

**FUTURE PLANS AND DURABLE SOLUTIONS  
FOR WAR AFFECTED POPULATION  
IN FR OF YUGOSLAVIA**

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Following the end of the war the refugees either return to their previous habitual residence or they become integrated into the regions in which they have been living. The signing of the Dayton Agreement created the necessary preconditions for initiating these processes and enabled the refugees to change their status. In order to get an insight into the future plans of the war affected persons living in Yugoslavia, the census included a question regarding their plans on repatriation, on whether they intend to stay in Yugoslavia or whether they plan on moving to other regions. It is however unrealistic to expect that these plans can be realised spontaneously without the participation of the state and state institutions. Durable solution, especially in the area of integration require the formulation and implementation of special programmes which must take into consideration both the plans and wishes of the war affected persons and the realistic possibilities and socio-economic environment in the country.

Therefore this paper shows the future plans of the war affected persons as seen according to the responses given during the census and during a separate survey which was conducted. The paper also includes the

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proposals for special programme for the permanent integration of the war affected persons.

The analysis of the future plans of war affected persons and the proposal for special programme for the permanent integration present important parts of the preparatory phase of the project Refugee Reintegration Area Based Programme. The analysis relies on two basic data sources: the census on refugees and other war affected persons and on the survey.

The census on war affected persons was conducted from May until June 1996 by UNHCR, the Commissioner for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia and the Commissioner for Displaced Persons of the Republic of Montenegro. The representative survey, based on 2000 war affected persons, was conducted by the Economics Institute in September 1996.

### **Future plans**

Future plans, especially in uncertain economic and political conditions, cannot be considered reliable. Personal factors influence both desires and plans. The war affected population is much more sensitive to the push and pull factors commonly present in migration processes. Often, the change of a single circumstance can lead to a change in preferences i.e. to an instant decision. These elements must be taken into consideration when analysing the future plans.

In the course of the census carried out on the territory of Yugoslavia, 410.3 thousand or 63.5% declared that their future plans are to permanently remain in the FR of Yugoslavia. Given the uncertain situation, the number of that have still not reached a decision is relatively small, although it exceeds 118 thousand (18.4%). More than 50 thousand (8.3%) are willing to repatriate, while 48.3 thousand (7.5%) wish to resettle abroad.

A mere 3.4 thousand persons (0.5%) declared that they plan to settle not in the parts where they came from but in some other former Yugoslav republic (resettle in the region). Most of them would like to resettle in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to Croatia.

More than 10 thousand persons did not respond to the question regarding their future plans.

Table 1.  
War affected persons by future plans

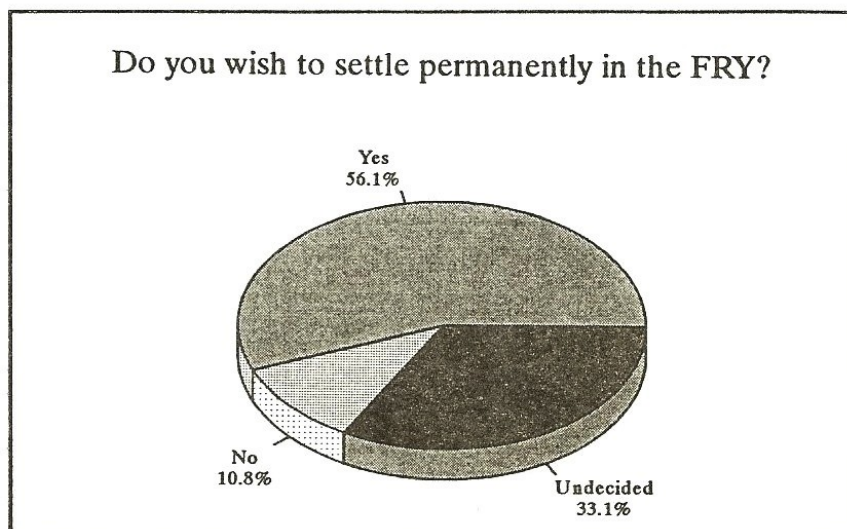
	Serbia		Montenegro		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Repatriation	51240	8.3	2533	8.9	53773	8.3
Resettle in the region*	3090	0.5	328	1.2	3418	0.5
Remain in FRY	392684	63.6	17631	62.2	410315	63.5
Resettle abroad	46287	7.5	2055	7.3	48342	7.5
Does not know	112917	18.3	5651	19.9	118568	18.4
No response	11510	1.9	140	0.5	11650	1.8
Total	617728	100	28338	100	646066	100

\*Region represents countries of the former SFRY

The census results show that the younger, better educated, employed and those with their own apartments, more than others wish to remain in FR of Yugoslavia. War affected persons of other than Serb nationality, the elderly, pensioners, the unemployed and those accommodated in collective centers, to a greater extent plan to repatriate.<sup>1</sup>

As in the total war affected population, more than half of the survey respondents (56.1%) replied that they wish permanently to settle in Yugoslavia. The share of undecided, however is significantly higher, and reaches one third (33.1%). The remaining 10.8% do not wish permanently to settle in Yugoslavia since they have other plans.

<sup>1</sup> UNHCR "Census of Refugees and War Affected Persons in FR of Yugoslavia".



From the surveyed persons who do not wish to permanently settle in Yugoslavia, approximately half (52.3%) wish to resettle abroad, 40.6% wish to return to their previous habitual residence, while only 7.1% plans on settling in one of the countries of former Yugoslavia.

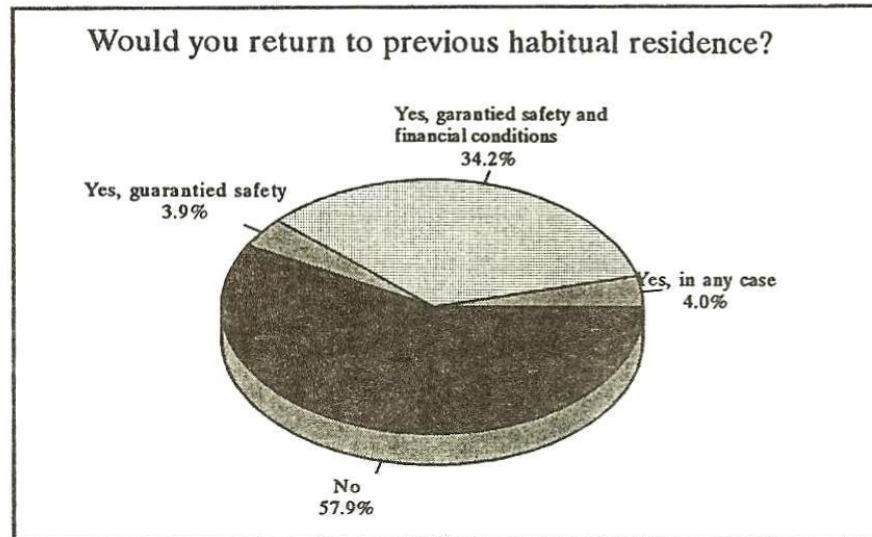
Table 2.  
If you plan to leave FRY, you would settle in

	Structure
In my previous habitual residence	40.6
In former republics of SFRY - outside of FRY	7.1
Abroad	52.3

Both the census results and the survey results analyzed by age and future plans show that the young population is the most inclined towards going abroad. With an increase in age, there is a decrease in the share of those who selected this option. Contrarily, with an increase in age, the share of those planning repatriation increases.

In order to find durable solutions it is important to analyze the number of war affected persons and the conditions under which they would return to their previous habitual residence. A mere 4.0% of the

respondents replied that they would return "regardless of everything, while a further 3.9% would return if they were given guarantees regarding their safety. An important factor for 34.2% of the respondents, in addition to their safety is the existence of appropriate financial conditions, while 57.9% would not return, under any circumstances. Based on these answers, in combination with the answers regarding their future plans, it can be concluded that the majority of the undecided regarding their future plans are due to the uncertainty whether their houses and property will be given back to them and whether they will be able to find employment in the places from which they fled on account of the war.



According to the census from the total number of war affected persons 410.3 thousand declared that they wish to remain in the FR Yugoslavia. The analysis of this segment is particularly important since this group will need assistance in integrating into the Yugoslav society. Jobs, housing, pensions, health care and education services will have to be provided for them. Securing assistance for such a large number of war affected persons is an extremely difficult task, especially in view of the impoverishment of the Yugoslav economy and its population.

Among the war affected persons who plan to remain in Yugoslavia, almost 277.8 thousand have not yet solved their housing problem, and out of this number 245 thousand are in a particularly difficult housing

situation since they are accommodated with friends and relatives or in collective centers.

Also in this segment of war affected population 212.2 thousand are unemployed which means that for these persons jobs must be created or secured. When we take into account the fact that in Yugoslavia there are more than 700 thousand unemployed persons, the war affected persons employment problem becomes even more pronounced.

Moreover, since there is a large number of war affected persons who remain undecided on their future plans (approximately 118.6 thousand), a reasonable assumption would be that a certain number of these war affected persons will eventually decide to remain in Yugoslavia.

From the local integration aspect, it is especially important to note that according to the survey half of the respondents who wish to permanently settle in Yugoslavia (55.0%) do not wish to change their present residence, while as much as 45.0% are ready to consider changing their present residence. In the segment of surveyed war affected persons who have decided on permanently staying in Yugoslavia, there is a higher share of those who are ready to change their present residence than in the total respondent population. The willingness of the respondents staying in Belgrade and in Central Serbia to change their place of residence is below average (32.1%), while three quarters of the respondents living in Kosovo are willing to move.

The respondents who wish to stay in Yugoslavia find Vojvodina the most attractive (49.8%), followed by Belgrade (26.9%) and the interior of Central Serbia (18.6%). A very small number of war affected persons from this segment opted for Kosovo and Metohia and for Montenegro.

From the respondents who permanently wish to settle in Yugoslavia, the share of those having some kind of a job is above average, while this share is lower in the categories of respondents who have other plans or are undecided. Still, even among the persons who wish to stay in Yugoslavia, more than one half are without work.

Table 3.

**As a person who is permanently settled in FRY, would you change you place of residence (the place where the person is presently residing)?**

	Structure				
	Total	Belgrade	Central Serbia without Belgrade*	Vojvodina	Kosovo and Metohia*
Yes	45.0	32.1	37.2	48.8	75.0
No	55.0	67.9	32.8	51.2	25.0

\*Small sample size for accurate estimation

When in search of durable solutions for the war affected population, special consideration must be given to the survey results dealing with the people's adjustment to their new environment, their willingness to resettle within Yugoslavia and their wishes regarding the change of place of residence.

Table 4.

**In case you would change the place of residence in FRY, you would settle down in:**

	Structure
Belgrade	27.3
Central Serbia without Belgrade	18.9
Vojvodina	50.5
Kosovo and Metohia	3.1
Montenegro	0.2

The majority of the surveyed war affected persons is of the opinion that they have either completely or in part adjusted to their new lives. Approximately one half of the surveyed war affected persons (51.4%) consider that they have adjusted to their new surroundings, 27.3% responded that they are unable to assess whether they have adjusted, while 21.3% have not adapted. As could be expected, the elderly have had more difficulty in adapting to the new circumstances. Although there are no significant differences, according to the survey results, the share

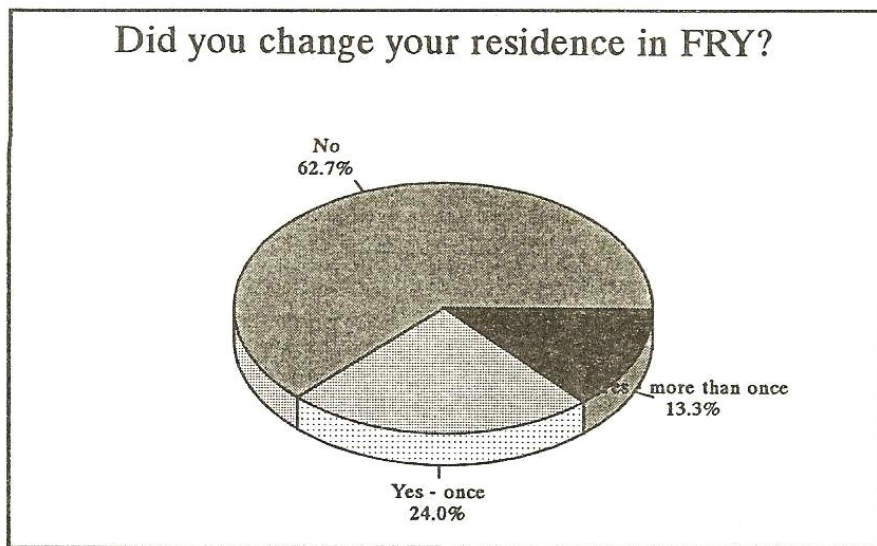
of those who have adjusted decreases with an increase in age, while the share of those who have not adapted to the new circumstances increases. Significant differences in adjustment are especially apparent depending on the type of accommodation. The share of those who have adapted is significantly lower than average among the surveyed persons accommodated in collective centers (a mere 32.2%), and this share is considerably above average among the segment who have their own accommodation (87.6%). Consequently, the share of those who have not adapted is the highest in the first group (36.1%) and lowest in the second group (3.1%). The survey results also show that the persons who lived in the rural regions of the country before the war have had a slightly greater difficulty in adjusting than the other war affected persons.

Table 5.  
**Have you adjusted to the new environment in which you live?**

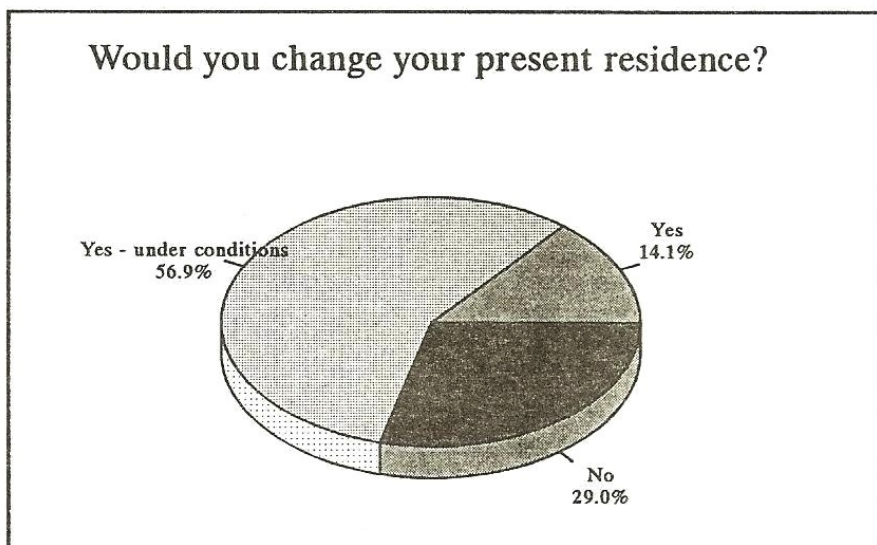
	Structure					
	Total	In collective centres	Friends/ relatives	Rented apartments	Own apartment	Other
Yes	51.4	32.2	51.8	49.5	87.6	52.5
No	21.3	36.1	20.2	21.7	3.1	21.7
I cannot assess	27.3	31.7	28.0	28.8	9.3	25.8

The mobility of the war affected population is low, judging by the responses to the question regarding the change of place of residence from the moment of arrival to Yugoslavia. Almost two thirds of the war affected persons (62.7%) have not changed their place of residence in the FR Yugoslavia, approximately 24.0% moved only once, while only 13.3% moved several times. The attachment of the war affected persons to one place is probably due to the fact that most of them went to places





where they had friends or relatives who initially helped them to, at least partly, solve their vital problems. Contrarily, the living conditions in all parts of the country were such that they could not stimulate a greater mobility of the war affected persons.



Better living conditions would, for a large number of war affected persons, serve as a motive for changing their place of residence. The question: "Would you change your present residence?" brought affirmative responses from 14.1% of the war affected persons, 29.0% replied that they are not ready for any changes, while more than half

(56.9%) of the respondents said they would consider moving under certain conditions. The analysis of these responses by age groups shows that the youngest and elderly are slightly more inclined towards changing their present residence, as well as that there is a somewhat higher share of those who do not wish to move to another destination among the middle aged population. Respondents who previously, before the war, lived in rural areas are the least inclined towards changing their present residence.

From the respondents who are willing to move under certain conditions, as much as 87.5 % would do so in order to find a durable solution to their accommodation problem, 67.8% would consider moving if they were offered a job, while 38.3% replied they would move in order to secure better educational and health services. Therefore, the conclusion is that, for the war affected population, solving the accommodation issue is the most important motive for changing the place of residence, and accordingly it is presumably the major problem they are facing.

Table 6.  
**Conditions for changing your present residence**

	Structure		
	Permanent employment	Solving the accommodation problem	Education and health services
Yes	68.5	87.8	39.0
No	31.5	12.2	61.0

Lastly, it should be emphasized once again that for at least 400 thousand war affected persons who plan to remain in Yugoslavia a permanent economic and social integration program must be provided, taking into consideration the interests and specific characteristics of both war affected population, local population and different regions. For these purposes large financial resources are necessary which Yugoslavia, on its own, without the assistance of the international community will not be able to secure.

### **Key elements of the refugee integration programme**

Knowing that there is a great number of refugees and war affected persons in Yugoslavia, that a significant portion of this population plans permanently to settle in the country, and that the financial position of these persons is extremely difficult, integration cannot be left to spontaneous processes. In order to accelerate the integration process and to achieve a greater efficiency, the Government of the FR of Yugoslavia should formulate and carry out a program for a durable integration of refugees and other war affected persons. Based on the conducted analysis the program would have to respect and contain the following elements:

1. The program should encompass not only refugees, but other war affected persons who fled to Yugoslavia as well, some of whom are in an equally difficult position as the refugees.
2. It is imperative that the program is development oriented and that it, on one side minimizes the conflict of interests between the refugees and the local population, while on the other side ensures that the end beneficiaries are the refugees and other war affected persons who, due to war, sought asylum in Yugoslavia. One of the ways in which to fulfil this requirement is to support those program activities that the local population is not sufficiently interested in or those which are not being performed by the local population and which would contribute to a more accelerated development in general.
3. The first step or more precisely, the prerequisite in formulating the integration program is the defining of the legal and institutional framework. This is especially true for legislation governing issues on the refugees citizenship. In addition to establishing communication and coordination between humanitarian and development oriented

organizations it is particularly important to determine the implementing institutions at all levels.

4. The basic indicators at the municipal level in Yugoslavia that should be taken into account during the selection of the regions for the integration of refugees and other war affected persons are as follows:

a) demographic indicators:

1. the average annual population growth rate
2. population density
3. the share of the population over 60 years old
4. the population structure by nationality

b) socio-economic indicators:

5. per capita GDP
6. unemployment rate
7. arable land per inhabitant
8. available housing space per inhabitant
9. number of students per teacher
10. number of inhabitants per physician

These indicators represent the basic criteria. In the next stage of the selection process, these basic criteria can be supplemented with additional criteria depending on the specific characteristics of the selected broader regions.

It should be noted that the selection of basic criteria was in part restricted by constraints resulting from the actual economic situation and by limitations in statistical data (hidden economy, incomplete population census data, etc.).

5. In accordance with the proposed basic criteria, the integration program should formulate a definite set of criteria for the selection of broader regions favourable for the integration of refugees and projects must be proposed for the development of these regions. In addition to the proposed socio-economic and demographic criteria, and the inclusion of political criteria i.e. those which are of a strategic importance for the

country, the selection of locations could in part depend on the readiness of the local community to offer financial support for the programs (special conditions for the lease of land for construction purposes, securing the necessary infrastructure free of charge, lease of state agricultural land under special conditions, etc.).

6. The main contents of the program must lean on pull factors. The program should not be based on the selection of regions to which the refugees would be forced to move by administrative methods. Rather, the refugees must be attracted to selected regions by clearly defined programs.

7. Program must respect the necessity for finding simultaneous solutions for the two basic requirements of the refugees and other war affected persons: housing and employment.

8. In formulating the program, particularly in the field of employment, emphasis should be placed on the development of small and medium sized enterprises, on the legalisation of the hidden economy where a significant portion of refugees and other war affected persons works and on finding solutions which would respect the educational and occupational structure of this population.

9. Another possibility which should be explored is the use of adequate government institutions as the mediators for example, between the refugee and war affected persons willing to work in agriculture or those already working in agriculture, on one side and state co-operatives and agricultural households where only elderly members have remained, on the other side.

10. Furthermore, in addition to the solutions for the entire refugee population, the program must also be oriented towards specific segments of the population, e.g. the elderly, children and disabled persons.

11. The program must clearly define both the sources of financing and the forms of raising these funds. It is especially important to define the form of approaching financial institutions and gathering financial resources from the international community and international

institutions. Thus, the program would have to include the establishment of specific financial and/or credit line schemes.

12. With the aim of securing financial resources for integration, special attention should be paid to solving the problem of the refugees and other war affected persons property which was left on the territories from which they fled. These resources could serve the war affected persons as capital for initiating their own business activities or for solving other pending problems.

13. The program must also include and define an appropriate information and communication network. This network should comprise not only the refugees and other war affected persons, but also the relevant institutions at various levels.

14. Irrespective of the general solutions, the program could also include the identification of as many relevant investment programs (ideas) as possible, which could be financed by donors (national and international).

15. Together with the formulation of the program and to the extent that it is feasible, projects should be designed for a few micro locations or municipalities. These micro locations must be selected according to criteria which are obviously not in collision with the stand and needs of the refugees, nor with the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the regions themselves.

16. Refugees, other war affected persons and NGOs must actively participate in both the preparatory and implementing phase of the program.

Ultimately, it should be emphasized that the problem of refugees and other war affected persons who found asylum in Yugoslavia is in a transition phase and it is moving from the humanitarian sphere towards finding durable development oriented solutions.

Integration as one of the most important durable solutions should be perceived through the development prism and consequently, the largest portion of the necessary assistance should be in the form of direct

investment into pragmatic, development-oriented projects and programs. Irrespective of these "development resources", the most vulnerable categories (the elderly, children, disabled persons) will remain in dire need of traditional types of humanitarian aid.

*Gordana Matković*

**Budući planovi i trajna rešenja za ratom ugrožena lica  
u SR Jugoslaviji**

*Rezime*

Popis izbeglica i drugih ratom ugroženih lica i anketa koju je sproveo Ekonomski institut omogućili su, pored ostalog, da se sagledaju i budući planovi ratom ugroženih lica.

Sudeći prema planovima koji su izneti u popisu, 410,3 hiljade izbeglica i drugih ratom ugroženih lica namerava da se trajno nastani u SR Jugoslaviji, dok svega približno 54 hiljada lica planira repatrijaciju. Planove o preseljenju u inostranstvo ima nešto više od 48 hiljada lica, dok preko 118 hiljada u vreme popisa nije moglo da se izjasni u pogledu svojih budućih planova. Iako u svakom segmentu ratom ugroženih lica više od polovine planira da se trajno naseli u SR Jugoslaviji, njihov udeo je veći među mlađim licima, obrazovanim, onima koji su rešili svoje stambeno pitanje i koji su se zaposlili.

Rezultati ankete pokazuju da najveći broj lica ugroženih ratom smatra da se u potpunosti ili delimično prilagodio uslovima života u novoj sredini, da je mobilnost ovih lica niska, kao i da bi rešenje stambenog problema i zaposlenja bili najjači motivi za preseljenje.

Anketa takođe omogućava i da se sagleda koliki bi se deo populacije i pod kojim uslovima vratio u mesto boravka pre izbeglištva. Svega 3,9% anketiranih je na ovo pitanje odgovorilo da bi se vratilo u "svakom slučaju", a još 3,9% vratilo bi se ukoliko postoje bezbednosne garancije. Za 34,1% anketiranih značajan faktor za povratak je da uz garantovanu bezbednost postoje i materijalni uslovi, dok se 57,8% ne bi vratilo ni pod kojim uslovima.

Iznalaženje trajnih rešenja, pogotovu u domenu integracije izbeglica se međutim ne može prepustiti spontanim procesima, već zahteva donošenje programa koji

mora biti razvojno orijentisan, formulisan na način da se izbegnu konflikti sa lokalnim stanovništvom, i uz precizno definisanje zakonskih i institucionalnih okvira neophodnih za integraciju. Osnovni sadržaj programa mora se osloniti na pull, a ne na push faktore. Ne smeju se, dakle, izabrati područja, a zatim administrativnim metodama izbeglice primorati na seljenje, već se moraju privući osmišljenim programima. Pri formulisanju programa, naročito u delu koji se odnosi na zapošljavanje naglasak bi trebalo da bude na razvoju malih i srednjih preduzeća, na legalizaciji sive ekonomije u kojoj je angažovan značajan deo populacije ratom ugroženih lica i na iznalaženju rešenja koja bi respektovala povoljnu kvalifikacionu i obrazovnu strukturu ove populacije. Pored rešenja za populaciju u celini, program treba da bude orijentisan i na specifične segmente ove populacije, kao što su stari, žene, deca i invalidi.

**Ključne reči:** *izbeglice, lica ugrožena ratom, planovi, programi*

*Gordana Matković*

**Future plans and durable solutions for war affected population  
in FR of Yugoslavia**

*S u m m a r y*

Judging by the future plans expressed in the Census, 410.3 thousand refugees and other war affected persons intend to permanently settle in the FR of Yugoslavia, while approximately 54 thousand persons are planning repatriation. The census results show that the younger, better educated, employed and those with their own apartments, more than others wish to remain in the FR of Yugoslavia. War-affected persons of other than Serb nationality, the elderly, pensioners, the unemployed and those accommodated in collective centers, to a greater extent plan to repatriate.

In order to find durable solutions it is important also to analyze the number of war-affected persons and the conditions under which they would return to their previous habitual residence. According to the survey, conducted by the Economic institute, a mere 4.0% of the respondents replied that they would return "regardless of everything, while a further 3.9% would return if they were given guarantees regarding their safety. An important factor for 34.2% of the respondents, in addition to their safety is the existence of appropriate financial conditions, while 57.9% would not return, under any circumstances.



Although the future plans of the refugees cannot be considered as being definite, finding durable solutions, especially in the sphere of refugee integration cannot be left to spontaneous processes. Rather this requires the formulation of a programme that must be development oriented and designed so that conflicts with the local population are avoided. A precisely defined legal and institutional framework is necessary for integration. Both in this sphere, and especially in the part which will remain humanitarian in character, international assistance is indispensable.

**Key words:** *refugees, war affected persons, plans, programmes*