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Problems of integration of refugees and internally displaced persons in Serbia

Master Thesis

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Olomouc, 2010

I declare in lieu of oath that I wrote this thesis myself. All information derived from the work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given.

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Vysoká škola: Univerzita Palackého

Fakulta: Přírodovědecká

Katedra: Rozvojových studií

Školní rok: 2008/09

ZADÁNÍ DIPLOMOVÉ PRÁCE

student

Marea GRINVALD

obor

Mezinárodní rozvojová studia

Název práce:

Problémy integrace uprchlíků a vnitřně vysídlených osob v Srbsku

Problems of integration of refugees and internally displaced persons in Serbia

Zásady pro vypracování:

Cílem diplomové práce je komplexní analýza problémů integrace uprchlíků a vnitřně vysídlených osob v Srbsku v období po rozpadu SFRJ. Práce bude vypracována v anglickém jazyce.

Struktura práce:

1. Úvod
2. Cíle práce
3. Metodika
4. Kritický přehled literatury
5. Vysvětlení pojmů "uprchlík" a "vnitřně vysídlená osoba", podobnosti a rozdíly
6. Problematika integrace
 - 6.1. Právní postavení
 - 6.2. Zaměstnání
 - 6.3. Ubytování
 - 6.4. Sociální a zdravotní péče
 - 6.5. Vzdělání
7. Případová studie – uprchlický tábor (předběžně Grocka)
8. Závěr
9. Shrnutí (v češtině a srbštině)
10. Seznam literatury, případné přílohy

Diplomová práce bude zpracována v těchto kontrolovaných etapách: vytvoření výběrové bibliografie (leden 2009), rešerše literárních pramenů (červen 2009), terénní šetření (léto 2009), analytická část práce (podzim 2009), zpracování výsledků (podzim a zima 2010), formulace závěrů (březen 2010), odevzdání (květen 2010)

Rozsah grafických prací: cca 80 stran textů, grafy, mapy a tabulky dle potřeby

Rozsah průvodní zprávy: cca 25 000 slov základního textu + práce včetně všech příloh v elektronické podobě

Seznam odborné literatury:

bude upřesněn v průběhu práce, předběžně:

Internetové stránky UNHCR Serbia - <http://www.unhcr.org.yu/>

Internetové stránky Republika Srbija, Komesarijat za izbeglice -

<http://www.kirs.sr.gov.yu/articles/index.php?lang=SER>

Nacionalna strategija za rešavanje pitanja izbeglih i interno raseljenih lica, 2002. Dostupné na: http://www.kirs.sr.gov.yu/docs/nacionalna_strategija_izb_i_irl.pdf

Izveštaj sa registracije izbeglica u Republici Srbiji 2005. godine, 2007. Dostupné na:

http://www.kirs.sr.gov.yu/docs/Registracija_izbeglica_u_Srbiji_2005.pdf

Informacija o programima za izbeglice. Dostupné na:

http://www.kirs.sr.gov.yu/docs/Prog_integracije.pdf

Integracija kao dugoročno rešenje za izbeglice i raseljena lica u Srbiji, 2006. Dostupné na:

http://www.nshc.org.yu/pdf/ssi/ssi_integracija_2006_lat.pdf

Vedoucí diplomové práce: Miloš Fňukal

Datum zadání diplomové práce: 3. 11. 2008

Termín odevzdání diplomové práce: 12. 5. 2010

vedoucí katedry

vedoucí diplomové práce

Acknowledgement

Foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor RNDr. Miloš FŇUKAL, Ph.D. for his worthwhile guidance and support. Besides my supervisor, my sincere thanks go to Saša Trbusić, without whom my field work would not be possible, to my family and last but not least, to my close friends from Ovkavačavica.

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List of Abbreviations

CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COE	Council of Europe
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
EU	European Union
EUR	Euro
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GPID	Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Center
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRO	International Refugee Organization
JMBG	Jedinstveni Matični Broj Građana (Unique Master CitizenNumber)
KFOR	Kosovo Forces
KIRS	Komesarijat za izbeglice Republike Srbije (The Commissariat for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia)
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
KPA	Kosovo Property Agency
MPG	Migration Policy Group
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NES	The National Employment Service of the Republic of Serbia
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization

NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
NSHC	Novosadski Humanitarni Centar (Novi Sad Humanitarian Center)
ORA	Omladinska Radna Akcija (Youth Work Actions)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PIGS	Provisional Institutions of Self-Government
RAE	Roma, Ashkalians, Egyptians
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SSI	Srpski savet za izbeglice (Serbian Refugee Council)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund For Women
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNPROFOR	UN Protection Force
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UN OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UN WFP	United Nations World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

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1. Introduction

Decades-long conflicts, through which Serbia passed during the twentieth century, have left behind long-term political, economic and social consequences. The crisis which hit Serbia after Tito's¹ death culminated in the early nineties, during the breakup of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). After the beginning of the armed conflicts between the former Yugoslav states, first columns of refugees from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina arrived to Serbia.

In the same period of time, the first riots in Kosovo and Metohija had started and caused intense migration of Serbs and Albanians from Kosovo to neighboring areas. The NATO bombing campaign and the arrival of KFOR in Kosovo during 1999 led to the new wave of displaced persons, seeking refuge in other parts of Serbia.

At present, two decades after the conflicts in Serbia had started, the political situation is stabilized and signs of improvement are apparent. Significant progress is visible - a visa-free regime for which citizens of Serbia waited nearly a quarter of a century has been accomplished and the struggle of Serbia to gain EU candidate status is ceaseless. Economic indicators also confirm the improvement of the situation - the percentage of people living under the poverty line has declined, the public debt is several times lower than at the beginning of the crisis and the export of Serbian products is increasing.

Unfortunately, every coin has two sides. The number of internally displaced persons living in Serbia exceeded two hundred thousand people and most of them live on the edge of existence. Refugee camps, meant to be a temporarily housing solution, are present even twenty years after the beginning of the crisis. Innumerable children were born in those camps and are growing up, being educated and ripening in rooms shared with all family members. Even with all the efforts of certain organizations and institutions, advocating for a better tomorrow of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), their permanent struggle to reach the life they once had continues to nowadays and their fate remains unsure.

¹ Josip Broz Tito (1892 - 1980), president of SFRY from 1953 until his death

Years spent in Serbia, in the surroundings of those people who were not as lucky to share the same comfortable life I had, obviously made an impact on my interests. During the war time, while I was attending primary school, new classmates would arrive, usually stay for a couple of months and then leave for far-away countries. Some of those “come and go mates” used to send letters years after and tell us about their new lives. Apart from them, there were also “come and...mates” who preferred not to tell us anything about their lives. It has been 10 years since then, but I assume there are still children who would rather not talk about how they live. For this reason, I have decided to focus part of my research on the educational situation among displaced children who still live in collective centers, to warn about the problems they face and to try to understand if the economic development of Serbia represents the basis for implementation of economic and social rights for people on the edge of existence, or rather leads to the achievement of higher living standards for citizens living in big cities, such as comfortable travelling or modern technology.

2. Research aims

The main aim of my research is to pinpoint on the most important problems faced by persons who are forced to flee from their households. A special accent is put on the existence of internally displaced persons in the world, as a vulnerable group of people different from refugees. So far, IDPs were often neglected, from the legal, humanitarian, development and media aspects. Insufficient attention given to IDPs, as well as their identification with refugees (sometimes with good intentions only), are often the cause of their persisting problems and lack of integration into a society.

A further goal of my thesis is to point out on difficulties which refugees and internally displaced persons in Serbia meet during the process of integration into new communities. Also, my objective is to analyze the efficiency of humanitarian and development assistance they were provided with, as well as the involvement of international and national actors in solving the problems related to the target group. Special attention is given to the achieved level of integration and the analysis of the obstacles precluding further amalgamation.

Since the integration is a very broad and complex process, the case study that has been done is focused on the educational sector only. It aims to show problems that displaced children and youth, who still live in collective centers, face during their education.

The last goal, no less important than the previous ones, is to motivate reader to recognize the untapped opportunities around us, which can help the improvement of the situation of refugees and IDPs, but are in our hands one twist away.

3. Organization of the thesis

This study presents a compilation of literature and field research focused on problems refugees and internally displaced persons in Serbia face during the process of integration.

The first part of this thesis is focused on general information about refugees and IDPs in the world and consists of analysis of definitions of those two subjects, their current figures in the world, as well as of international actors involved in the area. A special attention is given to similarities and differences between refugees and internally displaced persons.

Starting with the second part, master thesis' focus is on Serbia. It deals with causes of displacement and migration flows of refugees, caused by dissolution of former Yugoslavia, as well as of IDPs, who fled due to conflict in Kosovo. The information about current trends and figures, legal protection, key documents, national and international actors has been elaborated.

Third part gives an insight on different aspects of integration of refugees and IDPs, as well as on indicators used for its measurement. It is followed by the analysis of situation in Serbia, focusing on the access to documentation, housing, education, employment, social and health care as key domains and issues in the process of integration.

The last part presents a case study that has been done in one of the collective centers in Serbia in which refugees and IDPs reside up to nowadays. It is focused on educational obstacles youngsters from the collective center face during the schooling. Methodology of the case study itself is described in chapter 10.2.

Literature that has been used through the research was mainly obtained through international and Serbian organizations and institutions which deal with refugees and IDPs (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, Komesarijat za izbeglice Republike Srbije²,

² The Commissariat for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia, for more details see chapter 7.5.

PRAXIS³), as well as from scientific articles available through Palacký University database.

Footnotes that have been used through the study give the explanation about facts used in the text, provide the additional information or direct the reader to other parts of the study, where further information on a subject discussed in the text is provided.

³ Serbian non-governmental organization whose target group is refugees and IDPs, for more details see chapter 7.5.

4. Refugees

4.1. Defining a refugee

The phenomenon of migration lately tends to be seen as a new stream, usually evoking a negative attitude in people, who often associate it with illegal migrants, high rates of unemployment or overall dependence. (Canopy et al, 2006). This attitude is fairly wrong and migration nowise can be considered as a modern trend. Throughout history, it was one of the essential processes which contributed to the formation of human society. People migrated for different reasons: looking for fertile soil or a permanent source of water, pushed by weather conditions or running away from enemy tribes. Presently, reasons for migration have slightly changed, but the aim has stayed the same: a wish for a better tomorrow.

Some are encouraged to look for a better tomorrow in places which have something to offer - more job opportunities, higher salaries, lower taxes, better health care and so forth, the list is infinite and goes as far as *roads paved with gold* (McKenzie et al, 2007). Those reasons for migration are called **pull factors** and they allure people to voluntarily move to places where a better life is waiting for them. On the other hand, there are people whose migration is often not of free will, who are forced to move due to ethnical and religious intolerance, lack of job opportunities, wars and poverty... Their involuntarily movement is caused by **push factors** and does not promise them a bright future. Refugees belong to the second group of migrants. They leave their home-places without knowing if there is a bed waiting for them somewhere. They do not migrate to secure themselves or their families a better future; they migrate on purpose to secure a future.

According to Article 1 of The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, and its 1967 Protocol, a refugee is a person who *"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..."* (UNHCR, 2007a). This is a legal definition, internationally

recognized and used for determining whether a person fulfills the criteria for being a refugee. A person, recognized as a refugee, is provided with “international refugee protection”, which entitles one to certain rights, benefits, protection and assistance. It also binds them with specific obligations, defined by the host country of a refugee (UNHCR, 2005a).

Apart from the 1951 Convention, there are other regional agreements, which give its own definition of refugees. Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, also known as Organization of African Unity Convention, is a regional agreement accepted in 1969, which expands on the existing definition from the 1951 Convention, characterizing a refugee as a person who *“owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality”* (Organization of African Unity, 1969).

In 1984, the Cartagena Declaration was adopted by the Colloquium on the International Protection of Refugees in Central America, Mexico and Panama as a response to the refugee crisis in Central America. This regional agreement also builds up on the existing definition from the 1951 Convention, and broadens it by *including “persons who flee their country because their lives, safety or freedom have been threatened by generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order”* as refugees. Even though this declaration is not legally binding, the majority of Latin American countries apply it in practice, with some of them even incorporating it into national legislation (UNHCR, 2000).

4.2. The problem of “fear of persecution” as a status defining criteria

One of the main characteristics of refugees, according to the definition, is a *fear of persecution* as a reason for their flight. This detail raises an issue in modern refugee research, concerning a new category that has still not been legally protected - environmental refugees. There is a high variety of definitions among important international bodies in the sense of what this term actually means, but very few agreements about it. Myers (2005), describes environmental refugees as *“people who can no longer gain a secure livelihood in their homelands because of drought, soil erosion, desertification, deforestation and other environmental problems, together with the associated problems of population pressures and profound poverty. In their desperation, these people feel they have no alternative but to seek sanctuary elsewhere, however hazardous the attempt”*.

Black (2001) distinguishes 3 types of environmental refugees, according to the cause:

- persons affected by desertification - mainly in the Sahel, but also in semi-arid areas in Central America, Asia and southern Europe
- persons displaced by rising sea levels - endangered by increased flooding in the low-level coastal areas and land loss
- victims of environmental conflict - where there is a direct connection between loss of natural resources and induced migration, as well as between environmental degradation and the roots of conflict

Since the official definition of who environmental refugees are still does not exist, researchers use different criteria, resulting with unreliable statistics. What is certain is that the number of environmental refugees can be measured in many millions and their numbers keep increasing by approximately 3 million per year (Westing, 1992). Myers (2001) estimates 25 million environmental refugees in 1995 and predicts the number duplication by the end of 2010.

4.3. Global figures

Many countries in the world started the new century with incertitude and conflict. Currently (July, 2010), there are 38 conflicts taking place around the world, causing immeasurable economic and social damage (Global Security, 2010). During World War I, the majority of people killed in the war was combatants, but since then trends changed and nowadays 75% or more of casualties or wounded are civilians (Global Security, 2010). At the end of 2009, there were 43.3 million forcibly displaced persons, which is the highest number since the middle nineties. Refugees counted 15.2 million people around the world, with the majority (80%) living in the developing countries and mostly (more than 50%) in urban areas (UNHCR, 2010a).

Table 1: Refugee population by UNHCR regions in 2009 (according to UNHCR, 2010a)

UNHCR Regions	Start 2009			End 2009			Change (Total)	
	Refugees	People in refugee-like situations	Total refugees	Refugees	People in refugee-like situations	Total refugees	Absolute	%
Central Africa&Great Lakes	978,200	27,800	1,006,000	945,200	24,100	969,300	36,700	-3.6%
East and Horn Africa	729,800	34,000	763,800	779,200	33,900	813,100	-49,300	6.5%
Southern Africa	161,200	-	161,200	143,400	-	143,400	17,800	-11.0%
West Africa	175,300	-	175,300	19,000	-	19,000	156,300	-89.2%
Total Africa*	2,044,500	61,800	2,106,300	2,016,800	58,000	2,074,800	31,500	-1.5%
Americas	500,300	303,500	803,800	519,100	293,200	812,300	-8,500	1.1%
Asia and Pacific	2,574,300	1,023,300	3,597,600	2,666,600	1,189,400	3,856,000	-258,400	7.2%
Europe	1,627,500	5,700	1,633,200	1,641,900	5,600	1,647,500	-14,300	0.9%
Middle East and North Africa	2,278,100	72,900	2,351,000	1,962,400	43,500	2,005,900	345,100	-14.7%
Total Africa*	11,069,200	1,529,000	12,598,200	10,693,600	1,647,700	12,341,300	256,900	-2.0%

*Excluding North Africa

The number of refugees under the UNHCR mandate (Table 1) in North Africa and the Middle East decreased, but the overall number did not significantly change because there was an increase in their number from Asia and the Pacific. However, the decline did not change because of improving situations, but mainly because of the change in statistics, which turned out to be over-

estimated in the case of Palestinian refugees living in Saudi Arabia. An objective decline was marked in sub-Saharan Africa, where the number of refugees dropped by 1 million over the last ten years. The most dramatic events, with staggering uptrends were seen in Ecuador, where the number of Columbian refugees increased by approximately 26,000 and in Bangladesh, where the number of refugees coming from Myanmar increased by 200,000 (UNHCR, 2010a)

Almost half of the world refugee population, under UNHCR protection, originates from Afghanistan and Iraq (Figure 1). Afghanistan is where a majority of refugees originate from - every fourth refugee in the world is an Afghan. The majority of them reside in Pakistan or the Islamic Republic of Iran. Somali refugees are the third most common and their numbers have been increasing as the crisis in their country deepens, caused not only by conflict, but also by unpleasant weather conditions which have led to famine. Traditionally, the Democratic Republic of Congo kept producing new refugees and during the last year about 150.000 people left the country. Continuous conflicts in those countries did not just cause new waves of displacements, but prevented the possibility of already-existing refugees to return. The number of returners during the last year was the lowest in twenty years (UNHCR, 2010a).

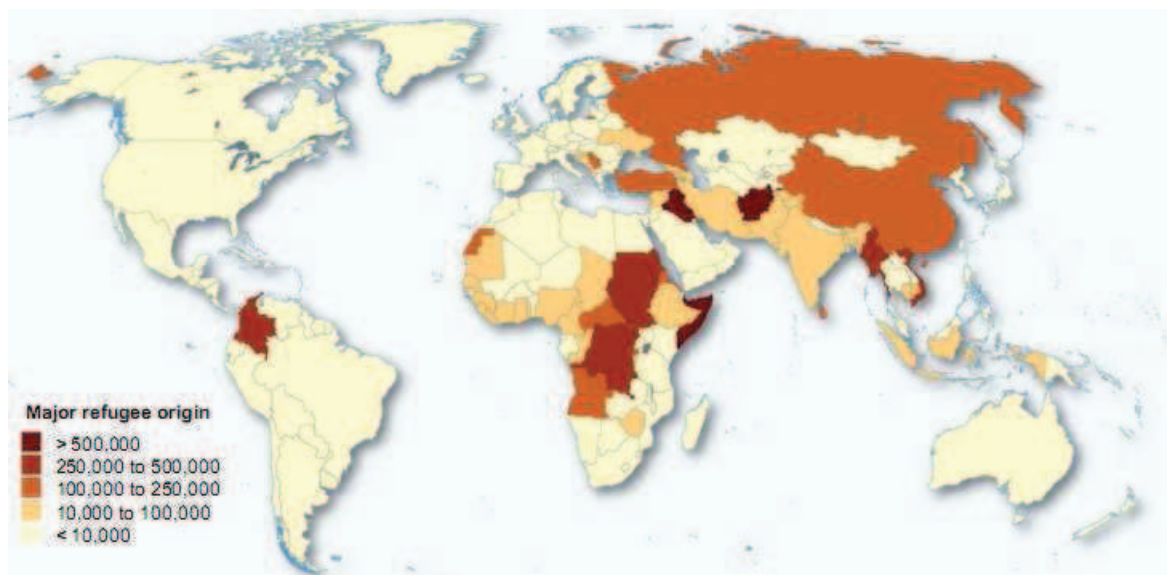


Figure 1: Main source countries of refugees (under UNHCR mandate) at the end of 2009 (UNHCR, 2010a)

Those numbers do not include refugees from Palestine, escaping from the Arab-Israeli conflict, which are protected by UNRWA. They all reside in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and the occupied Palestinian territory, and count as much as 4.7 million. The number of Palestinian refugees has remarkably grown since 1950, when they counted 750,000. This big increase occurred after 1967 from when Israel began occupying the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. At that time, the first refugee camps in this region were established, with a third of the total number of Palestinian refugees still living in them (UNRWA, 2010a).

The major hosting country, where almost 2 million refugees live, is Jordan. Those refugees originate from Palestine and the majority of them have already obtained Jordanian citizenship (UNRWA, 2010b). Pakistan is the second biggest host country, in which more than 1.5 million refugees live. The country itself is coping with a problem of over 3 million IDPs who were displaced due to government operations against militants during 2009. The majority of the displaced are dependent on humanitarian aid (UN News Centre, 2010). Unfortunately, it is common that the host countries for refugees are the countries which have their own problems and cannot offer much. It is partly caused by the fact that the majority of refugees stay within the regions of their origins. Europe, where the situation is incommensurably better, hosts only about 16% of refugees, with the majority from Iraq, Serbia and Turkey. Germany is not only the major hosting country in the frame of Europe, but is among one of the major hosting countries of world refugees (UNHCR, 2010a).

4.4. International actors

Today's organizations, who deal with refugees rooted in World War I, when millions of refugees flooded Europe and presented a serious challenge to the international community. A person who made a big step forward in refugee rights was Fridtjof Nansen⁴, who was working closely with different countries authorities and managed to reach an agreement for the repatriation of 500,000 war prisoners. He created what was called 'Nansen passport' - a document which allowed refugees to legally move from the areas they were staying. In

⁴ Fridtjof Nansen (1861 - 1930), famous Norwegian explorer, scientist and diplomat

1921, the League of Nations named Nansen a High Commissioner of Refugees in Europe (Ozmańczyk, 2003).

The first post-war international organization dealing with refugees, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), was founded in 1943. Its role was to improve repatriation of refugees, as well as to coordinate refugee camps and relief programmes in the post-war period. Among others, its various technical committees were responsible for the dispatch of clothing and food, provision of financial assistance and the transportation of industrial products (Fox, 1950). UNRRA was dissolved in 1949 (Johnson, 1951), but the International Refugee Organization (IRO), established a few years earlier, took many of its responsibilities. After only a couple of years, the IRO was closed down and replaced by the Office of the UNHCR, which today acts as the world's major organization in charge of refugees (Bambgose, 2008).

Primarily, The Office of the UNHCR was supposed to have a three-year mandate, during which its work should have been completed and the office disbanded. Those plans were changed with the rising number of refugees, caused by the Hungarian Revolution, decolonization of Africa and the displacement crisis in Asia and Latin America (UNHCR, 2010b). At first, UNHCR was financially dependent on voluntary contributions, but in 1954 the problem was solved by establishing the UN Refugee Fund (UNHCR, 2000) At the moment, more than half of a century after the organization's supposed closing, UNHCR is active in 118 countries, on all the continents and its responsibilities are not declining, but rather expanding, covering the needs of new categories of displaced people, such as IDPs or stateless persons. UNHCR won a number of prizes for its support of refugees, including the Nobel Peace Prize in 1954 (UNHCR, 2010b).

The second most important organization concerning refugees is UNRWA, established by United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) shortly after the beginning of the Arab-Israeli war. The agency focuses strictly on Palestinian refugees, providing them with direct support programmes, such as infrastructure improvement, microfinance, health care, education etc. Its mandate has been prolonged for many times, and since no solution is forthcoming, it has once

again been prolonged until the 2011 (UNRWA, 2010c). According to the number of employees, this is the largest UN agency, with the majority being locally-recruited Palestinians. The agency is financed mainly by donor countries and the European commission (UNRWA, 2010d).

5. Internally displaced persons

5.1. (Problematic) definition of internally displaced persons

“Internally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border. “ (UN OCHA, 2004).

The above-mentioned definition of IDPs has been taken from the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement - a document that has been published at the end of the twentieth century upon request of UN Commission on Human Rights, who realized need for international standards which would protect IDPs⁵ (IDMC, 2010a). Guiding principles and the definition that has been created are ever since used world-wide as a basic document for protection of IDPs.

Yet, the definition has its shortcomings and is often a target of critics. First of all, it does not have a legal status, but rather indicates the factual situation of displacement within a country and presents a more descriptive rather than a legal definition of IDPs (Mooney, 2005). There is no international law applying exclusively to IDPs, but it is up to each country to protect its IDPs rights. Unfortunately, many of the countries with a high number of IDPs are those passing through conflict, and so it happens that governments are unable (or unwilling) to protect its IDPs. A good example can be presented by Somalia in which there are more than a million IDPs, but no permanent national government, nor national legal system which could protect their rights (CIA, 2010a). In a case like this, it is international organizations and institutions which should participate in securing the protection of IDPs rights (Drlíková, 2007).

Secondly, the definition is quite flexible and can be applied to almost any person who was forced to leave their home or a place of residence but did not cross the border (Vincent, 2000), which makes it quite confusing to understand who is and who is not an IDP. For example, do potential victims of domestic

⁵ For more details about Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement see chapter 5.4.

violence who left their homes on purpose to avoid any upcoming violence, belong to IDPs? Insufficient precision of the definition is a cause of many other problems, especially when it comes to statistics, which are often difficult to compare because of different criteria used in research.

Thirdly, the definition does not explain when the internal displacement ends. Mooney (2003) discusses the importance of defining the end of internal displacement, turning to the following facts:

- the end of internal displacement means the termination of programmes of support for IDPs, both on a national and international level
- the end of internal displacement means a shift of resources, attention and responsibility to the development of whole communities
- there is a lack of clarity in statistics, due to an unclear point at which a person should not be counted as IDP anymore
- a coordinated approach is often difficult, since the figures about IDPs can significantly differ
- IDPs themselves need to know when they are going to lose their IDP status, since it takes away many of the benefits they enjoy, but also many risks they are vulnerable to.

The existing definition on IDPs, can be quite ambiguous and leaves many questions open. Some of the experts who are familiar with this topic insist on making the definition more strict and recommend a limitation of the IDP's label only to persons displaced due to violence (Castles et al, 2005), while others apply the definition to even broader group of IDPs, such as those displaced by development projects (Mooney, 2005).

5.2. Categorization of IDPs

There are several criteria we could use for categorizing IDPs. If we have a look at the definition from the Guiding principles, we can notice that IDPs are defined according to the *causes of displacement*. These are: armed conflict, generalized violence, violations of human rights, natural-made disasters and human-made

disasters. Another category, which is not included in the definition, but could be added to the list above is displacement caused by development projects. The World commission on dams (2000) estimates that so far there are between 40 and 80 million people displaced by the construction of large dams. In its report on development-induced displacement (2005a) Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC), one of the main organizations acting in the field of internal displacement⁶, discusses the number of IDPs caused by development projects, and states it is thought to be much higher than the number of IDPs caused by armed conflict; it also is stating that, with increasing industrialization, electrification and urbanization, number of IDPs will tend to increase in the future. Another cause of displacement are tourism projects, e.g. people living in Myanmar, in historical areas, were forced to move for the purpose of adapting those sites into tourist attractions (Hudson-Rodd et al, 2004).

IDMC (2005b) makes another categorization of IDPs, this time according to their *potential vulnerability* (Figure 2) and recommends that groups with special vulnerability should be primarily targeted in the programmes of support. At the same time, the attention should be given to the host-population in the area, since their resources are usually shared with IDPs.

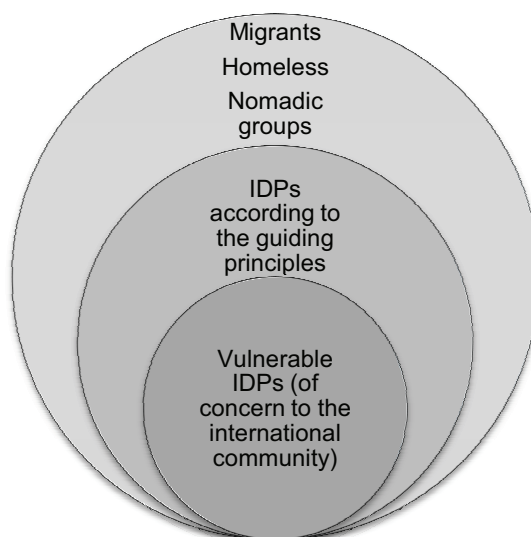


Figure 2: IDPs according to the level of vulnerability (according to IDMC, 2005b)

Further divisions of IDPs into categories could be made according to the *length of displacement* and *the possibility of returning*.

⁶ For more details about IDMC see chapter 5.5.

5.3. Global figures

The first statistics on IDPs were only made in 1982 and at that point there were 1.2 million IDPs altogether, within 11 countries (NRC, 2005). The numbers significantly increased and reached between 11 and 14 million in 20 countries by 1986 (USAID, 2004). The number of IDPs continued to rise and by 1995 there were 20 to 25 million IDPs in 40 countries, which numbers almost twice that of refugees (NRC, 2005). According to the latest reliable data on global figures of IDPs, in 2009 there was 27.1 IDPs in 54 countries (IDMC, 2010b). Unfortunately, the statistics apply only to the IDPs displaced due to conflict, generalized violence or human right violations and therefore we can expect the real number of IDPs to be strikingly higher. For example, there were 1.6 million people displaced in the Philippines due to tropical storms and typhoons during last year alone (IDMC, 2009b). While writing this (August, 2010) various media's report about hundreds of thousands of displaced persons in Pakistan, due to floods.

IDMC (2010b), in its Global Displacement Overview of Trends and Developments in 2009, states that more than one third of IDPs (11.6 million) originate from Africa, which makes it the most affected region. Sudan is the country with the largest IDP population in Africa and also in the world. In 2009 its IDP population increased by 530,000 and reached a total number of about 5 million. The highest increase of displacement during 2009 - 1 million new IDPs, was in the Democratic Republic of Congo, an African country with the second highest number of IDPs (about 2 millions). Somalia, which is the third most affected country in Africa, has the highest rate of displacement compared to its total population (16.5%).

Further, IDMC in its Overview for 2009 provides the information about the significant increase in numbers of IDPs in Asia and America in 2009 originates from conflicts in Pakistan and Colombia. Nearly half of the new displacements in 2009 occurred in Pakistan, where 3 million people were forced to leave their homes to avoid violence from the Taliban and other army groups. In Colombia, trends did not change compared with the past - the population of IDPs continued to grow and it is quite possible it has already reached the same

number of IDPs as in Sudan. Internal armed conflicts in Colombia are the cause not only for internal displacement within the country, but for the significant number of refugees in Ecuador, Panama and Venezuela.

With a total number of 2.4 million displaced, which shows decreasing trends, Europe and Central Asia is the region with the lowest number of IDPs in the world (IDMC, 2010b). About 40% of the total displaced population in this region lives in Turkey. Out of all the countries where IDPs exist, Macedonia (FYROM) with 650 IDPs is the country with the smallest IDP population in the world (IDMC, 2010b). Even though Europe presents a region with the lowest rates of IDPs in the world, it is also a place where the country with the highest rate of IDPs, compared to the total population can be found - Cyprus, in which IDPs make up about 22% of the population (IDMC, 2010b).

Apart from new displacements, in 2009 there have also been a significant number of returnees - over 5 million IDPs in 22 countries managed to return to their homes. This number includes mainly people who had the IDP status for a year or two only, but there are also those who managed to return home after almost a decade (e.g. in Uganda). Unfortunately, many cases of secondary displacement after returning, due to the lack of basic services and livelihoods have been reported (IDMC, 2010b).

5.4 Key documents and legal protection

Problems and needs of IDPs were considered to be a national problem until the last decades of the twentieth century. There are innumerable examples of violations of human rights of IDPs, which did not get an international response, since they were happening within a state. Cohen (2006) mentions the crisis in Ethiopia in 1984, when the destiny of hundreds of thousands of people depended upon whether they would manage to cross the border and get a refugee status with which they would receive help from the United Nations, or they would stay within the country and depend on its government. The same year at least 250,000 people died in Sudan, suffering from the combination of drought and economic problems to which the government did not react

(Mayotte, 1994). Moreover, the government refused humanitarian aid coming from the international community (Cohen, 2006). Situations of this kind pointed out that the international response is necessary and that the compromise between the protection of human rights and the national sovereignty had to be found.

Finally, in 1991 an international conference on human rights protection for internally displaced was held in Washington, DC. The international legal framework and adoption of binding treaties in the case of IDPs were supported by participants (Bagshaw, 1999). In year 1992, Francis Deng was appointed the first representative of the UN Secretary General on IDPs, with a role of studying the causes and consequences of internal displacement, as well as their status in international law (UNHCR, 1996). In 1998, Deng presented *Guiding principles on internal displacement* (GPID), which were submitted and approved by Commission on Human Rights (Bagshaw, 1999). This document defines who internally displaced persons are, address their needs and sets out the rights and guarantees pertinent for their protection, during the whole process of their displacement. It consists of the following sections (containing all together 30 principles):

- Section 1 - General principles
- Section 2 - Principles relating to protection from displacement
- Section 3 - Principles relating to protection during displacement
- Section 4 - Principles relating to humanitarian assistance
- Section 5 - Principles relating to return, resettlement and reintegration

Some governments based their national laws or policies referring to this document (e.g. Sri Lanka, Burundi...), and some states even incorporated it into its laws (e.g. Angola, which incorporated GPID into its law on resettlement after the civil war). The document was world-wide accepted and translated into more than 40 languages (IDMC, 2010a). Still, it does not present a binding legal document, due to the traditional concept of sovereignty, which excludes an outside intervention. Cohen (2006) turns to the UN Secretary-General's reform plan, stating that "*if national authorities are unable or unwilling to protect their citizens, then the responsibility shifts to the international community to use*

diplomatic, humanitarian and other methods to help protect the human rights and well-being of civilian populations” and together with Dengs agrees that *“sovereignty cannot be dissociated from responsibility”*. In 2008 a conference “Ten years of guiding principles on internal displacement” was held in Oslo, with a purpose of forming political will for integration of GPID into global legal frameworks.

In October 2009 in Uganda, a historical accomplishment had been made when the African Union’s Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa was adopted. This document, also known as Kampala Convention, is the first legally binding instrument on regional level, focused on prevention of displacement and protection and assistance of IDPs. The convention needs to be ratified by 15 AU states to come into force, and so far has been ratified by 11 (IDMC, 2010b). Bearing on mind that Africa is a continent with more than a half of the total internally displaced population, this convention might present an important achievement in the field of protection of IDPs.

5.5 International actors

The international response to problems of internal displacement is represented mainly by humanitarian aid, while much less attention is given to the development assistance (IMDC, 2010b). So far, coordination of help was poor and insufficient - there is no particular agency which would direct the upcoming help or admonish donors about the areas which need focusing on. Choosing the regions which will be supported from their funds is a matter of free choice of organizations (Cohen, 2006) and as such leads to creation of “darling” and “orphan” regions. As a response to this problem, a “cluster approach” was introduced by UN in 2005. The idea of this approach is to focus on strengthening the coordination among the humanitarian actors, such as UN, Red Cross Movement and non-governmental organization. Better coordination of those actors is expected to improve predictability and effectiveness of humanitarian assistance, as well as to fill the gaps in the weakest sectors (Consolidated appeals process, 2006).

Unlike in the case of refugees, in the frame of UN there is no specific institution focused on, or responsible for humanitarian assistance and protection of IDPs (IDMC, 2010b). UNHCR committed to helping IDPs with the agreement reached in 2005, but had reported difficulties aiding refugees and IDPs from the same country at the same time (UNHCR, 2007b). Other UN institutions, organizations and funds, such as UNICEF, UNIFEM, UNDP, OCHA, WFP and WHO are often involved in programmes and projects supporting IDPs, but none of them is primarily focused on IDPs. In 2004, the Inter-Agency Internal Displacement Division was established within OCHA, but was appraised as small and nonoperational (Cohen, 2006). The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has been significantly contributing to IDPs around the world. ICRC had been conferred with a mandate to protect and assist the victims of armed conflicts through the Geneva Convention, which regulates the conduct of armed conflict and looks for possible ways of limiting its effects (ICRC, 2005 & 2009).

Internal displacement monitoring center is among the most significant actors in this field of work. It has been founded in 1998 by Norwegian Refugee Council (who also plays an important role in providing help for IDPs) and since then focuses on monitoring of IDPs. It operates an online database, where detailed information and analyses of IDPs are available. Every year, it publishes a global overview of trends and developments of internal displacement in the world, analyzing each of the countries separately. The center is also involved in capacity-building trainings and workshops focused on protection and assistance to needs of IDPs (IDMC, 2010c).

6. Main differences and similarities between refugees and IDPs

Differences between refugees and IDPs are obvious to experts working in the field, but unfortunately, a great number of people who are not involved in the topic, would not be able to define the difference. While writing this document, a question I was regularly being asked by friends was what IDP actually means. I would briefly like to explain the main differences and similarities between refugees and IDPs and to give a couple of examples, which would clarify what it means in praxis.

Both refugees and IDPs are persons, forced to flee from their homes, due to well-founded fear for their lives. A person who flees from its home-place and manages to cross a border to get to another country is becoming a refugee. A refugee status brings an international protection and certain rights. If a person, fleeing from home, stays within the borders of its own country, he/she is becoming an IDP. IDP, as already explained, is not a legal status and those persons are under the jurisdiction of their own government. In most emergencies, number of IDPs is twice as high as the number of refugees (Cohen, 2006). The number of IDPs has been increasing throughout the last year, while the number of refugees has been rather stable (IDMC, 2010b). There is a strong inter-relation between those trends and can be explained by declining willingness of governments to accept new refugees into their countries. At the same time, rising awareness of need for protection of IDPs compels a greater focus of governments to provide them with protection and assistance (Cohen, 2006). This year, for example, riots in southern Kyrgyzstan caused internal displacement of another 300,000 persons (UNHCR 2010c), but number of Kyrgyz refugees in Uzbekistan decreased from 100,000 to 15,000 (UN OCHA, 2010).

Protection of refugees and IDPs differs as well. In the case of refugees, governments of countries which accept them, according to the international laws applying to refugees, guarantee to ensure them basic human rights and not to send them back to their home-countries involuntarily. UNHCR, in the frame of its mandate, leads and coordinates their protection on the international level and provides them with assistance while they are acquiring asylum. It also

seeks to insure them with shelter, food and water as well as with medical care (UNHCR, 2006a). IDPs that remain in their own countries are often stuck in non-ending internal conflict. Their lives are in the hands of their own governments, which, in many cases, are the ones breaking the human rights and causing the violence over its citizens. IDPs are often considered “state enemies” and are not provided the needed assistance. Access of humanitarian actors to this group of people is very limited, and highly dependent on its government’s willingness to allow it in the country. Legal protection of IDPs on the international level is fairly limited and usually very difficult to apply (UNHCR, 2007b). Since 1972, UNHCR's acting has been extended to IDPs, but remains limited in the terms of numbers of people covered (Phuong, 2004). During 2009, its’ involvement with IDP has significantly increased and 15.6 million IDPs have been provided assistance (UNHCR, 2010a). Unfortunately, from UNHCR’ involvement remains focused only on conflict and violence-induced displacement (Figure 3).

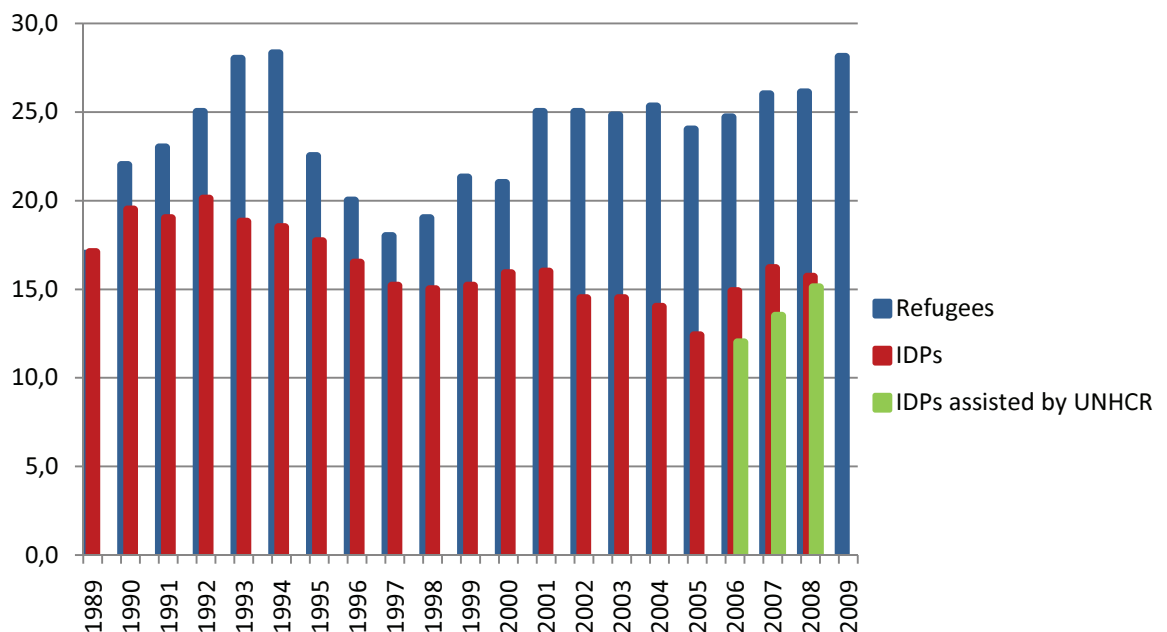


Figure 3: Refugee and IDP trends since 1989. Numbers include only conflict and violence-induced displacement (according to IDMC, 2010b)

Another important difference worth mentioning is a moment when a refugee or IDP status ends. In the case of refugees, the end of their status is clearly defined in Article 1, Paragraph C of Convention relating to the status of refugees (1951). With IDPs, once again, the situation remains unclear. Since there is no internationally recognized definition of the end of internal displacement, decisions are often brought *ad hoc* and on arbitrary basis (Mooney, 2003). This is also a reason of numerous confusions in statistics and disagreements if a person should be considered and assisted as an IDP or not. Mooney (2003) gives 3 possible criteria, based on which the end of displacement can be defined:

- **Cause-based criteria** - according to this criterion, internal displacement stops to exist when the cause of displacement disappears. However, disappearance of the cause does not always bring a permanent solution for IDP predicaments. On the other hand, there are decades-lasting conflicts and keeping IDPs as such might cause high level of dependence not only of themselves, but of their governments as well. At the same time, big amounts of international help might motivate countries to maintain (at least statistically speaking) high numbers of people having an IDP status.
- **Solutions-based criteria** - focuses on the final resettlement or return of IDPs. Unfortunately, in praxis, resettled or returned IDPs are often found to suffer basic humanitarian needs, lack of integration, safety and access to public services.
- **Needs-based criteria** - according to which a person would not enjoy the IDP status from the moment its needs and vulnerabilities decline to the same level as the ones from the rest of the population.

Integration of those two groups of people may also differ a lot. IDPs are in their own country and are familiar with customs, mentality, culture, traditions and laws. They speak the language and are more or less able to express their needs and problems. Moreover, all the national laws which apply to the rest of the population apply to them as well and therefore, they are not limited when, for example, looking for a job. Refugees, escaping in front of a treat, usually do

not know what is waiting for them “on the other side”. Only after they manage to cross the border and find themselves in another country, can they start thinking about what is waiting for them. A different culture, different customs and a different language sometimes present insurmountable barrier, the majority of them never manage to span. It is a typical story to hear how highly educated refugees fight for any type of job, which back home, they could be paying someone to do. Since they are not citizens of a country they live in, they are usually denied many rights, which they would normally have back in their country.

7. Refugees and IDPs in Serbia

7.1. Causes of displacement in Serbia

...it is because my mum has been singing me a different lullaby than your mum. And she has also been telling me different stories than yours. And both are the true stories, because mothers don't lie...⁷

Roots of the conflict causing the displacement in Serbia and the rest of Balkans in the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century extend from Balkan wars (1912, 1913) during which new territorial divisions have been made. As an aftermath, Serbia spread to Kosovo, Novi Pazar and Vardar Macedonia⁸ that were gained during the Balkan wars (Kolev & Kuluri 2005). Apart from new borders that have been drawn on the map, wars also brought feeling of doubt and mistrust among Balkan people.

In a little while, at the end of World War I, the first Yugoslav state, under the name "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" was officially proclaimed. From the moment of the establishment of Kingdom of Yugoslavia (as it was renamed in 1929), there were ethnic tensions between Croats and Slovenes on one side, and Serbs on another. Those antipathies reached the peak during World War II, with the creation of a Nazi puppet state in Croatia, with the help of Ustashe⁹. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia broke off in 1941, but conflicts between Ustashe and Nazis on one side, the Chetniks¹⁰ on another and Communist partisans under Tito on the third side, did not stop until 1945. Numbers of casualties caused by those conflicts are discussed up to nowadays; some sources estimate more than million and a half dead, which at the time was a tenth of a Yugoslav population (The refugee council, 1992).

At the end of the World War II, in 1945, six republics (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia) were reunited under the name of Democratic Federal Yugoslavia. At the time, two autonomous regions (Vojvodina and Kosovo) were established within Serbian borders (Eberhardt,

⁷ from a conversation with an Albanian

⁸ the north part of today's Republic of Macedonia

⁹ a radical Croatian right-wing national movement, formed around 1930 (Totten, 2008)

¹⁰ a Serbian military force, a major fighting force opposed to the Nazis, engaged in battles against Croatian Ustashe and Serbian communist partisan under Tito (Totten, 2008)

2003). The country's name was changed into Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in 1945 and then again to Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1963, but the borders of the country remained the same, until its dissolution in the nineties. Charismatic president Tito, who was seen as a hero from World War II, was ruling the country since 1953, but soon realized he would not be able to satisfy interests of all the ethnic groups living in Yugoslavia. He decided to split the power among the republics and provinces. In the new Constitution from 1974, he transformed the republics into national states, providing each of them with their own police, constitution and territorial defense forces (Cvetković, 1999). Yugoslavia, like any other country, had its economical and political ups and downs, but the occasional crisis that the state was facing, were under control while Tito was alive.



Figure 4: Territorial distribution of ethnic groups in SFRY in 1989 (Rekacewicz & Marin, 2000)

With Tito's death, in 1980, intolerant nationalism among Yugoslav nations began to rise; the economic crisis and differences in development between flourishing north and poor south republics continued to deepen. During only one decade a multiethnic country (Figure 4), which was a symbol of tolerance, turned into a powder-keg, threatening to explode at any moment. And it did. In 1990, Slovenia and Croatia made demands for greater autonomy within the

Federation, followed with the Albanians from Kosovo who requested the status of a republic. Serbia, on the contrary, was demanding the central government, the same as it was before the Constitution changed in 1974 (The refugee council, 1992). Waves of demonstrations and rebels flooded the country, but this time a peaceful agreement failed. Leaders, such as Slobodan Milošević¹¹, Franjo Tuđman¹² and Alija Izetbegović¹³ were incapable to reasonably deal with the changes and failed to avoid the armed conflict.

The official beginning of the break-up of Yugoslavia happened in June 1991, when both Slovenia and Croatia proclaimed their independence. In September 1991, Macedonia did the same and Bosnia and Herzegovina followed a month later. At the end of the year, Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia required the international recognition of independence from the European Community. In 1992 the states were officially recognized and Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia ceased to exist. But things would be too simple if “only” those republics proclaimed independence - in 1991, after Croatia brought a decision to step out of SFRY, the Serbian population living in Croatia formed Serbian Republic of Krajina. The same year a similar thing happened in Kosovo, where Kosovo Albanians declared independence. In 1992, Serbian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina proclaimed Republic of Srpska, with the Croatian population following couple of months later and forming Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna. (Bookman, 1994).

Unfortunately, under those circumstances the civil war which followed was considered inevitable. The war outbreaked in Slovenia in 1991, where Yugoslavian National Army fought for ten days before giving up and relocating in Croatia. Military forces in Croatia were focused in Dubrovnik, Osijek and Vukovar, where by the end of the year ten thousand people got killed and a million of them (both Serbs and Croats) had become refugees. The arrival of UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) was welcomed by both Serbs and Croats: Serbs, at the moment, were controlling one third of a country and were content with what they had, while Croats got extra time for preparing

¹¹ president of Serbia from 1989 till 1997 and president of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from 1997 till 2000

¹² president of Croatia since 1990 till 1999, founder of Croatian Democratic Union

¹³ president of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1990 to 1996, the Bosnian Muslim leader

the hit-back on Serbia. In the meantime, the war spread to Bosnia, where the situation was extremely complicated since no single ethnic group was a majority in the country. By 1994 the war in Bosnia reached unforeseen dimensions and ethnic cleansing policies were practiced by all Serbs, Croats and Muslims. By the end of the year, 60% of all the Bosnian population had become displaced. A year later, Croats and Muslims put their forces together to try to defeat Serbs. The first offensive against Serbs started in Slavonia, and continued in Krajina and Bosnia. In autumn 1995, Bosnian Serbs were forced to draw back from Sarajevo and peace talks could finally start (Morton, 2004). The peace agreement was reached in Dayton (Ohio) and was officially signed in December 1995 at the Paris Peace Conference (Akhvan, 1996).

Dayton agreement brought peace to the former Yugoslav countries, but for Serbia the struggle for stability continues for as long as the Kosovo question remains open. Coexistence of Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo extends to centuries ago, but each of the nations has its own idea about this piece of land. For Serbs, Kosovo is an important part of history, a core part of the medieval Serbia with many holy places and a site where Christians fought against the Ottomans. After centuries under the Ottoman Empire, at the very beginning of the First Balkan War, Kosovo was finally declared a part of Serbia (Kostovicova, 2005). Albanians, on the other hand, resisted incorporation into Yugoslavia at the end of the World War I and II, and since then manifest a strong wish to unite Kosovo with Albania. Constitution from 1974 strengthened Kosovo as the autonomous province of the Republic of Serbia. Rapid demographic growth of Albanians in Kosovo and changes in the constitutional amendment, which happened in 1989 and 1990, provoked Kosovo Albanians to declare the independence, as mentioned above. In the following years, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) got on importance and decided to fulfill dreams of Greater Albania. By the year 1998, KLA managed to control 30% of the Kosovo territory, repressing Serb and Roma minorities. The same year, Serbia hit-back suppressing the Albanians in Kosovo. The armed conflict between Serbs and Albanians in 1998 produced 200,000 displaced and hundreds of dead (McCWire, 2000) and contributed to the redistribution of ethnic groups on the territory of former Yugoslavia (Figure 5).



Figure 5: Territorial distribution of ethnic groups in SFRY in 1999 (Rekacewicz & Marin, 2000)

In 1999 both sides attended the meeting in Rambouillet, for the purpose of finding a peaceful solution for the ongoing conflict. At last, the Serbian side refused to sign the offered peace treaty, which resulted in 78 days long bombing by NATO forces. NATO aggression caused not only death to over a thousand civilians, but also a significant increase of internally displaced people and refugees of different nationalities (Headly, 2008). Under those circumstances, Serbia had no choice but to sign the treaty, withdrawing its security forces, which were replaced by Kosovo Forces (KFOR) with NATO participation (NATO, 1999). The same year transitional administration, United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), was also established with the task of governing Kosovo (UNMIK, 1999). Since the arrival of international forces in 1999, many displaced Albanians managed to return to their homes, but another 250,000¹⁴ Serbs and Romani were displaced from Kosovo (Human rights watch, 2008). On 17th of February 2008. Kosovo declared unilateral independence from Serbia, which remains an unacceptable

¹⁴ Since events that are being discussed in this study happened in a recent history, they are still widely discussed and, depending on the source, the information can significantly vary

solution for Serbia and has caused different reactions on the international scene.

7.2. Migration flows to Serbia

7.2.1. Refugees

The majority of refugees who fled **from Croatia** stayed within the borders of former Yugoslavia (Figure 6). Migration dynamics of those who headed to Serbia (mainly Croatian Serbs) can be divided into 4 main waves:

- the first migration wave started in the second half of 1991 and lasted until the end of the year, caused by sporadic clashes between Serbs and Croats at the beginning which, within a couple of months, turned into serious conflicts. By the end of the year there were 32,957 refugees from Croatia living in Serbia.
- the second wave of migrations to Serbia lasted from 1992 till summer 1995. The number of refugees who arrived to Serbia in this period reached 50,245 (Ilić, 2006).
- the culmination of migration happened in 1995, after Western Slavonia was subdued by Croats, followed by the Croatian offensive in Serbian republic of Krajina, causing refugee columns hundreds of kilometers long (Cvetković, 1999). Approximately 193,359 refugees arrived to Serbia after the fall of Serbian republic of Krajina. Refugees from Croatia continued to arrive until the middle of 1996, during which another 11,163 persons crossed the border to Serbia. (Ilić, 2006)
- the last arrival happened in 1998, after the reintegration of Eastern Slavonia into Croatia, when another 20,000 refugees came to Serbia. (KIRS & UNHCR 2007)



Figure 6: Population displacements in SFRY from 1991 till 2001 (Rekacewicz, 2003)

At the end of the war, Serbian minority in Croatia decreased for about 380,000 persons, which presents 2/3 of the whole Serbian population that used to live in Croatia at the beginning of the war (Radović, 2005). Depending on the source, the number of refugees which arrived to Serbia sometimes significantly differs; UNHCR (2002) estimates a number of 298,534 for a year 1999, after which the number of refugees from Croatia started to decline.

Contrary to the case of refugees from Croatia, which mainly stayed in the area of former Yugoslavia, the majority of refugees from **Bosnia and Herzegovina** migrated to other European states. Arrival of refugees to Serbia lasted for the whole war period, and reached approximately 300,000 (Fňukal & Šrubař, 2008).

At three occasions higher intensity of migration was noticed (Figure 7):

- during 1992, at the initial war stage, at which Croats and Muslims jointly fought against Serbs
- in the summer of 1995, after a military cooperation agreement was signed between Izetbegović and Tuđman, with the purpose of joining

forces against Serbs, which was soon followed by NATO air-strikes (Fňukal & Šrubař, 2008)

- after Dayton agreement had been signed, which induced a new migration wave - another 50,000 refugees arrived by the end of the year and 30,000 more during the 1996 (KIRS & UNHCR, 2007)

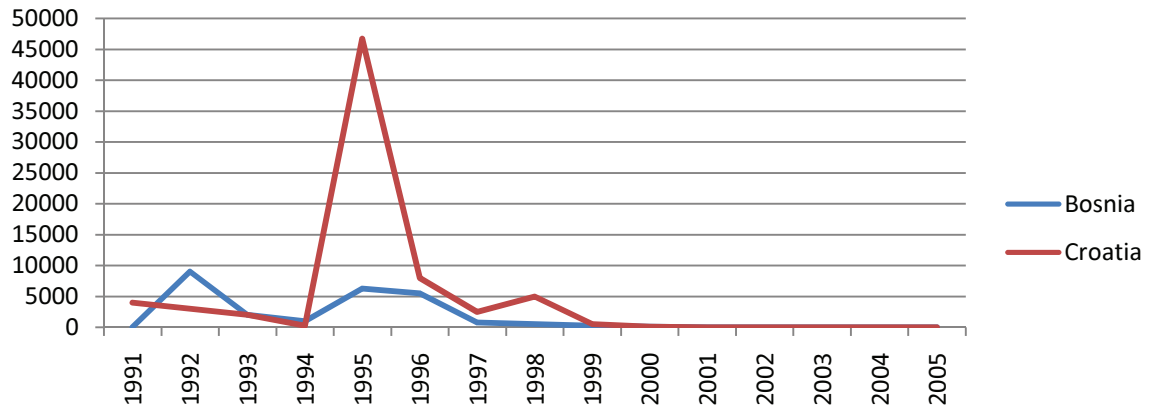


Figure 7: Number of refugees according to the state and year of arrival to Serbia (according to KIRS & UNHCR, 2007)

Migration from other former Yugoslav states did not have as strong impact on the overall situation. The total number of 6,173 refugees from **Slovenia** and 2,932 from **Macedonia** arrived to Serbia from the beginning of the war till 1996 (Lukić & Nikitović, 2004). There was another wave of refugees coming from Macedonia, in 2001, after a short conflict with the Albanian minority living in the north-west of Macedonia, after which 90,000 Serbs and Albanians headed for Serbia, including Kosovo (Fňukal & Šrubař, 2008).

7.2.2. Internally displaced people

Internal migration in Serbia has been deeply affected by Kosovo conflict in the south of the country. Statistical information about the population in Kosovo before the beginning of the conflict is hardly accessible and quite unreliable, since the last census (in 1991) had been boycotted by Kosovo Albanians. According to the previous one (held in 1981) there were 1,585,000 inhabitants,

out of which 210,000 were Kosovo Serbs. It is also estimated that the total population before the beginning of the conflict in 1998 was around 2,000,000 inhabitants, out of which around 85 - 90% were Albanians (ICG, 2000).

In the case of displacements occurring **from Kosovo**, three main waves can be spotted:

- the situation worsened in 1998, when the activities of KLA intensified, which resulted in the increase of Serbian militaries. Fighting between those two forces caused displacement of 350,000 persons within the borders of Kosovo by the end of the year (OSCE, 1999).
- the main wave of displacement occurred in 1999, following the NATO intervention, when almost 200,000 Kosovo Serbs fled to central and northern Serbia
- in March 2004, ethnic violence escalated once again, resulting in departure of 4,200 persons who mainly moved to Serb-populated areas (IDMC, 2009)

The declaration of Kosovo's independence did not cause new waves of displacements (IDMC, 2010). The total number of persons displaced in Kosovo conflict reached its peak in 2004, when there were 248,200 registered IDPs in Serbia¹⁵ (UNHCR, 2005b).

Displacement flows in Serbia, however, are not exclusively caused by Kosovo conflict. Great number of Roma, Ashkalians, Egyptians (RAE) and other ethnic groups which belong to IDPs, migrated for different reasons; for some of them it presents a traditional nomadic way of life (UN-HABITAT, 2005), while the others have been repatriated from Western European countries (Waringo, 2005). Their migration routes mainly depend on possibilities for performing their work, which in many cases is based on the collection of secondary raw materials, and that is why the majority of them are settled around big towns. Contrary to other IDPs, many or RAE IDPs migrated to Autonomous Province of Vojvodina (IDMC, 2009). Another characteristic of their migration flow is a tendency to direct it towards the vicinity of other Roma groups (UN-HABITAT, 2005). There is an ongoing debate about their number: IDMC (2009) mentions different

¹⁵ this number includes IDPs on the territory of Republic of Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo

estimations, varying from 20,000 (UNHCR) up to 80,000 (KIRS), or even 100,000 IDPs of Roma origin (Roma association).

7.3. Current trends and figures

7.3.1. Refugees

The first census of refugees was carried out by the Commission for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia (KIRS) and UNHCR in 1996, soon after the Dayton agreement was signed (KIRS & UNHCR, 2007). The census applied not only to refugees, but also to war-affected persons - those who had the residence in former Yugoslav countries, but for some reason were not approved the refugee status. At that time 617,728 persons were registered and almost all of them (over 90%) were Serbs. Out of those, 537,937 had a refugee status - 290,667 of them from Croatia, 232,974 from Bosnia and Herzegovina and 14,296 from other former Yugoslav republics. Since the first census, there has been a constant decrease in the number of refugees (Figure 8). At the second one, which was held in 2001, out of 451,980 persons were registered, 377,131 had a refugee status. At the end of 2004 and beginning of 2005 the last census was done and out of 141,685 refugees which responded, 40,000 has been recalled the status (KIRS & UNHCR, 2007), as well as those who did not respond to the census (SSI, 2006). According to the latest available information (UNHCR, 2010d), there is a total number of 86,351 refugee in Serbia.

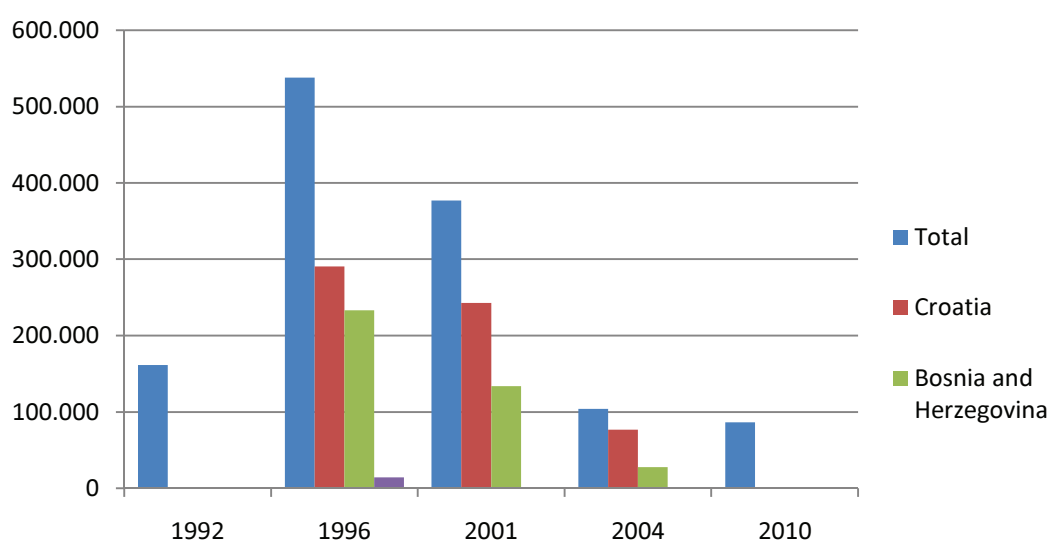


Figure 8: Number of refugees in Serbia from 1992 till 2010 (according to KIRS & UNHCR, 2007)

The decrease in number (Table 2) can be explained by the following processes, which are internationally recognized as durable solutions for refugees:

- **Repatriation**, the process of returning to the country from which persons fled at war time, is usually considered the most favorable solution. However, it is highly dependent on the conditions in the country of origin and therefore is not always possible. Many of refugees who lived in Serbia managed to return to their homes, but statistics show different trends in case of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. Number of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, declined not only in absolute, but also in relative terms. Since the first census in year 1996, when refugees from Bosnia made 43.3% of the whole refugee population, the number declined to 26.4% in 2005. (KIRS & UNHCR 2007). The return of refugees to Bosnia has been facilitated by the existence of an international community in the country. The number of refugees originating from Croatia declined in absolute terms, but their repatriation has been quite limited. Bilateral agreements between Serbia and Croatia, as well as Croatian laws concerning repatriation of refugees seem to be inadequate. The process of property repossession turned to be quite complicated and presents sizable barrier in the process of repatriation to Croatia (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2002). In 2009, refugees from Croatia made over 70% of refugee population in Serbia. The total number of those who voluntarily returned since the end of the war till 2009 reached 145,500 persons (UNHCR, 2009a).
- **Local integration**, to which more attention will be given later, is a two-way process in which both refugee and the hosting community work on creating conditions, suitable for refugee to start rebuilding its life. The culmination of the process is often seen in acquired nationality of the country of asylum (UNHCR, 2009b). Many of refugees in Serbia recognized local integration as the final solution for their situation. The majority of them origins from Croatia and their choice might have been influenced by the complicated repatriation process. Until 2009, there have been 154,300 persons who acquired Serbian identity card, with which their refugee status ends. (UNHCR, 2009a). However, a question

of whether obtaining Serbian identity card is more favorable than having a refugee status remains open.

- **Resettlement to a third country**, as a remaining option, has been adopted by 22,400 refugees. Many of them were assisted by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) or UNHCR during their emigration process. Traditionally, the majority of them emigrated to USA, Canada and New Zealand. (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2010).

Table 2: Durable solutions for refugees in Serbia (according to UNHCR, 2009a)

	Country of Origin						Total
	Bosnia and Herzegovina			Croatia			
1996	233,000			291,000			524,000
Durable Solution	Voluntary Repatriation	UNHCR Assisted	6,100	Voluntary Repatriation	UNHCR Assisted	13,900	20,000
		Spontaneous	65,000		Spontaneous	60,500	125,500
	Resettlement through UNHCR		8,800	Resettlement through UNHCR		13,600	22,400
	Citizenship/ID card		53,500	Citizenship/ID card		100,800	154,300
	Did not register at 2004/2005 registration exercise		75,500	Did not register at 2004/2005 registration exercise		40,200	115,700
2009	24,100			62,000			86,100

7.3.2. Internally displaced people

IDPs in the Republic of Serbia, according to their vulnerability, can be divided into 6 different groups (Cvejić, 2009):

- Serbian IDPs who currently live in Serbia, but originate from Kosovo
- Serbian and Albanian IDPs, who are internally displaced within Kosovo
- RAE and other minority groups, who are displaced in both Serbia and Kosovo
- IDPs who have been returned from the Western European countries, in which they previously applied for asylum
- Internally displaced women
- Internally displaced RAE children

The exact number is not clear, but there are approximately 205,835 IDPs living in Serbia (UNHCR, August 2009a) and 19,724 in Kosovo (UNHCR, October 2009c). The situation with IDPs is fairly different to that of the refugees; since 2004, when the number reached its peak, there has not been a significant improvement of the situation. In theory, each person has a right to decide whether to return to his/her home of origin or to integrate into a new community. This right is insured by international law and Constitutional Framework for Kosovo. In 2006, the Protocol of Cooperation on Voluntary and Sustainable Return was signed between The Provisional Institutions of Self-Government (PIGS)¹⁶, UNMIK and Serbian Government (UNMIK, 2006) for the purpose of improving the return process.

In the case of Kosovo, UNMIK (2006) distinguishes three types of return:

- **spontaneous return**, a process by which individuals, families or groups return to the place of origin without a warning in advance or without any type of assistance provided prior to return, or planned in advance of the movement.
- **facilitated return**, supported by assistance during any of its stages, usually upon individual request of IDPs
- **organized return**, planned and coordinated process, with the assistance prepared prior to return

The first return of an ethnic Serbs to Kosovo (from Serbia) has been recorded only in 2005 (UNMIK, 2006). From 2000 till 2009 there have been 12,145 voluntary returns from Serbia to Kosovo, but the return has been precluded by a complicated situation concerning the status of Kosovo, property rights and unstable security in the region. Apart from 2009, the return of ethnic Serbs has been declining since 2004 (Figure 9), which can be explained by the escalation of riots that took place (UNHCR, 2009c). Current trends point that the number of members of ethnic communities leaving Kosovo is still higher than number of those who return (UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007).

¹⁶ the local administrative bodies in Kosovo established by the UNMIK

Number of returns within borders of Kosovo counts 2,793 persons (UNHCR, October 2009c). The majority of returns (1162) were of Egyptian and Ashkali. Albanians (796) were the second most numerous ethnic group to return, but the number might be significantly underestimated, since it refers only to Albanians in a minority situation. Other ethnic groups that manage to return to their home places were Roma (574), Serbs (220), Gorani (21) and Bosniak (20) (UNHCR, October 2009c).

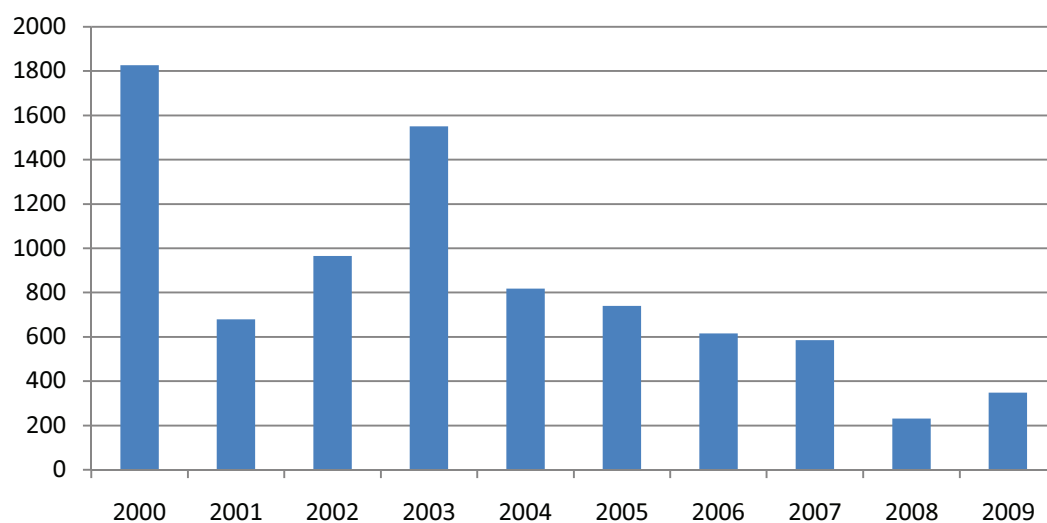


Figure 9: Return of ethnic Serbs to Kosovo 2000-2009 (according to UNHCR, 2009c)

7.4. Legal protection and key documents

Legal protection of refugees in Serbia is, above all, regulated by the **1951 Convention** and the **1967 Protocol relating to the status of refugees**, which are legally binding documents, obliging Serbia (and any other country that have ratified those documents) to provide refugees with protection (UNHCR, 2006a) . A national **Law on refugees**¹⁷ was brought in 1992, shortly after the war between former Yugoslav republics began and the first columns of refugees started to arrive. The law established a special institution, The Serbian Commissariat for Refugees¹⁸, as a state administration body, to regulate the status, rights and responsibilities of refugees in Serbia. The law on refugees, at

¹⁷ originally titled: Zakon o izbeglicama

¹⁸ originally titled: Komesarijat za izbeglice Republike Srbije, for more information see chapter 7.5.

the moment of adoption, represented an urgent answer to the worsening situation in the country, but has since been criticized for numerous deficiencies. Among others, it applies only to *“Serbs and citizens of other nationalities, who due to pressure from the Croatian authorities or government in other republics...were forced to leave their homes”*¹⁹ and does not guarantee refugees against refoulement (PRAXIS, 2006). As a response to problems of this kind, a **Draft Law on Changes and Amendments to the Law on Refugees**²⁰ has been adopted by Serbian Government in May 2010. The new, changed law, might have been improved, but still remains limited in some of its aspects. The target group, once again, has been defined very tricky and this time provides a refugee status to *“persons who, due to events since 1991 till 1998 or its consequences, fled or were expelled from former Yugoslav republics”* (the Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2010). Such a formulation, which defines refugees according to the country of origin or time of escape is contrary to the 1951 Convention, and as such in the case of collision would be overruled (PRAXIS, 2006). As well, the law defines a person who opted for integration as a solution only *“as a person who filed a claim for citizenship of Republic of Serbia”*. Atfield et al. (2007) discuss that attaining a citizenship of a country is an important aspect of integration, but that the process of integration starts at the very beginning of the arrival, before the refugee status is even obtained. Zetter (2002) notes that *“legal conferment of citizenship is not, per se, a definitive indicator of integration, it is invariably a necessary if not sufficient condition for achieving this broader objective”*. Still, the majority of programs of local integration run by KIRS are available only for refugees who obtained, or are in a process of obtaining, citizenship of Republic of Serbia. This law, however, even with its gaps ensured legal protection for hundreds of thousands of refugees in Serbia for almost two decades.

Legal protection of IDPs is insured by **International Human rights Law** and **International Humanitarian Law**, which were ratified by Serbian authorities and therefore became legally binding. **The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement** are not a formally and legally binding document, but they define

¹⁹ Law on refugees, 1992

²⁰ originally titled: Zakon o izmenama i dopunama Zakona o izbeglicama

who IDPs are and identify guarantees provided for in the articles of international law, human rights and international humanitarian law, which are binding for Serbian authorities (PRAXIS, 2009). Legal protection on the national level is insured by the national legislation, which applies to IDPs as to any other Serbian citizen. However, there is no specific law within the Serbian legal system which would regulate status or rights of IDPs (Committee of the Government of the Republic of Serbia for the preparation of national strategy, 2002), nor are they mentioned in the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia²¹ from 2006 as a separate category (PRAXIS, 2009). The new Law on refugees (2010) also omits to mention IDPs in any of its parts. UNHCR & PRAXIS (2007) cite **The Law on Local Self Government**²² as an important law in the case of IDPs, considering that local authorities are delegated the power and can provide various opportunities for the improvement of the situation of minority communities, to which IDP belong.

Displaced RAEs might be in a slightly better position, because **The Law on Protection of Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities**²³ (2002), in which they are mentioned as a specifically affected community, obliges authorities to take measures needed for the improvement of the situation of RAE and prohibit discrimination towards them (UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007). A Draft **National Strategy for the Integration and Empowerment of Roma**²⁴ (2002) that has been adopted by the Government of Republic of Serbia in April 2009 presents a tool for the implementation of this law (IDMC, 2009). The strategy defines four priority areas (education, housing, employment and health), according to which four Roma National Action Plans were formulated. Those plans were adopted and their implementation has been initiated. Among eight additional action plans, which still remain in draft, two are aiming at returnees from Western Europe and IDPs from Kosovo. (UNHCR & PRAXIS 2007)

There is a great number of national and regional strategies and declarations which apply to refugees and/or IDPs, and upon which many programmes for their integration or repatriation are based. **The National strategy for resolving**

²¹ originally titled: Ustav Republike Srbije

²² originally titled: Zakon o lokalnoj samoupravi

²³ originally titled: Zakon o zaštiti prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina

²⁴ originally titled: Nacrt nacionalne strategije za integraciju i osnaživanje Roma

the issues of refugees and IDPs²⁵ (2002), adopted by the Government of the Republic of Serbia is one of the key documents and the most relevant strategy for the improvement of the status of refugees and IDPs. It focuses on promotion of repatriation, local integration and its legal and property aspects, as well as on measures and activities of the Serbian government in its implementation. Since the situation of refugees and IDPs has obviously changed compared to 2002, new national strategy is being prepared, and the second draft version from 2009 turns to be much more detailed and concrete. Draft version of the National strategy for resolving the issues of refugees and IDPs²⁶ (the Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2009a) defines three strategic goals for the imminent period:

- establishment of necessary basis for safe and dignified return of refugees to Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina
- creation of the necessary conditions for vulnerable and deprived refugees and former refugees (individuals and families) who have chosen to live in Serbia
- improvement of living conditions of vulnerable IDPs from Kosovo

Serbian **Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers**²⁷, which have been adopted by the Government of the Republic of Serbia in 2003, can be considered the second key document, even though not focused primarily on refugees and IDPs. However, poverty reduction among them belongs to one of the cross-cutting issues in the strategy and three possible solutions for this problem are defined: a special strategy for assistance to refugees and IDPs, an encouragement of economic independence and a positive impact of the economic growth (with a warning that the poor ones are less likely to benefit from this process). The development of the strategy for poverty reduction among refugees and IDPs should be developed according to 4 strategic options:

- Recognition of basic human rights, including removing obstacles, which might interfere with the effectiveness of the taken measures. This option

²⁵ originally titled: Nacionalna strategija za rešavanje pitanja izbeglih i interno raseljenih lica

²⁶ originally titled: Nacrt Nacionalne strategije za rešavanje pitanja izbeglica i interno raseljenih lica

²⁷ originally titled: Strategija za smanjenje siromaštva u Srbiji

basically calls for a new census of refugees and IDPs, less complicated issuance of personal documents, facilitating process for obtaining citizenship in the case of refugees etc.

- The measures focused on housing programmes, employment and asserting rights over property in the places of origin
- Programmes which would help build human and social capital and which would include the local population for the purpose of minimizing the discrimination and improving solidarity among the community members
- Definition of target categories of social transfers, such as child allowance, care provider allowance etc. (the Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2003)

According to the strategy, it is of great importance to stop treating refugees and IDPs as passive beneficiaries, but to motivate their economic independence.

Migration management strategy²⁸ (2009), which has been adopted by the Government of the Republic of Serbia, consists of migration policy and management of migration flows and should contribute to the system of regulated migration. One of the three strategic objectives it has is the protection of the rights of migrants and the creation of conditions for integration and social inclusion. The integration of refugees into the society is given lots of attention, with a remark that *“albeit some of them having formally lost their refugee status, there still remain around 300,000 persons who are actually in the substantive position of refugees, which makes 4% of the total population of the Republic of Serbia”* (the Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2009b).

Declaration of the Regional Ministerial Conference on Refugee Returns (2005), known as **Sarajevo declaration**, was signed by representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia, by which they committed to solve the remaining refugee problems in the region by the end of 2006, in cooperation with UNHCR, OSCE and EU. Above all, it focuses on international cooperation and provision of necessary conditions for the return of refugees. The optimistic aim failed to be fulfilled due to different standpoints of each of the countries, in regards to a final solution (the Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2009b).

²⁸ originally titled: Strategija za upravljanje migracijama

Strategy for the reintegration of returnees pursuant to the readmission agreements²⁹ (the Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2009c) is based on the prediction that between 50,000 and 100,000 persons, mainly Romas, which were not approved asylum, might have to return from Western Europe to Serbia. The information about returnees is quite limited, and so are the prediction about their vulnerability, but it is quite possible that they will be in no better situation than some of the IDPs in Serbia. The strategy aims to insure suitable living conditions for returnees, by:

- the creation of an institutional framework for the reintegration of returnees
- the creation of conditions for their primary admittance
- raising the capacity of local communities for reintegration of returnees into society (the Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2009b).

There are many other national and international documents, which in some parts anticipate special measures in the case of refugees and IDPs (e.g. Serbian National Employment Strategy, Law on Health Insurance of Republic of Serbia etc.) and which can be used as tools for implementation of their rights. The remaining problem is that the refugees and IDPs are not well informed about their rights.

7.5. International and national actors

UNHCR office in Serbia exists since 1976, when it was firstly open as an answer to the increasing number of asylum seekers in former Yugoslavia. After the war had started, UNHCR launched one of its largest operations in the world and became one of the main UN agencies in Serbia. The legal basis for its activities is ensured by the agreement signed with Serbian government in 1996. After the conflicts in 1999 induced new displacement, UNHCR was asked to prolong its mandate. UNHCR's mandate towards the IDPs in Serbia originates from a Secretary General request in 1991. UN Security Council resolution 1244 on the deployment of international civil and security presences in Kosovo

²⁹ originally titled: Strategija reintegracije povratnika po osnovu Sporazuma o readmisiji

appoints UNHCR with the role of supervising refugees and IDPs throughout the process of their return to Kosovo. Apart from providing help to refugees and IDPs, UNHCR also takes part in drafting asylum legislation and establishing asylum institutions in Serbia. (UN System in Serbia, 2008a). Apart from UNHCR, many other UN organizations run programs which aim at refugees and/or IDPs. UNMIK, for example, has established **Kosovo Property Agency (KPA)** with a mandate to resolve the immovable property claims (including agricultural and commercial property), resulting from the Serbo-Albanian conflict in 1998 and 1999 (KPA, 2007). **UN-HABITAT** has also realized a Settlement and Integration of Refugees programme in Serbia, aiming at the solution of housing problems, and has so far provided 670 housing solutions for about 3000 refugees (UN-HABITAT, 2010).

Apart from the UN agencies, **Danish Refugee Council (DRC)** is probably the main international organization in Serbia whose target group are refugees. Its engagement in Serbia started in 1993 and since then has provided help to thousands of refugees. The main activities are focused on refugees' issues, which are being addressed through four main programs: Integration, Information/Return, Civil Society and Legal Aid. It also supports capacity building of NGOs who assist refugees and IDPs, and IDP associations. (DRC, 2010)

At the national level, the main body is **The Serbian Commissariat for Refugees (KIRS)**, which was established in 1992. This government institution, in its activities, identifies a refugee status, provides help and accommodation, manages collective centers, coordinates humanitarian aid, keeps records on refugees and monitors the provision of aid (KIRS, 2007). After the Kosovo crisis has intensified, in 1999, its responsibilities have been extended to the IDPs that inhabit collective centers. Still, the new refugee law does not provide KIRS a mandate in relation to IDPs (UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007), which leaves hundreds of thousands of IDPs without a governmental institution responsible for their protection and assistance. **The Kosovo Coordination Centre** is a governmental institution, whose main task is coordination of state actors and agencies responsible for resolving problems related to Kosovo and managing activities concerning IDPs (UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007). Even though the name

sounds promising, the last information about the center dates back to 2008 and there is no any further information on its acting. In case the center is still active in its field of work, its programmes and activities remain unknown. Apart from those institutions, other state bodies, such as the **Ministry for labor, employment and social policy**, **The Ministry for Kosovo and Metohija**, **The Council for Readmission on the Basis of the Readmission Agreements** or **Office for human and minority rights** (in the case of RAE IDPs) turn to be of vital importance in refugee and IDPs life.

The non-governmental sector involved in the work with refugees and IDPs is unusually developed for Serbian environment and counts many organizations with long experience. As a result **Serbian refugee council** was created in 2004, as an alliance of 6 non-governmental organizations (NGOs): *Grupa 484 (Group 484)*, *Zdravo da ste (High Neighbor!)*, *Međunarodna mreža pomoći (International Aid Network)*, *Novosadski humanitarni centar (Novi Sad Humanitarian Centre)*, *Srpski demokratski forum (Serbian Democratic Forum)* and *Centar za razvoj građanskog društva Protecta (Center for Civil Society Development)*. Those organizations have a long tradition of provision of help to refugees, IDPs and returnees from Western Europe. Through their activities they provide medical, legal, psychological and other types of assistance, gather information, do research work, organize conferences on migration problems and work with refugee and IDP host communities. So far those organizations have provided help to hundreds of thousands of persons. PRAXIS is also among NGOs which notably contributed to the improvement of the situation of refugees, IDPs, returnees and members of minorities. It has been established not so long ago (in 2004), but has since than done a lot to help legal protection and remove bureaucratic obstacles those people face. Further institutions and organizations will be discussed later on in the document, if involved in programs of integration.

8. The concept of integration and its measurement

Integration is not only a term we all have heard of, but a process we have been through many times in life. The process is differently perceived by individuals and as such is diversely understood and defined. Some persons consider it to be a process by which our life quality is improved and for them integration is a goal; some look at it as an undesirable infliction which brings a uniformity, while for the others it presents a form of description of human relations patterns. (UNRISD, 1994).

The concept of integration of refugees and IDPs is also a subject of disputation; Castles (2002) states that a universal definition does not exist and that the concept of refugee integration is „hotly debated“. UNHCR (2009d) explains it as *„a dynamic and multifaceted two-way process which requires efforts by all parties concerned, including a preparedness on the part of refugees to adapt to the receiving society without having to forego their own cultural identity and a corresponding readiness of the part of the receiving communities and public institutions to welcome refugees and meet the needs of a diverse community“*. This means that the process consists of mutual involvement of both refugee and a host community. Still, this is the perception of a professional body, while Castel (2002) states that *“Most political discussions of integration seem to assume tacitly that it means conformity with a homogenous set of norms and values within a monocultural society“* and that the policies are often expecting refugees to give up on their own culture and way of life and integrate in the society without a reciprocal adjustment.

Bearing in mind the complexity of process, it is hard to decide upon when successful integration is actually achieved. Is a person who gave up on his cultural habits in order to become a part of society successfully integrated? What about those who sacrificed religious beliefs for the price of economical independence (which in many cases is fundamental for solution of educational, housing and other problems with which refugees typically encounter)? There is no rule under which the success of integration should be measured, nor are there internationally accepted indicators which should be used. Zetter (2002) proposes four main clusters of indicators:

- **the citizenship domain**, that might include indicators such as: citizenship status, time needed to obtain it, or conditionality to access different social, economic or welfare rights depending on the stage of refugee status and citizenship determination...
- **the governance domain**, for which some of the following indicators might be used: the stakeholders involved in the process, share of responsibilities between government, state agency and civil society, governance strategies...
- **the functional domain**, containing indicators such as housing, education, language skills and others which condition employment, welfare benefits...
- **the social domain**, indicated by ones sense of identity, social capital, involvement in the community...

EU, for instance, focuses more on the social aspect of integration and suggests **employment, education, social inclusion and active citizenship** as indicators for the measurement of integration of immigrants and refugees. Each of these is composed of a variety of indicators; education, for example, is measured by the highest educational attainment, share of low achieving 15 years old, early leavers etc. (UNHCR, 2010e). On the other hand, UNHCR (2010f) in cooperation with Migration Policy Group (MPG) has recently developed Integration evaluation tool that covers every aspect of refugee life, which consists of more than 200 indicators, divided into 4 main groups:

- **general considerations** - 16 indicators (e.g. impact of reception conditions on integration process)
- **legal integration** - 75 indicators (e.g. family reunification)
- **socio-economic area** - 84 indicators (e.g. health)
- **socio-cultural area** - 46 indicators (e.g. language learning)

Another study on the indicators has been taken by Ager & Strang (2004), who according to the results formulated the framework of ten key domains, gathered in four headings. The first heading, **Means and markers** is classified as the essential in the integration process. It includes four domains - employment, education, health and housing. The second heading, **Social connections**

consists of three domains - social bridges, social bonds and social links and puts the accent on the importance of the relationships between people in the society. The third heading, **Facilitators**, is composed of language and cultural knowledge on one side and the safety and stability on the other. At last there is **Foundation** which is made of one's rights and citizenship. It is important to note that all the domains are interconnected and have impact on each other and the way they are presented should not be seen as a pecking order.

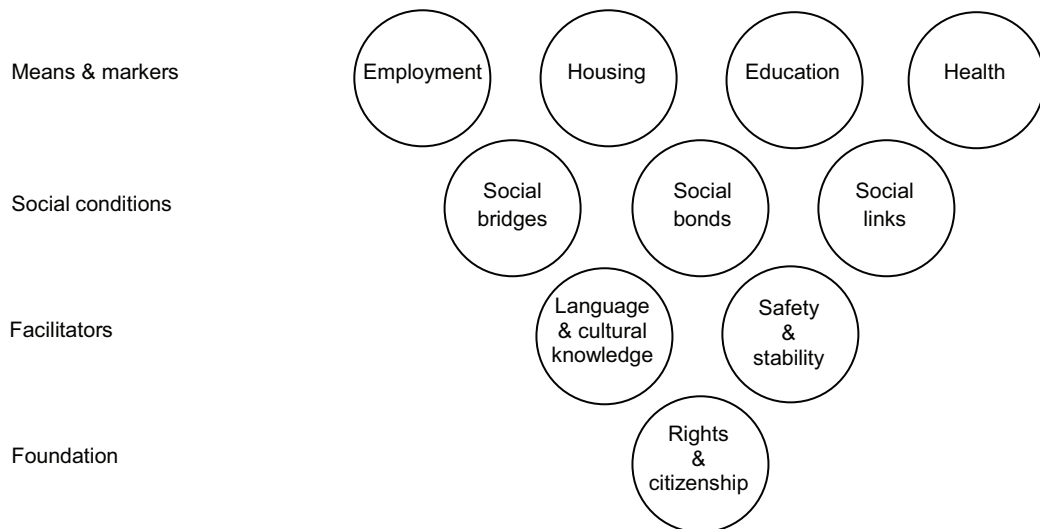


Figure 10: The indicators of integration of framework (according to Ager & Strang, 2004)

In most studies, the integration of IDPs has been measured by similar (if not the same) indicators as for the refugees. The main difference is the legal aspect of the integration, since IDPs are the citizens of the country they are displaced within and as such, theoretically, have the same rights as all the other citizens, while refugees' rights are conditioned by their status. The language and cultural knowledge may also significantly differ, which is not the case in Serbia, where almost all refugees originate from the former Yugoslav republics and therefore share the same culture and language as the rest of Serbs.

9. (Problems of) Integration of refugees and IDPs in Serbia

9.1. Access to documents

...we had to leave our home late in the evening. I put my wife and children on a bus, thinking it would be safer for them. I followed in a car. In the middle of the night, the bus was surrounded and attacked by armed men. I thought of nothing else but to run inside and save their lives. My ID card, driving license, ...everything disappeared with the car that night.³⁰

People who are in a life threatening situation usually feel lucky enough if they manage to save the lives of their family members. They often have no time to think about grabbing personal belongings, such as basic documents. Subsequently, the lack of documents presents a barrier for obtaining access to social services, health care or employment. Many refugees and IDPs in Serbia found themselves in this situation and some of them are still digging their way out of it. This is one of the main reasons for their unprogressive integration, as their rights and possibilities are notably limited. Yet, the process for obtaining new documents is different for refugees than for IDPs.

A person who fled from Kosovo (or any other area within the country) needs to possess their IDP card to get access to accommodation in collective centers, humanitarian assistance and health care (UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007). To obtain an IDP card, which is issued upon personal request from KIRS, a person needs to prove he/she is a citizen of Serbia who was residing in Kosovo. This is undertaken by a person giving a copy of their identification (ID) card, proof of residence before 1999 and a proof of temporary residence; without these documents it is not possible to submit an application for an IDP card (PRAXIS, 2007). This is usually where many problems start: a great number of IDPs lack their ID cards or other documents and need to walk a thorny path to get them issued. In 2008, 28.4% of Serbian and 48.5% of RAE IDP households³¹ were still lacking some form of documentation (Cvejić & Babović, 2009).

³⁰ from an interview with an IDP from ORA Radinac

³¹ the research carried by Cvejić S. covered 858 displaced households and does not necessarily represent the image of the whole IDP population

Some of the Kosovo registry offices, in which new ID cards (as well as the majority of other essential documents, such as birth, death, citizenship and marriage certificates) are issued have been „dislocated“ to Southern and Central Serbia (UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007). Applications for ID cards need to be submitted and collected personally from a particular registry office (according to the place of birth), which often means that even a person who possesses documents necessary to obtain a new ID card, can not do so because travel expenses are too high, often requiring more than one journey and a place to sleep over (UNHCR et al, 2007). A process of obtaining documents from the dislocated registry offices often takes an unreasonably long time, in some cases 5 months (UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007). Birth certificates (necessary for the submission of an ID card) were also issued only upon personal submission until 2005, but the praxis has now been changed. However, the remaining peripety is that birth certificates are considered valid for up to six months from the date of issuance. Administrative fees, that need to be paid every time a certificate is issued, have been reduced by 70% for IDPs, but many people remain uninformed about this change (PRAXIS, 2007). RAE IDPs stated a lack of knowledge on procedures as a main obstacle when obtaining documentation (Cvejić & Babović, 2009). Temporary residence registration (also necessary for IDP card) also presents a problem, not only for RAE IDPs who frequently live in illegal settlements which can not be registered as a legal address (UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007), but also for some other IDPs who were not allowed to register their temporary residences at certain police stations, as instructed by the Ministry of Interior of Republic of Serbia in 2003. They were told to submit requests for permanent residence in Serbia instead (PRAXIS, 2007).

Another, still unsolved problem, is access to documents from registry offices, institutions and companies that are still situated in Kosovo. Documents that can be obtained from the registry offices are issued by Kosovo authorities. However, Serbian state bodies refuse to recognize the legal validity of such documents (PRAXIS, 2007). The problem with many documents from Kosovo institutions or companies is that they have either been destroyed or dislocated to unknown places. A person's only chance of access to such documents is with the help of an attorney at law, who often asks for prodigiously high amounts of money

(UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007). The usual response from the institution/company, although believed to be untruthful, is that they do not possess documents dating before 1999. Insecure situations, financial restraints or personal reasons impede IDPs from going to Kosovo and trying to resolve the problem themselves (UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007).

A lack of basic documents especially affects RAE IDPs, as many families have not been registered for generations, do not possess basic documents and as such are „legally invisible“ people. There are ways to acquire those documents, but the process often requires judicial proceedings. To prove paternity and maternity, courts ask for DNA analysis which costs around 40.000 Serbian dinars³² (PRAXIS, 2009). In 2008, 20.2% of RAE IDP households lacked ID cards and 17.2% lacked birth certificates (Cvejić & Babović, 2009). Main documents lacked by Serbian and RAE IDPs households are presented in Figure 11.

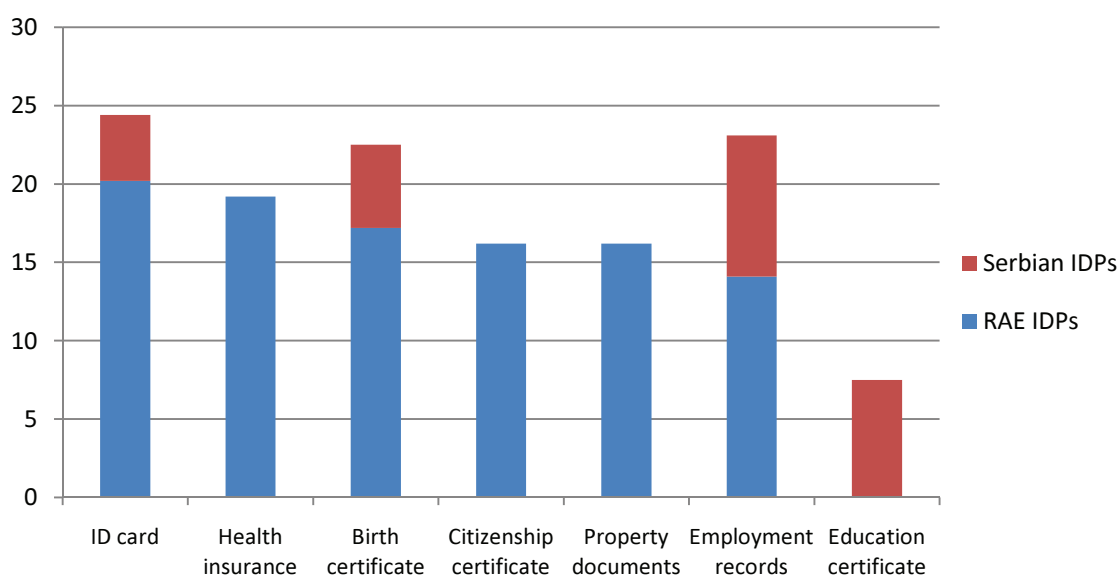


Figure 11: Basic documents lacked by IDPs (in %) (according to Cvejić & Babović, 2009)

As a result of the unfavorable access to documents, IDPs suffer enormous restrictions: an inability to prove their previous work experiences and to access proper (or any) employment or rights of retirement, to prove achievements in

³² 40.000 Serbian dinars is approximately 380 EUR

education and continue where interrupted, to prove ownership of real estate and possibly receive compensation in the future. The list is endless and does not just include problems relating to the essential necessities of life, but also those which unnecessarily complicate IDP's lives (such as retaking driving tests, because there is no way to prove it has been completed). The main problems faced by IDPs due to the lack of documentation are presented in Table 3

Table 3: Main problems faced by IDPs due to the lack of documents (in %) (according to Cvejić & Babović, 2009)

Problems	Serbian IDPs	RAE IDPs	Total
Health care	2.9	35.4	38.3
Employment	5.4	34.3	39.7
Education	1.5	26.3	27.8
Social benefits	4.6	18.3	22.9

Refugees would be expected to have less problems now, considering it has been almost 20 years since some of them arrived, but for certain reasons many of them still suffer from the problems caused by their lack of documentation. Even though almost 200,000 of them managed to obtain Serbian citizenship (KIRS, 2008), many have experienced similar problems to those of IDPs: some of them were obliged to travel to their country of origin to get access to documents, their economic situation presented a barrier, the process was taking too long etc. (SSI, 2006). However, certain segments of the process were remarkably facilitated: administration fees for obtaining citizenship were reduced from 10,430 to 590 Serbian dinars³³; a possibility of submitting the application for the whole family for the cost of one person also existed. As well, birth certificates were accepted even after 6 months from the date of issuance (UNHCR et al, 2007).

One of the key easements was made in relation to birth, marriage and other certificates, which can only be obtained from registry offices in the refugees country of origin: refugees who obtained Serbian citizenship, but were unable to access those documents can, based on the decision of the authorized

³³ from approximately 100 to less than 6 EUR

administrative body, register their personal information in Serbian registry offices without any physical documentation. This way, the problem of obtaining documents from the country of origin is resolved for good (UNHCR et al, 2007).

However, some problems remain: it is estimated that more than 30,000 documents, mainly from refugee countries of origin, still need to be obtained (KIRS, 2008). Similar to IDPs, high financial costs of the processes or insecure situations in countries of origin presently remain major problems (KIRS, 2008). Concerning documents issued in Serbia, one of the remaining obstacles is the process of obtaining Serbian ID cards. It requires registration of residence, but since the majority of refugees live in rented apartments, the confirmation has to be done by the owner who is often unwilling to do so. Collective types of accommodation, such as collective or gerontology centers were not accepted for some submissions (UNHCR et al, 2007). Another obstacle is that prior to the issuance of the ID card, a refugee status needs to be recalled. In the case of those who primarily fled from Croatia or Bosnia to Kosovo, and later on from Kosovo to Serbia, the evidence of their refugee status has usually been destroyed or lost (UNHCR et al, 2007). As a result of the overall situation, 44% of refugees still lack one or more personal documents - some of them can be obtained in Serbia (8%), but the majority (36%) need to be issued in the country of origin (KIRS, 2008), as shown in Table 4. As a consequence, refugees' (lack of) possibilities to integrate successfully are not much different to the IDP ones.

Table 4: Documents still missing from the country of origin (in %) (KIRS, 2008)

Document	Refugee households
JMBG³⁴ affirmation	23.7
Employment register booklet	25.1
Birth certificate	28.5
Citizenship certificate	28.5
Documents concerning property	34.5

³⁴ JMBG is an abbreviation for Jedinstveni Matični Broj Građana - Unique Master Citizen Number, which is an identification number that was assigned to all former Yugoslav citizens and is still being used in all the former Yugoslav republics except Croatia

9.2. Housing

*...After we left, someone moved into our house. When the war was over it was impossible for us to go back, but we, at least, wanted to pick up the stuff we had there. A woman who opened a door stared at us and, when she understood who we were, said we should be ashamed to have left her a broken dishwasher. We just turned and left...*³⁵

Housing related issues are considered to be one of the main factors determining the achieved degree of integration. According to the law, refugees have to be provided with a temporary accommodation upon their arrival to Serbia. In 1996, when the number of refugees was the highest, 70,000 persons was accommodated in 700 government-run collective centers throughout the country (KIRS, 2010a). After the arrival of IDPs, due to the lack of capacities in the collective centers, many of them had to settle in "informal collective centers", usually privately owned and often had to struggle not to be thrown out by its owners. For the purposes of obtaining humanitarian assistance, which was provided only to those with a proof of temporary residence in Serbia, they also had to search for a person willing to register them on their address (UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007). In 2002, due to lack of government response and insufficiently developed financing from the private sector, the housing issues of refugees in Serbia were rated the most problematic in the region (Wegelin, 2003). According to the information gained at census in 2001, almost half of the refugees (44%) used to live in a rented accommodation, but since the expenses were too high for their budget, the majority of them had rented inadequate objects (e.g. rooms without bathroom or even garages). There was many of them (30%) residing at their friends or relatives, while only 18% had its own accommodation. In the case of IDPs number of those who owned the accommodation was even lower (7.5%). At that time collective centers were „home“ to 21,000 of refugees and 9000 of IDPs (SSI, 2006., Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2002).

Even though the first programs towards the solution of housing issues have started in 1994 (SSI, 2006), considerable progress was reached after the

³⁵ from a conversation with a refugee who fled from Croatia

National strategy for resolving issues of refugees and IDPs was brought in 2002. Housing and gradual phasing down of collective centers were addressed as key points of the integration and concrete mechanisms and measures were appointed towards the achievement of the planned goals. The same year the Social and refugee related housing secretariat was established to assist the Government during the implementation of the strategy (Wegelin, 2003). Programs of durable solution from the Strategy implicate two main forms:

- **affordable housing** - (re)construction of houses and apartments, that can be either rented or purchased by refugees and IDPs with favorable bank loans. In the frame of this programme houses with land in depopulated areas or areas with lack of manpower, as well as assistance in the construction material, acquisition of gardens and agricultural land through life-sustenance contracts and other forms of support are being offered.
- **social housing** - extension of the capacities for social and health care, as well as reconstruction of state-owned objects. It encompasses social state apartments in the suburbs or less urbanized areas and is meant for the most vulnerable groups (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2002).

The main international actors involved in housing-related projects are UNHCR and Swiss Development Cooperation who, in the period between 1997 till 2005, financed construction of over 2,500 housing units and provided building material for another 3,000 refugees (UNHCR, 2006). Apart from already mentioned organizations, UN-HABITAT, European Commission for Reconstruction and European Commission played an important role. By 2008 over 630 rural households were redeemed, 3,800 housing units have been built, 3,250 construction-material packages and 30 prefabricated houses have been provided; all together 30,000 refugees have been covered by housing-based programmes (KIRS, 2008). Redeeming houses in rural areas turned to be a very effective solution, because many of them come with a piece of land enough for basic agricultural activities (UNHCR et al, 2007). In some municipalities few problems occurred, since local citizens were jealous on allocated land or provided employment for refugees. At the same time, there

were places where the project was so well accepted that local authorities took the initiative of finding new plots for refugees (UNHCR, 2004). Since the last couple of years the majority of budget was dedicated only to the solutions which were leading to phasing down of the collective centers, KIRS (2008) states it would now be necessary to switch to refugees and IDPs who live in rented accommodation (KIRS, 2008).

Unfortunately, even though the situation has been significantly improved, not everyone's problems have been resolved yet: phasing down of collective centers was supposed to happen long time ago, but there are still 43 government-run centers in Serbia, where 1105 refugees and 3792 IDPs reside, as well as in Kosovo where 17 collective centers host 105 refugees and 558 IDPs, as pointed in Table 5 (KIRS, 2010b).

Table 5: Number of collective centers and its residents (according to KIRS)

Year	Collective centers	Refugees	IDPs
2001	388	17.415	9.448
2002	323	13.569	9.274
2003	194	8.107	7.933
2004	143	5.091	7.408
2005	112	3.418	6.128
2006	92	2.515	5.760
2007	80 (18 in Kosovo)	1.702	5.046
2008	74 (17 in Kosovo)	1.361	4.763
2010	60 (17 in Kosovo)	1.210	4.350

Statistics about the IDP population which still resides in centers state their situation is worrying: 41% of IDPs is unemployed and 58% has no personal income. As a result, 55% of households live with less than 5,000 Serbian dinars³⁶ per person per month and 603 are described as extremely vulnerable (KIRS, 2010b). Some stated the only solution for them to leave the center would

³⁶ approximately 47 EUR

be repatriation to Kosovo. A great part of IDPs (32%) still residing in collective centers needs legal assistance, mainly due to unresolved issues with properties in Kosovo (KIRS, 2010b). The last information about the needs of refugees who are still in centers dates from 2008 and is slightly better than that of the IDPs: 33% is unemployed and 29% of households lives with less than 5000 Serbian dinars per person per month (KIRS, 2008).

Housing related issues of RAE IDPs can be looked at as a different category: the majority of them lives in approximately 600 illegal settlements, together with the other Roma people (IDMC, 2009). Those are usually placed at outskirts of urban centers, where objects for living are made out of materials such as huts, metal containers, cardboards, car wrecks etc. and are very rarely provided with electricity, water or canalization (UNHCR, 2009e). In 2009, more than 130 Roma families who lived under one of the bridges in Belgrade were resettled, but the alternative housing (in the form of containers) was provided only to those who were legally residing in Belgrade, while 53 families were sent back to the South of Serbia (IDMC, 2009). Apart from the forced evictions, another problem is their ineligibility for any type of assistance, as it is provided only to those who have registered addresses (UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007).

9.3. Economic (in)dependence

The sanctions levied in the nineties and a war-damaged infrastructure had devastating effects on Serbian economy. So far, the obvious progress has been done, but with 7.9% of the population living below the poverty line³⁷ (2008 est.) and 16.6% of the unemployed (2009 est.) the situation is far away from satisfying (CIA, 2010b). A country, in which even college-educated persons do not always manage to financially secure themselves, does not present an ideal place for the vulnerable groups.

Economic independence, along with housing, is one of the key moments in the successful integration of refugees and IDPs and requires the creation of

³⁷ income-based poverty line - below 4,489 Serbian dinars per month, as defined in Serbian PRSP

conditions for their employment. Refugees in Serbia, according to the law, have equal rights to employment as any other Serbian citizen, with the exception of government institutions and certain agencies established by state or local government (UNHCR et al, 2007). Demographic and economic factors among the refugee population (e.g. educational and age structure) are slightly better than that of the rest of the Serbian citizens, and can contribute to faster integration in the new community (Babović, et al., 2007). At the first refugee census, in 1996, 68.3% of able-bodied refugees were unemployed. The situation improved and in 2001 the unemployment rate amounted 54.8% while at the last census it increased to 58% (UNHCR et al, 2007). This does not have to mean that the situation deteriorated in the mean time; it can be explained by the fact that persons whose refugee status has been recalled, were the ones who managed to find the employment and integrate into local communities (UNHCR et al, 2007). However, the unemployment among the refugees is still significantly higher than among the rest of the population. The latest figures show unemployment rate of approximately 33% (KIRS, 2008). Over 50% of households' monthly income is lower than 300 \$. The average month income per households is 123\$, which makes it 39.9\$ per member (KIRS, 2008). The situation is especially difficult for refugees who still reside in collective centers (Table 6): the unemployment rates in collective centers are higher than 60%, while among the other refugees they number 33% (KIRS, 2008).

Table 6: Working status of refugees (in %) (according to KIRS, 2008)

	Refugees	Refugees in coll. centers
Employed	35.3	9.1
Unemployed	32.7	62.4
Helping household member	1.5	2.6
Retired	10.5	10.4
Child/Student	20.0	15.5

Statistics about the IDPs also indicate unfavorable situation: depending on the source, unemployment among IDPs in 2001 was between 45 and 52% (SSI, 2006); in 2003, there was twice as much unemployed IDPs as domicile non-Romani population (NSHC, 2005). Cvejić & Babović (2009) state that rates are even higher in Kosovo, where 69.5% Serbian and 78.8% RAE IDPs are unemployed; yet, many of RAE IDPs were in a very unfavorable situation even before the displacement. A special problem appears with those who were employed in state companies in Kosovo: they were entitled a monthly monetary compensation of 4000 dinars³⁸ (which is paid off with 5 months delay). Those persons are, from the legal point of view, not considered unemployed, and as such cannot participate in any programs of active employment measures (Grupa 484, 2008).

The National Employment Service of the Republic of Serbia (NES), among the state institutions, plays the key role in securing employment for all the registered refugees and IDPs. Theoretically, everyone should be able to register, but the lack of documentation disables many to do it. To register, IDPs need to submit its diploma/s, employment record booklet and their IDP card. Without the complete documentation, the registration is not possible. As discussed in chapter 9.1. many persons do not possess their employment record and the process of obtaining it is long and complicated: in many cases facts about the previous employment cannot be proved, or are not accepted if issued by Kosovo authorities. Therefore, they are not able to receive the unemployment compensation or enjoy the services NES provides (UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007). Non-possession of the employment record, diplomas and other documents brings many other problems: those who manage to find a job are not officially registered and therefore are not paid either social or health insurance; as such they are not legally protected and depend only on the employers will. Persons, who have never been employed before, can obtain their employment register booklets in the municipalities according to their permanent residence, but in many cases it is impossible (UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007).

³⁸ approximately 40 EUR

National strategy (2002), along with housing and phasing down of collective centers, names employment as the third key factor for successful integration of refugees and IDPs. It focuses on two main aims: ensuring preparation (through trainee programmes and scholarships) and funds (through in-kind grants) for employment, as well as the employment schemes under various credit conditions. Those programmes should include 50% of refugees and IDPs, and are mainly focused towards the extremely vulnerable groups, able-bodied families, but also to those entrepreneurship-oriented and qualified for finding employment in existing companies. Main programmes that are envisaged in the strategy include provision of kind-grants, interest-free loans, micro credits, self-employment programmes, preparation for employment and extension of capacities of successful companies on purpose to create new jobs (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2002).

On purpose to improve the employment opportunities and create some workplaces, many international agencies have assisted refugees and IDPs with grants, soft loans, micro-credits or professional trainings. During the period between 1997 and 2004 approximately 15,000 persons have been provided with micro credits and another 1,200 with professional trainings (SSI, 2006). There are numerous examples of successful stories and those measures facilitated the closure of approximately 347 collective centers (UNHCR, 2006). Considering the process of obtaining credits, some obstacles were reported: persons who are applying for credits usually needed to have an endorser or to own at least part of the business premises (Grupa 484, 2008). The state encouraged numerous self employment programmes, as well as small and medium enterprises as the preferred method of economic development, but a lack of information and knowledge of refugees and IDPs sometimes presented an obstacle for their active involvement in the programme (SSI, 2006). A need for advisory support before and after obtaining the loans seems to be necessary, not only because of the lack of knowledge, but also because of complex procedures for getting a loan, uncertain market and bureaucratic administration. (Grupa 484, 2008). The majority of people who accessed loans pinpointed a significant increase in the feeling of independence, security and

hope (SSI, 2006). Unfortunately, the number of people able to access the loans is also limited by pretty restricted funds for those programmes.

Those programmes are not primarily focused on retired refugees and IDPs, who might be among those who economically suffer the most, because retirement is the only source of permanent income. According to the agreement on Social security between Croatia and Serbia, refugees from Croatia can obtain their retirements in places they currently reside; they can also apply for the Croatian retirement in Serbia (SSI, 2006). As usual, numerous obstacles make the whole process almost impossible: the unrealistic deadline was given for the convalescence of years of service and was acquiring documentation from the period between 1991 and 1995, at certain places documentation has been destroyed etc. It has been reported that even those who managed to start the convalescence practically were not able to get the right of pension because the process was too complicated (UNHCR et al, 2007). Some persons who had rights to disability pensions were asked to come to Croatia for a check-up by a commission. IDPs have a different type of problem: their rights to pension are based on the employment record booklets (often missing) and the information from the Pension Fund database. This database does not contain information on pension contributions for the period since 1991 till 1999, while the information dating before 1991 are also characterized as flawed. For the periods for which data are missing, IDPs are given minimum pensions, with no consideration on type of the job which was performed (Grupa 484, 2008). The situation is additionally complicated by the fact that forms, necessary for acquiring rights to retirement, are issued by unrecognized Kosovo authorities (SSI, 2006).

According to the National Strategy (2002) IDP and refugee households have right to apply for the majority of social programs, including direct cash assistance (one-time or long-term assistance, such as child benefits for children up to 14 years of age, unemployment insurance etc.), but many remain uninformed of this possibility (UNHCR et al, 2007). On purpose to develop a joint strategy for public sector and NGOs and improve the provision of social assistance to vulnerable groups, The Ministry of Labour and Social policy, in a cooperation with UNDP has established the Social Innovation Fund, that should

improve founding of social policies (UNHCR, 2004; the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, 2010). One of the problems is that local strategies and action plans for poverty reduction do not always treat refugees and IDPs as vulnerable social groups. The overall perception of social situation among refugees and IDPs is often distorted, because of the small number of refugees who managed to situate themselves better than the local residents (Grupa 484, 2008). Additional problems also exist: to have access to social welfare, IDPs must deregister from the previous address in Kosovo and submit numerous documents. This especially affects old and ill persons, who are not able to fulfill the requirements by themselves (IDMC, 2009; UNHCR, 2004). Further, quite limited budget and high demands for social welfare services are overloaded and do not have enough funds to even cover the basic needs of domicile population (SSI, 2006). Development assistance provided to Serbia has been focused mainly on the infrastructure and energy sector, while the alleviation and social welfare have been put in the shadow; that explains why a dramatic decline of humanitarian aid deeply affected social support of vulnerable groups like refugees or IDPs (UNHCR, 2004).

9.4. Education

*...Come, look at her diplomas, she is the best student in the class. Yesterday she spent the whole day crying, because her only shoes were too wet and I did not let her go to school. But I have no choice when it is this cold outside: whenever I let her go in wet shoes, she comes back sick and than misses classes for another week...*³⁹

During the conflict situations access to the education is often interrupted, and higher priorities are given to number of issues, such as provision of shelter, food or healthcare. Persons who flee from the conflict areas, in average spend 17 years in collective centers and without the access to education the entire generations would grow uneducated (INEE, 2010). Apart from the academic point of view, the access to education for children who experienced violence and aggression is necessary, in particular because it gives them the opportunity

³⁹ from a conversation with a women from a collective center ORA Radinac

to palliate psychological and social impacts of conflict and provides them with sense of stability and hope (Pavlov, 2007). The opportunity for socialization with mates, establishment of networks and possibility of self-expression has a great impact on one's sense of identity and inclusion (Nicolai & Triplehorn, 2003).

The access to education in Serbia has been notably affected in 1999 by NATO bombing, when teaching was interrupted for 78 days, due to security reasons. Moreover, many school objects have been destroyed during the time of bombing - only during the first month, about 200 school objects including 25 university buildings, 45 secondary and 90 primary school buildings were badly damaged or destroyed (Federal Ministry for Foreign affairs of Yugoslavia, 1999). Also, many schools in Serbia have been turned into collective centers in which refugees and IDPs reside up to nowadays (KIRS, 2010). Due to the increase in the number of students who arrived, some schools had to double the number of enrolled pupils, while the number of teachers and materials stayed the same, which produced the extra-ordinary pressure and had a negative impact on the overall results of all the pupils (UN OCHA, 2002).

Obligatory education in Serbia includes six months of preparatory preschool programme, in the year preceding starting school, and primary education which lasts 8 years (Ministry of Education of the Republic of Serbia, 2010). Children and youngsters who fled to Serbia managed to fit into schools relatively easy, since the language and the educational system do not significantly differ (SSI, 2006). Enrollment of a child into a school requires necessary documentation (various medical analysis, birth certificate etc.), but the majority of primary schools in Serbia is willing to "shut their eyes" to it and accept children without the proper documentation (UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007). In 2002, the majority (92.3%) of internally displaced children from collective centers was enrolled in schools and the attendance rates between them and the national average (97.4%) were almost the same (UN OCHA, 2002). Some of them mentioned enrolment in school as an important moment while passing through the crisis caused by fleeing (SSI, 2006).

Latest enrolment rates pinpoint the educational underachievement between domicile non-Romani children, refugees and non-Romani IDPs and RAE IDPs

(Figure 12). Indicators from 2005 show that 95% of domicile non-Romani population is enrolled in primary school (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2009d), while the rates drop to 85% for refugees and non-Romani IDPs, and to 74% in the case of Roma (UNDP, 2006). Differences deepen at the level of secondary education, which is not obligatory: 71% of domicile non-Romani population is enrolled in school, refugees and non-Romani IDPs count 58%, while Roma reach only 19% (UNDP, 2006). At tertiary level there is 10% of domicile non-Romani, 6% of refugees/non-Romani IDPs and 1% of Roma students (UNDP, 2006). The enrolment of refugee and IDP girls in primary school was lower than the enrolment of boys (UNDP, 2006).

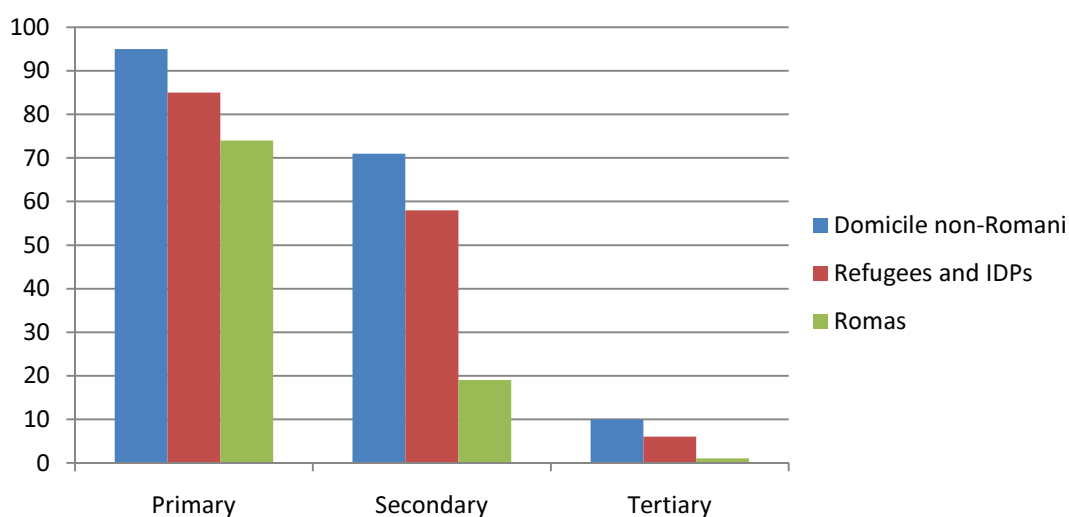


Figure 12: Primary school enrolment rates in Serbia (in %) (according to UNDP, 2006)

Significant drop of IDPs in the secondary education might origin from the very limited access to documents from Kosovo. In many cases they are not able to prove the achieved level of education and therefore cannot access secondary schools or universities. The procedure for proving the qualifications needs to be done through the court, which often refuses to accept those cases (UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007). One of the major problems was a decision of the Serbian authorities not to recognize certificates issued by educational institutions from Kosovo. So far, the decision has been changed in the case of Priština University diplomas with UNMIK stamp, which are recognized as valid since October 2008 (IDMC, 2009).

Access to the documentation is only one of the reasons for a significant inequality between domicile population and refugees/IDPs. Limited financial means present a barrier for all those who live in remote rural areas and who need to pay transport on daily bases. With the additional costs for books and other school supplies, for them the education becomes impossible (SSI, 2006). Accessibility to the universities is even lower, not only because of the additional expenses for accommodation, but because those who successfully completed entrance exam, but are ranked lower on the list need to pay tuition fees⁴⁰. Financial support in the form of scholarships and stipends almost does not exist: only 1% of refugee, IDP and Romani households receive some financial assistance (UNDP, 2006). In many cases refugee students are not even eligible to apply for the financial support, because permanent residence in Serbia is often required (Grupa 484, 2008). 38% of refugees and IDPs, aged 6 to 22, said the costs of education present an obstacle for the continuance of their education (UNDP, 2006). Financial means do not lack only for ensuring school materials and costs of transportation, but for the proper clothes and shoes as well (UN OCHA, 2002). In such a situation many parents are forced to involve their children in activities which bring financial means to their families⁴¹. In addition to those barriers, children of minority communities are often a target of discrimination and are exposed to abuse and violence. Some parents reported attempts of separation of IDP pupils from Kosovo to special classes (UN OCHA, 2002).

RAE IDPs are probably the group that has been affected the most by discrimination in the educational system (as well as in the other fields). Different culture and the language barrier contribute to the existing prejudice about Roma and make it extremely difficult for children and youngsters. The majority of RAE lacks basic skills in Serbian language, but the educational system in Serbia does not provide classes in Romani language. As a result, they are unable to follow the classes and usually drop out of school (COE, 2009). Discrimination against RAE comes from their peers, who often tease them on the racial or ethnic grounds, but also from teachers and other employees in schools, who

⁴⁰ e.g. at the University of Belgrade tuition fees for the school year 2010/2011 vary from 1000 to 4950 EUR per year (Infostud, 2010)

⁴¹ For more information, that has been obtained through the case study, see chapter 10.4.5.

sometime order RAE children to sit in separate desks, or even separate them to the special classes (PRAXIS, 2009). It goes as far as forbidding them to use the same toilets as other children in school (UN System in Serbia, 2008b). For the lack of knowledge of Serbian, those kids are often sent to schools for children with special needs (intellectual disabilities), where rates of Romani pupils go as high as 80% (COE & ECRI, 2007). Certain measures that were taken to prevent the discrimination of Roma in school and improve their language skills, such as “catch up classes” or provision of personal assistants to Roma helped to considerable number of pupils (COE, 2007). According to the Law on National Minorities from 2002, free textbooks should be provided to Roma children during the primary education, but in reality the majority does not manage to access them (IDMC, 2009).

Even though numerous NGOs run programmes for the improvement of the situation of RAE, as well as IDP children in schools and provide them with different types of assistance, discriminatory attitude of teachers persists. School personal does not seem to be educated enough about the psychosocial aspects of displacement and therefore cannot identify their vulnerability. At the same time, parents and children, themselves are often not able to identify problems or take the initiative, which deeply affects educational and social integration of IDP children (Pavlov, 2007).

9.5. Access to health care

...my mother had a brain stroke and needs to be taken care off, but my father is also sick, so he can not do it. I could not cope with all that around me after everything I have already been through, so I started seeing a psychiatrist...⁴²

Health state of vulnerable groups is often at high risk due to increased stress and improper living conditions, sometimes residing in tumble-down houses exposed to mould, with no proper heating or bathroom. Those people should have right to access health care services such as anyone else. Health care system in Serbia is financed from salary based contributions, which employers

⁴² from a conversation with a teenage IDP living in South of Serbia

are obliged to pay for their workers, as well as from governmental funding, which should cover costs of health care for persons who can not afford it (Gajić-Stevanović et al, 2009). As such, it has been severely weakened by the arrival of refugees and IDPs, who in the majority of cases had no income and could not participate in the financing of the health care system. Deterioration of provision of health services has been experienced the most by IDPs, who suffer from greater health problems than the domicile non-displaced population (UNHCR & PRAXIS, 2007).

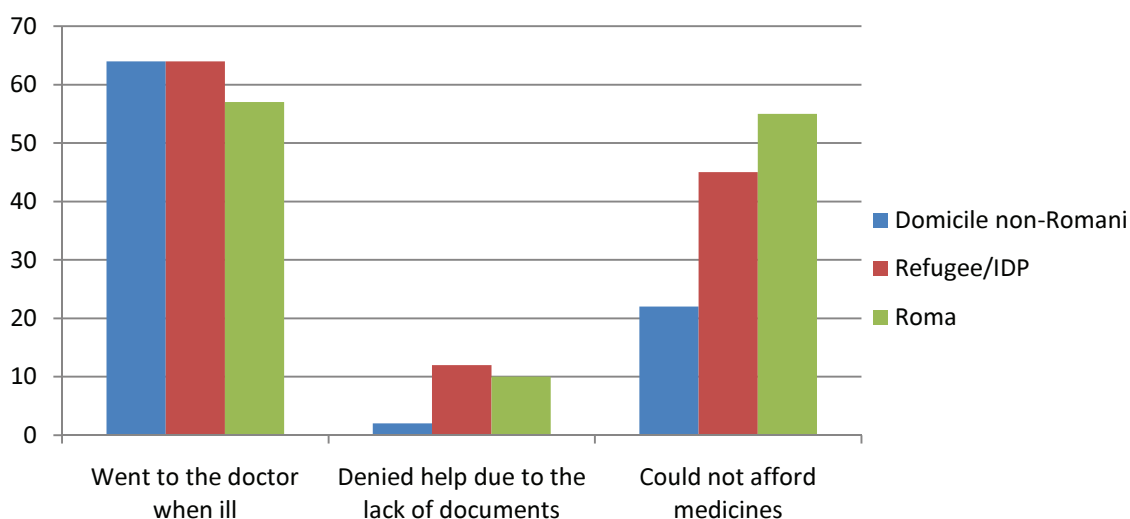


Figure 13: Access to health care (in %) (according to UNDP, 2006)

Access to health care presents one of the most common problems that refugees/IDPs are facing (Figure 13). Due to obstacles related to documents 12% of refugees and IDPs as well as 10% of Roma were denied provision of medical care. The same problem was experienced by domicile population, but in a much lower rate (2%) (UNDP, 2006). Even though the health care system in Serbia is theoretically accessible to everyone, regardless of the ability to finance it, few gaps limit the complete access to those of a lower living standard: some drugs need to be paid for, as well as certain services even in public hospitals or at public dentists. Those costs represent an enormous problem among Roma IDPs (UNDP & UNHCR, 2008). In 2005, 55% of Roma and 45% of refugees/IDPs could not afford to pay for the prescribed medicines. For them, it represented 5-7% of monthly expenditures (UNDP, 2006). It has

been reported that 96% of Romani IDP population is not aware of their rights to health or pension insurance (UNDP & UNHCR, 2007). Because of their traditional way of living they often fail to register a place of residence, which leads to difficult access of health services (PRAXIS, 2009).

Roma IDP children are among the most affected persons and the number of those who lack health cards goes as high as 74% (UNHCR, 2007). Many of them seek a doctor only when illness already develops. Also, a great number is not vaccinated, which in a combination of usual living conditions, mostly described as unhygienic, puts them at high risk of getting contagious disease. Reasons for lack of vaccinations (Figure 14) do not origin only from the lack of health cards (23%) or medical assistance (15%), but also because of lack of education about health care, as 12% stated they did not consider it important. A striking number of refugees and IDPs (60%) reported their children were not vaccinated due to lack of health cards (UNDP, 2006).

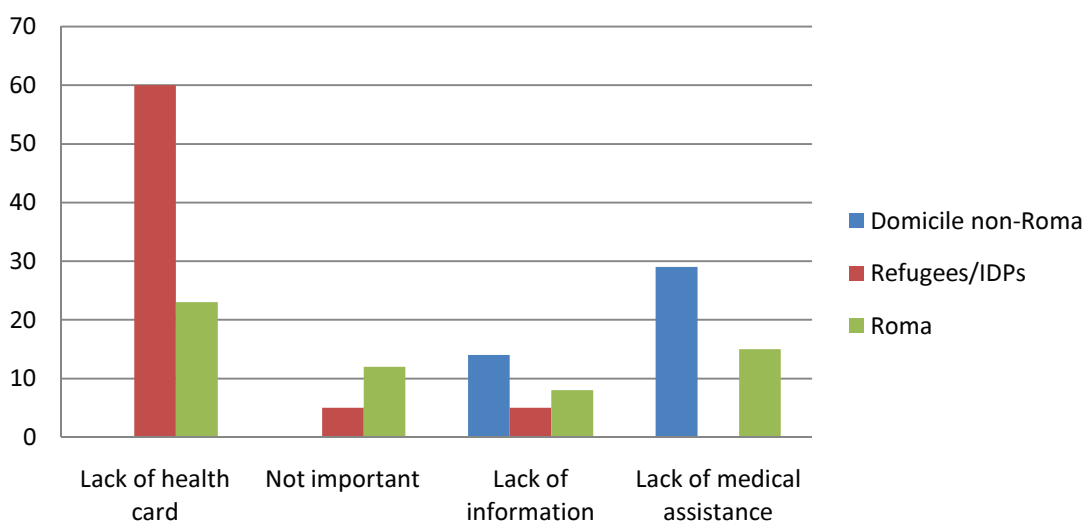


Figure 14: Reasons why children were not vaccinated (according to UNDP, 2006)

The situation seems to be improving and in 2007 only 1.6% of non-Roma IDPs and 16.1% Roma persons were lacking health insurance (UNDP & UNHCR, 2008). Numbers might still be quite high in the case of Roma population, but in 2002 the number of those without health insurance was almost twice as big (29.8%) (UNDP & UNHCR, 2008). So far, all the IDPs could use health care services with a “Certificate for accessing health care” which had to be verified every 3 months, but the practice was recently changed and since 2009 they will

be issued health booklets, with which they will be able to access the same rights like any other Serbian citizen. Yet, this brings a new problem to all those without a registered temporary residence (mainly RAE IDPs) who, for this reason, will not be able to obtain new booklets and therefore will not be provided medical assistance (PRAXIS, 2009). Bearing in mind that 24.8% of IDPs have a chronic illness or health problems (UNDP & UNHCR, 2008) this is yet another in the sea of problems that requires urgent solution.

10. Case study

...I feel guilty to have an opportunity to be studying at the University, while my younger brother is repairing cars because our parents could not afford to pay for both of us. I am trying hard to finish it soon and find a job so I would be able to pay university for my youngest sister, who still has a chance...⁴³

10.1. Methodology

At the very beginning of my field-research I have tried to collect the information on the collective centers in Serbia, for the purpose of choosing one that matches my aims; since the questionnaire I made was meant to be submitted by children, I had to be careful about the age-structure of the collective center and had to find one in which my research would be welcomed. I had already visited collective center “Grocka - Barake novi auto put” before, but number of its residents significantly declined in the meantime and therefore was not suitable for the research anymore. Two centers I have visited in March 2010 were “PIM Krnjača” and “ORA Radinac” , both suitable for the purposes of the research. In PIM Krnjača I talked with the administrator of the center and in ORA Radinac with one of its residents, who was recommended to talk to by the others, since the administrator of the center was not present. They both have shown strong will not only to let me do the research, but also to help with it. Unfortunately, time to get the permission for the research (issued by KIRS) took longer than expected and I had time to carry a research in one center only.

The research has been done in a government-run collective center ORA Radinac, which is home to about 200 children. Prior to the research all the residents of the camp have been informed about it, through the notice posted on a bulletin board (Annex 1), as well as personally by some of the men from the center, which were helping me with the organization. Underage children were asked to come accompanied by a parent or a guardian. The research was carried in the centers’ common room on a non-working day, in order to have as many respondents as possible.

⁴³ from a conversation with an IDP student in the south of Serbia

A questionnaire which was used through the research (Annex 2) was divided into following domains:

- **General information** - child's age and sex, place and year of displacement
- **Household** - its composition and the way a child feels when being back home
- **Parental education** and their **employment** situation
- **Child's education** - current status, further ambitions and extracurricular activities
- **Financing** of education
- **Child's integration** in the school environment

Even though the questionnaire was meant to be completed by children older than 12, I had on my mind that even very young children who attend school (7 to 11 years old) can show up. Therefore I asked my youngest brother (10 years old) to complete the questionnaire and according to the difficulties he had, the questions were adjusted. Yet, I have tried not to let children fill out questionnaires by themselves, but rather to lead a conversation with them, which would allow me to hear the comments, spot their reactions or to notice if a question was not properly understood/answered. Since much more children turned up for the research than I expected, this was not always possible. In some cases, certain people from the center, who were helping me with the organization, were allowed to lead the interviews following the questionnaire, but I would prick up my ears to make sure they do not influence children's answers. After the questionnaires were fulfilled I held three interviews with persons who seemed to be interesting for the topic I focused on: with a man who helped the organization of the research and who is seen as the authority by other residents; with one of three university students; with a mother of one of the top pupils and with her child.

10.2. General information on collective center ORA Radinac

The collective center ORA Radinac for refugees and IDPs is located in the municipality of Smederevo, which lies on a bank of Danube in the Podunavski district. Smederevo, with surrounding 27 settlements that belong to the municipality, counts about 110,000 inhabitants (Opština Smederevo, 2010; est. 2005). There are no reliable information about the development in (of) the number of refugees and IDPs in Smederevo since the beginning of the crisis, but the current figures (est. February, 2009) pinpoint that 835 refugees and 8,175 IDPs still reside in this municipality (UNHCR, 2009f, 2009g). Those who failed to secure themselves with the proper accommodation still live in ORA Radinac, one of three collective centers in Serbia with more than 400 residents (UNHCR, 2009h). A road from Smederevo to Radinac settlement passes by huge plants of US Steel company (previously an ironwork), opposite of which a dilapidated path leads to the collective center ORA Radinac. The camp was built for the purpose of accommodating the youth during their work action on building the ironwork in Smederevo. That is where the name of the center comes from - ORA stands for *Omladinska radna akcija*, which means Youth working action - regularly organized in former Yugoslavia with the aim to build public infrastructure. Nowadays, it re-gathers people from different parts of former Yugoslavia, but on a different purpose: to provide them with shelter. This center accommodates 59 refugees and 439 IDPs (KIRS, 2010b); some of the people who reside in the center have been displaced twice - from Croatia or Bosnia and Herzegovina to Kosovo, and later on from Kosovo to Serbia (von Sydow, 2010). They reside in 34 prefabricated barracks with 230 rooms (von Sydow, 2010). In the majority of barracks there is a small hall way that leads to 4 rooms of approximately 9 m² size. Usually, the whole family shares one up to two rooms. Bathrooms are located separately from the rooms and need to be accessed from the outside of the barrack. Each bathroom is shared by several families. Since only 15% of residents has a regular job, water, electricity and heating, as well as one warm meal per day are provided free of charge (von Sydow, 2010). I have been told that KIRS brought a decision to end the reception of new displaced; barracks whose residents move out are sealed and taken away. According to the information from various Serbian media, this collective center will be phased down the latest (most probably in 2012).

10.3. Survey findings

10.3.1. General information on the target group

The following pieces of information are based on the survey carried in March 2010 in the collective center ORA Radinac. In total 80 children and youngsters - 47 boys and 33 girls - participated in the research. The oldest respondent was born in 1984 and the youngest one in 2003; in that manner, children and youth of all the educational grades have been included in the survey.

Apart from 5 of them who fled from Croatia in 1995 or whose parents did so during the nineties, the rest of the respondents are internally displaced originating from Kosovo. The great part (67.5%) fled during the 1999, mainly from towns in which Albanian population represents a vast majority (mostly Đakovica, Gnjilane, Suva Reka, Priština, Obilić and Prizren). Many children (22.5%) were born in the displacement and have spent the whole childhood in the collective center. None of the children experienced a secondary displacement, but many mentioned they had to move from one place to another before arriving to this collective center.

10.3.2. Household information

Households, in which those youngsters live, sometimes count as much as 9 members. Even this was the extreme case of one respondent only, households counting 8 members were quite commonly mentioned (15%). In average, there was between 5 and 6 people living together. Many of them said that, since rooms were too small to fit the whole family, the only solution was to share a bed with their relatives. Those beds were also used as a "working corner" by many kids, as there was no place in the room for a desk and chair. The majority (72,5%) lives with parents and siblings only, but there were some youngsters who additionally shared their living space with aunts, uncles and/or grandparents (Figure 15). One boy noted he was living in the household with his mother, siblings, daughter-in-law and four of her kids. Eight of the youngsters included in the research are being raised in a single parenthood, due to the death of one parent, and in five cases because their parents live separately.

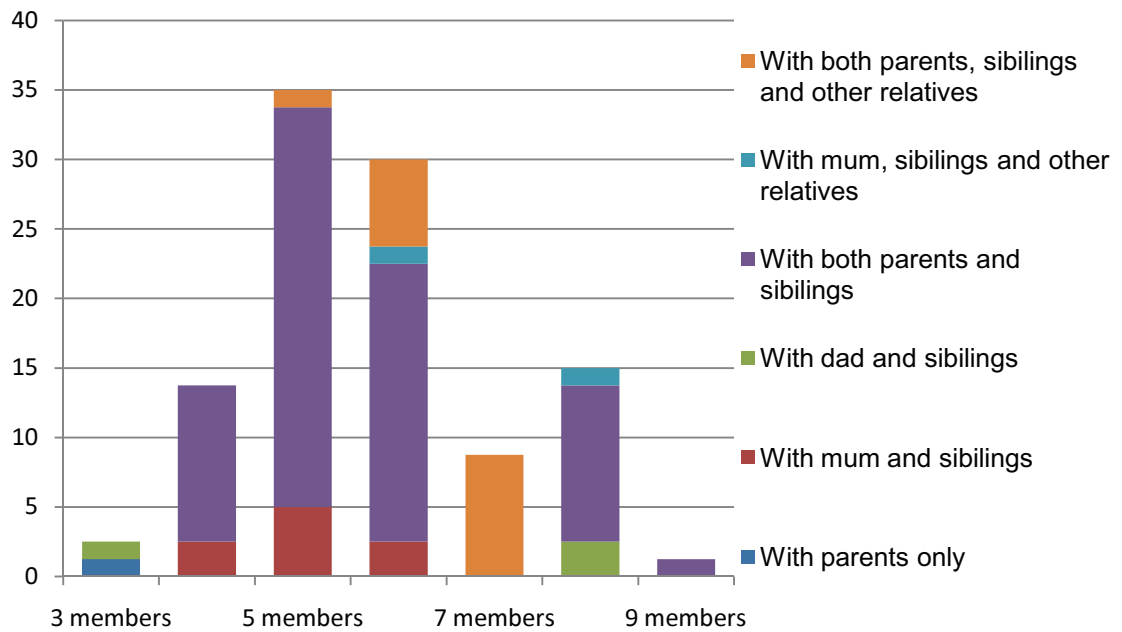


Figure 15: Household composition - number of members and the structure (in %)

Children themselves perceive the situation they live in differently. Mostly (45%) they describe it as very difficult; yet, many of them commented they opted for this answer due to the bad relationship with or between parents. Naturally, there were respondents who justified their answer by lack of financial means for securing food, books and other necessities. 29% said they really enjoyed being at home and explained it by the peaceful situation and possibility to be with their family, while 21% stated the situation in the household was less or more good and without any major problems. The rest said the life in their households was nice but difficult, expressing the wish for a bigger living place and improved financial situation. Number of members per household turned not to influence children perception of the environment in the household.

Girls from the center seem to be much more concerned about their living conditions (Figure 16). Majority of them (58.1%) stated the life in their households was extremely difficult. Only 9.7% said they enjoyed being back home and those were among the youngest respondents. On the other hand 42.2% of boys, regardless the age, were satisfied with the atmosphere in the household.

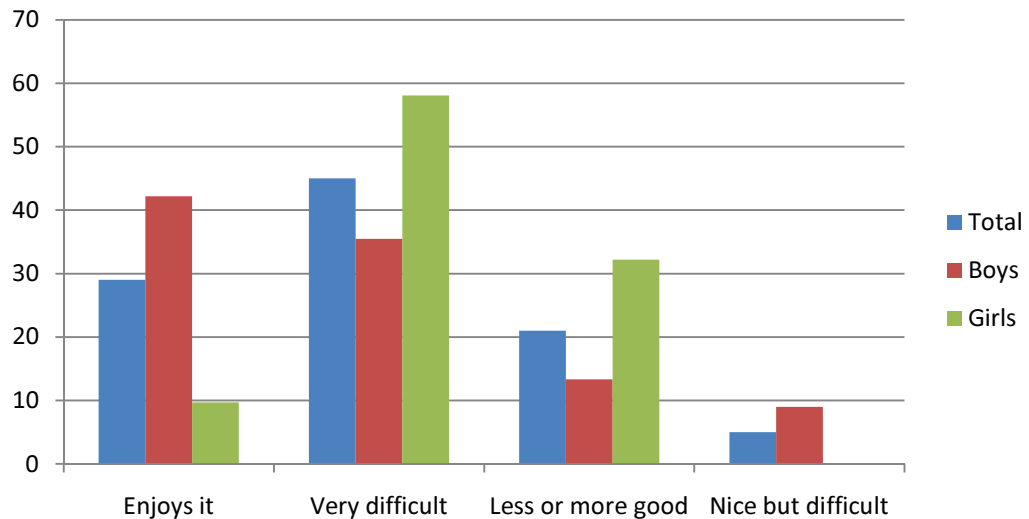


Figure 16: Perception of the atmosphere in the households (in%)

Relation between the home atmosphere and children’s academic achievements has been examined in numerous researches. It is well known that home environment has a huge impact on child’s social competence, school achievement and home and school behavior (Bradley et al, 1987). Concerning this, children from the collective center are taken good part of their chances for the successful education, socialization and integration from the very beginning of their lives. They are permanently exposed to conversations on insecure future and are surrounded by people whose leitmotif is to get out of the collective center. They must have been growing up under the pressure if their parents will have means to provide them with shoes, books or even food. The research has shown that many of them feel the pressure, especially when it comes to the family problems, which they cannot run away from. Instead of perceiving home as a place to feel protected and comfortable, households for many of them present a source of problems they would rather not be part of. Some of the notes respondents left on the questionnaires confirm their anxiety about the living conditions and express their wish to “...change the living ambience, because this is not only impossible for studying, but for living as well...” and state that “the improvement of the environment we live in would at least give us a chance to study and become someone one day. Everything else will follow”⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ respondent’s testimonies

10.3.3. Parental education and employment

The majority of parents do not have a regular job. Fathers, 78% of them, are mainly unemployed, while the rest are seasonal laborers or street sellers. Only 4 of them have a permanent employment in the registered company or organization. Their level of education is quite low: almost half of them (45.3%) have graduated from a primary school only, while 38.8% had a secondary vocational school diploma as the highest degree achieved. Only 5.9% obtained a university degree, but none of them has got the employment. Considering a fact that the non-domicile population that lives in Serbia has better educational profile, we can assume that those with higher degree of education managed to secure themselves with an employment and leave a collective center. Out of those who still reside in the center, the ones with a vocational degree are persons who seem to have the most chances to find the employment (Figure 17), indicates that a provision of a vocational training could improve their chances to find one. Obtaining practical skills might not immediately secure them a permanent employment, but would, at least, allow them to occasionally earn some money. Decline of financial flows towards funds for refugee and IDP population might be one of the reasons why those trainings have been provided in the very limited number. At the same time, I assume that a long term financial support for the unemployed citizens will cost the government much more than a provision of trainings that will allow those people to take the responsibility for their own families.

Situation among mothers is even worse and the rate of unemployment among them reaches 97.2%. Only one of the mothers has a permanent job, while the second one works as a seasonal worker. The vast majority has primary education only and not a single one has obtained a university degree. Similar to the fathers, I think vocational courses could help the improvement of the situation and would secure them jobs or at least give them the opportunity to apply for the self-employment programs.

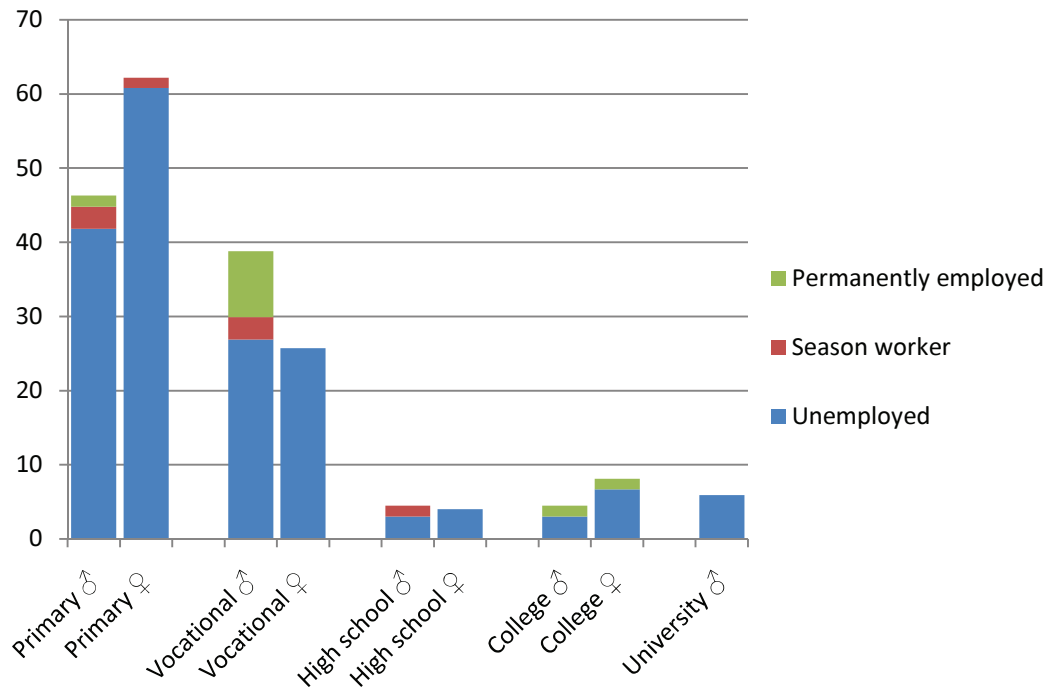


Figure 17: Parental education and employment

Yet, I assume that lack of knowledge and education is the main problem in the case of women; it looks more like a lack of will to get involved in resolving the problems they are stuck with. Numerous conversations I led with women during my visits to the center, left the feeling of self-pity among a great number of them. It was quite common to hear complaints about the amount of financial help they were receiving, but the answer to my question if they had a job would mainly be “who would employ me?”, “I cannot work I am sick” or “who would look after the kids?”. It looks like they have accepted the reality the way it is, being completely dependent on others good will or legal obligation to provide them help, and even though unsatisfied with it, they do almost nothing to change it. It probably is the result of everything they have been through, but certain courses or programmes that could be organized for them would not only provide them with skills, but would empower them to take the initiative and get some self-confidence. That could have a positive influence the quality of their lives and would motivate them to improve their situation. The other obstacle for women might be the patriarchal unwritten rules that formed a society, in which

women are expected to take care of the household, while men are responsible to financially secure the family.

Whatever the reason is, children who are growing up in such an ambience are not likely to get proper work habits, nor education. It has been proven that the well educated parents tend to provide good education to their children (de Walque, 2005). They present children's role models and have a great impact on their behavior and decisions. Uneducated parents themselves might not consider the education so important and therefore would not encourage their children to achieve the goals in the academic field. On the other hand, some of the low-educated parents might insist on children's education "not to let them end like they did", but often will not be able to assist them in fulfilling their school obligations, to review the assignments children find difficult or to financially support the further education.

Apart from parents being role models for children, they are also the ones to assure conditions in which the education of a child is possible (Chevalier, 2004). Out of 80 children included in the research, 54 live in the households where none of the parents is employed. Subsequently, even the basic educational conditions their parents can provide them are quite poor: if there is a table in the room, it is mostly used for food as well as for studying and the other doings. Yet, not every family in this center has a table: I happen to enter a room in which 12 years old girl held a plywood board on her knees as a writing pad; she said it was originally a closet shelf. A combination of low-educated and unemployed parents living in a collective center unfortunately presents everything but a good basis for successful education of the upcoming generation.

10.3.4. Children's education and ambitions

Children and youth who took the survey cover all the educational grades from primary till tertiary education, with the exception of the last (4th) level of high school. Figure 18 shows the distribution of boys and girls according to the grade of current level of education.

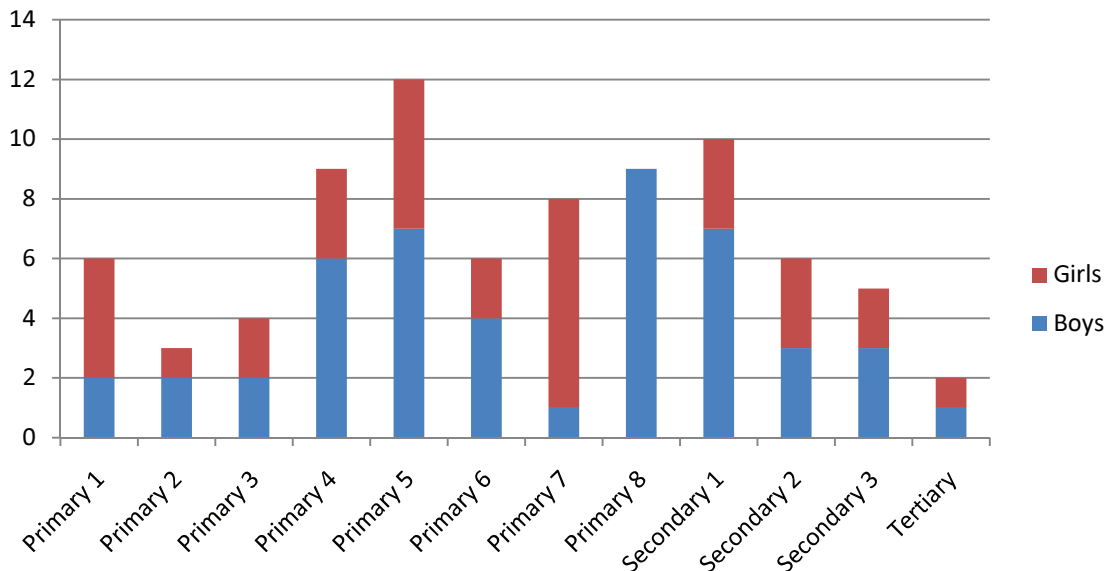


Figure 18: Current educational status of children from the center (in absolute numbers)

I wanted to know what their further educational ambitions are, if they think it is realistic to reach them and what they think determinates their educational success. The final results are divided into 3 main groups:

- First group were 22 primary school children from the first to fourth grade. This presents first educational cycle in the primary school education in Serbia and is carried through the classroom teaching. Their perception of further ambitions is still childish: they would like to become bleariness, actresses, pilots, football players...and are sure they will fulfill their dreams. Yet, when asked what their success depends on, "money" - the answer of the majority, was everything but childish. If questioned why it was money, they responded "*because it is important*", but were unable to further explain their answer. I daresay this is caused by the constantly present discussions about the lack of financial means and parents responds "if we would have money, you could" to their wishes. I have also been told that certain parents

in the center had tendencies to teach their kids to be able to say they lack money from the early childhood, hoping it will give them more chances to get additional assistance. Still, the majority of older children (from the fourth grade) responded it was the combination of their hard work and discipline, but also living conditions and finance. One of them stated *“I have done my part by being a top student in the class. My education in the future depends either on financial means of my parents or donations”*.

- The second group involved 35 primary school children from fifth to eight grade, which were attending the second education cycle, organized through subject teaching. Their ambitions vary a lot: 3 respondents (from the 7th grade) said they did not want to continue with the education after primary school. One stated he wanted to be a football player and does not need the education for becoming one, while the other two did not explain their choice. All of them come from the families where both of the parents are unemployed and have graduated from primary school. Vocational or high school as the highest level of education was a response from 37.1% children and the majority thinks they will be able to realize their plans. They mention finance (37.5%), living conditions (25%) and studying (18.7%) as the main factors on which their success depends. Some of the respondents wrote *“I cannot even dream of gaining a higher degree in this situation”* as well as *“6 of us lives in the room of 16 m² - what could my success depend on than conditions I have for studying?”*.

The rest of respondents (45.7%) have ambitions to go to the college or university, but one third of them assume they will reach lower degree due to the lack of financial means. Those who believe they will obtain the wanted degree also specify the economic situation as the main factor determining their success. Examining the average education level of their parents proved it was higher than of the total sample (number of parents who achieved more than a primary degree was 15% higher than the average).

- The third group counted 21 secondary (vocational schools and high schools) and 2 tertiary (college and university) level students. With one exception only, all the rest of secondary level students attend vocational schools,

studying for technicians, bakers, hairdressers, tailors...The majority of those are 3 years programmes and that explains why there was not a single respondent from the 4th grade of secondary education. There are about 40% of respondents who are not planning to continue with the education after graduating from the secondary school. The majority of them explained they went to vocational schools, knowing the lack of means would not allow them to continue with further education. Due to the financial situation at home 16.6% respondents think they will not be able to attend college, although they would like to. The rest (44.4%) would like to go to the university and a bit over half is convinced they could do so, but it depends on their hard work and persistence, and also on the rating after the entrance exam, which would determine if they would have to pay for the university or not. Three persons who belong to this group, but are attending else than a vocational school (high school, college and university) come from the families whose parents have at least secondary education.

Children from the center do not seem to lack in extracurricular activities - the great majority (around 80%) trains some sport, goes to dancing classes or attends a course of English. Those activities are paid mostly by their parents (86%), although there are some which are financed by school, sport club or are free of charge (14%). Some of the children who are not involved in those activities said they would love to be, but their parents are not in the situation to afford it. In the last couple of years Association for the Promotion of Youth "Modem" has organized various actions on purpose to collect money for projects which would give the opportunity to those children to enjoy the activities like their peers do. As a result, three sport courts were built in the primary school those children attend⁴⁵, and another three in the collective center were renovated. Also, a 6 month long course of informatics was organized for the 75 youngsters from the center. Sport courts or an informatics course will not eliminate problems the youth in the camp is facing, but will limit the street influence, would give them the opportunity to grow up having at least some of the facilities their peers have and, on the top of all, will show them there are still people who are trying to help the improvement of their situation.

⁴⁵ over half of all the pupils in the school are internally displaced children

10.3.5. Financing of education

Primary and secondary education in all the state schools in Serbia is free of charge. Yet, the beginning of every school year presents a big cost for each family who needs to ensure all the equipment for a pupil or a couple of them. Considering the rate of unemployment in the collective center, those costs must present a serious problem. Despite that, the majority of them are to be paid by families themselves. In ORA Radinac school supplies are occasionally distributed by the administration of the center, US Steel company or primary school „Ivo Andrić” that children from the center attend. A bit more than 80% of respondents said it was only parents who were securing them with school supplies. The situation is similar with school textbooks, with the exception of the youngest ones, who are, since 2009, provided with free textbooks in the first grade of primary school (Ministry of education of the Republic of Serbia, 2009). This measure does not apply only to children who origin from IDP and refugee families, but has been taken on the state level. Secondary and tertiary education brings more costs, because children need to use transport to reach their schools. Those are covered from the budget of the municipality of Smederevo.

Apart from above-mentioned actors, all the respondents together named only 5 organizations (Red Cross, UNHCR, Obraz, Zdravo da ste, Intersos) that donated one-time help. The help consisted of New Year's gifts and school supplies. In the case of long-term help that has been provided to respondents, they could think only of the municipality, that pays for the transport and US Steel, which covers costs for utilities in the center. A university student I had a chance to talk with, mentioned both of his parents were unemployed, but he still had to cover all the costs of education like any other student: knocking on doors of various institutions did not show any results and he said he has no choice than to work and study, hoping not to fail the year which would mean he would have to pay tutorial fees, which in no case is something he can afford.

Since the financing of education is mainly covered by unemployed parents, it is not surprising that numerous youngsters noted they had to earn money

themselves. As much as 22% of primary school pupils, the youngest one being in the 4th grade, said they have already worked as fruit pickers. Regarding secondary school students, 50% of male respondents said they often worked as fruit pickers or laborers on buildings - „*Spring, summer, autumn, winter - wherever and whenever I can, I work*“⁴⁶. For the money they earn, selling one kilogram of fruits for 10 Serbian dinars⁴⁷ as they mentioned, it is hard to believe they can cover even the basic costs of education. Even if they manage to, a kind of work that those youngsters perform, must take away all the energy they have and put the education in the background priorities. What is to be seen as positive (if anything) than it is a fact they chose work as a way to earn money.

10.3.6. Children's integration in the school environment

Short time I spent in ORA Radinac was far away from enough to learn everything I was curious about, but luckily gave me a chance to spot couple of details. Among those was that not in a single case was one child dressed up better than the other, nor did any of them had better shoes than the others. In that way, they were all equal. Still, if mingled with the other children in school, I am convinced it would not be too difficult to distinguish who comes from the center and who does not. It is quite well known that some internally displaced and refugee children get discriminated in school, due to their origin, economical status or colour of the skin. Children from ORA Radinac were not spared of this either. Some of them stated they did not feel different than the other kids when being at school, but the others perceive the situation differently and feel discriminated. Again, girls seem to be a bit more sensitive about the situation they are in than boys.

Half of the youngest respondents (1st - 4th grade of primary school) said they felt the same like the other children at school. The other half stated they did not feel equal, simply because of their status (27%), or because they have been treated differently by their peers (11.5%) and teachers (11.5%). In the majority of situations they felt discriminated, have been made fun of their financial

⁴⁶ respondents'testimony

⁴⁷ approximately 0,09 EUR

situation or because they are „vulnerable“ and live in „the settlement“ as their peers like to call the center.

Children from the higher grades of primary school (5th - 8th grade) were feeling quite similar as the younger ones: 46% said they felt equal and the rest explained that professors (13.5%) and peers (8.1%) had a different attitude to them than to the other children. Many (32.4%) said they as if felt they did not belong in there just because of their status. They said „peers call them terrible names“, swear on them and avoid them during the breaks, talking around about their living conditions and economical situation.

Majority of the oldest ones does not meet with those problems. Over half of them (62.5%) said they had no problems for being IDPs or refugees, while 33.3% said the „label“ they had still was making them feel uncomfortable. Just few of them (4.2%) felt as if they did not fit into the school environment due to the way they have been treated by professors (Figure 19).

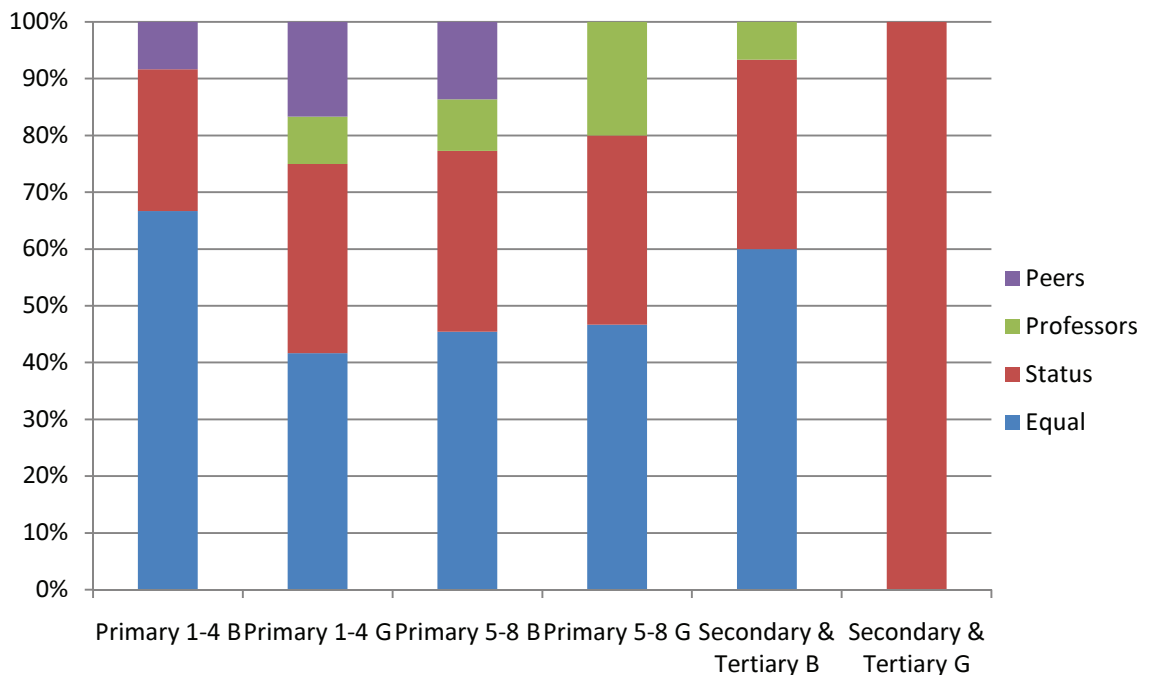


Figure 19: Main causes for boys (B) and girls (G) from the center to feel they do not belong in the school

Some stated they managed to find a way to cope with where they were coming from and joke with friends about different accent and backgrounds. Few said it took time to assimilate, but could not remember they have been humiliated on

the base of their status, origins or material situation. Others said their classmates were nice to them, but that no matter how much they have tried, it did not change the way they felt. Yet, there were many of those who had different experiences. In general, they complained that domicile children were always given priorities and treated differently by the school staff. Children from the collective center would usually be suspects if something in the school was broken because they were „vandals, barbarians and primitives“. One of the very poignant examples was told by a boy, who bought a rose for his teacher's birthday, while the other children from school bought much more expensive gifts. When he gave a rose to the teacher she looked at him and said that roses are meant to be taken to the cemetery.

Respondents from the higher grades of primary school and older were asked to compare the current situation with how they felt 3 years ago. The majority said nothing changed at all, while 17.2% considers the current situation is improved, saying that *„before they were going to smaller school, where everyone knew what happened to them and where they came from“* and that *„at the beginning everyone called them Gypsies, but by the time they got used to them“*. There were respondents (10.4%) who said that they feel worse in school than 3 years ago, but did not justify their answer.

Above-mentioned experiences point to the certain level of discrimination of IDP and refugee children from ORA Radinac. Even though the results are based on their personal perception of the whole process, it does not look like appropriate measures have been taken to make their childhood easier. With the exception of projects „Modem“ had realized for children in the center, it is hard to notice a *two-way process of integration* in which *receiving community and public institutions participate by meeting the needs of a diverse community*, as a process of integration is defined by UNHCR. Reaction of a receiving community, in this case, was based on the economic assistance for the newcomers. A big omission in the taken measures is lack of attention given to the education of the receiving community on how to respond to the situation that occurred. The community is not to be blamed for being unprepared to respond to couple of thousands of refugees and IDPs that arrived. What is to blame is that no one took measures to educate teachers how to deal with children who have

just experience fleeing and who still are accommodated in the collective center; A big mistake has been made that no programmes have been introduced in the school with the aim to eliminate existing prejudices among the children. Improvement of the situation which was described as „*horrible at the beginning*“ in this case rather presents the unilateral assimilation of children from the center, than a common achievement of a diverse community.

11. Conclusion

World-wide rising awareness on global problems, have led to important changes in the society and have contributed to the improvement of the situation. Problem of refugees and internally displaced people has not been omitted either; different measures have been taken on purpose to eliminate obstacles those people face during and after displacement. The global image of refugees and IDPs that was mostly associated with privation and dependence is slowly changing and now they are being seen also as a source of human capital. Yet, problems those persons are facing are far away from being solved, especially in the case of IDPs who are usually completely dependent on their governments and are provided with much less assistance than refugees.

The integration of refugees and IDPs in Serbia has been quite long and difficult: numerous problems were encountered in attempts to significantly raise the potential to provide favorable living conditions, not only to refugees and IDPs, but to the citizens in general. Unpreparedness to respond to additional necessities can be confirmed by thousands of people who still reside in collective centers, at the very border of existence.

Improvement of the situation in the country has led only to ostensible solution of the problem, which has often been identified with a provision of economical assistance. There is no doubt that economic measures (in the frame of possibilities) have been taken to provide better conditions for refugees and IDPs, but at the same time numerous other aspects, including some of the crucial importance, have been notably neglected and still stand on the way to the successful integration. Glaring need for legal protection of IDPs has been ignored, regardless all the statistics which point to its necessity. Even more, repatriation of IDPs to Kosovo is (due to political reasons) still represented as a preferable durable solution, while the integration issues are being overlooked.

Due to this approach numerous problems still persist and their solution is not even in sight. Concrete measures that have been taken are not enough to bring an end of a plight of refugees and IDPs as long as they are limited by innumerable bureaucratic complications, rooting in the state's incapability to cope with political problems. Yet, what is being produced is a self-harm to the

country that will have to continue supporting another dependent generation, whose educational possibilities, as proven on the case of ORA Radinac, have been notably limited.

For the successful integration of refugees and IDPs in Serbia, it will be necessary to eliminate persisting obstacles and enable them to finally realize their potential. At the same time, social capital between domicile non-displaced population on one side and refugees and IDPs on another have to be developed for the purpose of eliminating prejudices, which still persist. Unfortunately, this requires time and solution might take long from now to be fully achieved.

*...I hope you will help me achieve my dreams,
so tomorrow I could be useful in this society...*

(13 years old girl from ORA Radinac)

12. Summary (Сажетак, Shrnuti)

The Master thesis is focused on problems of integration of refugees and IDPs in Serbia. It provides basic information about the current situation of refugees and IDPs in the world, including the latest trends, legal protection, as well as organizations and institutions that act in the area. Differences and similarities between refugees and IDPs have also been mentioned.

The main aim of the document is to analyze the situation of refugees and IDPs in Serbia. Information on causes of displacement, migration flows, legal protection and Serbian institutions and organization dealing with those refugees and IDPs are included. Special accent is put on key obstacles that prevent successful integration in Serbia, which are: housing problems, employment, education, access to documents, social and health care.

Case study, that focuses on the integration of children and youngsters in educational system has been done in collective center ORA Radinac, close to Smederevo and provides information on how living conditions, economical situation, parental education and discrimination by domicile population affect the process.

Key words: IDPs, refugees, Serbia, ORA Radinac, integration, education

12. Сажетак

Овај дипломски рад фокусиран је на проблем интеграције избеглица и интерно расељених особа у Србији. Такође је дат и преглед актуелне ситуације исте проблематике на глобалном плану, укључујући тренутне трендове, правну заштиту, као и преглед организација и институција које делују на том пољу. Разматране су и опште сличности и разлике између статуса избеглица и интерно ресељених особа.

Главни циљ рада је анализа положаја избеглица и интерно расељених особа у Србији. Анализа је обухватила утврђивање узрока миграција, њиховог тока, мера правне заштите, као и активности оних институција и организација које се у Србији баве овим проблемом. Посебан акценат стављен је на анализу кључних чинилаца који онемогућавају успешну интеграцију избеглих и интерно расељених лица у Србији. Ови подразумевају проблеме смештаја, запошљавања, образовања, приступања документима, социјалне и здравствене заштите.

У оквиру тезе изведено је и истраживање интеграције деце и омладине колективног центра ОРА Радинац код Смедерева. Анализа интеграције је ограничена на образовни систем, при чему је размотрен утицај животних услова, економске ситуације, васпитања, као и дискриминације од стране домаћег нерасељеног становништва, на сам процес интеграције.

Кључне речи: интерно расељене особе, избеглице, Србија, ОРА Радинац, интеграција, образовање

12. Shrnutí

Diplomová práce se zabývá problematikou integrace uprchlíků a vnitřně vysídlených osob v Srbsku. Poskytuje základní informace o současném postavení uprchlíků a vnitřně vysídlených osob ve světě, včetně nejnovějších trendů, právní ochrany a přehledu organizací a institucí působících v této oblasti. V práci jsou vysvětleny nejdůležitější rozdíly a podobnosti mezi uprchlíky a vnitřně vysídlenými osobami.

Hlavním cílem práce je analýza postavení uprchlíků a vnitřně vysídlených osob v Srbsku. Zvláštní důraz je kladen na klíčové překážky, které brání jejich úspěšné integraci v Srbsku, což jsou: problémy se zajištěním bydlení, zaměstnání, vzdělání, přístupu k dokumentům, sociální a zdravotní péči. Zahrnuty jsou také informace o důvodech vysídlení, migračních tocích, právní ochraně a srbských institucích a organizacích zabývajících se uprchlíky a vnitřně vysídlenými osobami.

Případová studie, zaměřená na integraci dětí a mládeže do vzdělávacího systému, byla provedena v uprchlickém táboře ORA Radinac, v blízkosti města Smederevo a poskytuje informace o tom, jak životní podmínky, ekonomická situace, vzdělání rodičů a diskriminace ze strany místních obyvatel ovlivňují proces integrace.

Klíčová slova: vnitřně vysídlené osoby, Srbsko, ORA Radinac, integrace, vzdělání

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facts obtained from the stated web link resources, but without specific dating, were dated as 2010

14. Annexes

14.1. Research Announcement in ORA Radinac

ОБАВЕШТЕЊЕ

ОБАВЕШТАВАЈУ СЕ РОДИТЕЉИ ЧИЈА ДЕЦА ПОХАЂАЈУ ОСМОГОДИШЊУ ШКОЛУ КАО И СРЕДЊУ ИЛИ ФАКУЛТЕТ ИЛИ ИДУ НА НЕКИ ОД КУРСЕВА ДА ЋЕ СЕ ДАНА **13.МАРТА 2010. ГОДИНЕ СА ПОЧЕТКОМ У 11.30 ЧАСОВА** У САЛИ ДО| КУХИЊЕ ОДРЖАТИ АНКЕТИРАЊЕ НА ТЕМУ „ПРОБЛЕМИ ИНТЕГРАЦИЈЕ ИЗБЕГЛИЦА И ИНТЕРНО РАСЕЉЕНИХ ЛИЦА - ОБРАЗОВАЊЕ“.

АНКЕТИРАЊЕ ЋЕ СЕ ОБАВИТИ ПО ОДОБРЕЊУ КОМЕСАРИЈАТА РЕПУБЛИКЕ СРБИЈЕ

УПРАВА КЦ „ОРА“ САРТИД

Announcement: Announcement for parents whose children attend elementary school, as well as secondary school, university or some of the courses that on **the 13th of March 2010, with the beginning at 11.30**, a survey concerning **“Problems of integration of refugees and internally displaced people”** will be held in the hall next to the kitchen.

Survey will be conducted with a permission of the Commissariat of the Republic of Serbia

Administration of the collective center “ORA” Sartid

5. Kako bi opisao/la porodičnu atmosferu:
- Jako mi se sviđa da sam kod kuće
 - Situacija kod kuće je veoma teška
 - Manje-više je sve u redu, nemamo većih problema
 - Drugo: _____
6. Da li tvoji roditelji rade? Ukoliko rade, specifikuj gde:
- Otac: _____
 - Majka: _____
7. Koju školu je završio tvoj otac?
- Osnovnu
 - Zanat ili srednju stručnu školu (pekar, obućar, itd.)
 - Gimnaziju
 - Višu školu (višu ekonomsku, višu medicinsku...)
 - Fakultet (pravni, saobraćajni, elektrotehnički...)
8. Koju školu je završila tvoja majka?
- Osnovnu
 - Zanat ili srednju stručnu školu (pekar, obućar, itd.)
 - Gimnaziju
 - Višu školu (višu ekonomsku, višu medicinsku...)
 - Fakultet (pravni, saobraćajni, elektrotehnički...)
9. Koju školu pohađaš? _____, razred _____
10. Najviši nivo obrazovanja koji bi želeo/la da dosagneš (odnosno školu koju bi želeo da završiš kada porasteš):
- Osnovnu školu
 - Zanat ili srednju stručnu školu (obućar, auto-limar, frizersku, školu za negu lepote itd.)
 - Gimnaziju
 - Višu školu (višu trgovačku, višu poslovnu, višu medicinsku, višu elektrotehničku itd.)
 - Visoko obrazovanje (fakultet)
11. Objektivno govoreći, koji nivo obrazovanja misliš da ćeš doći tj. koju školu misliš da ćeš završiti kad porasteš:
- Osnovnu školu
 - Srednju stručnu školu ili zanat (obućar, auto-limar, frizersku, školu za negu lepote itd.)
 - Gimnaziju
 - Višu školu (višu trgovačku, višu poslovnu, višu medicinsku, višu elektrotehničku itd.)
 - Visoko obrazovanje (fakultet)

12. Od čega zavisi da li ćeš dostići nivo obrazovanja koji bi želeo/la?

13. Da li se baviš nekom od ovih aktivnosti?

a. ples Da Ne

b. sport Da Ne

(koji sport treniraš? _____)

c. jezik Da Ne

(koji jezik učiš van škole? _____)

d. instrument Da Ne

(koji instrument sviraš? _____)

e. drugo: _____

→ Ko snosi troškove aktivnosti kojima se baviš?

a. Roditelji

b. Škola

c. Klub

d. Donator

e. Ostali: _____

14. Da li si ikada (u toku školovanja) morao/la da radiš? Da Ne

→ Ukoliko je odgovor potvrđan, molim te specifikuj gde si i šta radio/la i u kom vremenskom periodu:

15. Koliko bliskih prijatelja imaš u školi? _____

16. Koliko od njih poreklom nije iz Srbije? _____

17. Kako obično osećaš u školi?

a. Osećaš se potpuno ravnopravnim/nom kao ostala deca

b. Osećaš se kao da tamo ne pripadaš, pre svega zbog tvog statusa izbeglice (interno raseljene osobe)

c. Osećaš se kao da tamo ne pripadaš, zbog načina na koji te tretiraju profesori

d. Osećaš se kao da tamo ne pripadaš, zbog načina na koji te tretiraju ostala deca u školi

18. Kako si se u školi osećao/la pre 3 godine?
- Isto, ništa se nije promenilo
 - Bolje, (objasni: _____)
 - Gore (objasni: _____)
19. Da li si se u školi ikada imao utisak da se prema tebi ponašaju gore nego prema deci koja nisu izbeglice (ili interno raseljena lica)? Da Ne (pređi na pitanje broj 23)
20. Ko se prema tebi ponaša gore nego prema deci koja nisu izbeglice? (možeš označiti i više od jednog odgovora)
- Drugari iz odeljenja
 - Učitelji, profesori
 - Direktor
 - Ostali: _____
21. Da li možeš konkretno da objasniš kako se prema tebi ponašaju u takvim situacijama?Navedi primere:
- _____
- _____
- _____
22. Koliko često se dešava da se prema tebi odnose gore nego prema deci koja nisu izbeglice?
- Stalno imam taj osećaj
 - Jednom mesečno
 - Jednom nedeljno
 - Retko
23. Ko uglavnom finansira tvoj školski pribor (sveske, olovke, ranac itd.)?
- Roditelji
 - Škola
 - Donatori (molim specifikuj donatora, ukoliko znaš ko je _____)
 - Drugo: _____
24. Ko finansira tvoje udžbenike:
- Roditelji
 - Škola
 - Donatori (molim specifikuj donatora, ukoliko znaš ko je: _____)
 - Koristiš polovne udžbenike, koje si dobio od starijih drugara/braće/sestara
 - Drugo: _____
25. Ukoliko koristiš gradski prevoz da bi stigao do škole, molim specifikuj ko pokriva troškove:
- Roditelji
 - Škola
 - Donatori (molim specifikuj donatora, ukoliko znaš ko je: _____)
 - Drugo: _____

26. Napiši ime 3 organizacije/institucije od kojih si dobio/la jednokratnu pomoć tokom školovanja:

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

→ Od čega se sastojala pomoć? _____

27. Napiši ime 3 organizacije/institucije od kojih dobijaš ili si dobijao/la dugoročnu pomoć tokom školovanja:

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

→ Od čega se sastojala pomoć? _____

Ukoliko imaš bilo kakvih komentara, koji se tiču istraživanja a koje bi voleo/la da podeliš sa mnom, ovde ih možeš napisati:

HVALA NA SARADNJI!

14.3. Translation of a questionnaire used in the field-research

QUESTIONNAIRE

This research is performed on behalf of Department of International Development Studies, Faculty of Science, Palacky University in Olomouc (Czech Republic). Data acquired during the research are to be used for completion of a section of Master thesis "Problems of integration of refugees and IDPs – education". If you have any further questions contact me on mareag@yahoo.com.

Thank you for your cooperation,

Marea Grinvald, Master thesis author

Gender: Male Female

Year of birth: _____

Place and country of origin: _____

Year of arrival to Serbia: _____

Which year have you fled your place of residence? _____

Place and country where you have fled to:

→ In case you were born in the family which have fled before your birth, where from and when had your family fled away? Year _____ Place and country _____

1. How many members does your family count? _____

2. Are your parents alive?

- | | | |
|-----------|-----|----|
| a. Father | Yes | No |
| b. Mother | Yes | No |

3. Who are you living with?

- Alone
- With mother only
- With father only
- With mother and father
- With mother and siblings
- With father and siblings
- With mother, father and siblings
- Other family members that are living with you: _____

4. How many times have you changed your residence? _____

5. How would you describe the family atmosphere:
 - a. I like when I am at home very much
 - b. Situation at home is very difficult
 - c. More or less everything is fine, we do not encounter bigger problems
 - d. Other: _____

6. Are your parents employed? If so, specify where:
 - a. Father: _____
 - b. Mother: _____

7. What is your father's education?
 - a. Primary
 - b. Craft or Secondary school (baker, shoemaker etc.)
 - c. Grammar school
 - d. High school (Economy high school, Medical high school etc.)
 - e. Faculty (Law, Faculty of traffic, Electrical engineering etc.)

8. What is your mother's education?
 - a. Primary
 - b. Craft or Secondary school (baker, shoemaker etc.)
 - c. Grammar school
 - d. High school (Economy high school, Medical high school etc.)
 - e. Faculty (Law, Faculty of traffic, Electrical engineering etc.)

9. Which is your school? _____, grade _____

10. The highest education level you would like to achieve (that is, the school you would like to attend when you grow up):
 - a. Primary
 - b. Craft or Secondary school (baker, shoemaker, hairdresser, mechanic etc.)
 - c. Grammar school
 - d. High school (Economy high school, Medical high school, Management etc.)
 - e. High education (faculty)

11. Which level of education are you most likely going to reach, that is which school will you finish when you grow up:
 - a. Primary
 - b. Craft or Secondary school (baker, shoemaker, hairdresser, mechanic etc.)
 - c. Grammar school
 - d. High school (Economy high school, Medical high school, Management etc.)
 - e. High education (faculty)

12. What influences your desired education?

13. Are you practicing any of the following activities?

- a. dance No Yes
- b. sport No Yes (which one? _____)
- c. language No Yes
(which one beside the ones in school _____)
- d. playing an instrument No Yes (which one? _____)
- e. other: _____

→ Who supports your activities financially?

- a. Parents
- b. School
- c. Club
- d. Donor
- e. Other: _____

14. Did you ever have to work during your education? Yes No

→ If so, please specify where and what and in which period:

15. How many close friends do you have at school? _____

16. How many of them originally from Serbia? ____

17. How do you feel at school?

- a. Completely equal with other kids
- b. Like you do not belong there, primarily due to your refugee (IDP) status
- c. Like you do not belong there, due to the way the professors treat you
- d. Like you do not belong there, due to the way the other kids treat you

18. How did you feel at school 3 years ago?

- a. The same, nothing has changed
- b. Better,
(explain: _____)
- c. Worse
(explain: _____)

19. Have you ever felt that you are being treated worse than non-refugee (non-IDP) kids in school?
 Yes No (skip to question 23)
20. Who is treating you like this (you may check more than one answer)
- a. Classmates
 - b. Teachers, Professors
 - c. Director
 - d. Other: _____
21. Can you specify how you are being mistreated in such circumstances? Give some examples:
- _____
- _____
22. How often are you treated worse than non-refugees (non-IDPs)?
- a. Always, I think
 - b. Once a month
 - c. Once a week
 - d. Rarely
23. Who is usually providing you with the studying accessories (notebooks, pencils, backpack etc.)?
- a. Parents
 - b. School
 - c. Donors (specify who, if you are aware of the donor _____)
 - d. Other: _____
24. Who is providing you with books:
- a. Parents
 - b. School
 - c. Donors (specify who, if you are aware of the donor _____)
 - d. You get used books from older friends/brothers/sisters
 - e. Other: _____
25. If you use public transport to reach your school, please specify who covers the expenses of traveling:
- a. Parents
 - b. School
 - c. Donors (specify who, if you are aware of the donor _____)
 - d. Other: _____
 - e.
26. Name up to 3 organizations/institutions which provided you with the short-term aid during your education:
- a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
- What did the aid include? _____

27. Name up to 3 organizations/institutions which provided you with the long-term aid during your education:

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

→ What did the aid include? _____

If you have any additional comments regarding the research, you can share it below:

THANKS FOR YOUR COOPERATION!