Guidelines for the Design of a Refugee Policy in the Western Balkans

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Although most refugees are headed to Western Europe, according to some estimates a certain number will remain in the countries that were not their ultimate goal – in the countries on the "edge of Europe", or the countries of the Western Balkans (Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia and others). The current issues connected to refugees in the Western Balkans are related to the humane treatment of refugees and providing them with basic living conditions as they make their way to their final destination. However, permanent retention or resettlement of refugees requires well-planned, pre-prepared, and long-term policies regarding their social cohesion. These policies can be successfully conducted only with careful coherence at all levels of governance (from the EU to the level of local government), where local self-governments play a key role in policy implementation. The paper brings the issue to the fore, offers guidelines for

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creating a possible future policy, and analyses the capacities required for its consistent implementation.

Keywords: public policy, human needs, refugees, Western Balkans, integration

1. Introduction

This paper focuses on the question of refugees settled in the Western Balkans. This issue is specific and somewhat more complex in comparison with Western European countries. Firstly, the countries of the Western Balkans are facing general problems such as high unemployment, poverty, and an impoverished economy. A significant number of people who migrate to the EU or to Switzerland and Norway are not just labourers, but very often highly educated persons.[1] Secondly, in some Western Balkan countries there is a multitude of unresolved issues related to refugees from the 1990s and the consequences of the war in ex-Yugoslavia. For instance, the number of refugees/internally displaced persons in Serbia in 2016 stood at 203,006 (Commissariat for Refugees, 2006). Thirdly, there is the question of culture and identity. Namely, although there were significant levels of migration and a rise in the number of refugees in this area (towards other ex-Yugoslav republics or Western Europe), this was within the framework of a common or similar cultural and political space. Although there are differences among European countries, these are practically insignificant in comparison with Middle or Far Eastern states, or African countries. In this day and age, for the first time in modern history, Western Balkan countries are facing waves of migration composed of people from other cultural spaces and it is questionable how these people will be accepted, considering strong nationalism in the Western Balkans.

One significant question can be posed: could these Balkan specifics serve as advantages rather than disadvantages when it comes to the acceptance and integration of migrants and refugees from Syria and other threatened areas? Although this question, or rather a hypothesis, seems to be contradictory, the answer offered in this article is positive. However, a very important observation can be made that the abovementioned specifics of the Western Balkans may be advantageous in the process of migrant and

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[1] According to the media, every year about 30,000 persons emigrate from Serbia.

refugee acceptance solely in the case of a successful and wisely created public policy regarding this issue. The prerequisite for this positive scenario lies with financial and technical support from richer European states and the EU as a whole.

It is important to note what public policy is and what the rules for creating good public policy dealing with a specific problem are (in this case, a refugee policy). The second backbone of the article are general human needs, defined by research and prominent authors within the social sciences. These two aspects are combined, resulting in some guidelines for a refugee policy which are described in the following text.

2. Several Basic Issues Regarding Public Policy and its Effectiveness

There are several variations of the definition of public policy within the scholarly framework. For instance, in Dye's work *Understanding Public Policy,* the author states that public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do (Dye, 2002, p. 1). Public policy can also be defined as the activities of the government, conducted directly by the government or agencies that directly affect the everyday life of citizens (Peters, 2004, p. 4). In Peters' work *An Introduction to the Policy Process,* some usual elements of public policy are listed. These are the following: public policy is adopted on behalf of the public; it is usually initiated and adopted by the governing body; it can be implemented by public or private bodies; it is all that the government intends to do; but it is also what the government decides not to do (Brikland, 2015, p. 8–9).

Basically, in order to be effective, a public policy has to satisfy four criteria: technical (whether the proposed policy will have its intended effect), economic–financial (if there are sufficient funds for implementation), administrative (if there are necessary human and organisational capacities), and political (if the policy is acceptable to politicians and the broader community). Although these criteria sound "simple" and "logical", there are more complex issues at hand than those visible at first glance. These issues are thus in need of more detailed elaboration.

The technical criterion, or rather technical feasibility, refers to the effectiveness of a policy, or in other words, to the degree of its objective accomplishment. There are several important dimensions of effectiveness, such as direct and indirect effects, long-term and short-term effects, quantifi-

able or non-quantifiable effects, and adequate and inadequate effects. For the purposes of this article, it is useful to focus on so-called short-term and long-term policies, as this division may help draft guidelines for a refugee policy. Classification effects or policy impacts in the long and in the short term are a policy-specific activity. The definition of what constitutes long-term impact will vary from policy to policy. As a general rule, long-term impacts are those experienced at a certain point in the future and thus require discounting to be evaluated accurately. Short-term impact is immediate and is often direct and mitigable. For example, the long-term impact of our riverfront park may be seen in increased land values, but the short-term effect during the construction phase may result in a value decrease.

Economic and financial criteria are an important step in evaluating public policy alternatives. Here three concepts are taken into consideration: the identification of measurable and non-measurable criteria, monetarily and non-monetary criteria, and criteria determining direct and indirect benefits and costs. In addition, the following concepts are also important: economic efficiency, effectiveness, cost-benefit analysis, and profitability.

Measurable costs (or benefits) are those that are countable in some way. Measurable costs or benefits that can be expressed in terms of money are monetary. However, public health, comfort, aesthetics, etc. are immeasurable. Finally, in order to realistically assess the costs and benefits of a particular policy, direct and indirect costs/benefits should be taken into consideration.

Considering the economic aspect of a potential policy, it is important to determine its economic efficiency and effectiveness, which are two different values. Very often, maximum efficiency will not occur at the same point effectiveness is achieved. Effectiveness indicates the degree of objective achievement as well as the cost of objective implementation. For example, if 500 units of particular goods or services need to be provided in a certain period of time, anyone who can do this is effective. However, those who can do it at the lowest price will be economically successful. This is also connected with the decision rationality that represents the difference between benefits and costs.

Finally, the profitability of policy proposals should also be considered. Profitability represents the ratio of costs (budget finances necessary to implement the policy) and benefits that this policy may produce in terms of restoring finances to the budget.

Political acceptability/feasibility indicates the need to bear in mind that a policy proposal should be acceptable to politicians, government officials,

target groups to which the policy applies, and other groups. This means that even though a proposed policy may be based on scientific analyses, the proposal might not achieve the expected effect due to potential political unacceptability. Political feasibility criteria that appear in almost every policy analysis are the following: acceptability, appropriateness, responsiveness, legality, and equity (Patton & Sawicki, 1993, p. 215).

Acceptability refers both to the determination of whether a policy is acceptable to actors in the political process and to the determination of whether clients and other actors are receptive to new policies.

Appropriateness is related to acceptability in that it addresses the issue of whether policy objectives mesh with the values of community or society. This is primary an ethical issue, and it includes human values, rights, redistribution, and the like.

Responsiveness is related to acceptability and appropriateness, and involves the target group's perception of whether the policy will meet its needs. Therefore, a policy might be efficient and effective but not what the target group needs or wants.

Legal criteria refer to the accordance of a policy with the legal framework. Sometimes a draft policy cannot be adopted and implemented because of its inconsistency with the law. However, this potential policy should not automatically be rejected because laws can be changed through political action as much as the proposed policy can be modified to meet the legal requirements.

Finally, equity comes from policy impact on different social groups. Policies rarely affect all groups equally. Because policy changes are often intended to modify existing discrepancies, the question arises whether certain groups or individuals will experience a disproportionate share of the burden, or will receive windfall benefits instead. The key question related to this issue is how the benefits of the policy are distributed among groups and how the costs are borne by these groups. The issue is one of fair distribution, rather than merely an equal distribution, with fairness related to the need for a programme or a service. What constitutes fairness involves moral and ethical issues and there is not always a clear-cut answer. Sometimes equity is defined as the redistribution of income, the right to a minimum level of service, or payment for services in relation to the ability to pay.

The criterion of administrative operability or technical feasibility indicates that a technically feasible, economically possible, and politically acceptable policy will not be implemented if there is a lack of appropriate

administrative capacity. Specific criteria to consider in the evaluation of administrative operability include authority, institutional commitment, capability, and organisational support.

The authority to implement a policy and "change reality" is often a critical criterion. The key question here is whether the implementing group or agency possesses the clear authority to make the necessary changes and to require cooperation from other groups to determine priorities in the triage system.

Institutional commitment indicates that not only top administrators must be committed to policy implementation, but office and field staff as well.

Capability is connected with the staff and administrators and their skills in putting the policy into effect.

Finally, organisational support is an important aspect because it is not sufficient to have the authority to implement a policy and the commitment of key personnel alone. It is also necessary to be in possession of the appropriate equipment, physical facilities, and other support services.

To conclude, in order for a public policy to be effective, four criteria should be fulfilled: technical, economic–financial, administrative, and political (related to social issues). Yet the one tool that can contribute to a solid guideline for policymaking is the division into short-term and long-term policies. Namely, when it comes to refugees, the first issue that needs to be addressed is humane treatment and the provision of basic living conditions. The last step is the full integration of potential new citizens. Between these two points or steps lies a long continuum. As we move from the beginning of this continuum towards its end, policies become long-term. In addition, public policies are determined not just by economic and financial aspects, but by political and consequently social and cultural conditions.

3. Basic Facts Regarding Human Nature, Needs, and Motive

Numerous social scientists have dealt with the question of human needs. These needs are considered to be a prerequisite for complete and mentally healthy personal development. Although some of our needs are determined by our culture and adopted via societal values, most human needs are fairly universal. This is a relevant finding in the light of the topic of

this paper, as there is scant humane treatment of refugees or their integration into new societies without fulfilling their human needs in the first place. Therefore, it is useful to present models and findings on human needs. If we combine these findings with the rules related to public policy mentioned previously, it is possible to create guidelines for a successful integration policy.

According to Erich Fromm (1980, p. 49), both human beings and animals have physiological needs such as the need for sustenance. However, humans have also other ("higher") needs such as relatedness (relationships with others, care, respect), rootedness (feeling at home), sense of identity, frame of orientation, unity, and so on.

Perhaps the most famous model of human needs was developed by Abraham Maslow,[2] in the form of his well-known model of the hierarchy of needs. According to this model, which is often represented by a triangle, there are five levels of needs, ranging from basic or primary to higher ones. The most fundamental and basic needs are found at the base of the triangle, while at the top there are the needs for self-actualisation and self-transcendence.

Maslow argues that everyone has physical needs, followed by the need for security, the need for friendship and love, and finally the need for self-esteem. He hypothesizes that if these needs are not met, there may not be physical changes (except in the case of physiological needs), but the person will feel anxious and tense. His theory forecast that the most basic level of needs must be met before one would wish to satisfy the second or higher level of needs. Considering the importance of different types of needs, it is useful to present them in a little more detail.

Physiological needs are a precondition for survival, as there is no life without fulfilling these needs; therefore, they should be met first. This level of needs includes air, water, food, clothing, and shelter to provide necessary protection from the elements. Sexuality belongs in this group as well.

Safety needs are at the second tier of needs. When physiological needs are satisfied, safety needs take precedence and determine human behaviour. When these needs are not met, because of war, natural disaster, or other circumstances, people may face posttraumatic stress. In the case of an unsatisfied need for economic safety, perhaps due to an economic crisis,

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[2] Abraham Harold Maslow (1908–1970) was an American psychologist who was best known for creating Maslow's hierarchy of needs, a theory of psychological health predicated on fulfilling innate human needs in an order of priority, culminating in self-actualisation.

people prefer job security, grievance procedures for protecting the individual from authoritarian governments, and so on. Several other needs belong to this tier: personal and financial security, health and well-being, as well as safety in case of accidents or illness.

When physiological and safety needs have been fulfilled, the next level of needs comprises interpersonal ones and involves feelings of belonging and love. This is particularly important for children and sometimes, in childhood, this need tends to override the need for safety. Deficiencies within this tier of needs, because of hospitalisation, neglect, shunning, ostracism, and so on, may negatively affect the individual's ability to form and maintain emotionally significant relationships in general, such as friendships, intimacy, or family bonds. Maslow explains that acceptance by both small and large social groups also falls within this tier (family, co-workers, religious groups, professional organisations, and so on). Simply put, humans need to love and to be loved by others. In the absence of these needs being met, many people suffer from loneliness, social anxiety, and depression.

Esteem or the need for respect is the following tier of human needs, according to Maslow. This includes self-esteem and self-respect. Esteem entails the human desire to be accepted and valued by others. People often engage in numerous activities simply to gain recognition. Maslow defines two aspects of esteem needs. The first one is "lower" and includes the need for respect from others (status, recognition, prestige, and the like). The second is the "higher" aspect and includes the need for self-respect (need for power, competence, independence, freedom, and so on). This "higher" aspect takes precedence over the "lower" aspect because it relies on personal competence established through experience. The deprivation of these needs may lead to an inferiority complex, weakness, and helplessness.

Finally, self-actualisation along with self-transcendence is at the highest level of human needs, according to Maslow's model. It refers to realising one's full potential. Here, we are talking about the desire to accomplish everything that one can accomplish. Different people may perceive this need very specifically. Some people have a strong desire to become ideal in different life spheres (to be an "ideal" parent or excellent artist, for example). On the other hand, transcendence refers to the very highest and most inclusive or holistic tier of needs related to human consciousness, behaving and relating, as ends rather than means, to oneself, to significant others, to human beings in general, and their relationship with nature and the cosmos.

4. Topic Relevance and Prior Academic Research

There is substantial scientific research related to the topic at hand (migration and refugee policy). For example, in the article *The EU Migration Crisis and the Baltic Security*, Bagdonas argues that the greatest threat to the security of the Baltic states comes not from irregular migration itself, but from policy decisions that would fail to address the EU crisis caused by irregular migration (Bagdonas, 2015).

Similarly, a relevant article about possible policies related to migrants is *The Migration–Development Nexus: Evidence and Policy Options,* where it is stressed that migration and development are linked in many ways: by the livelihood and survival strategies of individuals, households, and communities; by large and often well-targeted remittances; by investments and advocacy by migrants, refugees, diasporas, and their transnational communities; and by international mobility associated with global integration, inequality, and insecurity (Nyberg-Sùrensen, Van Hear, & Engberg-Pedersen, 2002). Although that particular article was published before the Syrian crisis, it deals with a very interesting and important question: the relationship between migrant waves and development issues.

The importance of a proactive approach to this topic is observed in the article *Migration, a Current Issue: The Crisis of Today, the Challenge of Tomorrow*, where the author aims to portray a clear perspective of the problem of immigrants who are arriving in Europe from Middle Eastern conflict zones (particularly Syria and Iraq) and from North Africa (mainly Libya) (Pătraşcu, 2015). The author's approach aims to balance the positive effects of the phenomenon on the European continent with the negative ones. Positive effects might include obtaining a more substantial workforce, as Europe is currently facing a demographic aging phenomenon. Furthermore, from the perspective of EU citizens, who believe in the cohesion of European institutions, the acceptance of refugees represents a basic value for unity and stands for the formation of a homogenous European Union, therefore emphasizing the importance of each individual. On the other hand, analysing the matter in the most realistic possible way, the risk of potential terrorist penetration in Europe is quite high and unmanageable.

However, there are not many articles or deeper analytical research about the Western Balkan countries and their possible strategies and refugee policies regarding refugees from Syria and other war zones.

5. Ongoing Policies – The Cases of Serbia and the Western Balkans

When it comes to the refugee policy in Serbia, we estimate that such a policy is completely lacking if we perceive policy in the abovementioned way. There is a governmental body responsible for refugees, but this body focuses just on refugees from the former Yugoslav territories.[3] It is also responsible for taking care of refugees from Syria and other jeopardised areas, but deeper analyses of formal documents indicate that it deals simply with the provision of basic living needs for refugees on their way towards Western European countries.[4] This approach is illustrated by the recent news on the official website of the Commissariat: Serbia has not envisaged a budget of 320 million dinars (2.7 million euros) to improve the living conditions of migrants, nor does it intend to give migrant families 200,000 dinars (1,670 euros) to start a business or 1.4 million dinars (11,670 euros) for the purchase of rural houses, as has been completely falsely announced today in a daily newspaper.

It is true that at its session of 17 March 2017 the government adopted the Regulation on the Implementation Programme of Incentives for the implementation of measures and activities necessary to achieve the stated objectives in the field of migration management for 2017. According to this regulation, local self-governments will receive 288 million dinars (2.4 million euros) for internally displaced persons from Kosovo and Metohija, 20 million dinars (0.7 million euros) for returnees under readmission agreements (Serbian citizens repatriated from EU countries), and 12 million dinars (0.1 million euros) for local governments where asylum centres are located, in order to ease the burden of the migrant crisis.

The Commissariat for Refugees and Migration notes that all the migrants in the territory of the Republic of Serbia who wish official support, are accommodated in the official asylum centres where they can fully realize

[3] The Commissariat for Refugees, as a separate organisation within the public system, was established by the *Law on Refugees* (RS Official Gazette, 18/92, 42/02 - SUS and RS Official Gazette, 30 / 10) for professional and other tasks related to the care, return, and integration of refugees under this law and related administrative tasks.

[4] For more details: Law on Refugees, Migration Management Strategy, National Strategy For Resolving Problems Of Refugees And Internally Displaced Persons For the Period From 2011 To 2014, The Strategy of Returnees Reintegration Based on the Readmission Agreement, The Strategy for Combating Illegal Migration in the Republic of Serbia for the Period 2009–2014.

their rights according to the law. The Commissariat also notes that Serbia is not the final destination for migrants and therefore there is no need for housing, for example. Furthermore, it is not provided by the law (Commissariat for Refugees – Serbia, 2017).

It is obvious that there is no relevant policy or solution for the possible permanent stay of refugees. On the other hand, it is rather important to have a prepared policy for possible future events. This can be defined as a proactive approach, which is an important principle in public policy analysis. In order to solve possible future problems, it is important to have a draft policy before the problem emerges. This is one of the main points of this article, as well as a broader definition of the guidelines for such a policy.

When it comes to the assessment of already implemented and ongoing migration and refugee policies in the Western Balkans, a solid instrument is the MIPEX assessment (Migrant Integration Policy Index).

The MIPEX is a reference guide and a fully interactive tool to assess, compare, and improve integration policies. It measures integration policies in 40 countries in Europe and North America in order to provide a view of integration policies across a broad range of differing environments. MIPEX was developed in these countries by the British Council and the Migration Policy Group (MPG). Using 148 policy indicators, MIPEX establishes the extent to which all residents are legally entitled to equal rights and responsibilities, as well as to any support that addresses their specific needs, to make equal opportunities a reality.

MIPEX may be used as a starting point to evaluate how policy changes may improve integration in practice. Its research findings can be complemented with further information from official statistics, budgets, project and scientific evaluations, government reporting, and evidence from NGOs, courts, and migrants.

MIPEX demonstrates how countries can "do better" in creating a legal environment in which immigrants contribute to a country's well-being, where they have equal access to employment and education, live in security with their families, become active citizens, and are protected against discrimination. For each of the seven policy areas: labour market mobility, family reunion, education, political participation, long-term residence, access to nationality, and anti-discrimination, MIPEX identifies the highest European and international standards aimed at achieving equal rights, responsibilities, and opportunities for all residents. These standards establish a basic rule of law approach, which has helped to improve policies in European Union and Council of Europe member states. Where only

minimum standards exist, policy recommendations are used from international research networks and civil society (Huddleston, 2016, p. i).

According to MIPEX results for European countries (the overall score), most Balkan states have achieved poor scores. Namely, the MIPEX report classifies countries according to the overall result (grading 0–100). The most favourable countries for integration in Europe are Scandinavian ones (Sweden, Finland, and Norway, whose grade is about 70). On the contrary, the group of countries that are assessed as a slightly unfavourable for integration includes Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Serbia, as well as some other countries. Their grades are slightly below 40, which means that they are very close to next level of halfway favourable countries (Huddleston, 2016, p. 1).

Regarding just the Western Balkans, it is evident that this region has recorded the poorest levels of integration in the fields of political participation and education (Huddleston, 2016, p. 2).

These findings are complementary to the earlier observations on human needs. However, it is important to stress that people are interested in self-development, learning, and education, as well as in political participation, only when they have succeeded in fulfilling their basic needs (existential needs such as food, water, accommodation), in accordance with Maslow's model of the hierarchy of needs. When this model is applied as a basis for an ongoing refugee policy, the analysis shows that the treatment of migrants and refugees is connected solely with the two first needs (physiological and safety). Nonetheless, in order to achieve full integration of new settlers, it is necessary to deal with higher human needs and motives. These needs and motives can be achieved only by means of education and a long-term integration policy, where political participation plays a key role.

Taking into consideration all the points noted thus far, it would be useful to offer a short overview of the segments of a future refugee policy, as a guideline for the creation of a successful refugee integration policy.

6. Conclusions and Recommendations

There are four pillars that should serve as the basis for a future refugee integration policy. These are defined according to Maslow's model and some aspects and principles of policy analysis. The four pillars are explained in more detail below:

1. *Existential* – connected with the first tier of human needs (physiological)
2. *Socio–economic* – refers to safety needs
3. *Cultural–educational*
4. *Integrational* – connected to "higher" needs, such as belonging and esteem.

The existential pillar of an integration policy. This pillar refers to the provision of space and basic living conditions (shelter, food, water, basic infrastructure, and access to health services). The first step in dealing with refugees is the provision of basic, elementary living conditions (accommodation, food, and water). The nature of this matter is primarily financial and material, and it is possible to calculate the costs of these actions. Considering the poor economic situation in the Western Balkans, as well as numerous internal problems, it is not realistic to expect that these countries would be in possession of financial and other capacities. Therefore, in this phase, EU assistance is of paramount importance. When it comes to principles of public policy, economic–financial feasibility or criteria dominate at this point. However, the next policy phase becomes more complex, as other criteria (political, developmental, and cultural) appear relevant in addition to financial criteria.

The socio–economic pillar. This pillar refers to employment, social benefits, assistance, and support in the process of building sustainable families and households. These are more complex issues, referring to the involvement of these people in the labour market and the economy and creating circumstances in which they can work, earn, and live independently. A bigger challenge lies in the fact that many domicile citizens have not solved these issues either, and data on unemployment rates are pessimistic. On the other hand, migrants and refugees may be viewed as not just refugees but human beings with their own skills and personal capacities. They could present a type of "supplement" or solution to the problem of a permanent demographic decline in this region. However, this issue perceived from this point of view is not just financial, but developmental as well.

The cultural–educational pillar. This pillar refers to learning the language, and adopting values and cultural patterns, along with a respect for human rights. The most important aspects in this phase of the integration policy are education and political participation. It is in these two fields that the scores of Western Balkan countries are the poorest, according to the MIPEX index. It would not be wrong to say that these two fields are key for successful integration and thus these policies have to be the long-term type. A second characteristic of this phase of policy comprises

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its political, social, and cultural aspects. It is not enough to be in possession of sufficient finances in the budget to deal with the refugee issue; these policies need to focus on domicile citizens as well. In addition, solid administrative, organisational, and staff capacities are required for policy implementation. One of the key roles in this process would be taken on by local communities and local self-governments.

The integrative pillar. This refers to full integration into the system, integration into local communities, and symbolic identification with the new community and state. Unlike the first two pillars, this policy has to be long-term. It is equally important that it should address new settlers and domicile citizens. In this phase, it is very important that new citizens are accepted and respected in their new home and neighbourhood. Therefore, this policy focuses on domicile population and it deals with cultural and identity values.

Observing these four pillars, it may be seen that the financial aspect of policy dominates the first, while financial–economic and developmental aspects dominate the second. In addition, the first two pillars can be labelled as short-term policies. The third and fourth pillars are long-term polices and the key factors are administrative, political, and cultural.

Finally, it should be noted that the problem lies not in the refugees themselves, but their inadequate treatment and inadequate refugee policies. The preconditions for good policies involve a good public policy analysis, as well as an analysis of human needs. Combining these two segments, it is possible to create a "high-quality" refugee policy.

To realise short-term public policies aimed at addressing primary, basic, and existential problems of refugees, the most important segment involves financial, administrative, and technical capacities.

However, when it comes to permanent settlement and full integration, this may be facilitated by a long-term policy. In addition to financial and administrative capacities, long-term training and tolerance building among the local population is of the utmost importance. In connection with this, social characteristics and political issues of integration come to the fore.

Considering the financial, economic, and socio–political situation in the Western Balkans, it is more than obvious that these countries do not have the capacity to solve these problems independently and must be assisted financially by the EU. On the other hand, the new settlers present an opportunity whereby the Western Balkan countries may pursue their interests and demonstrate their importance for the whole European Union.

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GUIDELINES FOR THE DESIGN OF A REFUGEE POLICY IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

Summary

In the introduction to this paper, the importance of a refugee policy is emphasized if some refugees were to permanently settle in the Western Balkans. It is also noted that Western Balkan countries are characterised by numerous public problems and cultural, social, and economic specificities (compared with traditional immigrant-accepting states). Consequently, the refugee policy should comply with the specifics, as well as with the EU framework. In the following section of the paper some general questions about public policy are discussed. The main questions are: what exactly is public policy and what are the rules and criteria for creating a good public policy, designed to deal with a specific problem (in this case refugees)? As important aspects of a good public policy, the technical and financial aspects of public policy are discussed, as well as their political acceptability/feasibility and administrative operability. The second backbone of this article are general human needs, defined by research and prominent authors within the social sciences. This topic is discussed in the third section of the paper. Physiological needs, safety, belonging, esteem, and self-actualisation are noted to be primary human needs. As a result of combining these two fields, some guidelines for a refugee policy are given. This is preceded by a description of the relevance of this topic in previous academic research, as well as a description of ongoing policies in Serbia and the Western Balkans that may be assessed as poor. In the sixth part of the paper recommendations are given. A successful refugee policy should be built on four pillars. The first two would be on a short-term scale, whilst the third and fourth would cover long-term segments of the policy. These pillars are the following: existential (space and basic living conditions), socio–economic (employment, building sustainable families), cultural–educational, and integrative (full integration into the system).

Keywords: *public policy, human needs, refugees, Western Balkans, integration*

SMJERNICE ZA IZGRADNJU POLITIKE PREMA IZBJEGLICAMA NA ZAPADNOM BALKANU

Sažetak

U uvodu se naglašava važnost politike prema izbjeglicama u slučaju kada bi se trajno naselile na području Zapadnog Balkana. Države u toj regiji imaju brojne javne probleme, te kulturne, društvene i ekonomske specifičnosti u usporedbi s državama koje tradicionalno prihvaćaju doseljenike. Stoga bi politika prema izbjeglicama trebala biti u skladu s tim specifičnostima kao i s europskim okvirom. U radu se nadalje raspravlja o općenitostima vezanima za temu javnih politika, te su dva glavna pitanja na koja se pokušava odgovoriti. Što su točno javne politike i koja pravila i kriterije treba primijeniti u izgradnji kvalitetne javne politike koja je usmjerena na jasno određeno pitanje (u ovom slučaju izbjeglice)? Raspravlja se o važnim aspektima kvalitetne javne politike: tehničkim i financijskim pitanjima kao i prihvatljivosti/izvedivosti politika i njihovoj administrativnoj operativnosti. Druga okosnica rada nalazi se u općim ljudskim potrebama, prema definicijama koje su ponudili priznati autori u području društvenih znanosti. Osnovnim ljudskim potrebama smatraju se fiziološke potrebe organizma, sigurnosne potrebe, kao i potrebe za pripadanjem, samopoštovanjem i samoostvarenjem. Smjernice za izgradnju politike prema izbjeglicama u radu temelje se na kombinaciji spoznaja iz ova dva područja. Prije navođenja smjernica još se opisuje relevantnost ove teme u prethodnim istraživanjima, te trenutne politike u Srbiji i na Zapadnome Balkanu koje se mogu opisati kao loše. Preporuke koje autor nudi za uspješnu politiku prema izbjeglicama uključuju četiri stupa. Prva se dva bave kratkoročnim pitanjima dok su treći i četvrti usmjereni na dugoročna pitanja. Četiri stupa uključuju egzistencijski (osiguranje prostora i osnovnih životnih uvjeta), socio-ekonomski (osiguranje zaposlenja i zasnivanje održive obitelji), kulturno-obrazovni i integrirajući (osiguranje potpune integracije u sustav).

Ključne riječi: *javna politika, ljudske potrebe, izbjeglice, Zapadni Balkan, integracija*