim national identification. She finds that Bosnians are for the most part a secular group of people. However, once the war broke out, the neighbored enemies used whatever means they could to distinguish themselves from one another. One of the ways to separate from the other group was through religious adherence. Being “Muslim” became more of a national identity rather than a religious identity (Friedmen, 2000; Johnston & Eastvold, 2004).

Johnston and Eastvold (2004) contended that Bosnians were the group which identified most with the appellation of Yugoslavia and, therefore, had the most at stake in the reformed Yugoslavia. After the war, Bosnian Muslims felt victimized and, as a result, reacted to their opponents by gaining more religious nationalism in a means to separate themselves from Serbs. Johnston and Eastvold (2004) wrote, “the combination of religious hostility against [Bosnian Muslims] and apparent indifference from the West led many Bosnian Muslims to seek refuge among their fellow Muslims and—more significantly—to adopt a more orthodox adherence to Islamic faith and practice” (p. 1). The extent to which the war affected religious importance and maintenance can be seen through “efforts by some Muslim ministries in Bosnia to pass laws
implementing Islamic cultural prohibitions on issues ranging from mixed marriages to the consumption of pork and alcohol to the playing of traditional Serbian music on the radio” (p.1). The strong tie to faith, as a result of feeling separated and victimized during the war, led many Bosnian Muslims to practice their religion more fervently and ensure that this part of their identity would not be lost. Therefore, it may be of vast importance for Bosnians to marry another Bosnian because they would be retaining religious homogeneity in doing so. As a result of this group’s wishes for cultural maintenance and retaining religious homogeneity, Bosnians may hold a preference for a mate within their ethnicity.

**Mate Preference**

As this study examines the acculturation of refugees and the role it plays in their mate selection, it is important to understand the mate preferences of first and second-generation Bosnian refugees. Intra-marriage can be a strong sign of the individual’s loyalty to his or her ethnic group. Conversely, intermarriage can be a sign of the individual’s hopes to bridge between the two ethnic groups (Kalmijn, 1993). Kalmijn (1993) asserted, “since marriage is usually the most intimate and enduring personal relationship people have, patterns of spouse selection are ideal ways of describing how social groups accept each other” (p. 52). Many studies have examined cross cultural and intercultural mate preferences (Buss, 1989; Hill, 1945; Shackelford, Schmitt, & Buss, 2005), however, few studies have examined mate preferences of refugee populations or subgroups. While this is not a cross-cultural comparison, the idea of mate preference can be viewed the same in this study. Ultimately, this study seeks to discern whether Bosnians prefer other Bosnians as mates.

The idea of mate preference first emerged from Darwin’s Origin of Species where he argued that individuals seek certain characteristics in a mate (Darwin, 1959). Since then, an
abundance of research emerged which examined the desired characteristics of a mate (Buss, 1998, 2003; Gangestad & Simpson, 2000; Okami & Shackelford, 2001). Buss and Barnes (1986) examined the mate preferences of American married couples and found that the most desired characteristics in a mate are: good companion, considerate, honest, affectionate, dependable, intelligent, kind, understanding, interesting to talk to, and loyal. Conversely, the least desired characteristics in a mate are: wants a large family, dominant, agnostic in religious matters, night owl, early riser, tall, and wealthy (Buss & Barnes, 1986). In an attempt to synthesize the mate preference literature and find common mate preferences across cultures, Shackelford et al., (2005) explored the mate preference of three dozen cultures. Their results yielded four “universal” mate preferences amongst their explored cultures, namely: love verses status/resources; dependable/stable versus good looks/health; education/intelligence versus desire for home/children; and sociability versus similar religion.

Culture and unique life experiences can often supersede these universal mate preferences, however. While the Western idea of a mate selection resides mainly on romanticism and love, refugees and immigrants may prefer a mate based on the principals of collectivism and interdependence, religious tradition, the preservation of their ethnic group solidarity, and abiding to their families wishes (Zaidi & Shuraydi, 2002). When examining refugee groups, cultural retention, ethnic identity, and biculturalism are significant contributors to mate preferences (Kibria, 2009; Manohar, 2008; Samuel, 2010). In this study, mate preference is conceptualized as an individual’s desired characteristics in a relational partner.

In Kalmijn’s (1993) study on the spouse selections of European immigrants, he found that first-generation intermarriage is unlikely because the individual still has strong ties to his or her own native group. The same cannot be said about second-generation intermarriage. Using
1960 census data, Kalmijn also finds that second-generation European Americans tend to overwhelmingly marry outside of their national origin group and the national boundaries that separate them become weaker over time.

**Mate Selection Stress**

Given the strong emphasis placed on retaining their native culture and religion, Bosnian children might not only have a preference for a Bosnian mate, they might also feel pressure to date and marry someone within their native culture. Due to the dispersion of Bosnian refugees across the United States (Miller, 2012), many first and second-generation Bosnians may find their interactions with other Bosnians limited. For this reason, adult Bosnian children may have difficulty finding suitable relational partners within their own culture. Stress might develop within this certain group due to the pressures of their ethnic community to which they belong and the responsibility placed on them by their family to maintain the native identity, traditions, customs, and religious practices (Lalonde et al., 2004).

While one may assume some level of stress or anxiety occurs with mate selection, to the best of the researcher’s knowledge, no research exists which defines ‘mate selection stress.’ However, insights can be drawn from considering stress in general.

Individuals have a natural internal drive to maintain psychological equilibrium. Drastic changes in the individual’s environment, such as immigration to a new country, can cause disturbance in the individual’s equilibrium. When this happens, stress can occur within the system causing the individual to either adapt to the new environment or have continued stress (Kim, 1990). Stress is defined as psychological anguish or discomfort in everyday life (Padilla, Wagatsuma, & Lindhom, 1985). Among refugees, “experiences of stressful life events have been closely associated with the processes of acculturation” (p. 295). Stress involved with intra-
cultural mate selection or *mate selection stress* is the psychological distress or uneasiness that might come with finding the right relational partner. For this study, mate selection stress may be especially prevalent amongst refugees who want to find the right relational partner within their culture.

**Potential Factors Related to Preference for a Bosnian Mate and Mate Selection Stress**

Inter-cultural marriage has become a way of assessing the level of integration of immigrants into their host culture. In this case, the more accepted it is to marry inter-culturally, the more integrated the immigrant group is considered into the American society (Gordon, 1964). Intercultural marriage is a sign that the boundaries between the host culture and the refugee’s native culture are disappearing (Kalmijn, 1993; Nesteruk & Gramescu, 2012).

Little research exists, however, which exhibits marital patterns of first and second-generation immigrants residing in the United States (Min & Kim, 2009), and there is also little to no research on the factors that affect refugee mate preference and contributors to stress associated with mate selection. One of the largest components of mate selection may be how acculturated the refugee or immigrant is to their host culture. However, there are other factors which may play a role in an individual having preferences for mates and experiencing mate selection stress, including parental pressure and ethnic group community expectations. Each of the three factors will be explored in further detail.

**Acculturation**

Both refugees and immigrants go through the process of acculturation, “the process of adapting and adopting to a new culture” creating demands on the migrant that may “conflict with their native cultural system” (Padilla, et al., 1985, p. 296). Thurnwald (1932) defines acculturation as “a process of adaptation to new conditions of life” (as cited in Teske & Nelson,
1974) and Gillin and Raimy (1940) emphasized there are degrees of acculturation (as cited in Teske & Nelson, 1974). As stated before, acculturation is considered in two ways in this study. First, a direct measure of acculturation is measured, and second, interpersonal communication with host and native members using Communication Acculturation Theory is measured. Before turning directly to these, the distinction between immigrant and refugee is given in order to understand the process of acculturation with more clarity.

Acculturation levels of Bosnians residing in the United States may differ based on if they are classified as an immigrant or as a refugee. According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (1993), a refugee is defined as:

“A person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country, or to return there for fear of persecution” (as cited in Clark, 2007, p. 8).

While refugees are noted as those who left their native country out of threat to their lives, immigrants, are defined as those who have voluntarily left their homes. The “voluntary nature of an immigrant’s choice to move to another country offers a key distinction between immigrants and refugees” (Clark, 2007, p. 14). Immigrants might migrate in order to gain economic stability or in search of better job opportunities; they have the option of returning to their native country – where their native language, culture, and traditions are practiced and they don’t feel like outsiders. Refugees, on the other hand, usually migrate due to political turmoil in their homeland or when a serious threat to their lives has been posed. Unlike immigrants, refugees are forced to leave their country and usually do not have the option to return home (Clark, 2007). The action
of ‘immigration’ is something that both refugees and immigrants experience. Immigration is the settlement into a new country (Clark, 2007).

Initially, many Bosnians fled Bosnia in order to escape the war. However, some Bosnians decided to flee Bosnia when the war ceased. According to the above definitions, those who fled post war and voluntarily would be considered immigrants and not refugees. However, while some Bosnians may have left voluntary, it is argued that Bosnians would not have immigrated to other parts of the world had it not been for the war. Further, while many had the option of returning home post war, many did not for several reasons. One, there was high political and economic instability in Bosnia post-war that many Bosnians did not want to return to. Second, in the process of waiting for the situation to get better in Bosnia before they returned home, the individual may have become accustomed to their host country. Leaving the host country to return to their native country would only mean another readjustment in their lives. They may also see a better future for their self and their family in the host country, economically and politically. It is argued, therefore, that regardless if the individual migrated post-war and/or voluntarily, the individual would have not migrated if it was not for the war. For this reason, in the remainder of this study, both refugees and immigrants will be referred to as refugees.

The distinction between refugees and immigrants is made before the topic of acculturation is continued because refugees might experience the process of acculturation differently than immigrants. In terms of this study, all Bosnians, first and second-generation, are considered refugees. A refugee’s reasons for coming to a different country and being immersed into a different culture vary from those of immigrants (Djuraskovic & Arthur, 2009; Miller, 2012). Refugees escape their homeland due to the political or economic upheaval and “often witness serious trauma in their country of origin” (Djuraskovic & Arthur, 2009, p. 18). Tenhula
(1991) found “bitterness and resentment are not uncommon reactions among refugees who have been brought to the U.S.” (as cited in Clark, 2007). For this reason, refugees often have a difficult time acculturating in a new society and reconstructing their ethnic identity with a positive attitude (Djuraskovic & Arthur, 2009). Therefore, the level and degree of acculturation might be much lower for a refugee than an immigrant as there may be a lack of openness by the refugee to the new culture.

Refugees acculturate at different rates and in varying degrees (Berry, 1997). In other words, while acculturation is a natural process that comes with immigration, “not all individuals participate to the same extent in the general acculturation being experienced by their group” (p. 7). Factors leading to acculturation are voluntariness (active decision versus forced); mobility (immigration brought the new culture or the new culture was brought to the native e.g. indigenous peoples); and permanence (the length of time planned to stay in the new country). Regardless of the variation between these three factors leading to acculturation, Berry (1997) found that all refugees adapt to some level and degree to their new country.

Scholars argue that acculturation is most applicable when studying American ethnic groups, which are treated as subcultures (Broom & Kitsuse, 1955; Herskovits, 1958; Ianni, 1958; Simirenko, 1966; Spiro, 1955, as cited in Teske & Nelson, 1974). In the case of this study, Bosnians residing in the United States are considered an American subculture. This study examines acculturation rather than assimilation because assimilation requires identification with and acceptance from the out-group, while acculturation does not (Teske & Nelson, 1974). Other researchers that have distinguished between acculturation and assimilation proposed that assimilation is used to refer to how the individual adopts host values in place of native values, culture, or heritage. Acculturation, on the other hand, means assimilating while also maintaining
the old culture (Berry, 1997; Penaloza & Gilly, 1999). Some immigrant groups may seek to assimilate. In contrast, Bosnian refugees seek to integrate within the host culture while also retaining their native culture and keep it prevalent among their children.

While some scholars have argued acculturation is a group phenomenon (Bogardus, 1949; Devereux & Loeb, 1943; Herskovits, 1937, as cited in Teske & Nelson, 1974), other scholars study and apply acculturation at the individual level (Broom & Kitsuse, 1955; Dohrenwend & Smith, 1962; Spiro, 1955, as cited in Teske & Nelson, 1974). Scholars who examine acculturation at the individual level argue “the individual is most acculturated who deviates farthest from the norms of the strongest, that is, the most exclusive, orders of structural activity in his [or her] culture” (Dohrenwend & Smith, 1962, as cited in Teske & Nelson, 1974).

Teske and Nelson (1974) laid out principal conditions for acculturation to occur. The first is there must be communication between the two cultural groups. Communication involves continuous, first-hand interaction between the two cultures. The rate of acculturation varies between persons depending on the type of communication situation (Spicer, 1961, as cited in Teske & Nelson, 1974). The second is the direction that the acculturation takes: one way or two way acculturation. One-way acculturation is when just one group acculturates towards the dominant group. In this case, Bosnian refugees living in the United States would acculturate toward the American lifestyle as America is the dominant group. Two-way acculturation is where both cultural groups undergo a cultural shift. In regards to refugees, researchers usually treat acculturation as a one-way process with culture changes occurring with the refugee (Teske & Nelson, 1974).

Dominance and values must be examined in order to understand the direction acculturation occurs and the variance in the degrees of acculturation. The dominance of one
culture over another vastly impacts the direction the acculturation process will go (Bogardus, 1949; Dohrenwend & Smith, 1962; Foster, 1960; Graves, 1967; Linton, 1940; Thurnwald, 1932; as cited in Teske & Nelson, 1974). While dominance is not a necessary condition of acculturation, scholars seek to understand which cultural group holds the upper hand, whether politically, economically, or on the basis of normative structure (Teske & Nelson, 1974). Dohrenwend and Smith (1962) suggested the “relative strength of any two cultural systems in contact can be understood in terms of the conditions of admission of its various orders of structure activities which each can impose on each other” (as cited in Teske & Nelson, 1974, p.354).

Another important factor in understanding the direction of acculturation and the variance in the degree of acculturation for an individual are values (Teske & Nelson, 1974). Do the values of the out group coincide with the values of the in group? Does the minority or out group have a positive outlook towards the values of the in group and are they accepting of the acculturation process towards those values? (Teske & Nelson, 1974). Regardless of the out group’s view of the in group’s values, acculturation will occur. That is, the acculturation process is not contingent on values (Teske & Nelson, 1974).

Acculturation involves the individual learning, adjusting, and adopting to a new culture, and thereby being exposed to both their native culture and host culture. As the refugee moves towards practicing more of the host culture, he or she may come to terms with a more “American” lifestyle. Studies also show in the case of refugees, the higher their level of acculturation the more likely they are to form intercultural relationships (Gyudkust & Mody, 2002; Hanassab & Tidwell, 1998; Hwang, Saenz, & Aguirre, 1997; Nguyen, 1998). As such, refugees less acculturated would be more likely to prefer a Bosnian mate and experience stress
over finding one. On the other hand, more acculturated refugees may not have a strong preference for a Bosnian mate as they are more immersed into the American way of life and, as a result, experience less stress as they are more at peace with dating a person of a different ethnicity. With the aforementioned stated, the following hypotheses are given:

H1: Acculturation as indexed as a direct measure will be negatively associated with preference for a Bosnian mate.

H2: Acculturation as indexed as a direct measure will be negatively associated with mate selection stress.

**Communication Acculturation Theory**

Another way acculturation can be assessed is through the refugee’s amount of interpersonal intimate communication with host and native members (Kim, 1979). Communication is intrinsically linked to acculturation (Kim, 1979; Nimmo, 1979). Through communication, humans code and decode information and adjust their style of speech in accordance to their audience and setting. No more is this evident than in the communication patterns of refugees. Refugees use the modes of communication to match the linguistic and behavioral patterns of their host country (Nimmo, 1979). In doing so, the refugee acculturates to their new setting’s language, norms, practices, and lifestyle.

Kim’s (1979) Communication Acculturation Theory (CAT) helps best explain this phenomenon. Communication Acculturation Theory posits that there is a joint effort between the refugee and the host environment in the process of cross cultural adaptation (Gudykunst, 2002). See Figure 1 on the next page. Adaptation involves acculturating to the new environment by means of communication: “it is the process of acquiring the communication mode of the host society” (Kim, 1979, p. 1).
Figure 1: Kim (1979) Model of Communication Acculturation
Using data from 1979, Kim’s (1990) study presents empirical evidence for the initial adaptation of Indonesian refugees in the United States. Kim (1990) views the acculturation process of refugees as a communication process. She argued that a refugee’s acculturation occurs through their communication with the host culture. Furthermore, Kim (1990) argued in the process of cross cultural adaptation, refugees follow the stress, adaptation, and growth process. This process remains in continuous flux as the refugee goes through everyday experiences. She proposed that the more adapted the refugee is, the less stress (conceptualized by her as a disturbance in internal equilibrium) the refugee will feel.

The most influential components to the acculturation process are those things that affect the refugee’s daily life, such as everyday interaction, the media, and the communication environment of the host country (Kim, 1976, 1977, as cited in Nimmo, 1979). For the purposes of this study, only the first layer of Kim’s (1990) theory is used to measure acculturation. Kim (1990) breaks down her first layer into 3 sub-layers: acquaintances, friends, and intimate friends. Kim’s (1990) first layer of CAT is explained in more detail.

The first layer of the CAT model assesses the immigrant/refugee’s interpersonal communication with their host members. This first stage “enables strangers to experience their immediate environment” (Kim, 1988, p. 194). Interpersonal communication involves the personal relationships the refugee builds with members of the host environment. Kim (1988) lists three levels of intimacy possible with host members: (1) acquaintances, (2) friends, and (3) intimate friends, defining each as:

“Acquaintances are those whom the respondents knew well enough to talk with when they happened to meet, friends are those with their they were close enough to meet in one
another’s homes, and *intimate friends* are those with whom they could discuss personal problems” (p. 199).

Communication plays a key role in the refugee’s acculturation process. The acculturation process cannot take place without interpersonal communication with the host members of the refugee’s new cultural surrounding. Kim (1990) found, “interpersonal communication activities with host nationals enable strangers to experience their immediate environment” (p. 194). Communicating with members of the host environment can make the refugee feel more comfortable in their new cultural home.

The acculturation process can be slower for some than others, however, depending on the willingness of the refugee to communicate with members from outside his or her own ethnicity. While communication activities with members of your own ethnicity can provide comfort and temporary relief during the initial years the refugee is in the host country, developing strong ties with the host country culture and members is weak as a result (Kim, 1990). For the purposes of this study, only the amount of communication with intimate friends is used to measure acculturation as those who are closest to the individual are assumed to be the most influential to the acculturation process. By examining the quantity of communication participation of the refugee in their daily life interactions with intimate friends, this study attempts to understand the acculturation process of the refugee.

To further elaborate on Kim’s (1979) model, this study also examines the amount of interpersonal intimate communication the refugee has with members of their own group in order to understand if acculturation is decreased due to a higher degree of interpersonal intimate communication with members of their own ethnic group. In this sense, the refugee would be thought to be less acculturated as their intimate friends consist mainly of other Bosnians. It is
assumed those who are in greater contact with host members and have more non-Bosnian intimate friends over Bosnian intimate friends will be more acculturated and, therefore, more willing to date someone outside of their culture. Conversely, those who are in less contact with host members and have more Bosnian intimate friends over non-Bosnian intimate friends will be less acculturated and, therefore, less willing to date someone outside of their culture.

Hypotheses three and four are posed:

H3: Acculturation as indexed by interpersonal communication with non-Bosnian intimate friends will be negatively associated with preference for a Bosnian mate.

H4: Acculturation as indexed by interpersonal communication with non-Bosnian intimate friends will be negatively associated with mate selection stress.

**Ethnic Group Community Expectations**

In addition, another factor which may play a role in preference for a Bosnian mate and mate selection stress is the expectations of the ethnic group community to intra-marry. Ethnic group community expectations are the ethnic community’s beliefs of on mate selection and the importance of intra-marriage. As Bosnians are a collectivistic culture (Serbia, 2012),¹ they place high importance on pleasing their family and ethnic group community. The Holstede Center (2012) defines the importance of saving face for a member of a collectivistic society and the value of family as:

“This is manifest in a close long-term commitment to the member 'group', be that a family, extended family, or extended relationships. Loyalty in a collectivist

¹ Statistic based on data collected by The Holstede Center. The Holstede Center (2012) provides a collectivistic versus individualistic map of the world. Although, Bosnia is not included in their analysis, Serbia (Bosnia’s neighbor) is provided. Serbia is considered a collectivistic culture as it scored 25 percent individualistic. As Serbia and Bosnia share cultural and geographical similarities, it is assumed Bosnia shares the same or similar score.
culture is paramount, and over-rides most other societal rules and regulations. The society fosters strong relationships where everyone takes responsibility for fellow members of their group. In collectivist societies offense leads to shame and loss of face…” (p. 1).

Hollingshead (1950) conducted a study on the influence that race, ethnic origin, religion, and class play in the selection of mates. Using cultural determinism as a backbone for the following argument, Hollingshead (1950) suggested that mature single males and females have limited opportunity to select a mate. There are two propositions to the theory: (1) there is complete freedom in choosing a mate with no outside impositions and (2) “mates are selected for individuals by controls imposed by them in their culture” (p. 621). In the second proposition, it is important to clarify that the individual is not required to marry a specific person, like you would see in arranged marriages, but rather they are expected to marry a specific person within their culture or religion. Hollingshead (1950) gave the example of a person of Jewish faith is expected to marry another Jewish person (as postulated by the cultural determinism theory), yet they have individual choice on who they marry within those limits. Similarly, Bosnian refugees are also bound by cultural determinism. While Bosnian Americans are not forced to marry a specific person, they may be constrained or feel as if they are expected to marry a person of the same ethnicity/culture. Those expectations can come from their ethnic group community.

It can be asserted then that the social group of which the immigrant belongs influences their partner choice (Kalmijn, 1998). If the refugee’s social group consists mostly of other Bosnians and few non-Bosnians, the refugee may feel much more inclined to meet the expectations of his or her social group to marry intra-culturally (Kalmijn, 1998). The individual is likely to be less acculturated if their social group consists mostly of Bosnians. Therefore, they
are more likely to want to meet the expectations set out by their ethnic group community. On the opposing end, the individual is likely to be more acculturated if their social group consists mostly of non-Bosnians. In this sense, they are less likely to care to meet the expectations set out by their ethnic group community. The expectations from the ethnic group community and parental pressure the Bosnian first or second-generation refugee to intra-culturally marry may play a significant role in the refugee’s preferences for a mate and any stress the individual may or may not experience in finding that mate. The following hypothesis is given.

H5: Ethnic group community expectations will be negatively associated with acculturation as indexed as a direct measure.

H6: Ethnic group community expectations will be negatively associated with acculturation as indexed by interpersonal communication with non-Bosnian intimate friends.

H7: Ethnic group community expectations will be positively correlated with preference for a Bosnian mate.

H8: Ethnic group community expectations will be positively correlated with mate selection stress.

Parental pressure

Parental pressure is the continuous force of attitudes and beliefs on the importance of intra-cultural marriage parents exert on their offspring. The level of acculturation of the refugee parents plays a significant role in the amount of pressure they exert on their adult child to intra-marry. Hynie, Lalonde, and Lee (2006) asserted, “Attitudes and beliefs about marriage are strongly tied to family-related values and beliefs and vary widely as a function of culture” (p. 232). If the parents are poorly acculturated into the American way of life, they are more likely to
adhere to their traditional practices and less likely to be accepting of intercultural dating and marriage (Gyudkust & Mody, 2002). If the parents are highly acculturated into the American lifestyle, they are more likely to be accepting of intermarriage. The following hypotheses are given:

H9: Parental pressure will be negatively associated with acculturation as indexed as a direct measure.

H10: Parental pressure will be negatively associated with acculturation as indexed by interpersonal communication with non-Bosnian intimate friends.

The pressure immigrant parents place on their child to preserve the religion and culture can also influence the adult child’s mate selection (Hynie et al., 2006). First-generation refugee parents from non-Western societies may have a hard time accepting casual dating and love-based marriage inter-culturally. In some cultures, namely south Asian, immigrant parents choose to import spouses for their children from South Asia and integrate that spouse into the host culture (Kibria, 2009; Nesteruk & Gramescu, 2012). Or, the immigrant family may place pressure for the individual to find a mate within their immigrant community (Samuel, 2010). If the adult child decides to date outside the ethnicity, stress may develop.

Among the stress that comes with intercultural dating is beliefs and values divergence between the couple (e.g. religious practices, mutual holiday celebrations, importance placed on certain values over others such as like family), and parental dissent of the relationship (Bradley, 2012; Hynie et al, 2006). However, over time, the immigrant parents may become more accepting of American dating and marital practices (Nesteruk & Gramescu, 2012). Some refugee parents may give their child more freedom when it comes to dating, finding it acceptable to date inter-culturally as long it does not lead to marriage. When it comes to marriage, refugee
parents still expect their refugee child to marry intra-culturally (Manohar, 2008; Netting, 2006; Zaidi & Shuraydi, 2002).

As a result, the adult child Bosnian refugee may prefer a mate within their own culture and may experience stress in finding that preferred person due to pressure placed on them by their parents. Stress may also develop if the individual is trying to make the partnership work even when there is no attraction or love towards that partner. If they decide to or are dating someone from outside their culture or religion, mate selection stress might be prevalent among the Bosnian adult child refugee because he or she may be feeling pressure from their parents to break the relationship off or not take it seriously. The following Hypotheses are posed:

H11: Parental pressure will be positively associated with preference for a Bosnian mate.

H12: Parental pressure will be positively associated with mate selection stress.

The present study seeks to explore the correlation between the acculturation of Bosnian refugees as it relates to their mate selection taking into consideration ethnic group community expectations and parental pressure. While studies exist which accentuate the correlation between dating preference of foreign born persons and their level of acculturation (Hynie et al, 2006; Inman et al 2007; Val & Iain-Walker, 2003), none do so through a Communication perspective. Moreover, no research has examined the stress level in choosing a relational partner as it relates to acculturation. This study seeks to fill that gap in research in understanding the relationship between acculturation and mate selection of this unique sub-culture of America and the effect of parental pressure and ethnic group expectations on those main variables. This study will should be relevant from both theoretical and applied perspectives as the topic of Bosnian mate selection as it relates to acculturation is one that has been untouched in the academic realm and the
findings of this study could be useful in understanding the mating patterns of Bosnian first and second-generation adult children.
Chapter Three: Methodology

Recruitment

Participants were recruited from the social networking site, Facebook. All of the principal researcher’s Facebook “friends” born in the Balkan area and now living in the U.S. (i.e., Bosnian Americans) were invited to join the group. A prompt was given to the participants in the group and the link to the survey was provided for those that were interested in participating. Further, participants were asked to invite additional Bosnian Facebook ‘friends’ to the group, thus employing snowball sampling. A total of 327 Bosnian Americans joined the Facebook group. See Appendix A for the recruitment message given to participants through Facebook.

Inclusion criteria to participate in this study were that the participant was at least 18 years of age and identified themselves as a Bosnian American. The participant could have been born outside the United States and immigrated to America (first-generation) or they could have been born in the United States but their parents were not (second-generation). Further, only participants with a marital status of “single,” “dating,” or “in a relationship” were included in this sample. Those who identified their marital status as “married” were taken out they have already chosen their mate and this study asks about preference for a Bosnian mate and stress that comes from that preference. Other exclusion criteria included participants who did not answer 1/3 of the survey and participants above the age of 35.

Participants

Fifty-one participants out of the sample of 106 people met the inclusion requirements for this study. Participant ages ranged from 19 to 35, with the average age of participants being 24. 16 males and 35 females composed the sample population. The population was composed of one
Albanian, 47 Bosnians, one Croatian, and two people reported “other” in which they specified in the text box as “Montenegrin” and “Serb/Croat.” All, but three participants, reported to be born in the Balkan region (Bosnia and Herzegovina n=42; Kosovo n=2; Croatia n=2; Serbia n=1; Montenegro n=1). Those who reported to be born in other countries included United States (n=2) and Germany (n=1). Various cities were reported as the birth cities of the participants. The most frequently reported birth city was Sarajevo (n=9). Banja Luka was the second most frequently reported birth city (n=4) and Srebrenica was the third most frequently reported (n=3). Off the 3 participants who reported to be born outside the Balkan region, one was from Schwabish Gmund, Germany and the other the two reported cities within the United States. From those born outside the United States, six came to the United States at the age of five or younger. Twenty-two participants came to the United States between the ages of six to ten years old, and 18 participants arrived to the United States when they were between the ages of 11 to 17. One participant reported coming to the United States at the age of 19. The mode of the ages to arrive to the United States was at the age of 6 and at the age of 9. Nine was the mean age to come to the United States. Two people did not report the age they immigrated to the United States.

Thirty nine of the 51 participants reported their religion as Islam. Two were Christian. Seven reported as Atheist/Agnostic, and three reported as being “other,” (two reported in the open text, one answering as “Muslim” and the other as “parents different religions: Muslim and Christian.” One item asked participants to identify how religious they classified themselves from (1) “very religious” to (4) “not at all religious.” Six participants identified themselves as “very religious.” Eighteen participants identified as “moderately religious,” 16 identified as “slightly religious,” and 11 reported being “not at all religious.”
Many of the participants (n=27) had obtained a college degree, and some had a Masters degree (n=11). Ten participants reported as receiving “some college” education. Two reported a high school degree as their highest level of education and 1 person obtained a doctorate.

Participants were asked to report on the highest level of education of their parent(s). Most participant’s parents reported as having only a high school education (n=20). Nine participants reported their parents as having “some college” and thirteen reported their parents as obtaining a “college degree.” Six of the participants’ parents held a Masters or a doctorate. Two participants reported their parent’s highest education level as middle school.

The most frequently reported residential cities of the participants in this sample were Bowling Green, Kentucky (n=11) and Louisville, Kentucky (n=10). Five were from New York and four participants reported as residing in Saint Louis, Missouri. The remaining participants were disbursed in various regions of Central and East United States. Thirty-seven participants reported as residing in a city with a large Bosnian community, while 14 participants said they do not live in a city with a large Bosnian community.

Seventeen participants reported as being in a “serious relationship,” while 24 participants identified themselves as “single.” The remaining 10 said they were “dating.” In a follow up question asking the participant to identify the ethnicity of their partner, 20 reported their partner as being “Bosnian” and 8 reported they were involved with a “non-Bosnian” person. In juxtaposition with the number of participants that reported as “single,” 23 participants, and not 24 reported, “I am not romantically involved with anyone right now.”

Procedures

Participants completed a questionnaire via the survey software Qualtrics. The participants who met the inclusion criteria completed a survey covering questions about
acculturation (as indexed as a direct measure), acculturation (as indexed as interpersonal intimate communication with host members), preference for a Bosnian mate, mate selection stress, parental pressure, and ethnic group community expectations.

**Instrumentation**

In order to assess acculturation and mate selection, participants were asked to complete measures on their perceptions of their own levels of acculturation, interpersonal communication with host and non-host members, preference for a Bosnian mate, mate selection stress, parental pressure, and ethnic group community expectations. Acculturation was measured in two ways. The first measure was used to index a direct assessment of acculturation. For the direct index of acculturation, Larsen and Stancioff (2007) 5-point Likert type scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree was used. The measure contained seven items. This particular scale was chosen as the measure of acculturation because the questions directly pertained to the Bosnian community without modifications needing to be made.

The scale assessed the degree to which participants maintained a Bosnian lifestyle and the degree to which they acculturated into an American lifestyle. Originally adapted from the Cultural Beliefs and Behaviors Adaptation Profile and the Benet-Martinez Acculturation Scale, example statements include, “I feel more comfortable around Bosnians than I do around Americans,” and “I would prefer to live in a Bosnian community.” In general, the items measured affiliation and socialization ($\alpha = .84$, $M = 2.8$, $SD = 0.8$, $n=7$).

In order to standardize the survey, this scale was modified from a 5-point Likert type scale to a 7-point Likert type scale ranging from (1) Strongly Disagree to (7) Strongly Agree. Participants were asked to identify the scale option that best represented their current lifestyle. Each
participant was instructed to select only one option. The scale was reverse coded so that higher numbers represented higher acculturation ($\alpha = .81$, $M=3.5$, $SD = 1.16$, $n=7$). Responses were calculated to determine which stage was most prominent. See Appendix C for the scale.

In order to assess the refugee’s interpersonal communication with host environment, Kim’s (1979) measure of interpersonal communication was used. The original scale measured the number and intimacy of the relationships made by the refugee in their host country with members of their own ethnic group, other Asian Pacific refugees, white Americans, Black Americans, and other foreign immigrants. The term “casual acquaintances” was conceptualized as those whom you know well enough to talk with when you happen to see them. “Friends” was conceptualized as those who were close enough to meet in one another’s homes, and “Intimate Friends” are defined as those with whom you could discuss personal problems with. Participants were asked to report on the number of host and native casual acquaintances, friends, and intimate friends. Frequencies were run and the mean of each type of relationship was assessed and compared to one another (Kim, 1979). See Appendix D for the original scale.

For the purposes of this study, the scale was modified to ask participants to report on the number of “Bosnian” and “non-Bosnian” casual acquaintances, friends, and intimate friends they had using an open text box. Frequencies were run and the mean of each type of relationship was assessed and compared to one another. See Appendix E for the modified scale.

In order to analyze the Kim’s (1979) model of Communication Acculturation Theory interpersonal communication with host members, the average of each type of interpersonal relationship with Bosnian and non-Bosnian members was taken. The following averages were presented: Bosnian acquaintances ($M=193$); Bosnian friends ($M=38$); Bosnian intimate friends ($M=5$); non-Bosnian acquaintances ($M=279$); non-Bosnian friends ($M=172$); non-Bosnian
intimate friends (M=8). For the purposes of this study, interpersonal communication with host members was assessed as the individual’s amount of Bosnian and non-Bosnian number of *intimate* friends.

Four questions were constructed to measure the participant’s preference for a Bosnian mate. The 7-point Likert type scale ranged from (1) Strongly Disagree to (7) Strongly Agree. Questions asked participants to rate their cultural preference in a husband or wife ($\alpha=.95$, $M = 3.9$, $SD = 2.17$, $n=4$). The following statements were given to participants: (1) It is important to me to marry a Bosnian, (2) I would not want to marry someone who is not Bosnian, (3) The ethnicity of the person I marry is important to me, and (4) I could only be happy with a Bosnian partner.

Mate selection stress was a dependent variable in this study. Cohen, Kamarck, and Mermelstein (1983) Perceived Stress Scale (PSS) was used to measure participant mate selection stress. Originally created in the field of Psychology, this 10 item, 5-point Likert type scale ranging from (0) never to (4) very often is the most widely used instrument for measuring the perception of stress. The scale measures the degree to which situations in one’s life are viewed as stressful (Cohen, 2012). Items were “designed to tap how unpredictable, uncontrollable, and overloaded respondents find their lives” (Cohen & Willamson, 1988, p. 1). The PSS was made for use in community samples requiring participants to have at least a junior high school education. PSS was chosen to measure stress because the questions are of a general nature and are not content specific to any subpopulation group and, therefore, was easy to modify to address mate selection stress. The questions in the PSS ask about feelings and thoughts during the last month. In each case, respondents are asked how often they felt a certain way. Cohen and
Williamson’s (1988) PSS scale has an internal reliability of ($\alpha = .78$). See Appendix F for the original PSS scale.

The PSS scale was modified to assess stress specifically related to mate selection. Cohen and Williamson (1988) asked participants to reflect on perceived stress experienced the past month. The scale was modified to not ask participants to reflect on perceived stress in any given time period, therefore, “in the past month” was taken out. In addition, the scale was modified to address the specific stress Bosnians might experience in finding a partner within their culture. Therefore, each question was modified to specifically ask about the stress participants feel when “thinking about finding a Bosnian partner.” The scale was modified from a 5 point Likert type scale to a 7-point Likert type scale ranging from (1) “Never” to (7) “Always.” Item number 7 was deleted to increase the reliability of the scale: original reliability ($\alpha = .78$), reliability after item deleted ($\alpha = .84$, $M = 3.5$, $SD = 1.35$, $n=9$). See Appendix G for the modified scale.

Parental pressure was assessed using Werner-Wilson and Arbel (2000) Parental and Peer Influence Scale (PPI). The 17 item, 7 point Likert type scale ranges from (1) Disagree very much to (7) Agree very much. See Appendix H for the full scale. The scale was modified to assess only parental, and not peer, pressure. Therefore, those items measuring friend influence were eliminated from the scale. Questions that could not be modified without becoming repetitive of other items on the scale were eliminated. The remaining five items were modified to measure parental pressure about mate selection. Items two and four were re-coded so that higher numbers indicated higher parental pressure. Item two was eliminated from the scale to increase reliability: original reliability ($\alpha = .66$, $n=5$), reliability when item 2 deleted ($\alpha = .74$, M= 4.2, $SD = 1.59$, $n=4$). See Appendix I for the modified scale.
In order to measure ethnic group community expectations, Werner-Wilson and Arbel’s (2000) 17-item Parental and Peer Influence Scale was adapted and used. Questions were adjusted to inquire about what role the Bosnian community plays on the adult child Bosnian refugee’s mate selection stress. Those items measuring friend influence were eliminated from the scale. Additionally, items that repeated measurement of friend over parent influence and vice versa were eliminated, leaving the scale with 5 items. Items 2 and 4 were reverse coded so that the higher the number, the higher the ethnic group community expectations ($\alpha = .85$, $M= 3.0$, $SD = 1.42$, $n=5$). See Appendix J for the modified scale.
Chapter Four: Results

This section provides a summary of the results based on the twelve hypotheses posed. Results from all Pearson Product correlations and post-hoc analyses can be seen in the Tables below.

Hypothesis 1 predicted acculturation as indexed as a direct measure will be negatively associated with preference for a Bosnian mate. The results of Pearson product correlations support this prediction, \( r(51) = -0.36 \) (\( p < .01 \)). Hypothesis 2 predicted acculturation as indexed as a direct measure will be negatively associated with mate selection stress. The results of Pearson product correlations did not support this prediction, \( r(51) = 0.08 \), ns.

Hypothesis 3 predicted acculturation as indexed by interpersonal communication with non-Bosnian intimate friends will be negatively associated with preference for a Bosnian mate. The results of Pearson product correlations support this prediction. The number of intimate non-Bosnian friends was negatively correlated with preference for a Bosnian mate. See Table 2.

Hypothesis 4 predicted acculturation as indexed by interpersonal communication with non-Bosnian intimate friends will be negatively associated with mate selection stress. The results of Pearson product correlations supported this prediction. Although not hypothesized, additional correlations examined the relationship of other levels of interpersonal communication (Bosnian and non-Bosnian acquaintances and friends) with mate preference, mate selection stress, parental pressure, and ethnic group community expectations. Results indicated no significant relationship between an individual’s number of Bosnian and non-Bosnian acquaintances and friends.

Hypothesis 5 predicted ethnic group community expectations will be negatively associated with acculturation as indexed as a direct measure. The results of Pearson product correlations support this prediction, \( r(51) = -0.33 \) (\( p < .05 \)). Hypothesis 6 predicted ethnic group
community expectations will be negatively associated with acculturation as indexed by interpersonal with non-Bosnian intimate friends. The results of Pearson product correlations did not support this prediction. See Table 2.

Hypothesis 7 predicted ethnic group community expectations will be positively associated with preference for Bosnian mate. The results of Pearson product correlations support this prediction, $r(51) = -.56$ ($p < .01$). Hypothesis 8 predicted ethnic group community expectations will be positively associated with mate selection stress. The results of Pearson product correlations support this prediction, $r(51) = .39$ ($p < .01$).

Hypothesis 9 predicted acculturation as indexed as a direct measure will be negatively associated with mate selection stress. The results of Pearson product correlations did not support this prediction, $r(51) = .08$, ns. Hypothesis 10 predicted parental pressure will be negatively associated with acculturation as indexed by interpersonal communication with non-Bosnian intimate friends. The results of Pearson product correlations did not support this prediction. See Table 2.

Hypothesis 11 predicted parental pressure will be positively associated with preference for a Bosnian mate. The results of Pearson product correlations support this prediction, $r(51) = .65$ ($p < .01$). Hypothesis 12 predicted parental pressure will be positively associated with mate selection stress. The results of Pearson product correlations did not support this prediction, $r(51) = .27$, ns. However, although not significant at the $p < .05$ level, the correlation was in the expected direction.

An exploratory post hoc analysis was run in order to further investigate which variables may have played a role in the hypothesized relationships. Post Hoc analysis showed no significant relationship between the country of birth, age of immigration, religious strength, and
education. The only significant relationship that emerged was between parental pressure and the age of immigration to the United States. In this sense, the older they were when they immigrated, the more parental pressure they feel to intra-marry. An independent-samples t-test was run on the size of the Bosnian community in the city they resided in. Results showed no significant relationship between the size of the Bosnian community in the city they reside in and acculturation, preference for a Bosnian mate, mate selection stress, ethnic group community expectations, and parental pressure.
Table 1:

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<th>Acculturation (Direct Measure)</th>
<th>Mate Preference</th>
<th>Mate Selection Stress</th>
<th>Parental Pressure</th>
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<td>0.36**</td>
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<td>Parental Pressure</td>
<td>-0.20</td>
<td>0.65**</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Group Community Expectations</td>
<td>-0.33*</td>
<td>0.56**</td>
<td>0.39**</td>
<td>0.58**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
Table 2:

Pearson Correlations between CAT and MP, MSS, PP, EGCE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mate Preference</th>
<th>Mate Selection Stress</th>
<th>Parental Pressure</th>
<th>Ethnic Group Community Expectations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bosnian Acquaintances</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnian Friends</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnian Intimate Friends</td>
<td>-.40**</td>
<td>-.38**</td>
<td>-.24</td>
<td>-.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Bosnian Acquaintances</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Bosnian Friends</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Bosnian Intimate Friends</td>
<td>-.44**</td>
<td>-.31*</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
Table 3:

**Pearson Correlations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Acculturation (Direct Measure)</th>
<th>Mate Preference</th>
<th>Mate Selection Stress</th>
<th>Parental Pressure</th>
<th>Ethnic Group Community Expectations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age Immigrated</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.37**</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Strength</td>
<td>-.26</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 4:

**Pearson Correlation with Religious Strength of Bosnian Muslims**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Acculturation (Direct Measure)</th>
<th>Mate Preference</th>
<th>Mate Selection Stress</th>
<th>Parental Pressure</th>
<th>Ethnic Group Community Expectations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious Strength</td>
<td>Pearson r</td>
<td>-.26</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.07</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
Chapter Five: Discussion

Social scientists have increasingly examined refugee and immigrant populations after the expansion of immigrant populations in Western countries. There are about 42 million displaced persons in the world and about one-third, or about 14 million, of the 42 million are refugees (Frequently asked questions about refugees and resettlement, 2012). Since 1970, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries are feeling the pressure to resettle refugees either to meet refugee intake quota or to provide refuge for asylum seekers (Forced Migration Review website, 2002; Hein, 1993). Although only five to ten percent of the world’s refugees resettle in OECD countries (Summerfield, 1999), researchers focus their attention on this group (Ager, 1999). Social scientists have made refugee resettlement patterns, adaptation, and acculturation the focal points of their research. However, researchers have seldom examined one of the most important components of these populations and that is the mate preferences of this group. Further, little research has been done examining Bosnian Americans, a subgroup of America characterized by their strong national and ethnic pride and desire to maintain their native culture, practice, and religion. Finally, to the best of this researcher’s knowledge, no research exists which examines the mate selection of Bosnians.

The results of this study provide intercultural communication scholars an insightful view of the role of communication in mate preferences of Bosnian refugees. In general, results from this study find that those who are have lower acculturation levels and those who communicate more with Bosnian intimate friends, opposed to Bosnians who are more acculturated into the American lifestyle and communicate more with American intimate friends, have a stronger preference for a Bosnian mate. These findings coincide with previous research on acculturation
which finds that intermarriage is often the biggest indicator of a highly acculturated individual (Qian et al., 2001).

While both measures of acculturation are indicative of preference for a Bosnian mate, only the amount of communication with non-Bosnian and Bosnian intimate friends was indicative of any stress experienced in finding a Bosnian mate. Those Bosnians who had more close Bosnian friends were more likely to feel stress in finding a mate within their ethnicity. The fact that this study finds that mate selection stress has a significant correlation with one index of acculturation (the indirect CAT measure) and not the other is a noteworthy result. This outcome may have resulted for several reasons. One, the direct measure of acculturation may be a truer index of how acculturated the refugee is to the American culture, while the second measure of acculturation may serve as an indication of intercultural identity through participation in out-group and in-group communication (Kim, 1998). The communication patterns of the individual, in this case who they interact with more (Bosnians or Americans), can be an indication of which language they speak more often and with better proficiency and which cultural activities the individual engages in (Bosnians or American). Finally, by examining the amount of interpersonal communication with host and non-host members, one can better identify the influences on an individual; influencers that can impact individual mate selection.

Bosnians whose parents exerted pressure on them to find and marry a Bosnian partner had a stronger preference for a Bosnian mate than did those that did not receive pressure from their parents. However, parental pressure to marry intra-culturally did not have any association with the stress the individual may experience in finding that mate. This finding may have resulted from the age of the participants in this study. Participants’ age ranged from 19-35, \( M = 24 \). While parents are influential in who the individual’s preference to marry another Bosnian,
considering all participants are adults in this sample, parents do not have such an influential role where they lead the adult child to experience stress in finding a Bosnian partner.

Post hoc analyses revealed the older the individual when they immigrated, the more parental pressure they feel to intra-marry. However, while they were getting parental pressure to intra-marry, they did not experience significant mate selection stress as a result of that pressure, \( r(51) = .27, \text{ ns.} \) Although not significant, this result is in the expected direction. Therefore, further investigation is needed into the relationship between the perceived amount of pressure from parents and the age of immigration. As mentioned in the literature review, Bosnia is a collectivistic culture. In collectivistic cultures, parents and the elderly are given a high amount of respect and their opinion is weighed in during decision making. America, on the other hand, is an individualistic culture. Those that spent more of their time in Bosnia with their parents (and immigrated at a later age to America) are more likely to take their parents into consideration when making decisions.

Lastly, Bosnians who perceived their ethnic group community as expecting them to marry another Bosnian had a stronger preference for a Bosnian mate and experienced stress in finding that right partner than did those that did not perceive their ethnic group community as expecting them to marry intra-culturally. The more acculturated the individual (as indexed as a direct measure), the less they feel expectations from their ethnic group to intra-marry. This finding is expected given that a more acculturated individual may be further removed from their ethnic group community and apathetic towards their ethnic group’s expectations to intra-marry. This finding also supports prior research. For example, Kalmijn (1998) stated that ethnic group community plays a significant role in the decisions made by the individual. Interpersonal communication with host members had no relationship with ethnic group community
expectations. In this sense, their interpersonal relationships with Bosnian or non-Bosnian members did not indicate their expectancies from their ethnic group community to intra-marry.

**Extended Findings**

Although not hypothesized, it is found that those who have a strong preference for a Bosnian mate, experience mate selection stress in finding that partner, $r(51) = .360$ (p < .01). Intra-marriage is often looked at as a sign of the individual’s loyalty to his or her ethnic group (Kalmijn, 1993). When the individual deviates from their mate preferences, stress is likely to occur within the individual as they are feeling the pressure from those closest to them to adhere to the norms of the group.

Prior research on Bosnian religious identity (Friedmen, 2000; Johnston & Eastvold, 2004) hinted at the idea that religion may be a reason as to why some Bosnians may have a preference for a Bosnian mate. Although not hypothesized, post hoc analyses revealed no significant relationship with religion or religiosity to acculturation or either aspect of mate selection. Although initially perplexing, this finding can be understood upon deeper analysis into the history of religious beliefs of Bosnians. Before the war, Bosnians were for the most part a secular group of people. Once the war began, however, many Bosnian Muslims identified themselves by their religion as a means of separating their identity from their Catholic Serbian enemies (Friedmen, 2000; Johnston & Eastvold, 2004). Thus, post war and upon immigration to America, Bosnians were removed from the tension which existed among the groups and no longer had to separate themselves from the Serbs and reverted back to their original secular way of life.

The findings from this study are important for two main reasons. First, although findings from previous research found that inter-marriage is the strongest sign of acculturation (Qian et
The findings from this study reveal the important role close friends, community members, and parents also play on an individual’s acculturation and mate selection. This tells communication scholars that those with whom one communicates with the most are influential in the individual’s life, way of life, and life decisions such as the type of partner they seek.

In conclusion, this study provides insight into an ethnic group usually unexamined by academics. However, it is important to explore this unique European sub-group of America as they have gone through a distinct life struggle and hold a rich cultural history, one impacted by war. Knowledge of the struggles of mate preference and selection based on the acculturation of the Bosnian refugee living in the United States provides scholars with a greater understanding into the lives and mating patterns of bi-cultural adults.

Limitations

There were some limitations to the research in this study. First, my bias as the researcher of this study may have been a limitation. Being a Bosnian immigrant myself, just as all the participants in this study were, my cultural perspective may have limited the scope of this study. This study emerged out of personal interest on this topic. I was surrounded by talk from my Bosnian community and friends about the importance of marrying another Bosnian. In order to prevent any biases from emerging in this study, my thesis advisor and committee members acted as a “check” system.

On the other hand, being a Bosnian and researching the Bosnian population can be beneficial as my experiences give me better understanding into this topic and the cultural ins and outs of this group. Further, I was able to gain access to this group of people more readily because I belong to this minority population. Although, this study was only able to yield 51 participants due to many who did not meet the criteria, 106 were collected initially. I believe
my experience strengthened the study more than limited it because it gave me a stronger background to develop my research and a motivating interest to conduct the study.

A second limitation was I knew some of my participants personally before the study. Data was collected through the social networking site, Facebook, and I added my Facebook “friends.” Even though data collection was anonymous, knowing my participants personally may have prevented certain information from being expressed by the participant because they may have sought to portray themselves in a certain light before me. Therefore, participants may have excluded or exaggerated some information when answering survey questions.

Another limitation I faced was a small participant pool. With a larger participant pool, I would have been able to gain greater insight on the current research topic. Moreover, I would be able to generalize my results to the greater population had I gathered data from a greater number of Bosnian refugees. It is possible that some of the marginally significant findings, would have reached significance with a larger sample.

**Areas for Further Research**

A larger study, consisting of a larger participant pool, should be conducted in order to get a deeper and more thorough understanding of the role of acculturation on Bosnian refugee mate selection. While there has been an abundance of research conducted on mate preferences, mate selection stress remains largely unexplored; this study can be viewed as an exploratory analysis for future research on mate selection stress.

Other future research should examine the gender differences between men and woman on their mate preference and mate selection stress, i.e., do Bosnian men or do Bosnian women find it more important to intra-culturally marry and why? Further, what are the factors that lead to mate preference of intra-cultural marriage versus inter-cultural marriage? These avenues of
study would be a particularly interesting to investigate because Bosnia is a patriarchal culture. Therefore, it would be interesting to see how gender affects the outlook of Bosnian experiences.
References


Hornsey, M. (2004). The individual within the group: Balancing the need to belong with the need to be different. *Personality & Social Psychology Review, 8*(3), 248-264.


Appendix A:

Participant Recruitment Facebook Message:

Hello Group Members,

I am a graduate student at the University of Kentucky. I am currently doing a study on Bosnian Refugees Adult Child Mate Selection Stress. I am asking you to fill out my survey because you are a first or second generation Bosnian refugee OVER THE AGE OF 18. I am asking for your participation in this survey so that I may go through with my study. Through this study, we will have a better understanding of Bosnian refugees. Bosnian refugees are a highly under-studied group. Therefore, your participation in this study will be greatly appreciated. This survey should take NO MORE than 20 MINUTES of your time. Please be completely honest when answering, as all responses are COMPLETELY ANONYMOUS.

Please follow this link to complete the survey.
https://uky.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_88qNHMviblR3I7W

If I get enough participants for this study, I may be able to publish my results. As a result, your participation by taking this survey could help scholars better understand Bosnian refugees. In addition to taking this survey, please invite other Bosnian Facebook friends to fill out the survey as well. The more people that fill out the survey, the stronger the results of this study will be.

Thank you in advance for your participation!

Emina Herovic
Principal Investigator
Appendix B:

Informed Consent

Who is conducting this research study? This project is being conducted by Emina Herovic, a Masters student in the Department of Communication at the University of Kentucky.

What is this study about? The goal of this study is to learn about Bosnian American’s feelings about finding a mate. By doing this study, we hope to learn about the effect acculturation plays on mate selection stress taking into consideration parental pressure and ethnic group expectations.

What will I be asked to do if I choose to participate? If you agree to participate, you will be asked to complete an online survey about your acculturation and feelings on mate selection. Completing the survey will take approximately 15-20 minutes.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose if you want to participate in this study. If you begin the project, you may choose to stop participating at any time, which means that you may choose not to answer any question on the survey. You can even contact me after you are done and tell me that you do not want me to use your data. Your decision to participate or not to participate will have no effect on any future relations you may have with the University of Kentucky.

Your participation in this study is confidential. Information that you share during this study will be kept confidential. The questions you answer will be private, which means the researcher cannot connect your name to your specific answers. The data collected from this study will be presented to other researchers and written up for publication, but no information that could identify you will be included in any reports about the study.
Are there any risks to being part of this study? To the best of our knowledge, the things you will be asked in this survey put you in no more risk of harm than you would experience in everyday life.

Are there any benefits to being part of this study? People often find it interesting or helpful to reflect on their acculturation and mate selection. Your participation also benefits the scholarly community by helping us to better understand Bosnian American mating choices and causes of stress, which could lead to solutions to the issue.

Will I be compensated in any way for participating? You will not be compensated for participating.

Who do I contact if I have questions or concerns? If you have any questions at a later time, you may contact the University of Kentucky IRB toll-free by calling 1-866-400-9428. You may also contact me, Emina Herovic, at Emina.Herovic@uky.edu or the advisor of this study, Dr. Laura Stafford, at Laura.Stafford@uky.edu.

Agreement: By clicking on the link below, you are certifying that you have agreed to participate in this study, you have read and understood the information presented to you here, and you are at least 18 years old.
Appendix C: Measure for Acculturation

Larsen and Scanscioff (2007) Acculturation Scale

Responses were recorded on a scale: 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree)

1) I feel more comfortable around Bosnians than I do around Americans
2) I would prefer to live in a Bosnian community
3) In the United States, I still live a Bosnian lifestyle
   4) To understand who I am, you must see me with members of my group
5) I feel my beliefs and values separate me from Americans
6) My diet consists mostly of Bosnian food
7) I celebrate Bosnian holidays
Appendix D: Original Measure for CAT: Interpersonal Communication

Casual Acquaintances are defined as those whom you know well enough to talk with when you happen to see them. Friends are defined as those who were close enough to meet in one another’s homes. Intimate Friends are defined as those with whom you could discuss personal problems with.

PLEASE REPORT ON THE NUMBER OF HOST AQUAINTANCES, FRIENDS, AND INTIMATE FRIENDS YOU HAVE:
   - Acquaintances: [open text box]
   - Friends: [open text box]
   - Intimate Friends: [open text box]

PLEASE REPORT ON THE NUMBER OF NON-NATIVE ACQUAINTANCES, FRIENDS, AND INTIMATE FRIENDS YOU HAVE:
   - Acquaintances: [open text box]
   - Friends: [open text box]
   - Intimate Friends: [open text box]
Appendix E: Modified Measure for CAT: Interpersonal Communication

Casual Acquaintances are defined as those whom you know well enough to talk with when you happen to see them. Friends are defined as those who were close enough to meet in one another’s homes. Intimate Friends are defined as those with whom you could discuss personal problems with.

PLEASE REPORT ON THE NUMBER OF BOSNIAN AQUAINTANCES, FRIENDS, AND INTIMATE FRIENDS YOU HAVE:
  - Bosnian Acquaintances: [open text box]
  - Bosnian Friends: [open text box]
  - Bosnian Intimate Friends: [open text box]

PLEASE REPORT ON THE NUMBER OF NON-BOSNIAN AQUAINTANCES, FRIENDS, AND INTIMATE FRIENDS YOU HAVE:
  - NON-Bosnian Acquaintances: [open text box]
  - NON-Bosnian Friends: [open text box]
  - NON-Bosnian Intimate Friends: [open text box]

PLEASE REPORT ON THE NUMBER OF BOSNIAN ROMANTIC PARTNERS YOU HAVE HAD:

[drop down box 0-100]

PLEASE REPORT ON THE NUMBER OF NON-BOSNIAN ROMANTIC PARTNERS YOU HAVE HAD:

[drop down box 0-100]
Appendix F: PSS Perceived Stress Scale

The questions in this scale ask you about your feelings and thoughts during the last month. In each case, you will be asked to indicate by circling how often you felt or thought a certain way.

0 = Never 1 = Almost Never 2 = Sometimes 3 = Fairly Often 4 = Very Often

1. In the last month, how often have you been upset because of something that happened unexpectedly?

2. In the last month, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?

3. In the last month, how often have you felt nervous and “stressed”?

4. In the last month, how often have you felt confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?

5. In the last month, how often have you felt that things were going your way?

6. In the last month, how often have you found that you could not cope with all the things that you had to do?

7. In the last month, how often have you been able to control irritations in your life?

8. In the last month, how often have you felt that you were on top of things?

9. In the last month, how often have you been angered because of things that were outside of your control?

10. In the last month, how often have you felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?
Appendix G: Measure of Mate Selection Stress (Modified PSS Scale)

The questions in this scale ask you about your feelings and thoughts when thinking about the type of person you want to marry. In each case, you will be asked to indicate by circling how often you felt or thought a certain way.

*I = Never 2 = Almost Never 3 = Sometimes 4 = Fairly Often 5 = Very Often*

1. How often have you been upset about finding a Bosnian partner?

2. How often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life such as finding a Bosnian partner?

3. How often have you felt nervous and “stressed” about finding a Bosnian partner?

4. How often have you felt confident about your ability to finding a Bosnian partner?

5. How often have you felt that things were going your way in finding a Bosnian partner?

6. How often have you found that you could NOT cope with finding a Bosnian partner?

7. How often have you been able to control irritations in your life about finding a Bosnian partner?

8. How often have you felt that you were on top of things when it came to finding a Bosnian partner?

9. How often have you felt angered about trying to find a Bosnian partner?

10. How often have you felt difficulties were piling up so high in terms of finding a Bosnian partner that you could not overcome them?
Appendix H: Parent and Peer Influence Scale

These questions are designed to measure your relationship with parents and friends. Please answer each item as carefully and accurately as you can by placing a number by each one as follows:

1 = Disagree very much, 2 = Disagree moderately, 3 = Disagree slightly, 4 = Neither agree or disagree, 5 = Agree slightly, 6 = Agree moderately, 7 = Agree very much

___ 1. My parents and I have the same value system.
___ 2. My friends and I have the same basic beliefs.
___ 3. Overall, my friends have more influence than my parents on my values.
___ 4. In general, I am influenced more by my parents than my friends.
___ 5. My friends influence by beliefs about sexuality.
___ 6. My parents do not influence my beliefs about sexuality.
___ 7. In general, my parents have more influence than my friends on my beliefs about sexuality.
___ 8. My beliefs about the use of alcohol are the same as my parents.
___ 9. My friends and I do not agree about alcohol use.
___ 10. My friends have more influence than my parents on my beliefs about alcohol.
___ 11. My political beliefs are influenced more by my parents than my friends.
___ 12. My political beliefs are influenced more by my friends than my parents.
___ 13. I do not care what my parents think of people I date.
___ 14. It is very important that my friends approve of people I date.
___ 15. My friends’ opinions about a date are more important than my parent’s opinion about the person.
___ 16. Overall, I am influenced more by my friends than my parents.
___ 17. My parents have more influence than my friends on who I am as a person.
Appendix I: Measure of Parental Pressure (adapted from the Parental and Peer Influence Scale)

These questions are designed to measure your relationship with parents. Please answer each item as carefully and accurately as you can by placing a number by each one as follows:

1 = Disagree very much, 2 = Disagree moderately, 3 = Disagree slightly, 4 = Neither agree or disagree, 5 = Agree slightly, 6 = Agree moderately, 7 = Agree very much

___ 1. My parents and I have the same value system about finding a Bosnian partner.
___ 6. My parents do not influence my beliefs about finding a Bosnian partner.
___ 8. My beliefs about finding a Bosnian partner are the same as my parents.
___ 13. I do not care what my parents think if I choose NOT to marry a Bosnian.
___ 14. It is very important that my parents approve of the ethnicity of the person I marry.
Appendix J: Ethnic Group Community Expectations (adopted from the Parent and Peer Influence Scale)

These questions are designed to measure your relationship with your ethnic group community. Please answer each item as carefully and accurately as you can by placing a number by each one as follows:

1 = Disagree very much, 2 = Disagree moderately, 3 = Disagree slightly, 4 = Neither agree or disagree, 5 = Agree slightly, 6 = Agree moderately, 7 = Agree very much

___ 1. My Bosnian community and I have the same value system about finding a Bosnian partner.
___ 6. My Bosnian community does not influence my beliefs about finding a Bosnian partner.
___ 8. My beliefs about finding a Bosnian partner are the same as my Bosnian community.
___ 13. I do not care what my Bosnian community thinks if I choose NOT to marry a Bosnian.
___ 14. It is very important that my Bosnian community approve of the ethnicity of the person I marry.
Vita

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  Western Kentucky University

  Western Kentucky University

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- President’s list (2007)
