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## International Influence on the Displacement of Refugees

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### Abstract

This research utilizes the United Nations Database for Refugees in order to establish the three countries that assisted Yugoslavia by taking in the highest number of refugees. Germany, the United States, and Sweden were three countries explored in more detail regarding refugee assistance. This research draws conclusions based on historical context, refugee resettlement policy from the United Nations, and country-specific immigration and refugee policies. Germany, the United States, and Sweden each have a unique connection to Yugoslavia both before and during the Yugoslav Wars. The wars took place from 1991 – 1995 when over half of the Yugoslav population was displaced either outside Yugoslavia or within the Yugoslav borders. Yugoslavia is comprised of modern day Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Kosovo, and the province of Vojvodina. This study describes the history of Yugoslavia as it led to the Yugoslav Wars and the displacement of refugees from Yugoslavia.

*Keywords:* Yugoslavia, Germany, United States, Sweden, United Nations, refugees, history, policy

### Introduction

Former Yugoslavia is an area of interest in this research due to the amount of refugees displaced from the country. Former Yugoslavia encompassed seven states within the larger country. Yugoslavia was formed after World War I because of the state deciding to become a separate entity. It was initially formed as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes but was later renamed Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia came together as one large state but then divided into separate provinces while banning communism. Before World War II Croatia attempted to break away from Yugoslavia and become an independent state but was stopped when Adolf Hitler attacked Yugoslavia.

Throughout World War II, there were conflicts between the communist-led Yugoslav Partisans and pro-Serbian Chetniks. The Partisans were led by Josip Broz Tito, who would later become the president of Yugoslavia.

The Partisans were focused on resisting occupation, while the Chetniks were against the Partisans. Tito eventually gained control and led Yugoslavia to an independent communist state.

After World War II Yugoslavia was declared the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, modeled after the Soviet Union. Yugoslavia then separated into six republics but operated as one autonomous country. Each republic had control within its specific border but functions under the whole country as Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia as a whole consisted of various ethnicities, as well as religions including, but not limited to, Orthodox, Muslim, Catholic, Protestant, and more. However, Yugoslavia recognized the different nationalities and provided equal rights. Shortly after World War II Yugoslavia began to separate from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union attempted to block Yugoslavia from receiving the benefits of the Marshall Plan put forward by the United States, but Tito decided to take the support and separate from the Soviet Union. This is the point when the United States started providing support from the damage of World War II. Yugoslavia moved on to recognize Vojvodina and Kosovo as provinces while providing Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro with greater autonomy. It also recognized more minority languages to provide more inclusion.

To continue providing autonomy for Yugoslav republics, each republic and province had its own constitution, supreme court, parliament, presidents, and prime minister. Nationalism was banned from being publicly promoted, but, after Tito reduced the Serb autonomy, Serbs felt as though this decision conceded to other country's efforts.

The breakup of Yugoslavia began in the 1980's after the collapse of the government. This is the point when Slobodan Milosevic took over and attempted to regain Serbia's power in Yugoslavia. Each republic attempted to secede from each other resulting in a fight for independence. The Yugoslav Wars started in 1991 with Croatia and Slovenia declaring independence, followed by Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, which led to the formation of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia between Serbia and Montenegro in 1992. In 1995 the Dayton Agreement was signed and ended the war, but it did not necessarily ensure justice or keep peace.

There are various theories about why the conflict in Yugoslavia started. Most explanations are based on the notion that ethnic and religious divides eventually led to the demise of the country. Ethno-nationalism was seen as influencing the disintegration of former Yugoslavia when ethnic groups sought sovereignty over other ethnic groups (Costalli and Moro, 2012). Ethno-nationalism in itself is not a reason for conflict, but when combined with the need for authority over other groups, it does contribute to conflict between ethnicities.

The conflict in former Yugoslavia is also explained through macro-level and micro-level conflict. On the macro-level, violence resulted from

the adjustments of ethnic maps which led to individuals being on the "wrong side of the border". The micro-level understanding is based on violence as a result of enmity, or a strong feeling of hostility towards one another, between neighbors (Weidmann, 2011). Since former Yugoslavia consisted of various ethnicities and religions within its borders and within its disintegrated borders, the individuals involved in the conflict were connected by their geography.

Efforts were put forward to mediate the conflict in former Yugoslavia with peace negotiations, military support, and activism (Hartzell, Hoddie, Rothchild, 2001). However, Charles Boyd points out the fact that collateral damage negatively affected the way that peace-making was established (1995). This could connect to the increase in refugees displaced from Yugoslavia throughout the wars.

### Literature Review

Throughout the conflict in Yugoslavia, individuals were displaced around the world including within Yugoslavia's larger border. Refugees received assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in order to find a country of asylum away from persecution. According to international law, individuals whose lives are threatened are able to seek refuge in a different country. The UNHCR determines refugee status based on the 1951 Refugee Convention definition of a refugee:

"Owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country."

As well as a broader refugee definition:

"outside their country of origin or habitual residence and unable to return there owing to serious and indiscriminate threats to life, physical integrity or freedom resulting from generalized violence or events seriously disturbing public order."

Based off these definitions, UNHCR will determine the need for asylum and where an individual (or family) should be resettled based on the following considerations:

- Family links, particularly those in resettlement States;
- Resettlement submission priority, vulnerability, and the resettlement country's average processing time and capacity for urgent processing;
- Selection criteria and admission priorities of resettlement countries;
- Allocation of annual quotas of resettlement States;
- Health requirements/availability of treatment; language abilities;
- Cultural aspects;
- Nationality;

- Family configurations, and, if possible:
- The refugee's expressed preference for a resettlement country (UN HCR Resettlement Handbook, 2011).

UNHCR develops protocols for refugees but that does not necessarily mean they are assisted by UNHCR. Over half of Yugoslavia's population was displaced outside of the seven countries within Yugoslavia. The UNHCR Statistical Database provides information regarding a refugee's country of origin and asylum. In the case of Yugoslavia, individuals were also displaced elsewhere in the six—seven, if you separate Serbia and Kosovo—divided countries but it does not provide information regarding ethnic or religious groups (UN Data, 2014).

Examining the UNHCR protocol for refugee displacement along with a qualitative analysis of countries involved in providing asylum, provides a narrative to explain where a refugee would be displaced for asylum. Whether it is driven by conflict, economics, or prejudice; connecting an asylum country to an origin country gives information regarding location of refugees.

### Case Studies

The case studies for this research focus on the three countries that assisted the highest number of refugees who were displaced outside of Yugoslavia. Germany assisted the highest number of refugees at 3,137,519, the United States assisted 1,011,715, and Sweden assisted 934,454. Among Germany, United States, and Sweden in the seven highest countries were also Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

#### Germany

West Germany established a guest worker agreement with Yugoslavia in 1968 that allowed Yugoslav citizens to move to Germany in order to provide workers for Germany's rapidly growing economy (Mihajlovic, 1987). At this point, Yugoslavia's economy began to crash due to mishandling of finances by the government (Margold, 1967) and a failed economic reform (International Monetary Fund Annual Report, 1968). In the two years leading up to the guest worker agreement, Germany, along with other less developed countries, decreased its intake of imports from Yugoslavia which contributed to its collapse and eventual demise of the country (International Monetary Fund Annual Report, 1968).

Yugoslavia was a country effected by Germany's invasions during World War II, which led to needing extensive repairs for the country as a whole provided by support from other countries. Johanna Shonick analyzes the implications of the West German guest worker agreement with Yugoslavia as a way to repair negative relations between the two states after Germany occupied Yugoslavia (2009).

#### United States

The United States provided support for Yugoslavia through difficult economic times in the past, as well as military support, particularly after World War II and during the rise of communism. The United States established the Marshall Plan after World War II to assist European countries through repairs. The Soviet Union attempted to block Eastern European countries from receiving support but Yugoslavia decided to accept the support and break away from the Soviet Union (U.S. Department of State).

In terms of the United States immigration policies, they were traditionally closed off to southern and eastern Europe, as well as other parts of the world, but gradually opened up through revisions implemented in the 1960's and the 1980's. The United States Refugee Act in the 1980's—an addition to the Immigration and Nationality Act—provided information regarding admission of refugees based on the United Nations definitions (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2012). Immigration policy in the United States did not initially include refugees in the definition but began creating separate policies regarding refugee placement. This works in conjunction with the UNHCR's guidelines for placement based on the understanding that families may already be located in the United States.

#### Sweden

Sweden has a history of supporting and embracing diversity in its immigration policies but did not necessarily have a direct connection to Yugoslavia as Germany and the United States did. Sweden went through changes in their economy that allowed them to rebuild with a strong welfare system, as well as an immigration and minority policy that allows refugees to utilize the same rights and privileges as a naturalized citizen (Soininen, 1999).

Throughout the Yugoslav Wars Sweden provided support through the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) which was designed to provide humanitarian aid and safe areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and Macedonia. Sweden typically provided support in peacekeeping forces for the United Nations regardless of the conflict (Johanasson, 1997).

### Discussion

This study demonstrates that the historical connections between countries can contribute to the destination of refugees during conflict. Germany, the United States, and Sweden assisted Yugoslavia at different levels before, during, and after the Yugoslav Wars. Germany in particular displays strong connections between the acceptance of Yugoslav refugees and the assistance they provided. The United States provided monetary assistance before and after World War II to rebuild Yugoslavia's economy and infrastructure. Yugoslavia sought support from the International Monetary Fund, which

also attempted to establish financial stability when Yugoslavia was in an economic crisis. The United States also developed refugee policies to establish more support for refugees seeking asylum in the country. Sweden provided limited support throughout the Yugoslav Wars with peacekeepers, but typically has open immigration and refugee laws that result in easier access to the country.

Each of the countries talked about in this study have different aspects of involvement with Yugoslavia, but it appears to come down to whether there are any historical connections, as well as willingness to accept refugees. As we see a rise in refugees due to persecution, crisis, or conflict in the twenty-first century, we need to continue the conversation about why and where refugees might go in order to predict the increase in refugees taken in by certain countries. Countries that are economically and socially able to support refugees should certainly be at the forefront of the refugee crisis; however, it is also important to take into consideration the areas where families could possibly be located. This shows in the study between Germany and Yugoslavia with the guest worker agreement, which led to Yugoslav workers relocating to Germany in order to boost Germany's economy and send monetary support back to Yugoslavia.

With the increase in refugees, countries will need to be more prepared to support and assist refugees who are traveling across the world for asylum. Regardless of historical connections, policy will first and foremost determine a refugee's ability to relocate to a certain country. If a policy is closed off and exclusive, it limits the potential for an individual to seek asylum in a country that they have connections established in.

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## Justifying Homosexuality: Globalization and Its Impact

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### Abstract

This research examines the topic of homosexuality on a global scale and what helps or harms the justification of it. On a global scale, homosexuality is a topic that gets very polarized responses with some nations being accepting of it while others are actively against it. This study uses data collected in the 6th wave of the World Values Survey during 2010 to 2014 and quantitative research methods of analysis. It was framed through the idea of Arjun Appadurai's theory of disjuncture which views the world in a series of "scapes" or areas that flow such as media, information, etc. This theory is a way of understanding conflict when scapes collide with one another. In findings, specific scapes (mediascapes and ethnoscapes) have a positive impact on the justification of homosexuality while others have a negative impact. This paper further outlines how the scapes impact the justification of homosexuality and ways in which they can be understood.

*Keywords:* globalization, disjuncture, homosexuality, Appadurai, justification

### Introduction

Homosexuality is a controversial topic on a global scale. Parts of the world are becoming more receptive to the legal recognition of homosexuality through legislative measures such as same sex marriage recognition, whereas other parts are regressing with laws against open expression of homosexuality. These contradicting views have furthered discussion about whether homosexuality is a basic human right or something that societies should be allowed to govern. This research focuses on what factors influence global views surrounding homosexuality and which factors are most beneficial to promoting an increased view in justifying homosexuality.

### Theoretical Overview

This research is framed through Appadurai's theory of disjuncture when global elements interact. He defines these elements as flows of globalization in a series of "scapes." He distinguishes five scapes (Appadurai, 1990):

Ethnoscapes: the movement of people and the images they develop