

*Program Europske unije za Hrvatsku
IPA 2009*

MULTIETNIČNOST, POVRATAK, RAZVOJ

Projekt financira
Europska unija



Nositelj projekta
Institut STINE



MULTIETNIČNOST, POVRATAK, RAZVOJ

Projekt:

**JAČANJE JAVNE SVIJEŠTI O MULTIETNIČNOSTI KAO
POZITIVNOM SOCIJALNOM KAPITALU U RAZVOJU
POVRATNIČKIH LOKALNIH ZAJEDNICA**

Projekt financira:

EUROPSKA UNIJA - IPA PROGRAM 2009



Projekt sufinancira:



Vlada Republike Hrvatske
Ured za udruge

Nositelj projekta:

Institut STINE, Split, Hrvatska

institut
STINE

Partneri:



Centar za mir, pravne savjete
i psihosocijalnu pomoć Vukovar



Vukovarski institut za mirovna
istraživanja i obrazovanje - VIMIO

Ova publikacija izrađena je uz pomoć Europske unije. Sadržaj ove publikacije isključiva je odgovornost Instituta STINE i ni na koji se način ne može smatrati da odražava gledišta Europske unije.

SUMMARIES

*MULTIETHNICITY, RETURN,
DEVELOPMENT*

ALEKSANDAR TOLNAUER, *President of the Council for National Minorities of the Republic of Croatia*

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF MINORITY - POLITICS IN CROATIAN SOCIETY

The purpose of this paper-work is to show how and how much has been done on the implementation of the politics of protection and development of minority-rights in about 20 last years in the Republic of Croatia, what crucial achievements have been achieved along the way, and what new challenges the further development of minority-rights in Croatian society is facing. In this paper-work is evaluated the significance of passing of the Constitutional law of rights of national minorities and its crucial achievements in an institutional and substantial sense, but also are pointed out the necessary changes. The special emphasis is placed on inadequacy of protection of minority-rights only by legal regulation, and the necessity of the change of an overall social climate and the development of cultural toleration are pointed out. The potentials of minority self-management are being analysed, as well as the methods of more successful contribution of minority-communities in the development of their local environments including the returnees' territories. Besides the increase of quality of the implementation of an overall legal regulation which affects minorities, the author advocates the new approach of the development of minority-rights in Croatian society and that means the development of multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and inter-cultural values and practices in everyday life, in local environment, in educational system, in media. The article explains the significance of positive discrimination as an important assumption of minority-rights, advocates the adequate evaluation of historical, cultural and economical contribution of national minorities to the overall social development, and the imminent Croatian accession to the EU evaluates as a potentially new chance for the development of minority-rights.

BERTO ŠALAJ, Ph.D., *Faculty of Political Science,
University of Zagreb*

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND MULTI-ETHNICITY

One of the greatest challenges facing modern societies is a growing level of diversity. Plurality of modern society is a commonplace in modern politological insights. The existence of plural, and especially deeply divided societies, makes us ponder the question of the impact of diversity on stability of democracy in such societies. That issue can be approached from various

angles, and one of the more recent is using the concept of the social capital. Social scientists use that concept to express the idea that the quality of social relations impacts success of individuals and whole societies in many fields such as functioning of democracy, economic development, educational success, health, etc.

Social capital is mostly defined as characteristics of social organisation such as trust, norms of mutuality and networks of connections that can improve the efficiency of a society by making coordinated action easier. In the past few years, researchers are ever more focusing on the issue of relation between specific forms of social diversity and various types of social capital. They are interested in the following question: does social, especially ethnic, diversity make for a resource or an obstacle in the development of plural societies? On a theoretical level there are two competing theses. One states that the diversity encourages higher levels of social capital. Social interaction among the individuals from different groups decreases prejudice towards members of other groups and gradually leads to creation of a higher identity which encompasses all groups and enables development of solidarity and social capital. Another thesis is dominantly represented in the literature, and it states that diversity, especially ethnic, religious and class, discourages reliance on other people, thus lowering the level of trust, capacity for cooperation and collective action. What is the situation in Croatia, how do Croatian citizens perceive multi-ethnicity? Results presented in this work suggest that in the past 15 years there has been a significant improvement in accepting ethnic minorities in Croatia as valuable factor, but there is still much room for improvement.

***DRAGAN BAGIĆ, Ph.D., Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences,
University of Zagreb***

THE RETURN AND THE DEVELOPMENT

The paper-work tries to test on theoretical and empirical level the thesis that the return of refugees is an important developmental factor of the war-stricken territories. Thereby it attempts to examine the theory of the reverse relationship between the development and the return of refugees in regard to usual one which can be met in the public, public policies, but also in the professional literature which assumes that the economical and social development is a prerequisite for the return of the refugees.

In theoretical part of the paper-work, based on the examination of cognitions of migration-studies and common theories of development, is identified

a number of mechanisms by which the return of the refugees itself could prove an important developmental factor of the war-stricken territories. First of all, every development is based on certain population which presents the manpower and consumers who create a demand for a local economy. Moreover, the returnees have some of the characteristics of migrants which include their motivation for creating and changing, disposing of certain trans-national connections, certain experiences from other environments which they would not have had they not escaped, etc. Finally, the return migrations of refugees are often followed also by significant programs of international organizations whose aim is securing of better life and economical conditions for returnees which sometimes can make a very significant developmental impulse to war-stricken territories.

The example of Serbian returnees to the Republic of Croatia shows that the afore-mentioned theoretical assumptions have certain empirical footholds also. It has been shown that the returnees in certain measure contribute to annihilation of depopulation effects of the war; that returnees significantly contribute to local demand as consumers, even if they do not actively work. It has also been shown that among returnee-population often can be found the exceptional individuals who act as developmental leaders of their micro-societies or those wider ones. Almost all returnees have significant trans-national relationships which often serve for receiving the help from foreign countries. It has been also shown that we have to “thank” returnees for attraction of significant developmental programs in direction of international organizations and home government. Thereby this paper-work has shown that the relationship between the return of refugees and the development of war-stricken territories certainly needs to be observed in a two-directional way.

DRAGUTIN BABIĆ, Ph. D., Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies - Zagreb

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF RETURNEE MULTI-ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

In the paper-work titled Conditions for social reconstruction of returnee multi-ethnic communities the author interprets the current situation and estimates the possibilities of social reconstruction of such communities based on the analysis of empirical material as well as statistical and quality insight into the processes of war migrations and their consequences. Methods used in the empirical research were questionnaires (2008) and interviews (2012).

Having an insight into research conducted just before the war as well as based on his own experience, and communication memory of others, the author states the co-existence of various national minorities in Croatia (as well as on wider territory, in the former Yugoslavia). The conflict in the 90s significantly destroyed local communities, especially their multi-ethnic characteristics. Due to war, relations between Croats and Serbs were at the foreground in Croatia, so this segment of inter-ethnic relations was given most attention in the work. After the end of war, is it possible to reconstruct those local communities, by involving all subjects acting in their territory? Is the co-existence of Croats and Serbs after the war possible? The questions were asked to the subjects themselves.

In 2008 questionnaire those were members of the following national minorities: Czech, Slovak, Hungarian and Serbian, while in the interviews conducted in 2012 the interviewees were Bosnian Croats. In order to reconstruct multi-ethnic local communities, two groups of conditions have to be satisfied: material (functional) and socio-psychological (normative). Material conditions for reconstruction of local communities are partly realised (reconstruction of houses, providing basic means for living, pensions, social aid), but there are still many problems in this area. Primarily, it is insufficient development of returnee destinations, large unemployment rate, poor socio-demographic structure of a population and similar issues. Socio-psychological environment, along with the institutional framework, is much better than during the years immediately after the war. Still, there are also many problems here. Above all, it is a memory of war and difficult, traumatic situations people went through. Co-existence of Serbs and Croats after the war (and to a significantly lower extent of members of other national minorities in Croatia) has a mild tendency to improve, but there are still many obstacles. More time, measured in decades, will be needed for a greater change of the paradigm in these relations.

LJUBOMIR MIKIĆ, *Centre for Peace, Legal Advice and Psychosocial Assistance - Vukovar*

INFLUENCE OF THE PROCESS OF RETURN ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMICAL RELATIONS

The economical and common social development of a geographical or administrative territory is impossible to consider without consideration of the conditions of demographic movements and demographic development of that territory. The population of a territory presents the key of its develop-

ment. Territories without population or territories in which the active population is scarce do not have developmental perspectives and do not realize the basic prerequisite for the future development. In the last decade of 20th century the Republic of Croatia was stricken by the coercive, i.e. unwanted gradual depopulation on a large scale. In connection with that, the consideration of economical and social development of the Republic of Croatia in the previous period, particularly of its war-stricken territories, justifies and necessitates the need for consideration of the conditions of return of the population that escaped and emigrated during the first half of 1990s. In this article are being considered some of the basic questions connected with the return of the persons who emigrated during the war, and the influence of that return on the economical and social development of the returnees' environments. On the other hand, the article considers the development of economy and the development of social relations, primarily in terms of the development of multinational relations and tolerance, and the renewal of thrust and coexistence as the motivational factors of the return. The multidirectional return of the persons, who emigrated within Croatia and from other countries to Croatia, proved to be, not unexpectedly, the often politicized and traumatic question for not insignificant number of returnees, no matter of their nationality. However, the "minority"-return of the emigrated citizens of Serbian nationality generally was additionally aggravated by a specific political, administrative, legal, economical, security and other obstacles which, to some extent, certainly influenced the making of a free decision about the return and its sustainability. Taking into consideration the questions of the return and the problems of its "sustainability", and the social, political and economical environment which was actual in different time-periods of the return process, this article suggests that the return had a specific role in the significant or less significant economical and social revitalization of the returnees' territories which, had there not been the return, would probably not (or not in that measure) happen.

MILAN IVANOVIĆ, Ph. D., Centre for Peace, Nonviolence and Human rights - Osijek

PREREQUISITES OF THE STRATEGY OF DEVELOPMENT OF RETURNEE ENVIRONMENTS

The return of the post-war society in normal social relations is the greatest challenge for society as a whole, especially in returnee communities.

The return of refugees in their homes is a complex tangle of security, political, economical, social and cultural problems which can not be solved in a short time. Once the security problems are solved, there comes the next group of problems - employing of returnees and building of so-so orderly everyday life.

The returnee communities in our country are in a very unenviable position today: unemployment and generally - perspectives for normal life and development. International community has developed the mechanisms for overcoming of post-war circumstances which are also being followed by financial funds. However, for efficient use of resources of those international (as well as national) funds it is required much more than a mere construction of an investment project; it is required the cooperation of all social subjects in a local community, interactive relation between minority and majority population and also the inclusion of citizens in social life.

Insufficient activities against problems which surround us are the result of lack of consciousness of necessity of changes and also the lack of education. If the activities in building of a more quality life of inhabitants in returnee environments are to be successful, it is necessary the existence of: appropriate legal frame, appropriate elites, political culture, tolerance, social cohesion, public, and objective protection of public interest. Legal frame for quality operation in returnee environments in Croatia exists and it basically does not present a barrier for socioeconomic development; most of our problems result from undeveloped civil society. Exactly because of that in this text are pointed out the basic prerequisites of an active relation between majority and minority population in returnee environments. That means that for the strategy of a development it is necessary to educate the population and leading personalities about these questions - in order that developmental plans could be realized.

SINIŠA TATALOVIĆ, Ph. D., *Faculty of Political Science,
University of Zagreb*

POTENTIALS AND FUNCTIONS OF MINORITY SELF-GOVERNMENT

The text presents the process of realisation of minority rights in Croatia following the adoption of the Constitutional Law on the Rights of National Minorities. It analyses various aspects of realization of national minorities' rights on the local, regional and national level. It emphasises the difference

in realisation of rights among individual national minorities. Especially dominant are issues related to Romany and Serbian national minorities. There is also a difference in realisation of minority rights in the areas of special state concern. The text also emphasises importance of European integration for realisation of the rights of national minorities in Croatia. The process of accession to the European Union had a positive impact both on the regulation of the national minorities' rights and their concrete realisation.

Apart from the widespread possibilities for realisation of cultural autonomy rights, the text also covers participation of national minorities in decision-making processes. Text considers relations between the principles of identity and integration in the Croatian model of national minorities' protection, and warns about the danger of ghettoization and assimilation. Therefore it is important to develop rights in the field of cultural autonomy as well as enable minority members to participate in the decision-making processes at all government levels.

The text also tries to answer the question: how can minority self-government participate in social and economic development of a local community, i.e. how can national minorities integrate into Croatian society at the lowest local levels, especially in the areas of special state concern. These areas are marked in the text as territories that are economically stagnant with constant demographic decline. It could be changed with more investments taking into account natural potential of these areas. Their development would be in the interest of both Serbian returnees and Croatian colonists.

DAVOR GJENERO, *Independent political analyst, Zagreb*

THE NATIONAL MINORITIES AND THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONS

The accession of Croatia to the European Union significantly changes the social circumstances which so far have been marking the political life in Croatia. The politics of minority-protection formally is not the part of *acquis communautaire*, but is the crucial part of the European criteria and is connected to the politics of realization of the rule of law. Along with the rule of law, the measures against discrimination are important part of the politics of minority-protection. The chapter about the rule of law is exactly the subject of the extended European supervision by means of "monitoring", so the intensive supervision is also intended for the politics of the protection of national minorities in Croatia.

Unlike the national level in which the basic measures of minority-protection are achieved, the most delicate question in realization of that politics remains the one about the protection of minority-rights on the levels of local and regional self-government. On those levels, the basic rights are being realized: the right of use of minority-language and script, the right of education in minority-language, and the right of representation/relative representation of the representatives of minorities in the bodies of local and regional self-government.

The particular problem of minority-protection presents the system of organization of bodies which perform the executive works on the level of local and regional self-government. Unlike the Constitutional law of rights of national minorities which suggests the consociational form of the organization of local authorities, Croatia introduced the majority principle and thus limited the range of realization of minority-rights by the reform of the system by which the bearers of local and regional executive power are being elected.

ANTONIJA PETRIČUŠIĆ, *Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb*

THE BUILDING OF THE CIVIL-POLITICAL CULTURE - LONG-TERM FRAME FOR ACCEPTANCE AND PROMOTION OF MINORITY-RIGHTS AND POLICIES IN CROATIA

Croatian society is multiethnic and multicultural. That fact is standardized and strengthened by the execution of numerous laws. However, despite the laws, social practice indicates intolerance and even xenophobia of a great part of Croatian society. Therefore, the efficient and tenable long-term minority-politics in Croatia will be ensured only by the change of political attitudes and values of all, or at least of majority of Croatian citizens. The civil-political culture, which in our country yet needs to become a reality, in the first place would improve the quality of our relatively young democracy. Whether Croatian democratic system will be stable, will it be inclusive and integrative for all the citizens, and whether will it take into consideration the needs of all the segments of population and represent them, depends on the civil-political culture. Namely, the civil-political culture distinguishes the recognition of the fact of multiethnicity of a society and the respect of the rights of all the social groups, and thus of national minorities also, to be represented in the institutions of authority, to have the right to suggest and to influence creation of all policies, briefly - to be equal members of political and social community. Political culture can be learnt, so the education and

political upbringing in the schools have a significant role in the process of political socialization. It is scientifically confirmed that political upbringing and education (especially of the younger citizens) can shorten and improve the quality of the process of acquisition of political culture. In that sense the initiative to introduce the civil upbringing and education in Croatian schools is announced, which leaves room for the hope that the deficit of democracy will start to be amended, and that, as a consequence of the education, the climate of multiculturalism and the value of respect and acceptance of the differences will become the dominant value-orientation of citizenship.

DRAGO ROKSANDIĆ, Ph. D., *Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb*

CULTURAL AUTONOMY OF SERBS IN CROATIA: INTRA-, INTER-, MULTI-, AND TRANS-CULTURAL CONTEXTS

Problem area of the cultural autonomy of Croats in Serbia and Serbs in Croatia is rarely a subject of scientifically-based discussions in the last decade, and even rarer are the attempts of their comparative questioning. The aim of this statement is to contribute to the discussion about the actual problems of cultural autonomy of Serbs in Croatia, from the perspective of critical questioning of acquired experiences as well as from the perspective of deliberation of possibilities of its further development. I am of the opinion that we need to investigate both perspectives, first of all bearing in mind the contexts: (1.) intra-cultural (Serbian); (2.) inter-cultural (Serbo-Croatian/Croatian-Serbian in general, Croatian-Serbian/Serbo-Croatian in Croatia); (3.) multi-cultural (in Croatian neighbourhood - bearing in mind all countries), and (4.) trans-cultural in global sense. The statement is focused on these contexts from the perspective of realization of the individual and collective rights of Serbs in Croatia.

GORDANA VILOVIĆ, Ph. D., *Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb*

MEDIA APPROACHES TO PROMOTION OF TOLERANCE AND MULTI-ETHNICITY AS POSITIVE SOCIAL VALUES

The work explains a definition of terms “multi-culture” and “multi-ethnicity” as well as the need to promote tolerance as a prerequisite for functioning

of the modern national communities. Theoretical discussion about the terms of multi-culture focuses on several key interpretations and it is in fact impossible to respond to all open issues related to multi-ethnicity and multi-culture in this work. Tolerance promoters are various institutions, NGOs, educational systems and the media. All of them should strive for free activities of various cultures and customs in a certain environment or within national territory. The work tries to place the subject and phenomenon within the Croatian framework and its rich tradition of national, ethnic and all other kinds of minorities. How can the media support the process of interculturality? The work especially selects examples of intolerance and unethical behaviour visible at internet pages in the form of comment exchanges by anonymous citizens, forum visitors and bloggers. Emotionally strongest comments, in the negative sense, are often caused by incidents involving members of national or other minorities.



Ova publikacija izrađena je uz pomoć Europske unije. Sadržaj ove publikacije isključiva je odgovornost Instituta STINE i ni na koji se način ne može smatrati da odražava gledišta Europske unije.

Više informacija o Europskoj uniji potražite na web stranicama Delegacije Europske unije u Republici Hrvatskoj: www.delhrv.ec.europa.eu ili u Informacijskom centru Europske unije: Trg žrtava fašizma 6, 10000 Zagreb
Telefon: + 385 1 45 00 110, e-mail: info@euc.hr