

ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS OF THE CROATIAN DISPLACED PERSONS CONSIDERING PEACEFUL REINTEGRATION OF THE CROATIAN DANUBE BASIN

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The paper deals with the attitudes and opinions of the displaced persons from the Croatian Danube basin regarding the Plan of Peaceful Reintegration in relation to their personal characteristics, intention to return, emotional attitude towards the place of displacement and its characteristics, and experience of war and displacement. The data were processed by the non-parametrical contingency analysis and expressed in relative frequencies. It was determined that attitudes and opinions were, in a more or less varied degree, statistically significantly correlated to all variables-predictors. The highest correlation was observed between some personal characteristics (education, age and nationality) and criticism towards the Plan, and the lowest correlation was found between experience of war and displacement and general opinion of the Plan. The data confirm the Hocke's thesis that exclusively humanitarian approach to the problem of displacement without defining its political causes, proved to be inefficient.

1. INTRODUCTION

The problem of the Croatian refugees and displaced persons as one of the most dramatic consequences of the Serbian aggression against Croatia has been theoretically and empirically analysed in the international refugee context by the same authors (Šakić et al., 1993, Rogić et al. 1995). Among conclusions drawn, the following deserves more attention: according to the 1951 UN Convention only minority of the Croatian refugees and displaced persons meet the internationally accepted definition of exile. All four basic con-

stituents of the definition: well-founded fear; persecution; racial, religious and national motives . . . , and living outside the home-country, were identified in minority of the total Croatian exiled population, whereas majority of them falls into the category of internally displaced persons. For that reason, at the level of international legal system, the Croatian displaced persons have been and still are in complete vacuum. The international community, by treating the Croatian displaced as internally displaced persons considers them an internal problem of the Republic of Croatia.

In other words, the international community has no instruments to solve the problem of the exiled population, but has tried to apply a humanitarian approach analogous with the refugees. Therefore, after the four-year futile efforts to reach a peaceful solution, the way in which the problems with the Croatian displaced persons were solved in a part of the country through military and police actions named "Flash" and "Storm", represents the only possible and fully legal act of an internationally acknowledged state Hocke (1989). This was also a practical confirmation of the concept supported by a former high UN officer for the displaced persons who suggested a different international approach to the problem of displaced. He maintains that the approach should involve: a coordinated and collective action of states; that causes of displacement should be clearly stated; the state inciting them and its responsibility should be identified; improvement of human rights in native country, definition of adequate political resolutions to the problem of banished people, etc. As stated by Hocke, humanitarian interventions on behalf of the displaced would not be sufficient any longer unless the political situation causing their flee were given necessary importance.

The worldly refugee experience has revealed the fact that majority of refugees cherish their hope to return home some day. In this atmosphere they rear their children who inevitably get integrated in the environment of their settlement. This integration imposes on their parents a position of ambivalence of their wish to return to their native areas, on one hand, and the wish to provide a better living for their children in the milieu of resettlement, on the other. In search for a solution, at the level of an international community only professional help is recommended so as to diminish the traumas of exile (Horvath-Lindberg and Miserez, 1991).

Keeping in mind that majority of refugees never return home, mostly due to political reasons, and that exile problem has been dramatically increasing over the latter half of the twentieth century, one could say in the style of Baker (1983) that the world is full of "uprooted people" these days. To put it more simply, the world is filled with unhappy people who were forced to leave their original homes for the reasons of religion, race, nationality or other, as listed by the UN Convention. They will never return, even though the right of return is one of the fundamental human rights guaranteed by the international community.

On basis of the experience with 10,000 asylum seekers in Denmark in 1986, Jepsen (1987) concluded that awaiting by itself falls into the factors causing

many mental diseases. He reported that out of the total number of asylum seekers who were awaiting the decisions on their more stable existence longer than 15 months, 25% had to ask for medical help several times; their complaints were nightmares, headaches, various bodily pains, abdominal problems, etc.

For already six years, the displaced from the Croatian Danube basin have been living in a paradoxical situation: responsibility for these internally displaced persons rests with the country which is actually their homeland. They cannot return home because the problem of their return has been raised to the international level; but using political instead of legal instruments the international community deals with them in the way analogous with refugees. The international community requires from the refugees as well as from the country in which they resettled, the greatest possible patience and tolerance in order to ensure that as many people as possible – in fact political and militant causes of exile of the Croatian refugees would agree to stay in the occupied territory. A logical question therefore arises: whether the international community, in the spirit of Hocke's and Baker's theses, proved once more incapable of solving the refugee problem, or, it intends to find solution as has been already seen in the second half of the twentieth century: by integration of displaced within the countries of exile (or within places in our case) as well as in the third-world countries.

Since this paper was not meant to deal with political aspect of the displaced Croatian population from the Croatian Danube basin; we shall discuss certain aspects of their problem not primarily of political nature.

According to the Croatian official data 83,322 civilians of the Republic of Croatia hold the status of displaced persons from the Croatian Danube basin. There are 90.7% of Croats, 4.5% Hungarians, 1.7% Serbs, 1.1% of Ruthenians and Ukrainians, 0.4% Moslems and 1.6% others.

According to the 1991 census the region of the Croatian Danube basin was inhabited by 44.5% of Croats, 34.9% of Serbs, 6.7% Hungarians and 13.9% of other ethnic groups or the groups of unknown ethnic origin. These data are not mentioned to document ethnic cleansing over Croatian and other non-Serbian population groups that took place in the Croatian Danube basin, but to emphasise several humanitarian and cultural problems which could significantly slow down the process of peaceful reintegration.

From the worldly refugee experience it could be concluded that refugees normally encounter almost insurmountable social, economic and cultural barriers that prolong and often even enlarge experienced traumatic condition of the exile. Social problems arising from dissolution of all social relations that once organised displaced persons into the members of specific community, cultural and language shock resulting from cultural identity loss as well as "dependence syndrome" as a consequence of existential material dependence on the hu-

manitarian aid, create in the displaced feeling of inability to play an active part about their own future and cause numerous health problems. Therefore, the international community unable to find an adequate solution to the problems of displaced, offers voluntary repatriation as the only natural way to help their rapid integration in new environments in order to alleviate social, cultural and economic shock of the displaced. As can be concluded from the previous experience with exiled populations, after three to four years in exile, integrative processes in favourable conditions of the new environment considerably accelerate, and wish to return to their original homes diminishes (Horvath-Lindberg and Miserez, 1991).

The displaced from the Croatian Danube basin have spent six years in the conditions of exile. Most of them resettled within their homeland and on basis of the knowledge gathered from the worldly experience with refugees, the following conclusions can be reached:

- Language shock is avoided due to resettlement in the same language community, and cultural shock, if any, could not have caused greater damage to mental health of the displaced because regional differences in Croatia could not be compared to those between two different states. The more so if kept in mind that the a great number of the displaced settled in the borderline areas, in the places nearest to those of their exile, but under the control of Croatian government.
- Voluntary reintegration is not possible because the conditions which would guarantee safe return and peaceful life have not been established yet.
- Traumatic experience of the events of their exile has not been wiped out; according to worldly experience the traces of the trauma persist in the exiled for the rest of their lives.

With all this in view it is reasonable to assume that complete absence or rather weak manifestation of cultural and language shock experienced by the Croatian displaced persons, as well as number of years spent in the places of resettlement helped them to integrate much better than other refugees in the world. A direct consequence of this condition would be an attenuated or totally absent wish and intention to return to their homes, and in particular when taking into account that safety conditions have not been ensured yet, and that traumatic experience has not faded away.

This paper analyses attitudes and opinions of the Croatian displaced persons from the Croatian Danube basin regarding the Plan of Peaceful Reintegration as an effort of the international community in solution to the problem of their displacement. A research and assessment of their views towards the Plan of Peaceful Reintegration is a necessary precondition in order to develop the strategy of peaceful reintegration. Without being familiar with the attitudes of the displaced, it is not possible to predict consequences which could be generated in case that peaceful reintegration would be performed exclusively by political methods.

2. THE AIM OF THE RESEARCH

Using the described international refugee problem as a basis of this research and applying it to the context of the displaced from the Croatian Danube basin, the general aim of the research was to evaluate the attitudes and opinions of the displaced in view of the Plan of Peaceful Reintegration.

The attitudes and opinions of the displaced were analysed in relation to four subcategories including:

- some personal characteristics of the displaced;
- conditions required for their return;
- their emotional relationship towards the places of their exile and characteristics of the places;
- their experience of war and exile.

3. METHODS

3.1. Description of major groups of variables

The groups of variables defined according to the aim of the study are:

Attitudes and opinions of the displaced in view of the Plan of Peaceful Reintegration. The variables that will be analysed within this group are as follows: conformity with the Plan, general opinion of the displaced about the Plan, opinion of the displaced about the Plan in relation to military action, opinion of the displaced of the reasons for the acceptance of the Plan, opinion of the displaced about the degree to which their interests are represented by the Plan and ensured by the Croatian government and UNTAES.

Personal characteristics of the displaced. Variables to be analysed within this group are: sex, age, level of education, nationality, confession and marital status of the displaced.

Intention to return supported by the Plan and independently of the Plan. Variables representing this group are: intention to return based on the Plan and intention to return regardless of the Plan but including certain conditions on behalf of the displaced.

Emotional relationship towards the place of exile and its characteristics. Variables to be analysed are: period of life spent in the place of exile, intention to migrate independently of the war, emotional relationship towards the place of exile as the only home, place to live in the future.

Experience related to the war and displacement. These variables include: experience of war with respect to participation in the war and possible traumatic

consequences of the examinees or their family members, and experience of the exile based on possibility of employment.

3.2. Instrument

The data analysed in the paper were obtained by the questionnaire developed for the purpose of the scientific project "Return of the displaced to the Croatian East" conducted by the Institute for Applied Social Research in Zagreb and financed by the Ministry of Science and Technology of the Republic of Croatia. Majority of questions assessing the attitudes and opinions of the displaced followed the Likert-type scale, while the rest were of multiple choice type.

3.3. Subjects

The investigation was conducted on a probabilistic sample of the persons displaced from the Croatian Danube basin who were registered residents in the territory of the Republic Croatia. The sample was selected on random basis from the 1996 Census of displaced persons (data basis provided by the Office for Refugees and Displaced Persons of the Republic of Croatia). The framework for sample selection were data on the places of exile and those of present residence of the displaced.

The sample involved 1499 persons. With regard to relevant variables – place of exile, place of present residence, type of settlement, demographic characteristics – the sample was representative for the population of the displaced from the territory of Eastern Slavonija, Baranja and Western Srijem. The total number of subjects allowed estimation of population parameters with the theoretical bias not exceeding 2.5% and degree of risk less than 5%.

3.4. Data collection

Field investigation was carried out in the period from June 27 to July 19, 1996. The subjects were interviewed in the buildings of their present settlement. The problems that were encountered during the interview, as well as the number of displaced refusing to participate in the investigation, could be ignored.

3.5. Data analysis

The results obtained were expressed in relative frequencies and analysed by means of the non-parametrical contingency analysis which was considered most adequate since majority of questions were composed from qualitative attributes classified into certain number of categories. The C-coefficient of contingency indicates the degree of relationship between certain group of variables, and the chi-square test the difference between them.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Relative frequencies of the results within individual groups of variables

The relative frequency of answers to individual questions – variables within the mentioned groups are used as general orientation among the data. They are intended to facilitate the interpretation of statistical indicators obtained later by means of contingency analysis.

4.1.1. Attitudes and opinions of the displaced in view of the Plan of Peaceful Reintegration

Since the variables aimed at defining attitudes and opinions of the displaced concerning peaceful reintegration belong to the group of criteria, it is important to mention relative frequencies of the answers obtained for the degree of acquaintance with the Plan of Peaceful Reintegration, before the results within other individual variables are presented. According to that question 30.9% of the interviewed said that they were well informed, 56.1% moderately and 13% poorly. It could be therefore stated, with a sufficient reliability, that the displaced formed their attitudes and opinions in view of the Plan on their knowledge of the Plan and not on their a priori attitude.

The results shown in Table 1, point to the following conclusions:

1. In view of the conformity with the Plan the population of the displaced was mostly polarised; one half of the interviewed agreed with the Plan and one third disagreed. A corresponding relative relationship was also observed between those whose intention to return was based on the Plan and those who intend to return but disagree or are indecisive with regard to the Plan.
2. General opinion about the Plan can be described as prevalingly positive, with a comment that slow implementation of the Plan and estimation that it covers interests of the Serbs more than of Croats are chief drawbacks of the Plan.
3. Majority of the displaced prefer peaceful solution based on the Plan. One third of the interviewed hold, however, that occupied territory cannot be returned without a military action.
4. Attitudes of the displaced towards Croatian government, in relation to the reasons influencing the acceptance of the Plan and measures taken to protect their interests, revealed criticism with respect to the possibility that the Plan was imposed by the international community and that it does not provide adequate protection of their interests.
5. The opinions on UNTAES were divided between the estimation that UNTAES equally protects interests of the Croats and Serbs and that it protects more interests of the Serbs. The estimation that it protected more interests of the Croats is almost absent.

Table 1
Relative frequencies of the results obtained within the group of variables
Attitudes and opinions of the displaced in view of the Plan for Peaceful
Reintegration (N=1499)

Variable	Answer	%
Conformity with the Plan		
	Completely agree	11.9
	Mostly agree	38.2
	Mostly disagree	19.9
	Completely disagree	14.1
	Not familiar with the Plan	15.9
General opinion of the Plan		
Conforms with the interests of the displaced		
	Completely or mostly agree	58.8
	Completely or mostly disagree	27.5
	Don't know	13.7
Positive influence to the future of Croatia		
	Completely or mostly agree	77.8
	Completely or mostly disagree	12.6
	Don't know	9.5
More protects interests of the Serbs than of Croats		
	Completely or mostly agree	60.0
	Completely or mostly disagree	17.7
	Don't know	22.3
Slow implementation of the Plan		
	Completely or mostly agree	95.2
	Completely or mostly disagree	2.9
	Don't know	1.9
Peaceful against military solution		
	For the Plan of peaceful reintegration	43.2
	For peaceful solution but different from the Plan	16.5
	For military action	31.9
	Don't know	8.4
Reasons influencing the acceptance of the Plan by Croatian government		
	It was best solution	18.9
	Imposed by the international community	41.2
	Both	29.4
	Don't know	10.5
Croatian government – the Plan and interests of the displaced		
	Croatian government did as much as was possible	27.0
	Croatian government did a lot but could has done more	54.1
	Croatian government did scarcely anything	12.0
	Don't know	6.8
UNTAES and interests of the displaced		
	UNTAES protects more interests of the Croats	3.2
	UNTAES protects more interests of the Serbs	38.2
	Mostly unbiased	40.8
	Don't know	17.8

4.1.2. Personal characteristics of the displaced

Table 2

Relative frequencies of the results obtained within the group of variables *personal characteristics of the displaced* (N = 1499)

Variable	Categories	%
Sex	Men	45.4
	Women	54.6
Age	Up to 30 years	20.1
	Between 30 and 39 years	20.3
	Between 40 and 49 years	21.2
	Between 50 and 59 years	16.6
	60 years and more	21.8
Education	Uneducated	3.9
	1-4 classes elementary school	12.5
	5-7 classes elementary school	6.1
	8 classes elementary school	22.6
	Trade school, industrial school, school for qualified workers and apprentices	18.9
	Secondary school, trade school	30.3
	Higher school, university	6.0
Nationality	Croats	88.1
	Serbs	2.9
	Hungarians	4.9
	Others	4.1
Confession	Roman Catholics	92.6
	Orthodox	3.0
	Others	4.3
Marital status	Married	66.8
	Unmarried	18.6
	Divorced	2.6
	Widow/ widower	12.0

On basis of the general insight into results showed in Table 2 it could be concluded that they correspond to those obtained in the total population of the displaced (Rogić et al, 1995) which speaks in favour of the representative character of the sample used in this study.

4.1.3. Intention to return supported by the Plan and independently of the Plan

From the data shown in Table 3 it can be concluded that 70.9% of the displaced intend to return on conditions predicted by the Plan or still feel indecisive. Independently of the Plan are willing to return 89.3% of the displaced, requiring no or several specific conditions.

Table 3

Relative frequencies of the results obtained within the group of variables intention to return supported by the Plan and independently of the Plan (N=1499)

Variables	%
Intention of return in dependence of the Plan	
Intend to return	57.6
Do not intend to return under present conditions	24.9
Have not decided yet	13.3
Do not intend to return at all	4.2
Intention and conditions of return unrelated to the Plan	
As soon as possible – unconditionally	30.7
If all conditions set by Croatian government would be respected	16.8
If living standard would be acceptable	14.9
If safety would be guaranteed	11.5
Departure of the Serbs	11.4
Departure of war criminals	1.9
Other conditions	2.1
Do not intend to return	3.1
Don't know	7.6

4.1.4. Emotional relationship towards the place of exile and its characteristics

Table 4 gives relative frequencies of the results indicating pre-war relations of the displaced towards the places from which they were exiled, investigate the period of life lived in the place of exile, their intention to return and emotional ties to the place.

Table 4

Relative frequencies of the results obtained within the group of variables emotional relationship towards the place of exile and its characteristics (N=1499)

Variables	Answers	%
Living in the place of exile	Since birth	50.7
	Settled in later in life	49.3
Intention to move unrelated to war	Never thought of it	94.2
	Thought of it sometimes but have not really meant	4.0
	I would probably move regardless of the war	1.2
	I have firmly decided to move earlier	0.7
Relationship toward home	I feel this is my only home	88.7
	Beside my original home, there are several places where I feel at home	8.3
	My home is somewhere else	0.7
	Not emotionally tied to any place	1.2
	Other	0.3
	Have no definite opinion	0.8
Intention of return into the place of exile	I wish to live in my original place of exile	83.7
	I wish to live somewhere else	8.8
	Don't know	7.4

From the results shown in the table it could be concluded with great certainty that displaced have always been and remained tied to the place of their exile; those who were born there as well as those who settled in the place of exile some time later. In other words – great majority of the displaced feel these places to be their homeland.

4.1.5. Experience of the war and displacement

Experience of the war was analysed with regard to participation in the war and war-related suffering of the interviewed themselves or their family members (Table 5a). Experience of displacement involved status of employment or unemployment in the exile. According to the literature the greatest differences in traumatic experience of refuge or displacement were found in people who differed by the employment status (Table 5b).

Table 5a
Relative frequencies of the results obtained within the variable
experience of war (N=1499)

Variable	Answers	War participants (%)			
		None	Examinee	Family member	Examinee or family member
War experience	Croatian Army	26.00	16.2	48.4	9.3
	Police units	86.88	2.6	10.1	0.5
	Detained	70.55	5.5	16.0	8.0
	Invalid	79.22	6.0	13.9	0.8
	Wounded	91.99	1.5	6.6	0.0
	Psychical trauma	65.77	8.0	11.4	14.9

Table 5b
Relative frequencies of the results obtained within the variable
experience of displacement (N=1499)

Variable	Answers	%
Employment in the exile	Permanent employment	21.3
	Part-time employment	4.9
	Employment by contract	1.5
	Illegal employment	2.4
	Unemployed	54.7
	Other	15.1

From the data given in the Table 5a it can be seen that majority of the displaced or their family members have actively participated in the war, mostly in the Croatian Army or police units. Great number of them have suffered in one way or another. As far as the experience of the displacement was investigated (Table 5b), majority of the displaced are unemployed and one quarter of them have regular jobs.

4.2. Contingency analysis of the results

Contingency analysis contains analysis of the relationship between individual variables from the group *attitudes and opinions of the displaced in view of the Plan of Peaceful Reintegration* and the variables-predictors from the groups *personal characteristics of the displaced, intention to return supported by the Plan and independently of the Plan, emotional relationship towards the place of exile and its characteristics, experience related to the war and displacement*. In order to offer rational and clear presentation of the data, only the results which contributed most to the understanding of the observed general trends were given. For the same reason frequencies of the results of the contingency analysis were not presented but only principal statistic indicators showing correlation between the pairs of variables.

4.2.1. Attitudes and opinions of the displaced in view of the Plan of Peaceful Reintegration with regard to personal characteristics of the displaced

Table 6
Correlations between attitudes and opinions regarding the Plan and personal characteristics of the displaced (N=1499)

Attitudes and opinions		Personal characteristics					
		Sex	Age	Edu- cation	Natio- nality	Con- fession	Marital status
Conformity with the Plan	d.f.	4	16	24	12	8	12
	C	0.10	0.29	0.29	0.22	0.17	0.18
	P	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
General opinion of the Plan							
Conforms with the interests of the displaced	d.f.	4	16	24	12	8	12
	C	0.14	0.24	0.33	0.16	0.10	0.19
	P	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	n.s.	0.01
Positive influence to the future of Croatia	d.f.	4	16	24	12	8	12
	C	0.12	0.17	0.27	0.12	0.08	0.18
	P	0.01	0.02	0.01	n.s.	n.s.	0.01
Protects interests of the Serbs more than of Croats	d.f.	4	16	24	12	8	12
	C	0.13	0.22	0.24	0.14	0.11	0.20
	P	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03	n.s.	0.01
Slow implementation of the Plan	d.f.	4	16	24	12	8	12
	C	0.08	0.15	0.25	0.10	0.10	0.15
	P	n.s.	n.s.	0.01	n.s.	n.s.	0.03
Reasons influencing the acceptance of the Plan	d.f.	3	12	18	9	6	9
	C	0.14	0.24	0.35	0.11	0.12	0.19
	P	0.01	0.01	0.01	n.s.	0.03	0.01
Protective role of the plan (Croatian government)	d.f.	3	12	18	9	6	9
	C	0.11	0.15	0.28	0.15	0.16	0.19
	P	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Protective role of the plan of the Plan (UNTAES)	d.f.	3	12	18	9	6	9
	C	0.15	0.17	0.24	0.15	0.10	0.16
	P	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	n.s.	0.01

The relationship between individual personal characteristics of the displaced and their attitudes and opinion regarding peaceful reintegration (Table 6) showed the following trends:

1. Personal characteristics were to a greater or lesser degree statistically significantly related to the variable conformity with the Plan: higher correlation was obtained with age, education and nationality of the displaced than to sex, confession and marital status. Qualitative analysis of the results shows that men are more familiar with the Plan, as well as those older by age, more educated, Serbs by nationality, Orthodox by confession and married. Greater conformity to the Plan was observed among older persons, of lower educational level, Serbs more than members of other nationalities, Orthodox more than other confessions, and married, unmarried and widowers more than divorced.
2. Opinion that the Plan meets the interests of the displaced from the Croatian Danube basin is statistically significant, but poorly related to all personal characteristics except marital status. Slightly greater correlation was found between age and education with general opinion, with significantly more critical approach to the Plan expressed by the younger and more educated. The estimation that the Plan might positively influence the future of the whole Croatia was obtained mostly by more educated (although at the negative extreme of the continuum a small number of well educated people showed more critical opinions than the rest of interviewed). The differences with respect to other personal characteristics were not found, or were very slightly manifested. The relationship between attitude that the Plan follows the interests of Serbs more than of Croats is observed at the level of statistical significance with the variables: sex, age, education and marital status. A greater tendency to the statement that the Plan protects interests of Serbs more than of Croats is observed among younger and educated persons. The educated are also most decisive about the statement that progression of implementation of the Plan is too slow, although this variable except for the variables education and marital status was not statistically significant.
3. Approximately one third of the displaced (29.4%) maintained that the Croatian government accepted the Plan comparably for both arguments; as the best solution and because it was imposed by the international community, while remaining 10.5% of the interviewed restrained from estimation (Table 1). The highest correlation ($C=0.35$) was determined between the variable questioning the reasons for acceptance of the Plan and the level of education. Statistically significant correlation between the reasons influencing acceptance of the Plan and personal characteristics was established also in other personal characteristics except Nationality. General trend is that men, in particular between 40 and 50 years of age, more educated, Catholics by confession and married, showed greater tendency to accept the Plan under the pressure of the international community.

4. Attitudes and opinions related to the protective role of the Plan in relation to the personal characteristics of the displaced are analysed separately in view of the protection of interests of the displaced provided by the Croatian government, and by UNTAES. Considering the role of Croatian government (Table 1) 27.0% of the displaced maintained that it did as much as was possible, for 54.1% it did a lot but could have done more, and for 12.0% it has done almost nothing. The remaining 6.8% refrained from answering. With respect to UNTAES 38.2% of the displaced thought that the Plan protects interests of the Serbs to the greater degree and for only 3.2% of the displaced it protected more the interests of Croats. Impartial about the Plan were 40.8% of the displaced and 17.8% did not declare their opinion. There is a low but statistically significant difference between the attitudes and opinions related to the Croatian government and all investigated personal characteristics. A general trend shows more emphasised criticism towards Croatian authorities in men, younger persons, more educated, married, as well as Croats and Hungarians against the Serbs, Catholics and other by confession against Orthodox, married and unmarried against divorced and widows or widowers. With reference to UNTAES, statistically significant correlations were obtained between the opinion of its role and all personal characteristics except Confession. A trend is observed that in relation to UNTAES, and the attitude that it protects interests of the Serbs more than of Croats, more critical were educated displaced persons; Croats and Hungarians compared to the Serbs; Catholics and other confessions compared to Orthodox; and divorced and widowers compared to married or unmarried.

4.2.2. Attitudes and opinions of the displaced regarding the Plan of Peaceful Reintegration in relation to their intention to return supported by the Plan or independently of the Plan

Correlation between two predictor-variables investigating intention to return in relation to the Plan is 0.41 and is statistically significant with a risk of less than 1%. Analysis of the relative frequencies of results shows that 84% of displaced declared their wish to return regardless of the Plan, or to return under conditions stated by the Plan, while only 16% would return under certain conditions. Similar trend is observed in the correlation between the variables conformity with the Plan and conditions of return and it amounts to 0.35. Analysis of relative frequencies shows that 70% of those who conform with the Plan belong to the category of those ready to return regardless of conditions, and 70% of those who do not comply with the conditions of the Plan would not return except under certain conditions. Summarily said the displaced maintain that certain number of conditions which they consider important are not included in the Plan or they think that one part of the Plan would not be fulfilled (this primarily refers to their anxiety that all conditions set by Croatian government would not be realised). It is therefore interesting to see the relationships between mentioned criteria-variables with variables from the group related to the atti-

tudes and opinions about the Plan – agreement with the Plan, general opinion about the Plan and opinion about the Plan in relation to military action.

Table 7

Correlations between attitudes and opinions regarding the Plan and intention to return in dependence of and independently of the Plan (N=1499)

Opinions		Intention to return	
		In dependence of the Plan	Independently of the Plan
Conformity with the Plan	d.f.	12	32
	C	0.50	0.35
	P	0.01	0.01
General opinion of the Plan			
– Confirms with the interests of the displaced	d.f.	12	32
	C	0.46	0.35
	P	0.01	0.01
– Positive influence to the future of Croatia	d.f.	12	32
	C	0.31	0.25
	P	0.01	0.01
– Protects interests of the Serbs more than of Croats	d.f.	12	32
	C	0.34	0.30
	P	0.01	0.01
– Slow implementation of the Plan	d.f.	12	32
	C	0.14	0.17
	P	0.01	n.s.
– Peaceful against military solution	d.f.	9	27
	C	0.44	0.40
	P	0.01	0.01

From Table 7 and relative frequencies of results the following may be concluded:

1. All the variables-predictors except one are statistically significantly correlated with variables-criteria with the risk lower than 1%. The exception is the correlation between estimation that terms for implementation of the Plan are too extended and the intention to return based on certain conditions which is not significant. General trend is that variables from the group of *attitudes and opinions in view of the Plan* are slightly more strongly related to the variable *intention to return supported by the Plan* than with the variable *intention to return independently of the Plan*.

2. Correlations between the pairs of variables range from weak to moderately strong. The highest correlations are obtained between *conformity with the Plan* and estimation that Plan mainly meets the interests of the displaced, with variables-criteria, and the lowest between attitudes that terms for realisation of the Plan are too extended with intention to return. Thus, it can be concluded that conditions of return are of greater importance for the intention of the displaced to return than terms for realisation of the Plan.

3. Determination for the Plan against military action is moderately strong and statistically significantly correlated with both variables-predictors. Qualitative analysis reveals that in favour of military action were mostly those ready to return if all conditions of the Croatian government would be fulfilled, those who insist on guaranteed personal security and who were against the stay of Serbs. Summarily said the opinion that military action would be a better solution than the Plan of Peaceful Reintegration is almost as a rule associated with the fear that life would not be safe after the return.

4.2.3. Attitudes and opinions of the displaced in view of the Plan of Peaceful Reintegration in relation to the emotional relationship towards the place of exile and its characteristics

Agreement with the Plan, general attitude and opinions regarding the Plan and opinion on possible military action were analysed in relation to the emotional relationship towards the place of exile and its characteristics (Table 8).

Table 8

Correlations between attitudes and opinions regarding the Plan and emotional relationship and characteristics of the place of exile (N=1499)

Opinions		Emotional relationship and characteristics of the place of exile			
		Living in the place of exile	Intention to move unrelated to war	Relationship to-ward home	Intention to return into the place of exile
Conformity with the Plan	d.f.	180	12	12	8
	C	0.46	0.10	0.20	0.15
	P	0.01	n.s.	0.01	0.01
General opinion of the Plan					
Confirms with the interests of the displaced	d.f.	180	12	12	8
	C	0.43	0.11	0.15	0.21
	P	0.01	n.s.	0.04	0.01
Positive influence to the future of Croatia	d.f.	180	12	12	8
	C	0.44	0.09	0.09	0.12
	P	0.01	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Protects interests of the Serbs more than of Croats	d.f.	180	12	12	8
	C	0.43	0.10	0.11	0.12
	P	0.01	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Slow implementation of the Plan	d.f.	180	12	12	8
	C	0.41	0.14	0.15	0.11
	P	n.s.	n.s.	0.04	n.s.
Peaceful against military solution	d.f.	3	9	15	6
	C	0.15	0.14	0.15	0.10
	P	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03

From the data shown in Table 8 following conclusions can be drawn:

1. Apart from moderately strong and statistically significant correlation of the variable related to time lived in the place of exile with those showing agreement with the Plan and general attitude and opinion in view of the Plan, other correlations were poorly or not statistically significant. The only regularity is weak but statistically significant correlation between the variables from the group experiences and characteristics of the place of exile with the variable opinion on the Plan against military action.

2. Qualitative analysis of contingency tables shows that greater agreement with the Plan and better general opinion about the Plan were observed among the displaced who settled in the place of exile some time in their life in relation to the displaced who were living in the place of exile from their birth. The latter group was more inclined to accept, though not very manifestly, another form of peaceful solution or military action than those who inhabited the place of exile later in life.

In order to obtain as precise analysis as possible, intercorrelations between the variables from the group *emotional relationship towards the place of exile and its characteristics* were analysed. Significant correlation was found between the intention to move from the place of exile independently of the war and experience of the place as the only home ($C=0.41$), between the intention to move independently of the war and intention to return to the same village ($C=0.35$), and emotional relationship towards the place of exile as the only home and intention to return to the same village ($C=0.33$).

The period of life lived in the place of exile is weakly but statistically significantly correlated to the experience that the place of exile is the only home ($C=0.16$) with the tendency that those who were living in the place of exile since their birth were more likely to support this attribute. Other relationships have no interpretative value.

Summarily, it can be concluded that among interviewed those who were more strongly tied to the place of exile proved less ready to agree with the Plan and to more ready to accept some other peaceful solution or military action as a better way to resolve their situation.

4.2.4. Attitudes and opinion on the Plan with respect to war experience and experience of displacement

In Table 9 the following general trends were observed:

1. The experience of displacement is poorly but statistically significantly correlated with all variables from the group of attitudes and opinions in view of the Plan. Qualitative analysis of the results showed that employed displaced persons were more critical towards the Plan and more inclined to accept other so-

lutions than unemployed which means that unemployed were more ready to return unconditionally, or in dependence on the Plan.

Table 9
Correlations between attitudes and opinions regarding the Plan and experience of war and displacement (N=1499)

Opinions	Experience of displacement		War experience				Psychical trauma
	Employment	Croatian Army	Police units	Detained	Invalid	Wounded	
Conformity with the Plan							
d.f.	12	12	12	12	12	8	12
C	0.21	0.17	0.18	0.27	0.20	0.14	0.20
P	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
General opinion of the Plan							
Conforms with the interests of the displaced							
d.f.	12	12	12	12	12	8	12
C	0.23	0.16	0.15	0.24	0.23	0.07	0.23
P	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	n.s.	0.01
Positive influence to the future of Croatia							
d.f.	12	12	12	12	12	8	12
C	0.17	0.12	0.13	0.16	0.12	0.08	0.14
P	0.01	n.s.	n.s.	0.01	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Protects interests of the Serbs more than of Croats							
d.f.	12	12	12	12	12	8	12
C	0.25	0.19	0.13	0.18	0.15	0.06	0.20
P	0.01	0.01	n.s.	0.01	0.03	n.s.	0.01
Slow implementation of the Plan							
d.f.	12	12	12	12	12	8	12
C	0.16	0.10	0.09	0.10	0.06	0.11	0.17
P	0.02	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	0.01
Peaceful against military solution							
d.f.	15	9	9	9	9	6	9
C	0.15	0.25	0.09	0.26	0.23	0.07	0.19
P	0.01	0.01	n.s.	0.01	0.01	n.s.	0.01

2. Experience of the war was correlated with the variable conformity with the Plan similar to the experience of displacement – poorly but statistically significantly. Those who participated in military units or suffered in some way (Table 5) agreed with the Plan to a lesser degree. The war experience was related to the opinion of the displaced about the Plan to a lesser degree. Namely, statistically significant correlation was established only between some of the categories within the variable general opinion on the Plan and categories within the variable war experience. Qualitative analysis shows that opinion that Plan pro-

fects mostly interests of the displaced as well as the opinion that Plan protects more interests of the Serbs were both influenced by the majority of categories within the variable war experience. Results indicate that those who were in the military units or suffered in some way, were more critical towards the Plan or believe that the Plan protects interests of the Serbs more than of Croats. In correspondence with this they are more inclined to accept some other peaceful solution or military action.

General conclusion of the analysis would be that the experience of war and displacement less influenced a critical attitude towards the Plan and greater tendency for other solutions, but played no decisive role in establishing attitudes and opinion of the Plan. It seems that they are mostly formed by the content of the Plan.

5. GENERAL DISCUSSION

General discussion was aimed at directing attention to general trends of the correlations, and to the differences between investigated groups of variables, rather than at revealing systematic relations.

Based on analyses of relative frequencies of results and contingency analyses it is possible to interpret summarily general trends with respect to attitudes and opinions of the displaced about the Plan of Peaceful Reintegration. Within this context, the sequence of order of dealing with the problem and subproblems will correspond to that in definition of the problem.

1. The Plan of Peaceful Reintegration is acceptable to the half of the population of displaced whereas the other half finds it unacceptable or they restrained from answering due to various reasons. Taking into account that 30% of the interviewed were ready to return as soon as possible without stating any particular conditions (see Table 3) and that these displaced have also more positive attitude towards the Plan it could be concluded with considerable certainty, that opinion of the majority of the displaced about the Plan is very critical. The objections addressed to the Plan refer primarily to the fact that it was imposed to the Croatian government by the international community and that it protects the rights of the Serbs more than of Croats, that is, it inadequately protects the interests of the displaced of that area.

2. Personal characteristics to a greater or lesser degree influence the attitudes and opinions about the Plan of Peaceful Reintegration. Trends of influences are compatible to the statements under previous paragraph. Namely the Plan is accepted more by the older population of the displaced, less educated, Serbs by nationality and Orthodox by confession, whereas the younger population, more educated, Croats and Hungarians by nationality and Catholics were significantly more critical towards protective role of the Plan in view of the displaced and more ready to estimate that the Plan was imposed to Croatian government from the international community (Tables 2 and 6).

3. Motivation for return in dependence of the Plan was significantly lower than that based on the conditions of the displaced. There is important to stress that leaving of the Serbs as a sole condition was expressed by only 11% of the displaced and in the context of feeling of endangered personal security from their side, and great majority of other conditions were related to the safe living after the return which, by the opinion of the displaced, can be ensured only by the Croatian government. According to the results of the analysis if all conditions of the Croatian government established by the Plan would not be realised, or Croatian authority would not be implemented over the Croatian Danube basin, about 30% of the displaced would not return. That percentage mostly refers to younger and more educated displaced, to those who were permanently employed in the place of settlement and the displaced who were members of the army. Those displaced were also more ready to accept another peaceful solution or military action than the rest of the displaced population. After six year of displacement these data gain reliance when taken into consideration that realisation of the conditions decisive for the return is to the displaced more important than time period in which the Plan should be realised. Summarily said, due to disagreement with the Plan or disbelief that the Plan would be realised, the most vital part of the population of the displaced would not return which would make developmental and security dimension of the return significantly weaker (Tables 3 and 7). In other words, the experience of Croatian displaced population speaks in favour of the opinion of Hocke (1989) that international community should find out another solution for the problems of the displaced which implies explicit definition of their political causes.

4. The displaced remained highly tied to the places of their exile even after six years of displacement. Greater devotion is more associated to the experience of the place of exile as the only homeland than the birth place of the displaced, although those who were born there were more devoted than those who inhabited it later in their life. On the other hand, more tight relationship results with greater degree of criticism towards the Plan and greater readiness to search for other peaceful solutions or military action (see Tables 4 and 8).

5. Majority of displaced actively participated the war, mostly in the army. Many of them were wounded, detained or suffered a war trauma. When, in addition to war trauma, the trauma of displacement is considered, a great number of the displaced can be said to have suffered twice. For this reason strong relatedness between traumatic experience and a disapproval of the peaceful solution of the Plan could have been expected. Although the results reveal statistically significant correlation between the experience of displacement and that of war and greater criticism towards the Plan, that is, a wish for other solutions, the correlation is much less emphasised than in case when attitudes and opinion on the Plan are considered in relation to other personal characteristics (education and nationality), intention to return and/or relation towards the place of exile. This means that attitudes and opinion of the refugees are predominantly based on the characteristics of the Plan which, as estimated by the dis-

placed more protects Serbs than Croats (that is why Serbs in the population of the displaced support the Plan to a higher degree) and does not ensure them sufficient security upon return, and to a lesser degree are based on the traumatic experience of the war and displacement (Tables 6, 7, 8 and 9). This statement is contributed by the fact that more criticism towards the Plan is observed among the displaced who found permanent employment in the place of resettlement, which according to the worldly experience by now, significantly reduced their dependency syndrome, that is, the trauma of displacement.

6. CONCLUSION

Since due to the nature of collected data statistical analyses aimed at elimination of system factors were not possible, we have tried on basis of the performed analysis, including great number of contingency parameters to describe typical context of the displaced based on the attitudes and opinions of the displaced in view of the Plan of Peaceful Reintegration.

The displaced from the Croatian Danube basin were brought in the situation of displacement only for the fact that they lived in this area, because they were Croats, Hungarians or members of other non-Serbian nationality and that they were not exposed to a risk to be killed by their Serbian neighbours in their own home. If they were young or men, they joined the army to defend the homeland, and if they were older or women they had to accept, most often poor accommodation and charity of their friends or international humanitarian institutions. Great attachment towards homeland maintained constant their wish for return, while material and social insecurity enlarged their sensitivity towards injustice and continuously put on trial their tolerance towards actions of the international community and Croatian government in view of efficiency, that is inefficiency in solving their problem of displacement. A long-term situation of the displacement and endeavour to provide at least partly dignified childhood for their children stimulated them to find employment in the places of settlement. Those with higher education and more competent have succeeded in this which reduced their dependence syndrome, but enlarged sensitivity for the conditions of return. The older ones and dependent on humanitarian aid wish to return in order to spend the rest of their lives in own homes, that is, by the return they intend to improve living standard and recover dignity of normal life. Consequently they are less demanding with respect to the conditions of return but as well as younger people, more educated and employed they insist on conditions of security because they have no trust in those who made them once unhappy that they would not repeat this if another opportunity appears. In this respect they do not trust to international community as well, but insist on establishment of Constitutional order in occupied territories, that is require that their safety be guaranteed by Croatian government. Their former neighbours, thus they take as persons of their distrust whom they condemn for committed crimes and injustice made but generally they do not hinder their stay,

and especially they are not ready of revenge. Their tolerance should be a basis of the solution of their return based primarily on trust in people who, although five years have passed of their living as uprooted people (Baker 1983) have not lost hope and faith that their problem will be justifiably solved, and not discriminated against those whose safety and interests are more protected although they made great injustice and evil to the population from The Croatian Danube basin.

The International community, therefore, and not Croatian state or Croatian displaced persons are to pass an exam in international persuasiveness.

Translated by Vesna Hajnić

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STAVOVI I MIŠLJENJA HRVATSKIH PROGNANIKA PREMA MIRNOJ REINTEGRACIJI HRVATSKOG PODUNAVLJA

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Uradu je analiziran odnos stavova i mišljenja prognanika iz hrvatskog Podunavlja o Planu mirne reintegracije s obzirom na kriterije osobnih karakteristika, namjere povratka, doživljaja i karakteristika mjesta progonstva te ratnog i prognaničkog iskustva. Za obradu podataka korišten je neparametrijski postupak kontingencijske analize i relativne frekvencije rezultata. Ustanovljeno je da su stavovi i mišljenja statistički značajno, u manjoj ili većoj mjeri, povezani sa svim prediktorima, s time da je najjača povezanost ustanovljena između nekih osobnih karakteristika (obrazovanja, dobi i narodnosti) i veće kritičnosti prema planu, a najslabija između ratnog i prognaničkog iskustva i općeg mišljenja o planu. Podaci potvrđuju Hockeovu tezu da je isključivo humanitarni pristup izbjeglištvu, bez definiranja njegovih političkih uzroka, neučinkovit.

EINSTELLUNGEN UND ÜBERLEGUNGEN KROATISCHER VERTRIEBENER ZUR FRIEDLICHEN REINTEGRIERUNG DES KROATISCHEN DONAUTALS

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Die Arbeit widmet sich der Analyse von Einstellungen und Überlegungen kroatischer Vertriebener aus dem kroatischen Donautal zum Plan der friedlichen Reintegration und setzt sie in Bezug zu den persönlichen Merkmalen der Vertriebenen, der Absicht der Rückkehr, der Verbundenheit mit dem Heimatort, der Kriegserfahrung und der Erfahrung als Vertriebene. Die Angaben wurden im nicht-parametrischen Verfahren der Kontingenzanalyse und relativen Ergebnisfrequenz bearbeitet. Es erwies sich, dass die Einstellungen und Überlegungen der Vertriebenen mit sämtlichen angeführten Kriterien in statistisch signifikanter Weise, in größerem oder geringerem Maße, in Verbindung stehen; jedoch am stärksten erwies sich diese Verbindung zwischen bestimmten persönlichen Merkmalen (Bildungsgrad, Alter und Volkszugehörigkeit) und einer verschärften Kritik am Reintegrationsplan, am schwächsten wiederum zwischen der Erfahrung des Krieges und des Vertriebenendaseins einerseits und einer allgemeinen Einstellung zum Krieg andererseits. Die ermittelten Angaben bestätigen die These Hockes (1989), wonach ein ausschließlich humanitärer Zugang zur Flüchtlingsfrage, ohne die Definierung ihrer politischen Ursachen, wirkungslos bleibt.