

Izgubljeni smo, molimo poštenog nalazača da nas zadrži!

Grafičar u izbegl. čkom naselju Vrela R. bn. Čka

Riješavajte probleme Roma, vodite ih što dalje od nas!

Crnogorac, Up. tnik 20

Nijesmo rasisti, ali moraju ići!

Barske novine maj 2000

I kada je loše, moraš da kažeš da si dobro!

Raseni Rom upitnik 203

Lošne vlasti će imati veliku korist ako pruže ruku romskom stanovništvu koja neće biti ruka policajca, proizvođača pendrekom, nego ruka i osmeh lekara, učitelja, pesnika, socijalnog radnika, pevača, inženjera, zanatlije koji pomažu i poučavaju.

Božidar Jakšić

Go solve problems of Roma, take them somewhere far away, as far as possible from us!

Montenegrin questionnaire 203

We are lost, if you are an honest finder - keep us!

Grafičar in refugees settlement Vrela R. bn. Čka

We are not racist, but they must go!

Barske novine Maj 2000

Even if it's bad, you have to say it's good!

Displaced Roma questionnaire 203

The local authorities will benefit very much if they offer a hand to the Romany population not the hand of a policeman extorted by a truncheon, but the helping and teaching hand, accompanied with a smile, of a doctor, teacher, poet, social worker, singer, engineer, or craftsman.

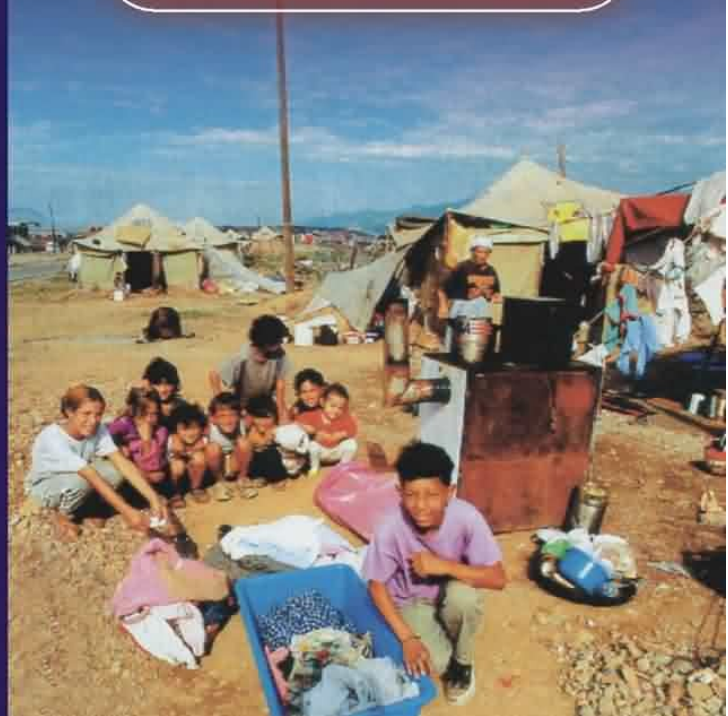
Božidar Jakšić

Božidar Jakšić

Ljudi bez krova Roofless People

Ljudi bez krova • Roofless People

Božidar Jakšić



Božidar Jakšić

LJUDI BEZ KROVA

*Život izbeglica i raseljenih Roma sa
Kosova u Crnoj Gori*

ROOFLESS PEOPLE

*The Life of Refugees and Displaced
Kosovo Roma in Montenegro*

Beograd, 2002

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PREDGOVOR

Dvadeseti vek na Balkanu počeo je i završio ratovima. Dva svetska i bar tri specifično balkanska rata ostavili su za sobom tragične posledice: stotine hiljada ubijenih i ranjenih ljudskih bića, milioni prognanih i izbeglih, porušena sela i gradovi, uništene bogomolje, industrijska postrojenja, kulturni spomenici neprocenjive istorijske vrednosti, razorena infrastruktura i socijalne institucije. Ako je kraj Prvog svetskog rata na Balkanu obeležio milionski val izbeglica između Grčke i Turske, kraj dvadesetog veka obeležili su snažni valovi izbeglica i raseljenih lica iz zemalja bivše Jugoslavije. Kolone izbeglica i raseljenih lica bile su deo ratnih balkanskih politika i prilika. Nesretna ljudska bića su najčešće bežanjem spašavala gole živote. Nekada su bili proterivani: Srbi i Slovenci u Vojvodini početkom, a Nemci iz Vojvodine krajem Drugog svetskog rata, Srbi iz Hrvatske, Bošnjaci, Srbi i Hrvati iz pojedinih delova Bosne i Hercegovine, prvo Hrvati a zatim Srbi iz Kninske Krajine, Srbi, a privremeno i Albanci sa Kosova i iz Metohije u „trećem“ balkanskom ratu krajem veka. Rede su preseljenja bila dobrovoljna: naseljavanje Kosova za vreme Kraljevine Jugoslavije, ili naseljavanje Vojvodine porodicama iz Like, Bosne i Hercegovine i Crne Gore neposredno posle Drugog svetskog rata.

Izbeglice i raseljena lica tragične su žrtve nasilja, sveopšte pljačke, razaranja zajedničke države i stvaranja nacionalnih država u krvi. Kolone očajnih ljudi, prognane ili u begu od nesreće, bile su, svugde gde su se pojavljivale nerado videni i nikada željeni gosti. Neljudski uslovi života većine izbeglica i raseljenih lica samo su najupečatljiviji deo svedočanstva o velikoj socijalnoj katastrofi na Balkanu. Susreti s tim ljudskim bićima pomažu da se bolje pojmi metafora Hermana Broha (H. Broch) o *zločinu iz ravnodušnosti* koju on određuje kao „...nesposobnost modernog čoveka da shvati i pojmi patnju čoveka pored sebe.“¹ Suprotstavljajući se ravnodušnosti

¹ Herman Broh, *Pisma o Nemačkoj 1945–1949*, str. 52, Svetovi, Novi Sad 1994.

prosečnog čoveka prema tuđoj nevolji, Broh je verovatno izrekao dublju, ali teže dostižnu istinu kada je zapazio da beda proizašla iz katastrofe može da deluje oplemenjujuće.

Tačan broj izbeglica i raseljenih lica sa Balkana i na Balkanu teško je ustanoviti. Tome je doprinelo nekoliko okolnosti: 1) Sve strane učesnice u balkanskim sukobima trudile su se da u svom i svetskom javnom mnjenju uvećaju broj *svojih* žrtava i umanje broj suparničkih; 2) u svim novonastalim državama se manipuliralo brojem izbeglica i raseljenih lica u zavisnosti od trenutanih političkih potreba i procena; 3) izbeglice i raseljena lica često su izbegavali popise bojeći se uskraćivanja statusnih prava, mobilizacije itd; 4) podaci iz trećih zemalja su nešto precizniji, ali je broj ilegalnih ulazaka i promene statusa ostao nepoznat. Ako se ovim okolnostima doda i poslovična balkanska haotičnost u evidencijama, onda zaista niko sa sigurnošću ne može tvrditi da su podaci kojima raspolaže tačni! Uglavnom, procene ukupnog broja izbeglica i raseljenih lica kreću se od 1.752.500 iz jula 1992, do 3.800.000 (podatak koji je Visoki komesar za izbeglice UN, gospođa Sadako Ogata iznela 13. aprila 1993. godine). UNHCR je za 1995. godinu procenio da 3.722.000 lica iz bivše Jugoslavije primalo humanitarnu pomoć. Kasniji popisi i procene pokazuju značajan pad, tako da se krajem 1996. godine govori o dva miliona lica. Sklonost ka preterivanju svakako je sadržana u izjavama da je broj izbeglica u Srbiji oko jedan milion, ili da je iz Bosne i Hercegovine, prema nalazima Ministarstva za izbeglice i socijalnu pomoć federacije BiH, izbeglo 2.600.000 lica!

Izbeglička i raseljenička populacija je predmet brige raznih međunarodnih i državnih institucija, velikog broja fondacija, humanitarnih i nevladinih organizacija, predmet interesovanja sredstava masovnog komuniciranja, ali i velikih i malih političkih interesa. Masu izbeglica i raseljenih lica treba prvo smestiti, nahraniti i odenuti, a zatim pružiti i svaku drugu vrstu pomoći, od rešenja izbegličkog statusa i programa psiho-socijalne podrške. Ti programi su posebno potrebni jer su izbeglice i raseljena lica suočena sa hamletovskom dilemom biti il' ne biti – „vratiti se ili integrisati se“. Katastrofalni

rezultati internacionalno proklamovane *Godine povratka* (1998) na Balkanu govore o tome da će izbegličke i raseljeničke tegobe trajati još dugo. Otuda i značaj socijalnih istraživanja uslova života tih ljudi, posebno u kolektivnim centrima.

Istraživanja koja sam obavio bila su akcionog karaktera i imala su ograničene ali značajne praktične ciljeve. Tim istraživanjima su prethodila druga šire zamišljena, ambicioznije koncipirana istraživanja i u Srbiji i u Crnoj Gori, ali takođe i u Sloveniji, Hrvatskoj, Bosni i Hercegovini i Makedoniji. Neka od tih istraživanja imala su i međunarodni karakter, a broj međunarodnih konferencija i simpozija o izbeglicama i raseljenim licima teško je nabrojati. Dva istraživačka pokušaja su neposredno prethodila mojim istraživanjima. Jedan je istraživački rad dr Vladimira Cvetkovića *Strah i poniženje – Jugoslovenski rat i izbeglice u Srbiji 1991–1997*² i rad mr Jovanke Vuković *Izbjegništvo u Crnoj Gori*³.

Romi su, za razliku od izbeglica, tradicionalno predmet posebne pažnje istraživača na Balkanu od početaka dvadesetog veka. Posebnu pažnju izazivali su stil života, jezik, običaji, verovanja i romska muzika. Radovi Tihomira Đorđevića, Rada Uhljaka, Miljenka Filipovića i njihovih saradnika deo su kulturne tradicije. Od novijih radova dela Tatomira Vukanovića o Romima u Jugoslaviji i Momčila Lutovca o Romima u Crnoj Gori su često pominjana u literaturi. Posebnu pažnju zaslužuju skupovi i zbornici *Komisije za proučavanje života i običaja Roma* Odeljenja društvenih nauka SANU, radovi Aleksandre Mitrović i grupe istraživača okupljenih u *Društvu za unapređenje romskih naselja* o socijalnom položaju i uslovima života Roma, kao i grupe sociologa iz Niša okupljenih oko Dragoljuba Đorđevića i *Komrenskih socioloških susreta*. Napokon, ohrabrujuća je činjenica da su sami Romi dali značajan doprinos istraživanjima: Slobodan Berberski, Dragoljub Acković, Rajko Đurić i mnogi drugi.

² Vladimir Cvetković, *Strah i poniženje – Jugoslovenski rat i izbeglice u Srbiji 1991–1997*, Institut za evropske studije, Beograd 1998.

³ Jovanka Vuković, *Izbjegništvo u Crnoj Gori*, Društvo socijalnih radnika Crne Gore, Podgorica 1998.

Do koje mere je život Roma na marginama i van margina društvenog života i brige državnih organa svedoči i činjenica da su saznanja o veličini romske populacije krajnje nepouzdana. Tako je prema poslednjem popisu stanovništva iz 1991. godine zabeleženo da u Saveznoj Republici Jugoslaviji živi oko 137.000 Roma. Prema nekim procenama iz romskih krugova, veruje se da u Jugoslaviji živi između 700.000 i 900.000 Roma, dok se procene istraživača i demografa kreću između 400.000 i 450.000 Roma⁴. Pošto se Kosovo nalazi pod međunarodnim protektoratom, Romi postaju najbrojnija nacionalna manjina u Jugoslaviji, mada još uvek nemaju zakonski regulisan manjinski status⁵.

Mojim istraživanjima uslova života raseljenih Roma sa Kosova u Crnoj Gori neposredno je prethodilo istraživanje Živorada Tasića koje je izvedeno skromnim sredstvima, ali je obavljeno veoma savesno. Pomoglo mi je da bolje razumem predmet svog istraživanja. Da mala istraživanja mogu da daju ozbiljne rezultate može da pokaže jedan primer uzet iz Slovenije. Reč je o istraživanju reakcije slovenačkih medija na želju romske porodice da se u jesen 1997. godine nastani u slovenačkom selu Maline⁶. U ovom radu upečatljivo je prikazan ne samo diskriminatorski stav suseljana, drugih građana i medija prema Romima⁷, nego i presek duha malograđanskog društva.

⁴ Do koje mere se u javnosti operiše sa nepouzdanim podacima može se pokazati na sledećem primeru iz Crne Gore. Dr Srđan Vukadinović u svom radu „Položaj Roma u Crnoj Gori“ navodi „podatak da je sredinom 1999. godine 43.000 raseljenih i izbeglih Roma sa Kosova došlo u Crnu Goru, a da ih je u martu–aprilu 2000. godine ostalo 10.000. U međuvremenu je, kaže ovaj autor, „većina njih otišla u evropske zemlje“. Ako neki i može poverovati da je u Crnu Goru došlo 43.000 Roma sa Kosova, apsolutno je neverovatno da bi 33.000 Roma moglo za manje od godinu dana da iz Crne Gore izbegne u zapadne zemlje! Uporedi Dr Srđan Vukadinović „Položaj Roma u Crnoj Gori“, *Romi – Sociološki uvid* (ur. Dragoljub Đorđević), str. 45, Komrenski sociološki susreti – Pelikan print, Niš 2000.

⁵ Savezni zakon o nacionalnim manjinama koji reguliše ovo pitanje još uvek nije usvojen.

⁶ Vidi, Karmen Erjavec, Sandra B. Horvatin i Barbara Kelbl, *Mi o Romih-Diskriminatorski diskurz v medijah v Slovenii/We about Roma – Discriminatory Discourse in the Media in Slovenia*, Open Society Institute – Slovenia, Ljubljana 200.

⁷ Slično iskustvo ima i ovaj istraživač iz Bara u Crnoj Gori. O tome će biti više reči na stanicama ove knjige. O slučaju ubistva dečaka Dušana

Rezultate istraživanja uslova života Roma, bilo da su raseljeni sa Kosova, bilo da su starosedioci u određenim socijalnim sredinama, neophodno je predočiti široj javnosti. Većina tih naših, često nevidljivih, sugrađana živi u nemogućim životnim uslovima. Saznanja o njihovoj svakodnevnoj borbi sa životom i za opstanak ne mogu nikoga ostaviti ravnodušnim. Sama slika koju daju istraživanja može biti zvono koje bi, možda, moglo da probudi ljudske savesti, kao što na posredan način predstavlja apel za pomoć i pobunu protiv bednih uslova života. Upravo te mogućnosti su me obavezale da rezultate svojih istraživanja stavim na kritički uvid javnosti.

Socijalno istraživanje izbegličkog naselja Vrela Ribničkih u Podgorici obavio sam na inicijativu Swiss Disaster Relief, Shelter Office – Podgorica u vremenu od početka novembra 1998. do kraja marta 1999, mada su pripreme za istraživanje počele ranije. Istraživanje je u celini finansirao SDR. U radu su pomagale saradnice Zorica Minić i Nada Luteršek, psiholozi iz Podgorice, kao i magistar Jovanka Vuković, socijalni radnik iz Bara i pisac, koliko mi je poznato, jedine knjige o izbeglištvu u Crnoj Gori. S napomenom da odgovornost za rezultate istraživanja i eventualne slabosti preuzimam u celini, svojim cenjenim saradnicama i anketarima dugujem i izražavam zahvalnost za profesionalno korektnu i angažovanu saradnju. Ne manju zahvalnost izražavam Ms Barbari Rothenberger, rukovodiocu Shelter Office SDR Podgorica i njenim saradnicima, kao i Mr Richardu Maranti rukovodiocu regionalnog SDR Office u Beogradu i njegovim saradnicima za visok stupanj logističke podrške, kooperativnost i blagonaklone podsticaje. Takođe dugujem i izražavam zahvalnost gospodinu Đorđu Šćepanoviću i njegovoj saradnici gospođi Ivanki Kojić iz Komesarijata za raseljena lica Crne Gore, predstavnicima Crvenog krsta Crne Gore i Podgorice, gospođi Slobodanu Kaleziću, Vuku Darmanoviću i Lazaru Vujoviću, Siniši Stankoviću iz gradskog Sekretarijata za rad i

Jovanovića iz Beograda, koje su izvršili skinheds, samo zato što je Rom, podatke je prikupio i pisao je Dragoljub Acković u knjizi *Oni su ubili njegove oči*, Rromainterpess, Beograd 1997.

socijalna pitanja, gospodinu Pierfrancesku M. Natti i gospođi Darki Minić iz podgoričke kancelarije UNHCR-a. Saradnja sa predstavnicima Saveta stanara – izbeglica, Milinkom Ostojićem, Božidarom Grdinićem i Slavoljubom Vujovićem, kao i brojnim drugim izbeglicama i Romima iz Vrela Ribničkih, a posebno sa gospodinom Isenom Gašijem, predsednikom udruženja Roma Crne Gore izuzetno mi je pomogla da bolje razumem ljudsku muku i patnju. Na kraju, izražavam zahvalnost čoveku koji mi je pružao tihu, ali bezrezervnu pomoć i podršku tokom istraživanja – Zuvdiji Hodžiću, podgoričkom piscu i slikaru, koji je nešto od svoje beskrajne ljubavi za podgoričane i Podgoricu plemenito preneo i na mene.

Socijalno istraživanje *Život i mogućnosti integracije raseljenih Roma sa Kosova u Crnoj Gori (Podgorica i Nikšić)* izvedeno je u periodu februar–juni 2000. godine za potrebe Shelter programa SDR-Podgorica. U toku istraživanja su mi svesrdno pomagale saradnice Zorica Minić, Ivana Spasić, Jovanka Vuković, Nađa Luteršek, Vesna Miletić i Vera Cicmil, kojima dugujem i izražavam iskrenu zahvalnost. Pored dragocene profesionalne saradnje, želim da sa osećanjem izuzetnog uvažavanja naglasim samopregoran rad Ivane Spasić u prevođenju svih izveštaja i istraživačkih materijala na engleski jezik. Takođe želim da se zahvalim grupi od 18 anketara i Roma-prevodilaca koji su pomagali u sporazumevanju sa romskim porodicama u toku anketiranja. Posebno želim da naglasim da sam u Shelter Office SDR-a u Podgorici uvek nailazio na razumevanje i svestranu podršku Barbare Rothenberger, bivšeg i Ursa Rudolfa, sadašnjeg rukovodioca i njihovih saradnika. Njima, kao i Komesarijatu za raseljena lica vlade Crne Gore, Crvenom krstu i lokalnim organima vlasti izražavam zahvalnost za razumevanje i pomoć u radu. *Last but not least*, želim da izrazim svoje poštovanje romskim i ne-romskim porodicama koje su u tegobnim okolnostima života našle i volje i razumevanja da na izuzetno predusretljiv način sarađuju sa istraživačima i anketarima.

U Kumodražu, decembra 2001.

Deo prvi

ŽIVOT
IZBEGLICA
I
RASELJENIH
ROMA
U
VRELIMA
RIBNIČKIM

PRETHODNI OPIS STANJA

Izbegličko naselje Vrela Ribnička nalazi se u onom delu Podgorice koje je nekada bilo daleka periferija, a sada je veoma blizu centru grada – na Koniku. Smešteno je u jugoistočnom delu grada koji od centra deli reka Ribnica, kraj puta za selo Dinošu i malu varoš Tuzi, na krajnjoj ivici Konika, između naselja Roma i velike gradske deponije smeća. Naselje je izgrađeno za privremeni smeštaj određenog broja izbegličkih porodica. Konik inače čine tri mesne zajednice: Stari aerodrom (naselje velikih stambenih zgrada koje je postalo produžetak centra Podgorice), Ribnica i Vrela Ribnička. Prema popisu stanovništva iz 1991. godine u ove tri mesne zajednice je živelo 18000 stanovnika, odnosno jedna osmina stanovnika Podgorice. Podgorica je tada bila podeljena na 71 mesnu zajednicu, pa je očigledno da je ovaj deo grada i tada bio prenaseljen. S obzirom na to da Vrela Ribnička i Ribnicu čini populacija sa visokom stopom nataliteta i da je u tim naseljima visok priliv izbeglica i raseljenih lica, sasvim je izvesno da će prenaseljenost ovog dela Podgorice biti još izraženija.

Tabela 1. – Broj stanovnika Konika prema popisu iz 1991. godine

<i>Naselje</i>	<i>Ukupno</i>	<i>Srbi</i>	<i>Crnogorci</i>	<i>Jugosloveni</i>	<i>Albanci</i>	<i>Muslimani</i>	<i>Romi</i>	<i>Ostali</i>
Stari Aerodrom	5285	426	3998	43	10	11	9	788
Ribnica	4983	398	3197	/	281	232	151	599
Vrela Ribnička	7854	438	2565	332	363	2561	1334	261

Domicilno stanovništvo Vrela Ribničkih, pored 32,65% Crnogoraca i 5,57% Srba čini takođe, prema iskazima datim prilikom popisa¹, 4,60% Albanaca, 32,60% Muslimana i 16,98% Roma. Islamske veroispovesti je 46,39% stanovništva. Kako je reč o izuzetno siromašnoj populaciji, broj nepismenih je skoro tri puta veći nego u Podgorici (18,67:6,28%), a broj stanovnika sa visokom stručnom spremom je skoro devet puta manji (1,57:9,62%). Do potpunijih podataka o stanovništvu se teško dolazi, zbog toga što se evidencija ne vodi po naseljima nego na nivou grada. Postoje, međutim, posredni pokazatelji koji su ubedljivi. Tako, na primer, desetak socijalnih radnika pokriva 68 od ukupno 71 mesne zajednice Podgorice, dok ovo područje od tri mesne zajednice pokrivaju tri socijalna radnika, od kojih svaki pojedinačno vodi oko 200 socijalnih slučajeva. O siromaštvu stanovnika Vrela Ribničkih svedoči podatak da se deca upisuju u školu da bi dobila potvrde za dečiji dodatak, a onda se više i ne pojavljuju u školi. Broj dece koja se uopšte ne upisuju u školu gotovo je nemoguće utvrditi, a broj romske i muslimanske dece u višim razredima osnovne škole je gotovo zanemarljiv. Već u trećem i četvrtom razredu ta deca se uključuju u poslove svojih roditelja, a to znači da napuštaju školu.

Romsko stanovništvo, uglavnom sitne zanatlije (kovači, na primer²) je preseljeno u ovaj deo grada iz centra koji je obnavljan. Preseljeni su dva kilometra dalje od centra, s očekivanjem da taj deo grada neće biti urbanizovan. Međutim deo Roma je zaradama iz inostranstva izgradio ili kupio kuće u Ribnici i Vrelima Ribničkim. Iako i u ovom

¹ Ovde su naglašeni „iskazi prilikom popisa“, jer je velika verovatnoća da su se neki pripadnici romske etničke grupe izjašnjavali kao „Srbi“, „Crnogorci“, „Jugosloveni“, „Muslimani“ ili „Albanci“.

² Među romskim zanimanjima u Evropi Rajko Đurić navodi na prvom mestu upravo kovače i obrađivače metala, a zatim muzičare, trgovce, gatare (kao žensko zanimanje), dresere raznih životinja i zabavljače. Uporedi: Rajko Đurić, *Seobe Roma – Krugovi pakla i venac sreće*, BIGZ, Beograd 1987, str. 243.

delu grada ima bespravne gradnje, ona je izražena u manjoj meri nego u drugim, atraktivnijim delovima grada, kako zbog siromaštva stanovništva, nedostatka prostora, neuređenosti infrastrukture, blizine gradske deponije, tako i zbog nepopularnosti Vrela Ribničkih kao „ciganskog naselja“. Domicilno stanovništvo i doseljena lica iz drugih, uglavnom severnih, krajeva Crne Gore gradi svoje kuće bez građevinskih dozvola, planova i bilo kakvih odobrenja na obodu izbegličkog naselja. Gradi se stihijno i neplanski, bez ikakve inspeksijske i druge kontrole, što veoma opterećuje inače nepovoljnu i nedovoljnu infrastrukturu.

Izbegličko naselje Vrela Ribnička je jedno od pet objekata porodičnog smeštaja izbeglica u Crnoj Gori. Ovakav oblik zbrinjavanja, predstavlja najbezbolniji način smeštaja po izbeglice, jer porodica može, koliko-toliko da očuva sopstveni identitet i autentičnost, a nema ekonomskih izdataka za plaćanje kirije i drugih komunalija³. Naselje je izgrađeno 1994. godine. Finansijska sredstva obezbedio je UNHCR, radove je organizovala *Agencija za smeštaj izbeglica-Podgorica*, a izvođač je bio „Neimar-inžinjeri“ iz Podgorice. Naselje čini 8 jednospratnih stambenih zgrada, sa ukupno 200 stambenih jedinica. Stambenu jedinicu čini jedna soba koju porodica samostalno koristi i zajedničko kupatilo i WC koje porodica deli sa susedima iz druge stambene jedinice. U načelu, svaka porodica je dobila po jednu prostoriju, a dve porodice koriste jedno kupatilo i WC. Dve stambene jedinice u prizemlju su, sa kupatilom i WC-om ukupne površine 25,71 m² (soba u kojoj živi porodica je površine 12,85 m², kupatilo i WC

³ O tom tipu naselja Jovanka Vuković piše: „U okviru porodičnog smeštaja izbeglica, najhumaniji i najkvalitetniji oblik zbrinjavanja porodica je u naseljima prilagođenim za individualni život novih porodica... Ovakav oblik zbrinjavanja predstavlja najbezbolniji način smeštaja po izbeglice, ali i integracije izbeglica u lokalnu zajednicu i na komunalnom i na funkcionalnom nivou. Sem toga porodica može koliko-toliko da očuva sopstveni identitet i autentičnost, a nema ekonomskih izdataka za plaćanje podstanarskih kirija.“ Uporedi: Jovanka Vuković, *„Izbjegništvo u Crnoj Gori“*, Društvo socijalnih radnika Crne Gore, Podgorica 1998, str. 47–48.

su 2,805 m²). Na spratovima je situacija nešto „povoljnija“, jer je površina sobe u kojoj živi porodica 13,11 m². Predračunska vrednost stambene jedinice bila je oko 5000\$. Svaka stambena jedinica opremljena je elementarnim pokućstvom (šporet, frižider, grejalica, sto, stolice, kreveti). Evidentno loš kvalitet gradnje se opravdava time što je naselje bilo predviđeno za privremeni smeštaj, ali izbeglištvo predugo traje, pa su problemi u funkcionisanju naselja veoma veliki.

Tabela 2. – Godina dolaska izbegličke porodice u naselje

Godina dolaska	Broj porodica	Procenat	Zbirni procenat
1994	123	63,4	63,4
1995	46	23,7	87,1
1996	12	6,2	93,4
1997	7	3,6	97,0
1998	5	2,5	99,5
Nepoznato	1	0,5	100
Ukupno	194	100	100

Prema saznanjima stečenim u razgovorima u Komesarijatu za raseljena lica Vlade Crne Gore, ideja je bila da izbeglice borave u naselju kraće vreme i da se obezbedi smeštaj do hiljadu izbeglica. Smatralo se da u svakoj stambenoj jedinici treba da bude privremeno zbrinuto pet lica, tako da je praktično predviđeno 2,6 m² stambene površine po članu porodice. Trenutno je u naselju nastanjeno 196 izbegličkih porodica, sa oko 850 članova domaćinstva. Neposredno uz naselje bilo je u 1998. godini podignuto šatorsko naselje Roma, raseljenih sa Kosova. U tom šatorskom naselju Crveni krst Podgorice je u oktobru 1998. godine registrovao blizu 2000 Roma: muškaraca, žena i dece u apsolutno neljudskim uslovima življenja.⁴ Šatori

⁴ Prema podacima Udruženja Roma Crne Gore, dobijenim od Isena Gašija, predsednika Udruženja u vreme anketiranja, krajem januara 1999. u

su, izuzev dva, u kasnu jesen 1998. godine uklonjeni, ali su mnogi raseljeni Romi ostali da žive u sličnim uslovima. Tako je na rubu Podgorice, u neposrednoj blizini deponije smeća stvoren *izbegličko-raseljenički geto*⁵, bez elementarnih uslova za stalni život. Domicilno stanovništvo je pretežno romsko, tako da su Vrela Ribnička takođe i *najveći romski geto* u Podgorici. Pri tome ne bi trebalo zanemariti da se Vrela Ribnička nalaze u neposrednoj blizini jednog od tri najveća švercerska centra u Jugoslaviji. Naime, čuvena švercerska pijaca u Tuzima je udaljena od naselja manje od deset kilometara.

Bez namere da se otvaraju pitanja neodgovornosti, nekompetentnosti, korupcije i krađe, može se reći da su i izbeglice i drugi sagovornici jedinstveni u stavu da je naselje građeno na brzinu i izuzetno nekvalitetno. Radovi prilikom izgradnje naselja su u toj meri nekvalitetno izvedeni da ništa ne funkcioniše kako treba, tako da neke izbeglice ne veruju da su moguće popravke. Krovovi cure kao rešet, izolacija između etaža ne postoji, fekalije teku pored objekata, vode češće nema nego što ima, električne instalacije su krajnje nekvalitetno izvedene i teško ih je bezbedno i stalno koristiti⁶. Radovi nisu izvedeni, a materijal nije

Vrelima Ribničkim je boravilo još uvek 135 romskih porodica – raseljenih lica sa Kosova. Ako se ima u vidu da je istraživanje pokazalo da je prosečan broj članova porodice raseljenih Roma sa Kosova – sedam, može se pretpostaviti da je u Vrelima Ribničkim krajem januara 1999. godine boravilo još uvek oko 1000 raseljenih Roma sa Kosova.

⁵ Jedan od ispitanika ističe da je naselje locirano na pogrešnom mestu, kao „geto na smetljištu“, a drugi rezignirano zaključuje: „Mi smo na smetljištu života“.

⁶ Svi ovi nedostaci ne mogu da idu „na dušu“ organizatora i izvođača radova, nadzornog organa, komisije za prijem itd. Snabdevanje vodom u letnjim mesecima je hronični problem grada Podgorice, kanalizaciona mreža nije ni postojala, a kapacitet trafostanice je nezadovoljavajući. Takođe treba naglasiti da je upravo Shelter program SDR u Podgorici, nakon brojnih inicijativa izbeglica, uz puno razumevanje i veliko materijalno učešće opštine Podgorica započeo u jesen 1998. godine ozbiljne radove na izgradnji i trajnom rešenju problema kanalizacije. Završetak radova očekuje se do početka aprila 1999, tako da će jedan od problema na koje su se izbeglice najviše, s razlogom, žalile biti trajno otklonjen.

ugrađen prema projektu, ali su svi računi naplaćeni kao da je sve urađeno kako je projektovano⁷. Opšte je mišljenje, ne samo pojedinih izbeglica, da su radovi tako loše izvedeni da postoje razlozi za postavljanje pitanja odgovornosti izvođača, nadzornih organa i drugih činilaca koji su uticali na proces gradnje. Miševi, zmije, muhe i akrepi su se udomaćili u naselju. Zbog loše izvedene i još lošije održavane kanalizacije naselju stalno pretila opasnost od epidemija⁸. Postoje neproverene i nedokazane glasine da se na smetlištu odlaze i radioaktivni materijal iz Kliničko-bolničkog centra. Pitanje kanalizacije i smeća je samo vrh ledenog brega u moru problema koji muče izbeglice, stanovnike naselja.

⁷ Zbog toga je ovde neophodno ponoviti da je radove izvodilo preduzeće „Neimar inženjering“, a da je za organizaciju čitavog posla bila formirana Agencija za smještaj izbeglica – Podgorica. U aktu br. 4325, od 02. 02. 1995. koji je za Crveni krst Crne Gore potpisao Slobodan Kalezić, a za Agenciju Dževdana Đukanović v. d. direktora zapisano je: „Agencija za smještaj izbeglica je, u skladu sa opisom pod-projekta 94/YU/YUG/CM/270 (d\$ anex ANEWKEY94YUG270 (d\$ pozicija 2 paragraf 4 od 10. 05. 1994. godine tripartitnog sporazuma između Crvenog Krsta Crne Gore, Vlade Republike Crne Gore i Visokog Komesarijata Ujedinjenih Nacija za izbeglice i u skladu sa ugovorom br. 1740 od 17. 11. 1993 (naš broj) član 6, izvršila primopredaju svih objekata na terenu obezbjeđenom od strane opštine Podgorica na lokaciji „Vrela Ribnička“ Podgorica u vlasništvo Crvenom Krstu Crne Gore za upotrebu kako je naznačeno u gore navedenom sporazumu.“

Ovde treba napomenuti da Agencija *predaje* naselje u *vlasništvo* Crvenom krstu Crne Gore, a da nigde nije regulisano *ko, na koji način i kojim finansijskim sredstvima trajno brine o održavanju objekata*. I tada je bilo, a i danas je jasno da Crveni Krst nema ni mogućnosti ni finansijskih sredstava da te objekte uredno održava. Ne ulazeći u pravnu osnovanost vlasništva Crvenog krsta Crne Gore nad izbegličkim naseljem Vrela Ribnička, neophodno je pomenuti još jedan paradoks: stvarnu upravu nad naseljem ima Komesarijat za raseljena lica Crne Gore.

⁸ Da je opasnost od epidemija realna ne pokazuju samo stalna upozorenja i žalbe Saveta stanara naselja, nego i pojava epidemije žutice u naselju. Tako u dopisu od 18.01.1999. upućenom Komesarijatu za raseljena lica Crne Gore Savjet stanara piše: „1. I pored crpljenja septičke jame koje vrše gradske komunalne i stambene službe, mi imamo izljeve fekalija na samoj septičkoj jami i na šahtovima pored zgrada, te se u naselju pojavila i žutica.“ A podgoričke „Vijesti“ na strani 14, od 15. januara 1999. uz fotografiju naselja poplavljenog fekalijama donosi članak pod naslovom „Žutica nam prijeti“. U toku istraživanja zabeležena su tri slučaja žutice.

Pa ipak, izbegličko naselje Vrela Ribnička izgleda kao rajsko naselje u poređenju sa smeštajem raseljenih Roma sa Kosova. Ne postoje dovoljno jake i precizne reči koje bi ver-
no prikazale loše i gotovo nemoguće uslove života raseljenih
Roma. Jednostavno, njihova situacija je katastrofalna⁹.

⁹ Aleksandra Mitrović piše o tome da je „...veliki broj pripadnika
romske etničke grupe ostao izvan podele rada, a pogotovo se nisu mogli
upustiti u konkurenciju za više društvene položaje zbog otuđenosti od obra-
zovnih institucija. Ova neuključenost u sekundarne odnose koji su se otva-
rali predstavlja okolnost koja je povezana sa statusom Roma kao etničke
grupe, pa su ta dva momenta uzajamno blokirala promociju Roma, smešta-
jući ih tako na *dno društvene lestvice* (podvukao B.J.)“ Vidi: Aleksandra
Mitrović, „Romi na granicama siromaštva“, u: *Razvitak Roma u Jugoslavi-
ji – Problemi i tendencije*, SANU, Beograd 1992, str. 92. Oni koji tvrde da
u Jugoslaviji nema humanitarne katastrofe trebalo bi da provedu bar dva
sata među raseljenim Romima u Vrelima Ribničkim.

CILJEVI ISTRAŽIVANJA

Osnovni ciljevi istraživanja

Osnovni ciljevi istraživanja bili su pronalaženje i formulisanje praktičnih mera i akcija koje bi doprinele:

- a) neposrednom poboljšanju životnih uslova izbeglica i raseljenih lica;
- b) poboljšanju međusobnih odnosa izbegličke populacije;
- c) razvijanju odnosa između domicilnog stanovništva, izbeglica i raseljenih lica;
- d) ostvarenju pune integracije onog dela izbegličke populacije i raseljenih lica koji to žele.

Mogućnosti socijalnog istraživanja u naselju Vrela Ribnička su izvanredne, ali su odgovornosti istraživača ogromne¹⁰. Istraživati nastajanje geta u praktično prirod-

¹⁰ U ovom tipu istraživanja apstinencija ispitanika, čak i do 20%, je uobičajena pojava. Bojazan da će tako biti i u ovom slučaju bila je zasnovana na činjenici da su razni popisi i ispitivanja izbeglica i raseljenih lica ponekad rezultirala smanjenjem nekih od njihovih prethodno ostvarivanih prava. Izbeglice su bile site poseta i obećanja, koja im nisu donosila nikakvo poboljšanje životne situacije. U ovom istraživanju apstinencije praktično nije ni bilo. Čini se da su tri momenta odigrala presudnu ulogu: prethodni intenzivni kontakti i slobodni razgovori sa izbeglicama na osnovu kojih je nastajao upitnik, tako da su ispitanici prethodno bili upoznati sa ciljevima istraživanja (1). Aktivnosti Shelter programa na pomoći u održavanju i izgradnja kanalizacije koju je taj program vodio bili su od velike pomoći. Tako više anketiranih domaćina naglašava pozitivan stav prema SDR-u, a jedan ističe da je anketa zašla u sve pore njihovog života i da je pripremljena izvanredno(2). Svakako da je i lična zainteresovanost izbeglica za poboljšanje uslova života odigrala značajnu ulogu (3).

nim eksperimentalnim uslovima je nesvakidašnji izazov. Naravno, istraživanje je trebalo usmeriti na opis, dijagnosticiranje i definisanje problema života izbeglica i raseljenih lica i načine njihovog rešavanja. *Praktični cilj istraživanja bio bi da se predloži skup usklađenih i celovitih mera za rešavanje problema života ljudi u izbegličkom naselju Vrela Ribnička.*

Način i okvir istraživanja

- a) Anketno ispitivanje izbegličkih porodica u naselju Vrela Ribnička. Jedinica ispitivanja bila je porodica. Od ukupno 196, anketnim ispitivanjem obuhvaćeno je 194 izbegličke porodice¹¹, na osnovu posebnog upitnika.
- b) Anketno ispitivanje porodica raseljenih Roma sa Kosova. Od ukupno 135 tih porodica ispitivanjem, na osnovu posebnog upitnika, je slučajnim uzorkom obuhvaćeno 50. Reč je bila uglavnom o Romima-Mandžupa, koji govore endemičnim tipom romskog jezika. Za ove ispitanike bio je obezbeđen prevodilac¹².
- c) Anketno ispitivanje 50 porodica domicilnih Roma, na osnovu posebnog upitnika. I za ovu populaciju bio je obezbeđen prevodilac gde je to bilo neophodno.
- d) Slobodni razgovori sa predstavnicima zainteresovanih organizacija i institucija – 20 razgovora.

¹¹ Dve porodice nismo uspeli anketirati, jer su u vreme anketiranja te porodice sa decom koristile dački raspust.

¹² Komunikacija s raseljenim romskim porodicama s Kosova je ostvarena zahvaljujući pre svega ljubaznom angažmanu gospode Romkinje-poliglote Tatjane Gaši i gospodina Aleksandra-Saše Pupina, programskog asistenta italijanske humanitarne organizacije koja je veliki deo svojih aktivnosti usmerila prema Romima – Italian Consortium of Solidarity (Consorzio Italiano di Solidarite).

U cilju ispitivanja stavova značajnih za postavljene ciljeve istraživanja, konstruisana su, dakle, tri upitnika. Upitnici za izbeglice i raseljene Rome su maksimalno ujednačeni, dok je upitnik za domicilne Rome bitno različit¹³. Do pitanja u upitniku smo došli posmatranjem, a zatim beležeći iz razgovora sa izbeglicama sve ono što oni osećaju kao najveće probleme, ličnim uvidom u uslove života u naselju, kao i konsultovanjem literature i prethodnih istraživanja o istraživanom problemu. Konačnu verziju upitnika smo napravili nakon probnih istraživanja u izbegličkom naselju „Safari kamp“ u Ulcinju i romskom naselju Suvi Potok kraj Sutomora i u Baru.

Akcenat istraživanja bio je pre svega na izbegličkoj populaciji, a u manjoj meri su istraživani problemi raseljenih lica i domicilnog stanovništva. Naime, moguće je da se raseljeni Romi u manjem broju vrte na Kosovo ili da promene stanište i trajno se nasele na nekom drugom mestu. Domicilno stanovništvo takođe delom čine Romi, a u ovom istraživanju međusobni odnosi izbeglica i domicilnog stanovništva su bili značajni za razumevanje problema integracije. Istraživanje je bilo usmereno pre svega na ispitivanje životnih problema izbegličke populacije, s obzirom na mogućnosti trajnog naseljavanja, a tek potom i u daleko manjoj meri obuhvatalo je odnose između izbeglica i raseljenih Roma, odnose domicilnog stanovništva prema izbeglicama i raseljenim Romima, odnose lokalnih organa vlasti prema izbeglicama i raseljenim Romima, te odnose Crvenog krsta, drugih međunarodnih humanitarnih i drugih organizacija prema izbeglicama i raseljenim Romima.

¹³ Zanimljivo iskustvo je da je jedan od domaćih Roma izjavio „Dobro došli, to je prvi put da me u poslednjih deset godina neko pita kako živim i šta mislim.“

ISPITIVANA POPULACIJA

Izbeglička populacija je došla iz Bosne i Hercegovine, ali je reč o ljudima koji su ili rođeni u Crnoj Gori ili imaju bliske srodnike u Podgorici i Crnoj Gori.¹⁴

U izbegličkom naselju Vrela Ribnička stalno boravi 196 porodica, ali je *ispitivanu populaciju* činilo 194 porodice sa 837 članova. U naselju dominiraju četvoročlane porodice (41,2%) sa približno ujednačenim sastavom po polu: dva muškarca (otac i sin 41,8%) i dve žene – majka i kćerka 34%. Sin i kćerka, kao treći, odnosno četvrti član porodice su dobi do 16 godina i učenici su. Ukupno sedam porodica čine samo žene u kući, a u dvema porodicama su samo muškarci. U ukupnom zbiru žena je nešto više (442 naspram 395 muškaraca). Porodice raseljenih Roma su brojnije – sedmočlane, a domicilnih Roma šestočlane.

Četvrtina porodica u naselju ima 5 članova, a 12,4 % ima 6 ili 7 članova. Po jedna izbeglička porodica je sa 8, 9 i 11 članova. Ako se ima u vidu da domaćinstva sa jednim i dva člana (ukupno 13) čine 6,7%, a porodice sa 7 do 11 članova (ukupno takođe 13) bukvalno isti procenat od 6,7% porodične populacije, onda je očigledno da pravednija preraspodela prostora u naselju i nije tako veliki problem kao što izgleda.

¹⁴ I prethodna istraživanja pokazuju da je veliki broj izbeglica koje su došle u Crnu Goru poreklom iz Crne Gore. Uporedi Jovanka Vuković, Op. Cit., str. 40. Takođe je značajno napomenuti da se u Crnoj Gori, prema „Uredbi o zbrinjavanju raseljenih lica“, *Službeni glasnik Crne Gore* br. 37/92, sve izbeglice tretiraju kao raseljena lica.

Tabela 3. – Izbegličke porodice u naselju prema broju članova

Broj članova	Broj porodica	Procenat	Zbirni procenat
1	2	1,0	1,0
2	11	5,7	6,7
3	27	13,9	20,6
4	80	41,2	61,9
5	47	24,2	86,1
6	14	7,2	93,3
7	10	5,2	98,5
8	1	0,5	99,0
9	1	0,5	99,5
11	1	0,5	100
UKUPNO	194	100	100

Ovaj problem bilo je potrebno posebno naglasiti s obzirom na to da se mnoge izbeglice žale na raspodelu prostora u naselju koje nije bila pravedna: raspodela je izvedena tako, tvrde neki od izbeglica, da dve dvočlane ili tročlane porodice koriste jedno kupatilo, isto kao i dve šestočlane ili sedmočlane porodice. Nesigurnost, frustracije i strah su uzroci mnogim pričama koje je teško proveriti. Na primer, da postoje ljudi koji tu žive, a nisu prijavljeni. *Fama est*: neka od prijavljenih lica imaju kuće koje izdaju, a žive u naselju¹⁵.

¹⁵ Komesarijat za raseljena lica Crne Gore je odobravao useljenje izbegličkih porodica u naselje na osnovu određenih kriterija. Ti kriteriji nisu bili predmet ovog istraživanja, ali su ispitanici često izražavali nezadovoljstvo pojedinim postupcima Komesarijata. Jedan od njih primećuje da Komesarijat manipuliše brojkama i da namerno drži ljude pod tenzijom da bi njima manipulisao. Posebno napeta situacija je stvorena krajem januara, u dane anketiranja, kada je Komesarijat izdao rešenja za iseljenje nekih bespravno useljenih porodica. Otpor je bio veliki i policija je intervenisala. Naravno da niko ne može pravdati nezakonito ponašanje, pa i ponašanje izbegličkih porodica. Međutim, reč je o porodicama od kojih su neke i preko dve godine stanovale u naselju. Ako su nezakonito i van kriterija koristile stambeni prostor, postavlja se pitanje zašto je Komesarijat čekao toliko

Najveći broj izbegličkih porodica je ostao u istom sastavu 56%, u 19% broj članova se povećao a u 24,4% broj se smanjio. Uzroci promena su: gubici članova porodice u toku rata i izbeglištva, a u izbeglištvu je umrlo 19 ljudi, udalo se 15 devojaka, rodilo se 24 dece dok se u proteklom periodu nije oženio nijedan mladić. Sve devojke su se udale van naselja.

Porodice raseljenih Roma u velikom procentu su stigle u istom sastavu u kom su živele i na Kosovu. Ovde treba napomenuti da bi se u bilo kom razmatranju romske populacije morala imati na umu sledeća opaska Milutina Prokića: „Kada je reč o Romima, svaka statistika o njima je neuverljiva i mora se uzimati sa velikom dozom opreza“¹⁶. Evidentno je, da bi smo dobili koliko-toliko kvalitetnu statističku građu, statistički sistem bi morao biti prilagođen njihovim stavovima u odnosu na izbor pojava i pojave koje se registruju¹⁷. S druge strane, broj ispitivanih porodica raseljenih Roma je svega pedeset, pa iskazivanje podataka u procentima nema pravu vrednost. Ovde će ipak povremeno biti pribegavano takvom postupku da bi se omogućila poređenja sa izbegličkom populacijom.

Uzimajući u obzir ove opaske, može se reći da su porodice raseljenih Roma sa Kosova u 74% slučajeva došle u Vrela u nepromenjenom sastavu u odnosu na stanje pre

dugo da „uvede red“! S druge strane, prema podacima o broju članova porodice dobijenim ovim istraživanjem takode treba biti skeptičan. Verovatno je da se može opravdano govoriti o tzv. *fiktivnim članovima* i da porodice nisu navodile broj članova prema stvarnom stanju, nego prema prijavama Komesarijatu.

¹⁶ Milutin Prokić, „Socijalno-ekonomske karakteristike Roma u Jugoslaviji“, u: *Razvitak Roma u Jugoslaviji – Problemi i tendencije*, SANU, Beograd 1992, str. 97.

¹⁷ Aleksandra Mitrović smatra da je pogrešno izolovano istraživanje romske populacije, da sociološki pristup podrazumeva proučavanje *medugrupnih društvenih odnosa*, pa istraživanja Roma treba postaviti u širu mrežu odnosa i poređenja s većinskom grupom. Uporedi, – Aleksandra Mitrović, „Romi na granicama siromaštva“, u: *Razvitak Roma u Jugoslaviji – Problemi i tendencije*, SANU, Beograd 1992, str. 87–96.

izbeglištva. Kada su odlučili da napuste Kosovo, zapravo da pobegnu sa Kosova, ispitivani Romi su u 52% slučajeva izjavili da su se odlučili za Podgoricu, zbog rodbine, a u 32% slučajno. Kada se ukrste varijable o razlogu dolaska u Podgoricu i prethodni smeštaj, dobije se zanimljiv podatak da je, u odnosu na prethodno stanje, u vreme istraživanja samo jedna porodica raseljenih Roma bila prihvaćena od strane prijatelja i rodbine, „zbog kojih su se odlučili za Podgoricu“. Raseljene romske porodice su u tom trenutku uglavnom bile smeštene u improvizovanom sopstvenom smeštaju – 34, u barakama i šatorima – 12, a u iznajmljenom stanu – 3 porodice. I sve to u maksimalno devet meseci boravka (15 porodica), oko šest meseci – 32 porodice i manje od tri meseca – 3 porodice.

Starosna i obrazovna struktura

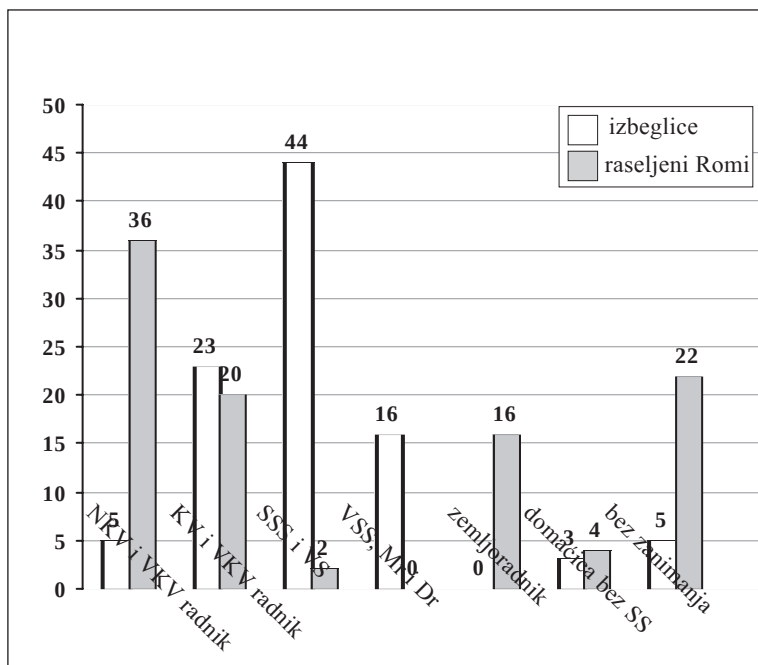
Domaćini – izbeglice su u najvećem broju (46,4%) starosne dobi od 40 do 60 godina. Imaju završenu srednju ili višu školu (44,3%) a čak u 16,5% slučajeva visoku stručnu spremu, magisterij ili doktorat. Ako se tome doda i 22,7% KV i VKV radnika, dolazimo do visokog procenta od 83% u ove tri kategorije stručne spreme. Domaćini izbeglice uglavnom su nezaposleni (39,7%). Drugi član izbegličke porodice – supruga, je u istoj starosnoj kategoriji (49,5%) sa istom stručnom spremom, SSS i VŠS, i još češće nezaposlena 46,9%. S obzirom na mali procenat izbeglica preko 60 godina (11,8%), može se zaključiti da je najveći broj odraslih u naselju radno sposoban.

Uopšteno govoreći, raseljeni Romi su niskog obrazovnog nivoa, radno sposobni i mladi¹⁸. Radno sposobni čla-

¹⁸ Da Romi imaju izuzetno lošu obrazovnu i nepovoljnu kvalifikaciono-profesionalnu strukturu, posebno žena, da većina Roma nema stabilne i sigurne prihode, i da su im društvene institucije praktično nedostupne opšte je mesto među istraživačima. Uporedi, Milosav Milosavljević, „Romi i devijacije“, u: *Društvene promene i položaj Roma*, SANU – Institut za socijalnu politiku, Beograd 1993, str. 34–47.

novi porodice su nezaposleni u velikom procentu. Kod raseljenih Roma 46% domaćina je mlađe od 25 godina, a 44% je u starosnoj kategoriji od 40 do 60 godina. Domaćin porodice raseljenih Roma je u 36% slučajeva NK radnik, u 22% bez zanimanja, 20% KV radnik, a 16% zemljoradnik. Supruge su im u 86% slučajeva domaćice, bez zanimanja. Ostalih pet članova domaćinstva, u visokom procentu od 52% do 66% su bez zanimanja. Domaćin romske porodice je pre izbijanja sukoba na Kosovu u 46% slučajeva bio stalno zaposlen, u 26% nezaposlen, a u 22% povremeno zaposlen. Supruge su u 92% slučajeva bile nezaposlene, a preostalih pet članova porodice je bilo nezaposleno u visokom procentu. U zanemarljivom broju su bili u stalnom i privremenom radnom odnosu. Dakle, i pre izbeglištva su to bila domaćinstva, u kojima je bio zaposlen uglavnom samo otac.

ZANIMANJE DOMAĆINA



Dolaskom u izbeglištvo situacija se još više pogoršala ako je reč o nekom trajnijem zaposlenju raseljenih Roma. Naime, 74% domaćina je nezaposleno, samo 20% nešto povremeno radi, a stalno zaposlenih nema. Slično je stanje i sa ostalim članovima porodice, koji su uglavnom nezaposleni (supruge u 94% slučajeva, 72% drugi član, treći 72%, peti član 64%). Statistički posmatrano sadašnji radni status raseljenih Roma je nezadovoljavajući i ne daje ni minimum za održavanje gole egzistencije. Pri tome treba imati u vidu, da se oni, bilo gde da se nađu, bave svojim tradicionalnim zanimanjima i tako opstaju. Nije za očekivati da će doći do njihovog značajnijeg radnog angažmana.

Obrazovna struktura ispitivanih izbegličkih porodica nedvosmisleno upućuje na njihovo urbano zaleđe. Reklo bi se da izbeglice nastoje makar i prividno kompenzovati izgubljenju sredinu i pokušavaju živeti u socijalnom okruženju na koje su navikli. „...Posedovanje obrazovnog i profesionalnog profila je samo fikcija i potencijalno svojstvo u uslovina gubitka radnog statusa“, kaže jedan od istraživača ovog problema.¹⁹

Obrazovna struktura izbeglica sa 16,5% porodica u kojima su otac ili majka intelektualci ili pak oboje, daleko je iznad proseka Vrela Ribničkih (VSS i VŠS 1,57%) i može se smatrati značajnim preduslovom u procesu njihove integracije u crnogorsko društvo, ali i ograničavajućim faktorom integracije u lokalnu sredinu, jer je kvalifikaciona struktura izbeglica oko 11 puta „jača“ od kvalifikacione strukture domaćeg stanovništva i raseljenih Roma. Možda, pored ostalih, i u tom činiocu treba tražiti uzroke visokog stepena odsustva redovnih komunikacija i druženja između ispitivanih grupa. Najveći broj obrazovanih i radno sposobnih ljudi izbegao je iz mesta prethodnog prebivališta, što u njihovim zavičajima dovodi u pitanje, ne samo sadašnje nego i buduće normalno funkcionisanje različitih društvenih delatnosti.

¹⁹ M. Milosavljević, „Socijalni aspekti izbeglištva“, u: *Psihologija izbeglištva*, IP Nauka, Beograd 1997, str. 11.

Od čega živi vaša porodica?

Izbeglice su višestruki životni gubitnici. Gubitnički osećaj ih progoni i kada nisu izgubili materijalna dobra.²⁰ Rat je ne samo ostavio ljude bez njihovih domova, već ih je lišio mnogih materijalnih pretpostavki života i socijalne sigurnosti. Porušeni su, poharani i oteți domovi, pokućstvo, dragocenosti... Svi ovi gubici vode jednoj duboko nepovoljnoj socijalno-psihološkoj i ličnoj situaciji u kojoj se gubi identitet i subjektivitet i gde se postaje zavisani i u položaju objekta u većini društvenih odnosa koji se uspostavljaju u izbeglištvu. Izbeglištvo bitno menja društveni položaj u celini i neke njegove bitne elemente, kao što korenito menja uslove, stil i način života ljudi, njihovih porodica, u odnosu na one njihove odlike pre perioda izbeglištvā. Izbeglištvo dovodi do toga da se homogenizuju ili gube svoju razuđenost mnoge strukturalne karakteristike izbegličke populacije, dok se u velikoj meri uniformišu najznačajniji elementi kvaliteta i stila života. Jedna od osnovnih odrednica izbeglištvā je beznade. Ljudi se osećaju napuštenim i bespomoćnim. Osećaju da zavise od bezličnih, sporo donešenih odluka velikih institucija – međunarodnih i državnih. Pokazuju znake sindroma zavisnosti i destruktivne tendencije u ponašanju. Veliki gubitnici se prepuštaju rezignaciji: prestaju da cene materijalne i duhovne vrednosti. Ono što su imali i voleli izgubili su tamo odakle su izbegli, a u novoj sredini nisu vezani ni za šta. Sve oko njih može da propadne. Pa ipak, mnogi od njih se trude da to breme nose i da takva osećanja prevladaju. U tome im treba pomoći!

Ratom se gubi sve. Naravno, ne gube svi sve, ali velika većina gubi ponešto. Tako su, na primer, pre izbeglištvā u ranijem mestu življenja odrasli članovi većine izbegličkih porodica imali stalno zaposlenje (71,6% muškaraca i 63,9% žena). Takođe su imali i rešeno ključno pitanje za normalno

²⁰ Svega četiri ispitivane izbegličke porodice, ili 2,1% nisu ništa izgubile, jer i u ranijem prebivalištu nisu ništa imale.

i uspešno funkcionisanje svake porodice, a to su stan ili kuća. Čak 94,3% izbegličkih porodica smeštenih u Vrelima Ribničkim, pre izbijanja rata imalo je svoj krov nad glavom, a samo 9 porodica izbjeglištvom nije izgubilo kuću ili stan. Pokućstvo su izgubili takođe skoro svi (93,3%). Od 194 ispitivane porodice kuću ili stan su izgubile 183 (95,3%), zemljište 68 porodica, odnosno 35,4%, poslovni prostor 14 porodica ili 7,3%, auto 73 porodice ili 38,0%, a nedefinisanu drugu imovinu („Nešto drugo“) izgubilo je 16 porodica ili 8,3%²¹.

Od stalno zaposlenih 89% su izbeglice koje vode porijeklo iz Crne Gore. Sada je u jedva petini porodica (18,06%) neko od članova stalno zaposlen. Skoro zane-marljiv procenat (3,1%) živi od pomoći Crvenog krsta, rodbine ili prijatelja²². Ima i onih koji prosto ne znaju od čega žive. Najveći broj (65,5%) porodica izdržava se po-vremenim sopstvenim radom. Radi se najčešće o poslovi-ma koje, kako kažu, nisu hteli da rade Crnogorci, kao što su prodaja cigareta na ulici, rad na pijaci i sl.²³

Ako se ima u vidu opšte osiromašenje društva koje je rat sa sobom doneo, pad proizvodnje i razmene, drastičan

²¹ Istraživanja izbeglica u Srbiji i Bosni i Hercegovini pokazuju slične tendencije. Gubitci različitih oblika imovine jasno pokazuju stanje njihove ugroženosti. Prema jednom istraživanju 74,72% imovine ispitivanih izbeglica je uništeno ili oduzeto, a u 15,28% slučajeva imovina je sačuvana. To ukazuje na jednostavnu činjenicu – i oni koji to žele, nemaju se gde vratiti. Uporedi: – Vladimir N. Cvetković, *Strah i poniženje – Jugoslovenski rat i izbeglice u Srbiji: 1991–1997*, Institut za evropske studije, Beograd 1998, str. 216.

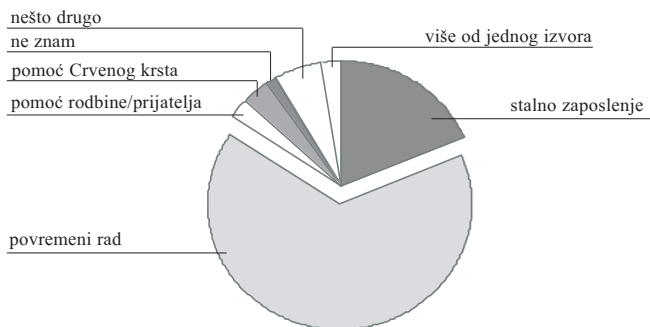
²² Crveni krst, druge humanitarne organizacije i državne institucije pružale su i pružaju pomoć izbeglicama, mada sve manju i manju. U Crnoj Gori se ne radi samo o tzv. donatorskom zamoru nego i preorijentaciji međunarodnih humanitarnih organizacija na raseljena lica sa Kosova.

²³ Romi i izbeglice, i u Srbiji i u Crnoj Gori, su u traganju za izvorima egzistencije okrenuti crnom tržištu. A. Mitrović i G. Zajić pišu da najveći broj domicilnih romskih porodica u Srbiji ostvaruju prihode u 'sivoj ekonomiji'. Uporedi: – Aleksandra Mitrović i Gradimir Zajić, *Romi u Srbiji*, Centar za antiratu akciju i Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja, Beograd 1998, str. 40.

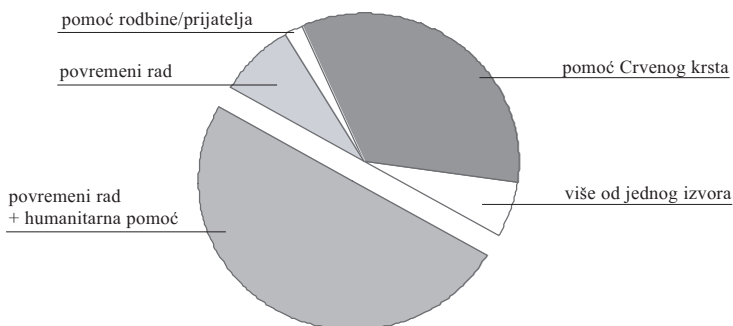
pad životnog standarda širokih slojeva stanovništva, iscrpljujuće međunarodne sankcije i nameti državnih i lokalnih organa vlasti na ionako nedovoljne prihode domaćeg stanovništva, permanentno smanjivanje humanitarne i druge pomoći, pitanje „*Od čega živi Vaša porodica?*“ bi bilo preciznije preformulisati u pitanje „*Kako preživljava Vaša porodica?*“ Čest je, naime, slučaj da se izbeglice i raseljena lica čude kako uopšte preživljavaju.

OD ČEGA ŽIVI VAŠA PORODICA?

Izbeglice



Raseljeni Romi



Anketirani raseljeni Romi su u 98% slučajeva izjavili da su dolaskom u izbeglištvo izgubili kuću²⁴. Sem toga, napominju da su u 92% izgubili pokućstvo, čak 16% poslovnih prostor, a u 22% auto (?). Samo 4% ispitivanih je izjavilo da im nije ništa ostalo u mestima iz kojih su pobjegli. Na osnovu navedenog d se zaključiti da su porodice raseljenih Roma bile uglavnom stambeno obezbeđene²⁵.

Ovde treba napomenuti da se zapažanja anketara i članova istraživačkog tima s jedne i izbeglica s druge strane o materijalnom statusu u izvesnoj meri razlikuju. Nesumnjivo je da su izbeglice u pravu kada svedoče o svom lošem materijalnom položaju i životu uopšte. Međutim, anketari i članovi istraživačkog tima su zapazili nešto što izbegličkim porodicama služi na čast. Naime, one nastoje da svoju sirotinjsku situaciju na što bolji način organizuju i da uslove života u svojim sobama („stambenim jedinicama“) učine što pristojnijim²⁶. Može se reći da materijalni status izbegličkih porodica prema proceni anketara na osnovu posmatranja „životnog prostora“ izgleda ovako: 15,5% solidan, 37% zadovoljavajući, 37% loš i 8% izrazito loš. Kod domicilnih Roma loš materijalni status ima 68% porodica

²⁴ Naravno, ovu konstataciju treba uzeti s rezervom, zbog razlike u poimanju termina „kuća“ među Romima i opšte prihvaćenog shvatanja tog pojma.

²⁵ Ovde, takođe, treba imati u vidu da za Rome pojam stana i stanovanja nema onaj značaj koji ima za izbeglice. Tako Milutin Prokić beleži: „Kao ljudi koji su više od svega cenili slobodu kretanja i život bez nametnutih društvenih stega i obaveza, Romi su pravo na ovakav život pretpostavljali svakoj materijalnoj sigurnosti i izvesnosti građanskog života.“ *Ibid.* str. 101.

²⁶ Pomalo je paradoksalna situacija kada anketar sluša, najčešće opravdane, žalbe na loš materijalni status izbeglica u celini i svoje porodice posebno i gleda u sobi televizor u boji, kompjuter, video, umetničke slike i dobro uređenu kolekciju knjiga...posmatra mlade koji se spremaju na kurs iz manekinstva. Jedna izbeglička porodica je u svoj skućeni stambeni prostor unela i pianino. Bilo bi, naravno, pogrešno izvući opšti zaključak da je reč o dobro situiranim porodicama, ali je ovo zapažanje vredno zabeležiti. Jedna izbeglička porodica je zaista lepo uredila svoju sobu, ali je zanimljivo da to nije bio „primer za ugled“, nego je kod nekih drugih porodica izazvalo zavist. Da bi dokazali kakva im se katastrofa desila, neki očajni ljudi ne žele da im se išta dobro desi i ne veruju da im se išta dobro može desiti.

a kod raseljenih Roma čak 86%. Urednost prostorija izbeglica je zadovoljavajuća a nadprosečne kod više od 80% stanara. Potrebu da oplemene prostor u kome žive oseća većina porodica. Svoje „domove“ na Vrelima izbeglice pokušavaju učiniti što prijatnim za življenje. Skučen prostor je tu u znatnoj meri ograničavajući faktor, naročito kad se radi o višečlanim porodicama. Treba biti izuzetno praktičan i inventivan, pa tako mali prostor koji je istovremeno kuhinja, dnevni boravak i spavaća soba učiniti funkcionalnim. Procena anketara je da je većina izbeglica u tome uspeła.

Inventivnost izbeglica u uređenju skućenog životnog prostora bi uz pravu motivaciju mogla biti korisna u oplemenjivanju izgleda naselja u celini i poboljšanju uslova života u njemu.

Dosadašnje odsustvo volje za uređenje naselja je delom razumljivo i zbog stalnog naglašavanja privremenosti boravka od strane pojedinaca iz Komesarijata za raseljena lica Crne Gore koliko traje ta privremenost govori podatak da većina stanara (87%) boravi u naselju od prvih dana njegove izgradnje, odnosno od kraja 1994. i početka 1995 godine.

USLOVI ŽIVOTA U NASELJU VRELA RIBNIČKA

Jedan od ciljeva istraživanja je formulisanje predloga praktičnih mera i akcija koje bi doprinele neposrednom poboljšanju životnih uslova izbeglica u naselju. Stoga je bilo neophodno prethodno temeljno upoznati uslove života izbegličkih porodica, precizirati njihov značaj i odrediti rang u prioritetima rešavanja problema u nastojanju da se poboljša život izbeglica. Uslove života u naselju, predložene za rangiranje u anketi ponuđenoj izbegličkim porodicama, najčešće su pominjali sami stanari i predstavnici pojedinih institucija u razgovorima tokom priprema za istraživanje. Dobar deo uslova se već na prvi pogled vidi u svojoj težini.

Istraživačima je najveći problem pričinjavala brojnost poteškoća koje se tiču uslova života, jer su ispitanici rangirali pojedine uslove kao četvrte ili pete a iz razgovora je jasno proizlazilo da im taj problem nije lakši od onog drugo ili treće rangiranog. Preciznom procenom težine uslova se stvara osnova za utvrđivanje prioriteta i planiranja. Prilikom procene pažnja je usredsređena na populaciju kao celinu, a ne na pojedince. Korišćeno je istovremeno više izvora informacija, što obećava pouzdaniju procenu potreba izbeglica.

Preko noći izgubljen identitet ruši izbegličku prisebnost i nadu. Bez svog doma, rodbine i prijatelja, bez svoga grada i države, postaju ljudi bez identiteta. Ovo znači i gubitak i samih sebe kao dobro integrisanih i zdravih ličnosti. Strah postaje najsnažnije osećanje a izgubljena sigurnost prerasta u frustraciju. Izbeglice bivaju uskraćene za sve ono što je nekad bilo tako svakodnevno, uobičajeno, drago

i blisko. „Nije bilo mesta gde su se mogli sakriti od stresova. Jer ono od čega beži čovek uvek nosi sa sobom“, beleži Dušan Kosović²⁷. Bilo je za očekivati da će sve ovo narušiti njihovo zdravlje, skoro jedna četvrtina domaćina svoje zdravstveno stanje procenjuje kao loše (24,1%)²⁸ a procenat je približno isti i kod drugog člana, pretpostavljam domaćice. Kako su treći i četvrti član u porodicama skoro uvek deca, ovaj procenat je znatno niži: treći član – 12,5% i četvrti član – 10,8%.

Svakome ko vidi uslove života u naselju razumljivo je da je zdravlje tim ljudima ugroženo²⁹. u nizu ostalih problema izbegličke porodice se i ne žale na loše zdravlje – preko dve trećine, za prva dva člana, izjavljuju da je zdravlje dobro ili zadovoljavajuće. Iznenaduje takođe da 90% raseljenih Roma procenjuje svoje zdravlje kao dobro, iako su bili na vetrometini i na temperaturama ispod nule u trenutku anketiranja.

Kanalizacija je na prvom mestu kao najteži uslov života u naselju po mišljenju 80% stanara. Radovi na kanalizaciji su već u toku. Skućen prostor i nedostatak privatnosti (71,5%) je na drugom, prokišnjavanje krovova (67,8%) na trećem, a nedostatak vode u letnjem periodu (55,8%) je na četvrtom mestu.

Odnosi sa susedima su različito kvalifikovani, zavisno od toga ko ima koliko problema sa komšijom oko kupatila – koliko članova, koliko generacija itd. Taj uslov je zauzeo

²⁷ Dušan Kosović, *Stres*, Beograd 1997.

²⁸ Kako izbeglička populacija nije osobito stara, taj procenat i nije osobito nizak. Jovanka Vuković deli oboljenja izbeglica u tri grupe: 1. oboljenja koja su karakteristična za izbeglice (bolesti neadekvatne ishrane, zarazne bolesti, bolesti nehygijskih uslova, poremećaji mentalnog zdravlja), 2. ranija oboljenja koja su se pogoršala u izbeglištvu, 3. ostala oboljenja koja je izbeglištvo prouzrokovalo kao dodatni faktor. Uporedi: J. Vuković, *Op. Cit.*, str. 72.

²⁹ Jedna od anketiranih osoba među izbeglicama kaže da treba da ih smeste da žive sa narodom, a Cigane da premeste da žive u naselju. Traži da se očisti grad. Ona bi sama iako je stara išla da čisti grad. Snaha strankinja im je rekla da su od čelika kad se nisu razboljeli. Pita, zar je ovo ekološka država?

sve stepene težine. Za 17,2% ispitanika to je drugi uslov po težini, za 16,1% treći i za 17,2% peti. Kao najlakši uslov sa približno istim procentom odredilo ga je 17% izbeglica.

Nedostatak saobraćajnih i telefonskih veza sa gradom su na petom i šestom mestu.

Problem električnih instalacija je slične težine. Nijedna stambena jedinica nema posebno električno brojilo. Ovaj problem je naglašen i „pretnjama“ Komesarijata da će ubuduće plaćati struju i to svi podjednako bez obzira na potrošnju.

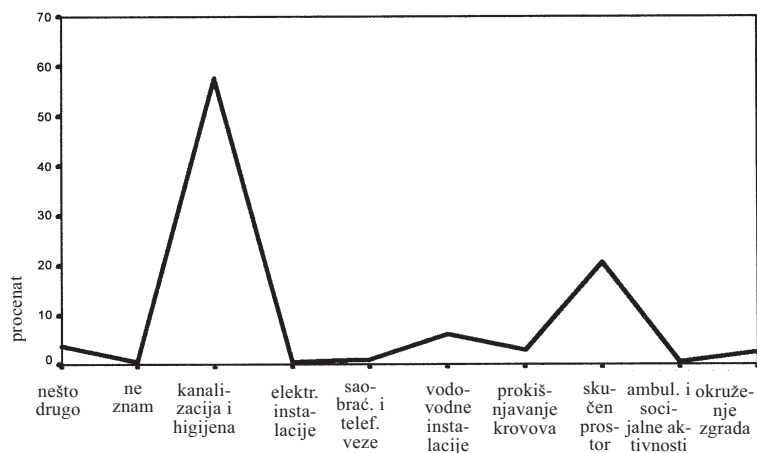
Nedostatak ambulate i prostorija za slobodne aktivnosti stanovnici naselja najlakše podnose (41,2%, VII i VI–II rang).

Na pitanje upućeno raseljenim Romima šta im predstavlja najteži uslov življenja, na prva tri mesta su rangirali:

- nedostatak vode i kanalizacije u 74% slučajeva
- loša električna instalacija i skučen prostor u 54% slučajeva
- prokišnjavanje objekata u kojima su smešteni u 46% slučajeva.

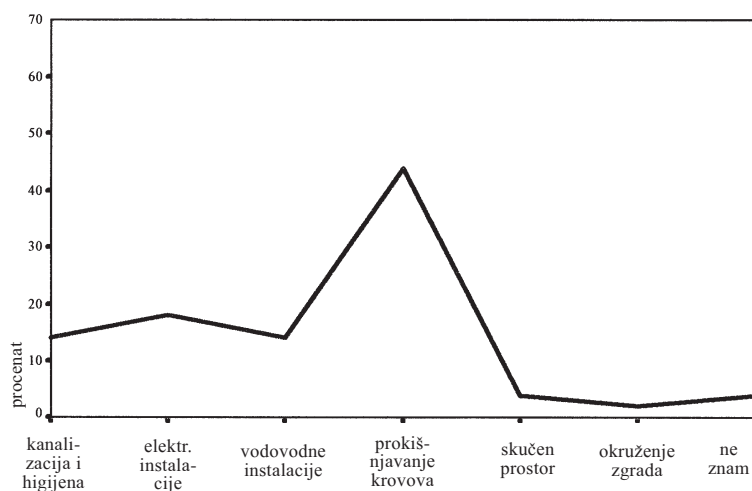
PRVI PROBLEM ZA REŠAVANJE U NASELJU

Izbeglice



PRVI PROBLEM ZA REŠAVANJE U NASELJU

Raseljeni Romi



Anketirani domicilni Romi smatraju da je jedan od najtežih problema sa kojima se susreću raseljeni Romi sa Kosova *neodgovarajući smeštaj* (85,7%). Na problem smeštaja Roma, a ne samo raseljenih romskih porodica sa Kosova, neophodno je posebno se osvrnuti. Jedan od najboljih poznavalaca ovog problema u Jugoslaviji, Sreten Vujović tim povodom piše: „Kada je reč o stambenom siromaštvu i sirotinjskim romskim naseljima naše je polazište da u meri u kojoj društvo reprodukuje uslov za postojanje romskog siromaštva i bede iluzoran je napor da se njihov stambeni i komunalni standard znatnije poboljša ili *prikrije* (podvukao B. J.) arhitektonsko-urbanističkim zahvatima. Drugim rečima, ukoliko postoji marginalizacija i diskriminacija Roma u zapošljavanju, školovanju i političkom životu, ona će postojati i u stanovanju.“³⁰ Domicilni

³⁰ Sreten Vujović, „Romi i stanovanje“, u: *Društvene promene i položaj Roma*, SANU – Institut za socijalnu politiku, Beograd 1993, str. 63.

Romi su sjajno shvatili u čemu je problem – raseljene Rome sa Kosova u Podgorici zapravo niko ne želi. Iz razgovora sa predstavnicima raznih institucija koje se bave problemima izbeglica i raseljenih lica može se izvesti isti zaključak. Tako ponude *Italijanskog konzorcijuma solidarnosti* (*Italian Consortium of Solidarity*) da se za raseljene Rome izgrade barake u Vrelima Ribničkim nailaze na velike poteškoće i mala je verovatnoća da bi ta ponuda bila realizovana³¹.

Problem *neregulisanog položaja* visoko je rangovan (57,4%), dok je niži u rangu *nedostatak stambenog prostora* (40,4%). Tek posle ovih se javlja problem *hrane*, pa onda nedostatak *odeće* i *obuće*. Nemogućnost zarade ne smatraju toliko bitnom u odnosu na navedene probleme. Poznato je da Romi uopšte veoma retko rešavaju ili nikako ne rešavaju svoje stambene probleme preko državnih organa. Otuda je razumljivo da domicilni Romi ne očekuju ni za svoje sunarodnike sa Kosova da će trajno rešiti stambeno pitanje. Stoga ovaj uslov i ne stavljaju na prvo mesto, nego navode bilo kakav smeštaj, a ističu i neregulisan položaj, što znači neposredovanje ličnih dokumenata, pre svega pasoša, a često i lične karte.

Od navedenih problema raseljeni Romi najmanje izraženim smatraju *sigurnu zdravstvenu zaštitu*. Ovde nisu navođeni procenti jer je ispitivano pedeset od 135 porodica raseljenih Roma, pa je izražavanje u procentima nepotrebno³².

³¹ Jedan od domaćih sagovornika iskreno kaže da italijanska vlada vodi veoma pametnu politiku: daleko joj je lakše i *jeftinije* da za raseljene Rome izgradi barake u Crnoj Gori i da ih pomogne na svaki način, nego da rešava njihove životne probleme kada eventualno pređu u Italiju. Nije rečeno, ali se, valjda, podrazumeva da bi i Crnoj Gori bilo lakše da se vrate na Kosovo ili da pređu u Italiju. Na Balkanu postoji poslovice: „Sirotinjo i Bogu ti teška.“

³² Izražavanju u procentima kod odgovora domicilnih i raseljenih Roma se ipak pribegavalo samo tamo gde su vršena poređenja s izbeglicama, jer je to bio način da se dobije realna predstava o odnosima.

Redosled rešavanja problema da bi se stvorili podnošljivi uslovi života u naselju

U slobodnim razgovorima s izbeglicama–stanovnicima naselja žalbe na uslove života u naselju bile su veoma difuzne i odnosile su se praktično na sve aspekte njihovog života. U anketnom ispitivanju istraživači su pokušali da sistematizuju njihove žalbe i da odrede koji su im uslovi najteži i kojim redosledom bi ih trebalo rešavati. Iz pregleda koji sledi vidljivo je koji su uslovi najčešće pominjani kao prva tri koja bi trebalo rešavati:

Prvi problem za rešavanje	1. Kanalizacija i higijena	57,7%
	2. Skućen prostor	20,6%
Drugi problem za rešavanje	1. Vodovod	31,4%
	2. Skućen prostor	16%
Treći problem za rešavanje	1. Uredenost naselja	20,6%
	2. Skućen prostor	14,9%

Kao što vidimo najurgentniji problemi koje treba rešavati u naselju su: kanalizacija³³, snabdevanje vodom u letnjim mesecima, zapuštenost okruženja zgrada kao i skućen prostor stanovanje koji je često uzrok loših odnosa sa susedima zbog zajedničkog kupatila. Kanalizacija koja se izliva između zgrada, drži ih u stalnom strahu od moguće epidemije. Nekoliko slučajeva žutice među decom u naselju taj strah stalno potkrepljuje.

Kada bi raseljeni Romi trebalo da odluče, šta bi prvo trebalo sanirati, redosled je sledeći:

³³ Na inicijativu i brojne žalbe stanara, a uz razumevanje i učešće opštine Podgorica i Shelter programa SDR Podgorica radovi na izgradnji kanalizacione mreže se privode kraju. Tako su podgoričke *Vijesti* od 11. marta 1999. na str. 15. objavile informaciju sa nadnaslovom „Izbegličko naselje će naredne nedelje biti priključeno na gradsku kanalizaciju“ i naslovom „Priključci i za urbani deo Vrela“.

Prva grupa prioriteta :	44% prokišnjavanje 18% elektro-instalacije 14% kanalizacija i vodovod
Druga grupa prioriteta:	31,4% vodovod 18,6% kanalizacija 16% skučen prostor

Domicilni Romi se uglavnom slažu da je prvo potrebno obezbediti elementarne uslove *smeštaja* (46%), zatim raseljenim licima *regulisati status dobijanjem dokumenata* (42%). Problemi obezbeđivanja hrane, odeće i obuće su sledeći po težini (34%). Mogućnost zarade i stan od cigala zauzimaju šesto mesto, a na kraju je zdravstvena zaštita. Ovo je potpuno u skladu sa navikama Roma. Dok je za izbeglice stan najvažniji u redosledu rešavanja, za raseljene Rome stan od čvrstog materijala je nedostižan san³⁴, pa maštaju o šatorima i barakama. Anketirani su svesni da bi dobijanje dokumenata za raseljene Rome značilo i neke povlastice za dobijanje pomoći.

Bili smo u prilici da nam izbeglice–stanari, naročito sa sprata, vrlo slikovito opisuju atmosferu u naselju leti. Vode tada nema „ni za lijek“, zelenila takođe. Zgrade su na pustari gde od rastinja uspevaju samo drače. U izobilju imaju samo aerosoli, dima i smrada sa deponije, koji na temperaturi od 40° C kao da provocira i ispituje ko može da preživi. Pod pritiskom ljudi iz Komesarijata koji ih stalno prebrojavaju, izbeglice najčešće komentarišu da bi ih valjalo obilaziti u vreme letnjih sparina, jer tada, zbog nemogućih uslova života u naselju, u Vrelima ostaju samo oni koji apsolutno nemaju gde da odu.

Uzimajući u obzir visok standard života izbeglica pre rata (stanovi, kuće, zaposlenje, urbanost sredina iz kojih

³⁴ Sreten Vujović smatra da treba podsticati *samopomoć* Roma, voditi računa o njihovim potrebama željama i aspiracijama. On predlaže sledeće mere: 1. poboljšanje stambenih i komunalnih uslova, 2. obnova divljih naselja i kuća i njihova legalizacija gde god za to postoje uslovi, 3. izgradnja novih kuća i naselja, 4. rušenje bez odlaganja onoga što je za rušenje itd. Uporedi, *Op. cit.*, str. 64–65.

dolaze), ne čudi visok stepen nezadovoljstva uslovima života u naselju. Samo jedna četvrtina procenjuje uslove života u naselju kao zadovoljavajuće (24,2%). Kod svih ostalih (72%) sud je negativan (loše i vrlo loše). Od 117 porodica koje su zadovoljne sa obimom i kvalitetom pomoći koja im je do sada pružena, 65% procenjuje uslove života u naselju kao loše i vrlo loše. Jedini uslov života koji pozitivno procenjuju je besplatan smeštaj. Među nezadovoljnim najviše je onih koji vode poreklo iz Crne Gore, kao i onih koji ovde imaju rodbinu (čak tri četvrtine). Običajno pravo u Crnoj Gori o pružanju pomoći svakom ko se nađe u nevolji, a pogotovu rođaku i plemeniku obećavalo je, ali na žalost nije bilo uvek primenjivano za svih ovih godina. *Učinjenost i čojstvo* kao da su ovog puta zatajili od strane republičke i opštinske vlasti³⁵. Izbeglice se pitaju gde bi crnogorske vlasti smestile druge nevoljнике kada su njih, svoju braću, smestili uz deponiju smeća. Čini nam se zbog toga razumljivijim njihovo nezadovoljstvo tretmanom od strane države kada je u pitanju smeštaj u Vrelima Ribničkim. Najveći broj njihovih životnih problema i do sada je ostao nerešen, počev od stambenog pitanja, trajnih i sigurnih prihoda do zaposlenja. Ono što im je do sada rešeno je sigurna zdravstvena zaštita i školovanje dece.

Ko može pomoći da bi se uslovi života poboljšali

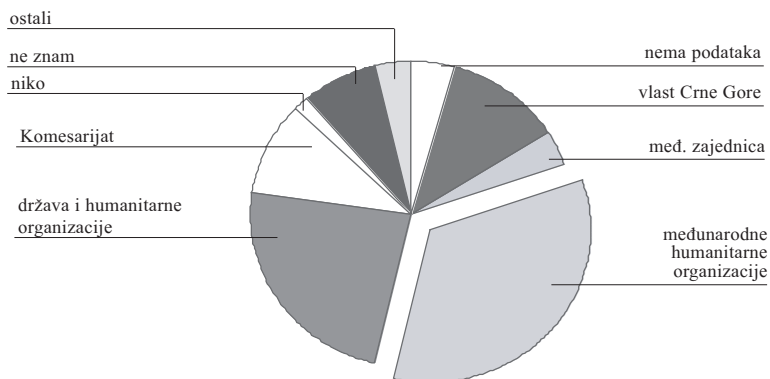
U rešavanju svojih životnih problema izbeglice najviše poverenje imaju u međunarodne humanitarne organizacije (34%) a malo u Komesarijat koji odlučuje o njihovoj sudbini (9,8%)³⁶.

³⁵ Pitanje je, naravno, koliko su i pojedinci i državne i druge institucije objektivno mogle da urade na materijalnom zbrinjavanju izbeglica, s obzirom na opšte osiromašenje, pad proizvodnje i druge okolnosti o kojima je bilo reči. Ne treba izgubiti iz vida činjenicu da su izbeglice i raseljena lica u Crnoj Gori krajem 1998. godine činili preko 10% ukupnog stanovništva.

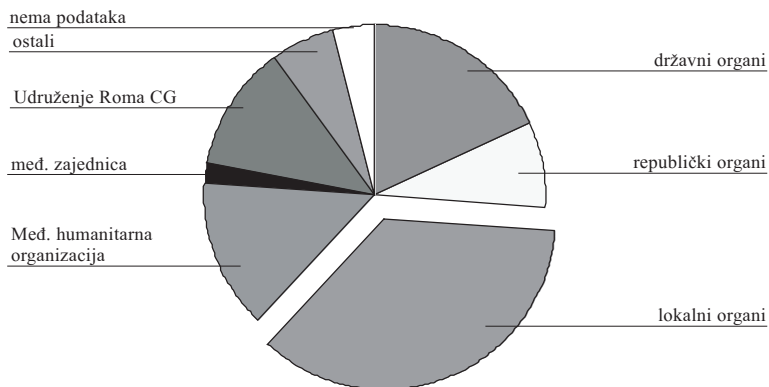
³⁶ Istraživanja u Srbiji su dala drukčiji rezultat. Ta istraživanja su pokazala da je poverenje u postupke Komesarijata za izbeglice znatno

KO MOŽE POMOĆI U REŠAVANJU PROBLEMA?

Izbeglice



Raseljeni Romi

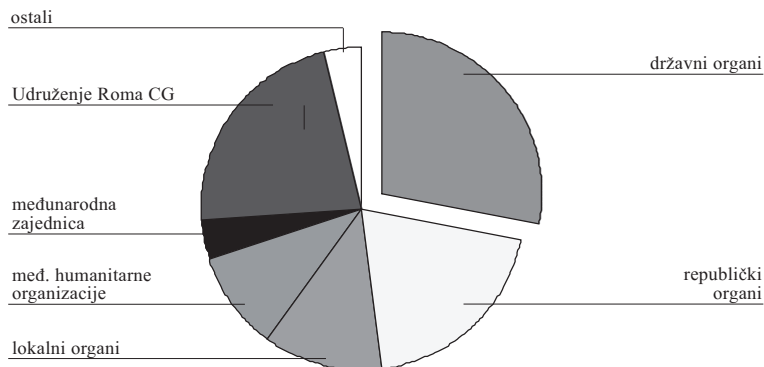


izraženije (31.03%). Razlika je verovatno u karakteru pitanja. Ispitanici u Srbiji su, naime *pitani ko bi trebalo da vodi brigu o izbeglicama*, dok su se u ovom istraživanju odgovori odnosili na već stečeno iskustvo izbeglica. Za istraživanja u Srbiji uporedi: Vladimir N. Cvetković, *Op. cit.*, str. 133.

Pitanje šta domaće stanovništvo može uraditi da pomogne: izbeglicama bilo je postavljeno domicilnim Romima, raseljenim Romima i izbeglicama u naselju Vrela Ribnička. Za razliku od izbeglica, raseljeni Romi uglavnom očekuju pomoć od lokalnih vlasti (36%) i državnih organa (18%). Zanimljivo je da je u sve tri grupe isti procenat (51%) odgovora da domaće stanovništvo ne može ništa pomoći jer i samo teško živi. Preostali domicilni Romi navode da bi se moglo pomoći u hrani, odeći i obući, smeštaju, ali da bi to trebalo biti organizovana akcija.

KO MOŽE POMOĆI RASELJENIM ROMIMA?

Domicilno romsko stanovništvo



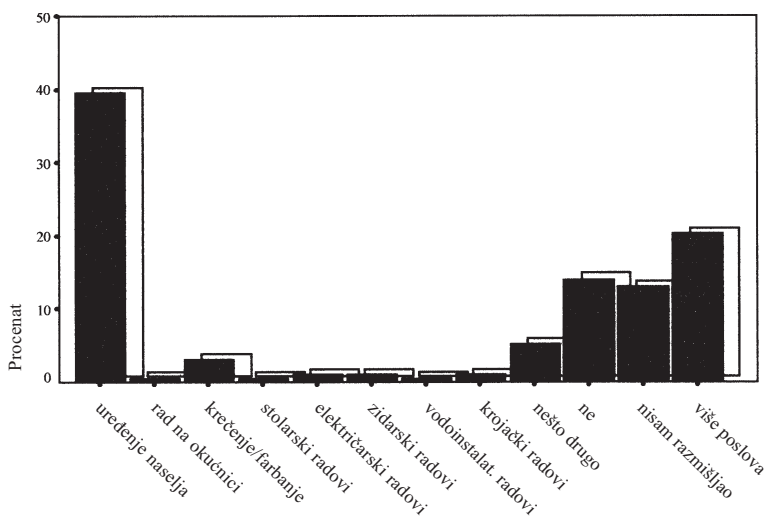
U tome ko treba da pomogne u rješavanju navedenih problema, prilično se slažu domicilni i raseljeni Romi – državni organi (22%), republički organi (20%). Domicilni Romi očekuju da raseljenim Romima pomogne Udruženje Roma. Probleme izbeglica uopšte, po mišljenju anketiranih domicilnih Roma, treba da rešava međunarodna zajednica. Opšti stav svih anketiranih je da u rešavanju njihovih problema u značajnoj meri mogu pomoći međunarodne humanitarne organizacije.

Šta je adekvatna pomoć?

Više od četvrtine anketiranih porodica ili 28,4%, smatra da bi dodela stana, uz to za neke i zaposlenje, bila najadekvatnija vrsta pomoći. Više od jedne vrste pomoći smatra adekvatnom blizu polovina anketiranih. Samo zaposlenje u ovim današnjim uslovima apsolutno ne bi omogućavalo i samostalno rešavanje stambenog problema. Na nivou od 11,3 % stalno zaposlenih muškaraca i 9,3% stalno zaposlenih žena, ni u nekim povoljnijim životnim prilikama ne bi puno značilo u pokušaju da se trajno reši stambeno pitanje. Ako ovome dodamo podatak da samo 5,7% porodica pre izbijanja rata nije imalo svoj krov nad glavom, jasno je da kućenje iznova, „kretanje od nule“ najčešće u zrelim godinama nije više izazov a ni zadovoljstvo.

VRSTA LIČNOG RADA

Izbeglice



Preko polovine anketiranih (59%), nije ništa učinilo na poboljšanju uslova svoga života, a četvrtina (25,3%) je nešto pokušavala, kao na primer: uređenje enterijera, obnavljanje fasade, bašte, ograde, bilo kakav rad, izgradnja puta u naselju, popravka krova, dogradnja ostave, balkona i sl. Pojavljivanje ovolikog broja (59%) reklo bi se potpuno neinventivnih i neefikasnih porodica na poboljšanju svojih uslova življenja, u prvom trenutku moglo bi i da zabrine. Naravno, ukoliko bi se takav zaključak izvodio nekritički, bez povezivanja sa psihičkim stanjima u kojima su se oni nalazili svih ovih godina. Bespomoćnost je svakodnevno dominantno stanje većine ljudi u ovom naselju. Saznanje da problema ima mnogo i da su mnogi od njih zaista teški i komplikovani za rešavanje sprečava ih da se raduju, hvale, pa čak i da smatraju važnim to što su do sada uradili. Prećutkivanje onoga što su do sada učinili ne znači da su „sedeli skrštenih ruku“. Podatak da 84% porodica sredstva za život obezbeđuje sopstvenim radom govori tome u prilog. Najveći broj anketiranih se prema ponuđenim odgovorima, odlučivao za uređenje naselja (40%), a 12,9% ih nije razmišljalo ni o jednom od ponuđenih poslova. Karakteristično je da je jako mali broj ljudi spreman da se angažuje na zanatskim poslovima (stolarski, zidarski, vodoinstalaterski... – ukupno 7,1%) . Razlog za ovo treba tražiti u obrazovnoj i profesionalnoj strukturi porodica (60,8% SSS, VŠS i VSS).

SOCIJALNI ODNOSI

Kao i u svakom getu, socijalni odnosi su i u Vrelima Ribničkim osobeni. Prvobitna namena izbegličkog naselja nije bila trajni smeštaj izbeglica iz Bosne i Hercegovine. Već na porodičnom nivou odnosi se komplikuju. Često tri generacije jedne porodice žive više od tri godine u jednoj prostoriji, a s tri generacije druge porodice dele zajedničku higijensku prostoriju. Stoga su i unutarporodični i međuporodični odnosi u izbegličkom naselju veoma napeti, a netrpeljivosti se mogu uočiti golim okom. „Kao gladni psi koljemo se oko bačenih kostiju“, kaže jedan od izbeglica. Milosav Milosavljević piše o tome da život izbegličkih porodica predstavlja preživljavanje, a nikako kvalitetan život, da izbeglištvo znači korenitu promenu i da su izbeglice iskorenjene iz života³⁷ A drugi izvanredni poznavalac izbegličke populacije, Jelena Vlajković, kaže da je izbeglištvo kao oblik prisilne, neželjene migracije blisko katastrofalnim životnim događajima i da su ljudi u izbeglištvu suočeni sa dve velike grupe adaptivnih zadataka: „prevladati ono što je doživljeno pre dolaska u izbeglištvo i adaptirati se na ono što sam izbeglički život donosi“³⁸

Ako se tome doda, prema kazivanju nekih izbeglica, da i predstavnici vlasti često traže od izbeglica da se međusobno špijuniraju i prave dostave jedan protiv drugoga,

³⁷ Uporedi: Milosav Milosavljević, *Op. cit.* str. 16.

³⁸ Uporedi: Jelena Vlajković, „Psihološki aspekti izbeglištva“, u: *Psihologija izbeglištva*, IP Nauka, Beograd 1997, str. 21-28. Navedeno mesto je sa str. 23.

onda slika poremećenosti socijalnih odnosa u izbegličkom naselju postaje potpuna. Deo tinejdžera u takvoj situaciji pokazuje znake sklonosti ka devijantnim ponašanjima, mada oni, ma koliko to paradoksalno izgledalo, jedini uspostavljaju odnose i sa domicilnim stanovništvom i sa raseljenim Romima. Inače, izbeglička populacija u pravilu nema nikakve kontakte ni sa Romima ni sa domicilnim stanovništvom. O predrasudama ne treba ni govoriti: o Romima među izbeglicama vlada uverenje da su svi lopovi i kriminalci, a domicilno stanovništvo živi u uverenju da su izbeglice privilegovane, da imaju sve, da sve dobijaju besplatno³⁹. Ako se ima u vidu činjenica da u Podgorici živi trećina socijalno ugroženih lica Crne Gore, onda se mogu razumeti razmere velike zavisti tog dela siromašnog stanovništva prema izbeglicama.

Raseljeni Romi sa Kosova, islamske veroispovesti, su suviše siromašni i okrenuti svakodnevnoj borbi za goli život. Oni su najnoviji deo populacije u Vrelima Ribničkim. Ograđeni apsolutnim siromaštvom, ali i jezičkom barijerom od lokalnog i izbegličkog stanovništva, čine svet za sebe. Nisu osobito spremni za komunikaciju sa spoljnim svetom i bilo kakvo istraživanje tog dela populacije je izuzetno teško. Čak ni njihove vođe nisu spremne na komunikaciju. Mogućnosti sive trgovine koje pruža blizina Tuzi svakako je privlačna tačka Romima s Kosova da prihvate neljudske uslove života u naselju Vrela Ribnička u kome su dve porodice preživele dosta oštru zimu 1998–99 pod šatorima, veći deo u šupama i drugim improvizovanim „skloništima“.

³⁹ Naročito su česte i jake predrasude prema Romima. U svom radu „Stereotipije o Romima i etnička distanca“ Bora Kuzmanović je dao pregled literature i istraživanja o stereotipima prema Romima. Najčešće se navodi da su Romi lenji, skloni krađi, sitnim lopovlucima, smešni, dosetljivi, simpatični, prljavi, bučni, veseli, sa smislom za muziku. Upoređi: Bora Kuzmanović, „Stereotipije o Romima i etnička distanca“, u: *Društvene promene i položaj Roma*, SANU – Institut za socijalnu politiku, Beograd 1993, str. 149–158. Vidi takođe, Milosav Milosavljević, „Socijalni aspekti izbeglištva“, u: *Psihologija izbeglištva*, IP Nauka, Beograd 1997, str. 9–20. On pominje i nepouzdanost, varljivost, prevrtljivost.

Domicilno stanovništvo izbegava širu komunikaciju i sa izbeglicama i sa raseljenim Romima. Deo tog stanovništva koristi novonastalu situaciju i za nelegalnu gradnju i za nelegalnu trgovinu, a deo odgovornosti za svoje ponašanje prebacuje na izbeglice i Rome. Tako se šire tenzije i prostori nepoverenja između tri osnovne grupe stanovnika Vrela Ribničkih.

Već se na prvi pogled može zaključiti da ne postoji nikakav mehanizam odgovornosti domicilnog stanovništva, izbeglica, Roma za celinu naselja. Tu odgovornost ne pokazuju ni organi opštine ni druge institucije u Podgorici. Tako se krug beznađa u naselju zatvara.

Medusobni odnosi izbegličke populacije

Više od trećine anketiranih izbegličkih porodica (37,6%) smatra da su odnosi među izbeglicama u naselju loši. Ovo je tim pre čudnije što se radi o ljudima vrlo slične sudbine, te je bilo za očekivati da će ih zbližiti zajednička muka, nevolja i neizvesnost. Naprotiv, kao da manja ili veća sposobnost preživljavanja i snalaženja u novoj sredini produbljuje među njima socijalne razlike, stvara napetost i zavist. Kao da se trend političkih i regionalnih podela preneo na neki način i ovde. Etiketiranje Crnogoraca i Hercegovaca je prisutno onda kada govore o tome ko ima preče pravo stanovanja u naselju i ko se bolje snašao. Ipak nešto malo više od polovine anketiranih 52,6% smatra da su odnosi zadovoljavajući.

Što se tiče spremnosti na druženje sa susedima koji su pripadnici drugog naroda, vere, iz drugih delova bivše Jugoslavije, analiza datih odgovora pokazuje da je ona još uvek izuzetno visoka i kreće se od 86%–95%. Pripadnost drugom narodu, različita veroispovest i poreklo ne mogu biti uzrok lošim odnosima među izbeglicama (po oceni trećine anketiranih). Oko polovine anketiranih (51%) ne znaju da li su njihovi susedi druge vere i drugog naroda spremni na druženje i saradnju sa njima. Za susede iz drugih delova

bivše Jugoslavije su nešto sigurniji da su spremni za saradnju i druženje. Uzrok za nesigurnost u otvorenost pripadnika drugog naroda može biti nedovoljno međusobno poznavanje izbeglica, bez obzira na blizinu stanovanja, ili pak nepoverenje koje su proizvele ratne godine.

O međusobnim odnosima raseljeni Romi se izjašnjavaju čak u 72% slučajeva kao zadovoljavajućim, a 28% kao vrlo dobri, pa nemaju potrebe za nekim dodatnim angažovanjem na planu poboljšanja odnosa. Ako kompariramo međusobne odnose izbeglica u naselju, bolji su odnosi među raseljenim Romima.

Raseljeni Romi nemaju pohvalan stav o odnosima sa izbeglicama, dok su odnosi sa domaćinima u 38% slučajeva zadovoljavajući, a u 24% slučajeva loši. Odnose domaćeg stanovništva prema njima i obrnuto, u gotovo proporcionalnom odnosu cene kao zadovoljavajuće (68% i 76%). Spremni su za saradnju sa ljudima druge vere i nacije, što može biti dobar preduslov za eventualnu integraciju. O domaćem stanovništvu se izražavaju kao o poštenim, gostoprимljivim, da hoće da pomognu, da su kulturni. Stiče se utisak da ne žele da se zamere domaćinima.

Izbeglice, domicilno stanovništvo i raseljeni Romi – odnosi, viđenja, saradnja

Ovo istraživanje je pokazalo da 92,3% izbeglica nema uopšte odnose sa svojim prvim susedima, raseljenim Romima sa Kosova. To je osnovni podatak od kojeg treba poći u analizi ovih problema. Motiv izbora Podgorice kao mesta za utočište i spas iz ratom zahvaćenih Bosne i Hercegovine i Hrvatske, stanovnici naselja su uglavnom videli u poreklu koje vode iz ovih krajeva (72,6%). Pre dolaska u ovo naselje najveći broj njih (44,3%) bili su smešteni kod rodbine i prijatelja. Ovakav oblik zbrinjavanja izbeglica najčešće nije primenjivan u savremenom svetu. Porodice domaćini su pokazali visok stepen solidarnosti i razumevanja za izbeglice, samim tim što su pružili utočište i pomoć beskućnim

prijateljima, rođacima ili čak i nepoznatim ljudima.⁴⁰ Nije jednostavno izdvajati dodatna materijalna sredstva, ali nije lako ni živeti sa patnjama i nevoljama izbeglica. Potvrdu ovog nalazimo i u ovom istraživanju, jer su, na primer, skoro svi ispitivani domicilni Romi koji su prihvatili rođake raseljene sa Kosova, iskreno rekli da njihove porodice teško podnose to prisustvo. Nije retkost da je dolazilo do strukturalnih i funkcionalnih poremećaja u porodicama domaćina.

Mali broj izbeglica koje nisu spremne na saradnju i druženje sa domaćim stanovništvom procenjuju i odnos domaćeg stanovništva prema njima kao loš. Generalno uzev, stanovnici Vrela zadovoljni su stavom koji ima domaće stanovništvo prema izbeglicama (76,8% zadovoljavajući i izuzetno dobar), kao i s pomoći koja im je do sada pružena (69,6% zadovoljavajuće i vrlo dobro). Utoliko je jasnije zašto Podgoričane procenjuju kao ljude poštene, kulturne i voljne da pomognu.

Tabela 4. – Kako izbeglice procenjuju domaće stanovništvo Podgorice

Osobina	potpuno se se slaže	delimično se slaže	zbirno	delimično se ne slaže	potpuno se ne slaže	zbirno
1. Pošteni	29,9%	58,2%	88,1 %	6,2%	4,1%	10,3 %
2. Nezainteresovani	32,5%	42,3%	74,8 %	14,9%	9,3%	24,2 %
3. Spremni da pomognu	24,7%	47,4%	72,1 %	10,3%	16,5%	26,8 %
4. Neradni	25,3%	41,8%	67,1 %	16,5%	13,4%	29,9 %
5. Gostoprимni	51,0%	32,0%	83,0 %	8,8%	4,6%	13,4 %
6. Tvrdice	9,8%	36,1%	45,9 %	16,0%	36,1%	52,1 %
7. Kulturni	27,3%	49,0%	76,3 %	8,8%	11,9%	20,7 %

Uglavnom izbeglice Podgoričanima pripisuju pozitivne osobine. Visok procenat ocena da su nezainteresovani za probleme izbeglica opravdavaju ne time da domaće sta-

⁴⁰ O tome videti šire u Mr Jovanka Vuković, *Op. cit.*, str. 46.

novništvo ne želi da im pomogne, nego jednostavno nije u mogućnosti. Od 145 porodica koje se slažu da je domaće stanovništvo nezainteresovano za njihove probleme, 67,58% smatra da su domaćini ipak voljni da pomognu ako bi im se obratili za pomoć. Socio-ekonomski milje društva kao osnova za lakšu i bržu integraciju, mnogo ne obećava. Svesni toga, izbeglice pokazuju razumevanje za položaj domaćeg stanovništva govoreći: „i oni su u sličnoj situaciji kao i mi“, „ne mogu ni sebi pomoći“ i sl.

Zanimljivo je porediti šta domicilno stanovništvo (Romi) misli o izbeglicama i raseljenim licima.

Tabela 5. – Kako domaći Romi procenjuju izbeglice i raseljene Rome

Osobina	potpuno se slaže	delimično se slaže	zbrno	delimično se ne slaže	potpuno se ne slaže	zbrno
1. Pošteni	36%	52%	88 %	10%	2%	12%
2. Nezainteresovani	18%	50%	68 %	12%	18%	30%
3. Spremni da pomognu	30%	44%	74 %	12%	14%	26%
4. Neradni	26%	32%	58 %	14%	26%	40%
5. Gostoljubivi	28%	50%	78 %	8%	4%	12%
6. Tvrdice	38%	38%	76 %	6%	16%	22%
7. Kulturni	16%	44%	60 %	12%	28%	40%

Uočljiva je recipročnost u procenama između domicilnog stanovništva i izbeglica izuzev osobine „tvrdice“ jer je tu znatno veći procenat kod domicilnog stanovništva.

Dve trećine ispitanih domaćih Roma (74%) smatra da su zadovoljavajući odnosi domaćeg stanovništva i raseljenih Roma. Još veći procenat (86%) ocjenjuje međusobne odnose raseljenih lica kao zadovoljavajuće. Ovaj procenat je veći nego što raseljena lica sama procenjuju svoje odnose kao dobre i zadovoljavajuće (72%) i izbeglice (52,6%). Odnos raseljenih lica i domaćeg stanovništva se ocenjuje kao dobar (76%).

Zanimljivo je da je kod domicilnog romskog stanovništva niža spremnost za saradnju i druženje sa pripadnicima druge vere, nacije i iz drugih delova bivše Jugoslavije. Procenat se uglavnom kreće oko 60%.

Anketirani raseljeni Romi uglavnom mehanički procenjuju osobine, tako da se slažu sa svakom navedenom osobinom. Preko polovine anketiranih je spremno na saradnju i druženje sa pripadnicima druge vere, drugog naroda, iz drugih delova bivše Jugoslavije. Najviše, 82% ih je spremno za saradnju sa svojim sugrađanima iz Podgorice. Polovina ih smatra da je domaće stanovništvo spremno za druženje sa njima, dok uglavnom ne znaju kakva je ta spremnost pripadnika druge vere, drugog naroda.

Tabela 6. – Kako raseljeni Romi procenjuju domaće stanovništvo

Osobina	potpuno se slaže	delimično se slaže	zbirno	delimično se ne slaže	potpuno se ne slaže	zbirno
1. Poštteni	56%	40%	96%	4%	0%	4%
2. Nezaинтере- resovani	6%	52%	58%	32%	10%	42%
3. Spremni da pomognu	36%	42%	78%	16%	6%	22%
4. Neradni	2%	64%	66%	24%	10%	34%
5. Gosto- ljubivi	72%	22%	94%	4%	2%	6%
6. Tvrdice	10%	52%	62%	28%	10%	38%
7. Kulturni	74%	24%	98%	0%	2%	2%

Anketirani raseljeni Romi su se u 74% slučajeva izjasnili da bi se trajno naselili u Crnoj Gori. Mišljenje anketiranih o pomoći koja je do sada pružena raseljenim licima u Podgorici je podeljeno: polovina misli da je dovoljno učinjeno a polovina da nije.

I pored tako dobrih odnosa više od polovine ispitanih domaćih Roma smatra da raseljena lica ne treba da ostanu u Crnoj Gori i da dobiju ravnopravan status. Od 20% onih koji smatraju da raseljena lica treba da dobiju ravnopravan

status skoro svi imaju rođake među njima i spremni su na saradnju i druženje sa pripadnicima drugog naroda.

Raseljeni Romi domaćem stanovništvu pripisuju pozitivne osobine u visokim procentima što je više stvar tradicije, običaja, egzistencijalne nesigurnosti i straha, a manje neke vrste socijalnog konformizma. Očigledno je da su ti ispitanici davali poželjne odgovore, odnosno odgovore za koje su pretpostavili da se od njih očekuju.

PERSPEKTIVE INTEGRACIJE

Socijalnu integraciju smo shvatili kao proces interakcije između pridošlog stanovništva i sredine, u kome se ne implicira gubitak identiteta (ni ličnog ni porodičnog) ni sa jedne strane. To je uzajaman uticaj sredine i pojedinca (grupe) čiji je rezultat napredovanje pojedinca (grupe), unapređenje, menjanje i podizanje kvaliteta života u zajednici, što dovodi do razvoja zajednice.

Očigledno je da postojeće okolnosti ne omogućavaju trajnu integraciju izbeglica. Još je manje verovatna trajna integracija raseljenih lica koja su i pripadnici drugog naroda (Romi) i vernici druge vere (islamske). No, pod promenjenim okolnostima integracija ne bi bila nemoguća. Naime, kao osnova integracije može poslužiti okolnost da je veći deo izbegličke populacije crnogorskog porekla, da većina izbeglica već ima nekoga u Crnoj Gori i da je upravo iz tih razloga izbegao u Crnu Goru.

Najveći broj porodica smeštenih u Vrelima (77,8%), kao zemlju svoje budućnosti vidi Crnu Goru. Ovaj procenat je veći od procenta izbeglica koji su u popisu 1996. izrazili želju da ostanu u Crnoj Gori (62,2%)⁴¹.

Da li su poreklo, rodbina, karakter domaćeg stanovništva, ili nešto sasvim drugo, razlog za ovakvo opredeljenje? Vrlo mali broj njih razmišlja o povratku kući (5,2%)⁴² dok,

⁴¹ Popis izbeglica i drugih ratom ugroženih lica u SRJ, Beograd 1996, UNHCR i Komesarijat.

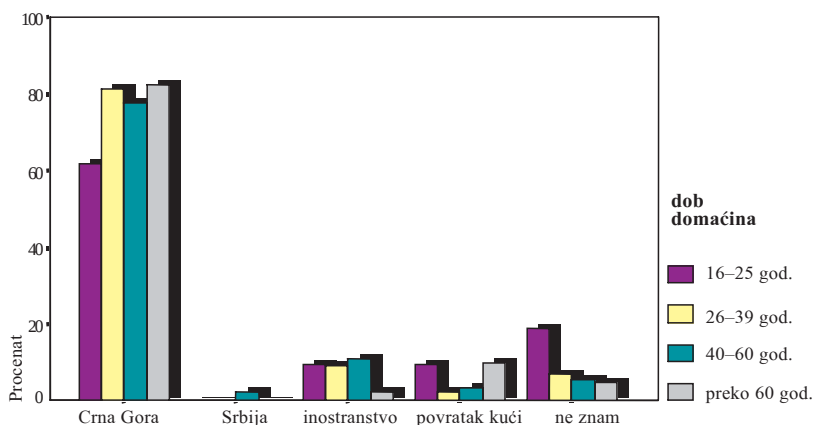
⁴² U istraživanjima obavljenim u Srbiji, verovatno 1996. godine, procenat onih koji bi se bezuslovno vratili je 9,14%. Uporedi: V. N. Cvetković,

ne tako mali broj (7,2%) ne zna kuda i šta dalje. Možda je stoga ostanak u Crnoj Gori najrealnija opcija – da ostanu tamo gde su i da se snalaze. Ovde treba imati na umu i činjenicu da sve porodice koje su se izjasnile za odlazak u treće zemlje ili za povratak, neće moći ostvariti svoje namere, tako da je broj porodica koje će stvarno ostati u Crnoj Gori veći.

U svakom slučaju, zadovoljavajuće rešenje stambenog pitanja je najvažniji uslov za njihovo trajno opredeljenje ostanka u Crnoj Gori, bez obzira na godine.

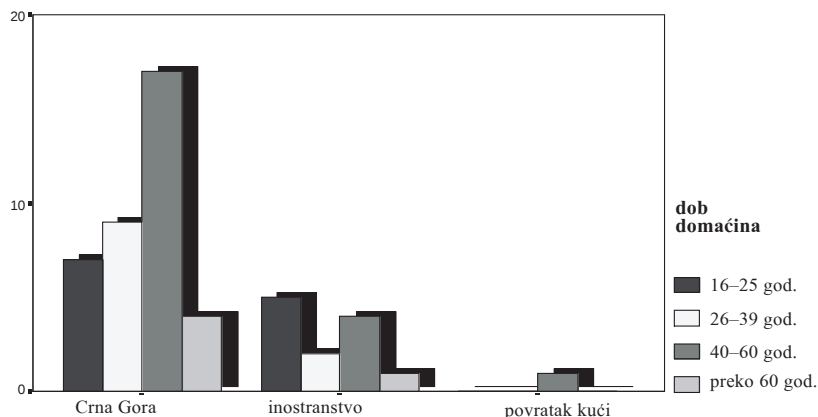
GDE BISTE ŽELELI DA SE PORODICA NASTANI?

Izbeglice –trajno nastanjenje



Op. cit., str. 148. S obzirom na oskudne rezultate „međunarodne godine povratka izbeglica“, verovatno je da je i tamo taj procenat opao.

Raseljeni Romi sa Kosova



Ovo se pokazalo jednako važnim, kako za one do 25 godina starosti, tako i za one preko 60 godina. Preko polovine mladih od 25 godina (56%) bi ostalo pod uslovom da reši stambeni problem, 30% onih od 26–40 godina, 56,7% od 41–60 godina i 30% starijih od 60 godina. Petina mladih od 25 godina (20%) bi ostala pod uslovom da dobije posao u struci. U starosnoj grupi od 26–40 godina tako se izjašnjava 18%, a u dobi od 41–60 godina 16,5%. Bilo kakvo zaposlenje nije dovoljno motivišuće za ostanak, jer se samo za tu opciju nije javio skoro niko.

Proces integracije podrazumeva neminovnu interakciju sa domaćim stanovništvom. Položaj naselja manje (ne daleko od centra grada) nego njegova hermetičnost (geto, prevoz koji se plaća, neredovni izvori prihoda) predstavljaju smetnju za integraciju stanovništva srednjih i starijih godina. Integracija je lakša kod onih čije vreme tek dolazi – omladine. Svakodnevno pohađanje škole podrazumeva kontakte sa vršnjacima meštanima.

U naselju kakvo su Vrela, čije je neposredno okruženje romsko naselje, ne može biti prave integracije (92% izbeglica nemaju kontakte sa raseljenim Romima sa Kosova). Stanari naselja su, ukoliko ne rade ili ne idu u školu, ovde

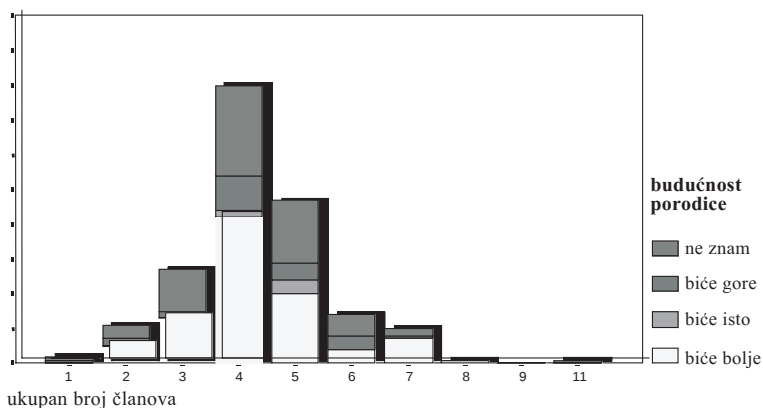
izolovani; uglavnom međusobno komuniciraju i teško dopiru i ulaze u svet domaćih sa kojima treba da se integrišu. Druženje isključivo sa porodicama sličnih problema, ne znači lakše pronalaženje izlaza, već najčešće apatiju i začarani krug. Saznanje da je još nekom teško kao i njima samima, ne nudi rešenje, već samo kratkotrajno olakšanje i utehu.

Za ostanak u Crnoj Gori – kao definitivno rešenje – izjasnilo se 74% ispitanih romskih porodica (32) sa Kosova i pored činjenice, koja je već navedena, da 64% borave u Crnoj Gori samo šest, a 30% devet meseci. To otvara pitanje motivacije njihovog ostanka: bezbedonosni ili socijalni motivi.

Uslovi pod kojima bi ostali u Crnoj Gori su (na prvom mestu) *trajan smeštaj i posao*, a vrlo često bi ostali i bez ikakvih uslova. Dakle, postoji visoki stepen interesovanja za ostanak u Podgorici, iako su se izjasnili da njihovi elementarni problemi uglavnom nisu rešeni: u 90% slučajeva stalni izvor prihoda, u 80% zaposlenje a u 56% stambeni problem.

KAKO VIDITE BUDUĆNOST VAŠE PORODICE?

Izbeglice

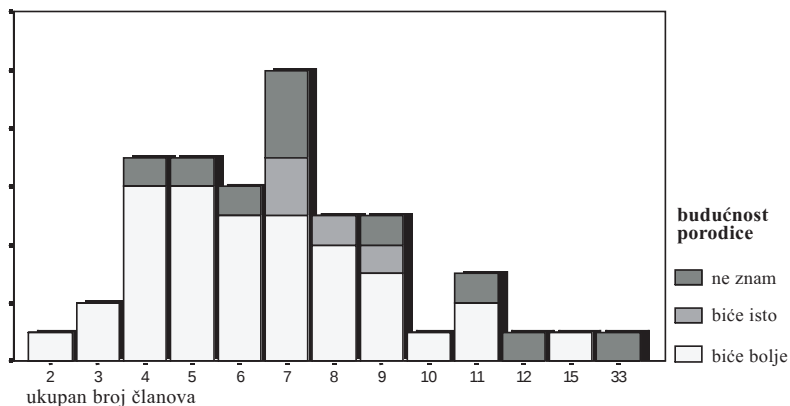


Gotovo polovina (47,4%) anketiranih izbeglica u naselju smatra da će njihovoj porodici ubuduće biti bolje, a više od jedne trećine agoniji ne vidi kraj – ne znaju šta ih

čeka – 36%. Za analizu je značajno je da je reč o 60 porodica koje se izdržavaju sopstvenim radom (povremeno ili stalno zaposlenje). Sedmogodišnje patnje navode 13% anketiranih na pomisao da će im ubuduće biti još i gore.

KAKO VIDITE BUDUĆNOST VAŠE PORODICE?

Raseljeni Romi



Na kraju ispitivanja, verovatno u duhu optimističkog mentaliteta, 72% porodica raseljenih Roma izjavljuje da će za njihove porodice biti bolje, 8% da će biti isto, a da ne znaju kako će biti smatra njih 20%. *Da će im u budućnosti biti gore nije se izjasnila nijedna od raseljenih romskih porodica*, što je mnogo optimističnije nego kod izbeglica u naselju. Da li je u pitanju životni optimizam ili sujeverje (verovanje da se samim pominjanjem zla – zlo priziva u porodicu) ostaje da se ustanovi drugim tipom istraživanja.

Skoro četiri petine anketiranih domicilnih Roma (78%) smatra da je položaj izbeglica i raseljenih lica u Podgorici loš i izuzetno loš. Ne znaju kakva je budućnost izbeglica a jedna trećina se nada da će im biti bolje. Smatraju da je najbolje rešenje za izbeglice da se vrate kući.

U toku istraživanja pročitao sam na zidu jedne prostorije u Vrelima grafit: *IZGUBLJENI SMO, MOLIMO*

POŠTENOG NALAZAČA DA NAS ZADRŽI. Malo šta tako precizno izražava sudbinu izbeglica i raseljenih lica kao ova misao pročitana na zidu Vrela Ribničkih.

Status quo je neodrživ

Hamletovsko pitanje *biti il' ne biti*, za izbeglice i njihovo naselje u Vrelima Ribničkim glasi – obnovljati ili rušiti. U poslednjoj deceniji na Balkanu je bilo toliko rušenja da sam apsolutno protiv rušenja. Međutim, pod uslovima održanja *status quo*—a naselje će biti srušeno, želeo to neko ili ne.

Naselje je krajnje nesolidno građeno: upotrebljeni su nekvalitetni materijali, a radovi su loše izvedeni. S obzirom na to, tehnički vek naselja je kratak. Već je to razlog da se pristupi ozbiljnoj sanaciji. *Sanacija je conditio sine qua non daljeg opstanka naselja.*

Da bi sanacija naselja dala trajne rezultate, neophodno je uspostaviti stabilnu politiku prema problemima naselja, precizna pravila ponašanja svih odgovornih i zainteresovanih. Pre svega, neophodna je *koordinacija rada* i politike državnih organa, Crvenog krsta i drugih humanitarnih organizacija – međusobno i sa državnim organima da bi se naselje očuvalo kao trajna vrednost. Bez te koordinacije ne mogu se očekivati povoljni efekti sanacije na duži rok. Da bi ulaganja u sanaciju imala trajan efekat neophodno je da se *Komesarijat za raseljena lica Crne Gore* opredeli za *dugoročnu politiku smanjenja broja stanovnika naselja i stabilizovanja osećanja sigurnosti onih koji u naselju već žive.*

Nema nikakve potrebe ljude nasilno isterivati iz naselja, dovoljno je voditi dugoročnu i promišljenu politiku smanjenja broja stanovnika.

Uspostavljanje i sprovođenje ove politike moguće je pod sledećim uslovima:

1. Regulisati pitanje vlasništva i upravljanja nad naseljem, a naročito trajnog održavanja naselja. Vlasništvo Crvenog krsta Crne Gore zasnovano je na pravno nejasnom dokumentu i (verovatno) nije regulisano u zemljišnim knjigama.
2. Komesarijat za raseljena lica Crne Gore koji faktički upravlja naseljem, vodi samo politiku naseljavanja, ali ne i održavanja naselja. Trenutnu situaciju karakteriše paradoks: formalni vlasnik (Crveni krst) ne upravlja i ne održava naselje, a onaj ko upravlja naseljem (Komesarijat) vodi takvu politiku naseljavanja da se korisnici (izbeglice) ne mogu osećati sigurnim u svom pravu stanovanja. Tako faktički upravljač naselja nije vlasnik i ne održava naselje. Zar je onda čudno što naselje propada!
3. Pri zadržavanju sadašnjeg nivoa populacije i sadašnjem odnosu prema naselju svako ulaganje može doneti samo privremena poboljšanja uslova života izbeglica u naselju, a za nekoliko meseci ili godinu dana naselje će se vraćati na prethodni nivo devastiranosti. Tek u uslovima smanjenog broja stanovnika naselja mogu se očekivati trajna poboljšanja života izbeglica. Opšte je uverenje i ispitivanih stanovnika naselja i ljudi koji rade u zainteresovanim institucijama da je u nekim porodicama prijavljeno više članova nego što stvarno živi u naselju, pa bi se već pouzdanim utvrđivanjem faktičkog stanja mogao naći manevarski prostor za proširenje stambenog prostora najbrojnijih porodica i poboljšanje uslova života svih stanovnika. Ogromna većina izbegličkih porodica (preko 90%) živi u naselju više od tri godine, tako da se više ne može govoriti o privremenosti njihovog stanovanja u naselju.
4. Naselje je prenaseljeno i trebalo bi težiti tome da u dužoj perspektivi svaka porodica u naselju koristi dve stambene jedinice sa jednim mokrim čvorom. Tako bi se broj porodica u daljoj, a ne neposrednoj perspektivi,

smanjio na oko stotinu. U sadašnjim uslovima tom cilju treba težiti bar za onih trinaest porodica koje imaju 7 i više članova.

Neophodno je regulisati pravni status naselja i novelirati uredbu o izbeglicama i raseljenim licima.

5. Neophodno je da odgovarajući organi, pre svega organi vlasti, Komesarijata za raseljena lica i Crvenog krsta deluju tako da njihove aktivnosti izbeglice ne doživljavaju kao pritisak, prebrojavanja i izbacivanja, uskraćivanja pojedinih mogućnosti i prava. Promenjeni odnos prema izbeglicama smanjio bi osećanje nesigurnosti u životu izbeglica i sveo bi njihove frustracije i strahove na razumnu meru, ako ih i ne bi sasvim oslobodio tih osećanja.
6. Svoje ponašanje u naselju bi trebalo da promene i same izbeglice. Iako su njihove primedbe na tehničke uslove života u naselju opravdane, ne bi trebalo izgubiti iz vida bar dve okolnosti:
 - a) ma koliko im to moglo čudno izgledati trajni boravak u naselju, čini ih privilegovanom grupom među izbeglicama, jer izbeglice u privatnom smeštaju često imaju lošije uslove, a plaćaju 200 DEM mesečno, pa i više. Besplatan smeštaj, besplatno korišćenje električne energije i vode, čini ih nesumnjivo povlašćenim u odnosu na druge grupe ljudi u stanju socijalne nužde, ne samo u odnosu na svoje sapatnike – izbeglice i raseljena lica – nego i na socijalne slučajeve među domicilnim stanovništvom. Bez obzira na veliki broj žalbi na uslove života u naselju, izbeglice su u toku istraživanja i same izražavale stav da su privilegovani među depriviranim grupama;
 - b) domaćinskim odnosom i brigom za održanje stambenih jedinica i opšti izgled naselja, samoorganizovanjem u opštim poslovima naselja izbeglice same mogu i treba da doprinose poboljšanju uslova svog života. Ako u borbi

za preživljavanje ne mogu u većem obimu materijalno da učestvuju u poboljšanju uslova života, mogli bi dosta da urade ličnim angažovanjem i brigom. Nedopustivo je, na primer, da materijal za poboljšanje kratkog dela puta do naselja i u naselju koji su besplatno dobili nisu sami na odgovarajući način upotrebili.

7. Da bi se izbeglice motivisale da preuzimaju brigu za izgled i održavanje naselja kao celine neophodne su efikasne mere da njihov položaj satabilizuju, da se osećaju sigurnim i da oni koji to žele prihvate život u naselju kao trajno rešenje. Ljudi moraju steći sigurnost stanovanja. U tom pravcu predlažem da odgovarajući organi razmotre tri načina rešavanja ovog problema i odaberu ona koja i vlastima i izbeglicama najviše odgovaraju:
 - a) da se izbeglicama stambene jedinice (dve prostorije sa WC-om i kupatilom) ponude u zakup (stanarsko pravo) sa mogućnošću otkupa na duži rok (od 15 do 20 godina), ali bez prava preprodaje, izdavanja ili zamene za period otkupa;
 - b) da im se ponudi subvencionirani kredit na 20 godina bez prava prodaje, zamene ili izdavanja za period otplate kredita;
 - c) da se izbeglicama ponude parcele na drugim lokacijama u gradovima i manjim mestima Crne Gore oslobođene od troškova infrastrukture, da grade svoje kuće na principu samopomoći i uz male kreditne linije.
8. Proces samoorganizovanja izbeglica i raseljenih lica nesumnjivo podrazumeva proširenje odnosa i saradnje sa domicilnim stanovništvom iz jednostavnog razloga što su u većini slučajeva njihovi problemi zajednički.

PREDLOG MERA

Pod pretpostavkom da se prethodni uslovi ispune i predlozi prihvate preporučujem programe celovitih dugoročnih i kratkoročnih mera. Ti programi bi nastajali na relaciji organi vlasti – Komesarijat za raseljena lica – Crveni krst – UNHCR – SDR Shelter Program – Savet izbeglica naselja.

Predlažem razvijanje pet celovitih programa:

1. *Programi sanacije, obnove i uređenja objekata*
2. *Program održavanja stambenih zgrada i naselja u celini*
3. *Program obrazovanja*
4. *Posebni programi socio-ekonomske i psihosocijalne pomoći izbeglicama i raseljenim llicima*
5. *Dodatni programi za raseljene i domicilne Rome*

1. Programi sanacije, obnove i uređenja objekata

Programom bi bile utvrđene i precizirane obaveze: a) organa vlasti, b) finansijera i izvođača c) izbeglica, stanovnika naselja. Prva grupa radova za sanaciju obuhvatala bi: krovove, oluke i drenažu, elektroinstalacije, vodovodne instalacije, balkone, podove u prizemlju, međuspratne konstrukcije. Tehničkim planom trebalo bi rešiti čitav niz detalja kao što su, na primer, uvođenje električnih brojila prema broju kupatila itd.

Predlažem da se, samo pod pretpostavkom ispunjenja uslova o kojima je bilo govora u prethodnom odeljku, Shelter program SDR–Podgorica prihvati organizacije i izvođenja ovih poslova.

2. Program održavanja stambenih zgrada i naselja u celini

Potrebno je tačno utvrditi obaveze lokalnih vlasti, vlasnika, upravljača, humanitarnih organizacija i izbeglica. Taj program ne bi pripadao delokrugu radova Shelter programa SDR, ali bi mu bio komplementaran. Ključna ideja ovog programa je da se obezbedi trajna *HIGIJENIZACIJA NASELJA*, kako bi se uređenost stana prenela na naselje u celini, na osnovu niza praktičnih mera kao što su:

1. Uređenje prilaznog puta naselju cca. 300 metara;
2. Uredjenje tampon zone od rastinja prema deponiji smeća;
3. Dodatna instalaciona snaga trafo stanice;
4. Hortikulturno uređenje prostora unutar naselja, uključujući manji sportski teren;
5. Izvršiti parcelizaciju naselja i formiranje malih dvorišta da bi se znalo ko se o čemu stara; uz stambene jedinice odrediti male terene za cveće i baštice
6. Obogatiti infrastrukturu naselja: telefonska govornica, na primer;
7. višenamenski prostor za zajedničke aktivnosti i druženja. Zbog skučenosti stambenog prostora obezbeđenje prostora za kolektivne aktivnosti i druženje je veoma značajno.

Za ovaj program moguće je angažovati i dobiti pristanak za učešće većine humanitarnih organizacija, pa i nekih preduzeća u Podgorici. Jedna organizacija bi mogla da organizuje i finansira izgradnju malog otvorenog sportskog terena, druga ili više njih da učestvuje u izgradnji multifunkcionalnog prostora za različite društvene aktivnosti. Za realizaciju ovog programa neophodni su snažno motivirani stanari naselja. Bez njihovog aktivnog učešća realizacija ovog programa je bespredmetna.

3. Program obrazovanja

Cilj ovog programa bio bi da se od koncepta pasivnog primanja pomoći pređe ka konceptu aktiviranja izbeglica i razvijanja koncepta samopomoći. Ako bi se njihova situacija popravila, ako bi se osetili sigurnim, pretpostavka je da bi izbeglice i raseljena lica bile motivirane da učine i nešto za naselje kao celinu. U tom pravcu potrebno ih je ohrabriti i stimulirati, a i u mnogim stvarima kojima nisu dovoljno vični poučiti.

Bilo bi, naime, neophodno da minimum dve, a optimalno četiri do pet godina jedno kvalifikovano lice, sa međunarodnim iskustvom, u zajednici sa stanarima i njihovim savetom organizuje poslove trajnog održanja, ne samo zgrada nego i naselja kao celine.

Može se pretpostaviti da bi bar jedan deo izbeglica, a naročito raseljenih Roma, rado naučio neke standardne poslove kao što su krečenje, sitne opravke vodovodnih i elektro instalacija, sitni stolarski poslovi, uređenje bašte, održavanje drveća i cveća itd. Ti ljudi bi stečena znanja koristili u naselju, ali bi mogli i van naselja nešto da zarade. U razvijenoj fazi ovaj program bi mogao biti obogaćen višim formama zajedničkog rada i života.

4. Posebni programi socio-ekonomske i psihosocijalne pomoći izbeglicama i raseljenim licima

Neki od ovih programa su već u toku. Crveni krst Crne Gore je u zajednici sa *Fondom za otvoreno društvo* razvio program psihosocijalne pomoći, a humanitarna organizacija *Alter modus* podstiče malo poduzetništvo otvaranjem kreditnih linija. I neke druge humanitarne organizacije imaju svoje programe. Bitno bi bilo razviti i programe samozapošljavanja. Da bi ovi programi bili

uspešni, neophodno je odrediti ciljne grupe (žene, deca, adolescenti, starija lica), Roma koji su zainteresovani da nauče čitati i pisati, da savladaju elementarna znanja iz nekog zanata, pa do toga da im se omogući da rade na depoziciji, ako to žele.

Neke od ovih programa SDR nesumnjivo može i treba da podrži.

5. Dodatni programi za raseljene i domicilne Rome

Raseljeni i domicilni Romi najčešće se nalaze na dnu socijalne lestvice i žive u stanju krajnje socijalne nužde. To su građani, ne manje vredni od ostalih i, u okviru ovih programa, njima takođe treba pomoći. Ta pomoć je neophodna u više pravaca, na primer: izgradnja privremenih (montažnih) objekata za smeštaj; saniranje postojećih objekata; saniranje kanalizacione i vodovodne mreže; uključivanje što većeg broja školske dece u obrazovni sistem, kao što to čini *Italijanski konzorcij solidarnosti*; obezbediti im da se bave tradicionalnim zanatima, pružati im redovnu pomoć u hrani, odeći i obući. Posebno je važno da Romi nauče dobro jezik sredine, da njihova deca ne bi išla u specijalne škole ili odustajala od školovanja.

Neophodno je da ih lokalne službe što češće posećuju, da krenu u njihova staništa, da vide kako žive i da im pomognu koliko mogu.

Lokalne vlasti će imati veliku korist ako pruže ruku romskom stanovništvu koja neće biti ruka policajca produžena pendrekom, nego i ruka i osmeh lekara, učitelja, pesnika, socijalnog radnika, pevača, inženjera, zanatlije koji pomaže i poučava.

Deo drugi

ŽIVOT I
MOGUĆNOSTI
INTEGRACIJE
RASELJENIH
ROMA
SA KOSOVA U
CRNOJ GORI

GLOBALNI POGLED

Prethodni opis situacije

U novom talasu raseljenih Roma sa Kosova, u toku i nakon vazдушnih napada NATO na SR Jugoslaviju, u proleće 1999. godine je, prema podacima Komesarijata za raseljena lica Vlade Republike Crne Gore, u Crnu Goru došlo blizu 7.000 muškaraca, žena i dece. Prema do tada prikupljenim podacima od preko 30.000 raseljenih lica, raseljeni Romi sa Kosova čine 5.840. Tome broju treba pridodati i 917 Egipćana takođe raseljenih sa Kosova¹, koji su

¹ Podaci su navedeni prema popisu raseljenih lica koji je Komesarijat za raseljena lica obavio u decembru 1999. godine. Prema tom popisu u Crnoj Gori živi 28.338 (4.54%) izbeglica i 30.289 (4.85%) raseljenih lica, ukupno 58.627 izbeglica i raseljenih lica, što u odnosu na broj od 624.115 stalno nastanjenih građana čini 9.39%. Među raseljenim licima sa Kosova najveći je broj Crnogoraca 10.679 (35.3%), zatim Srba – 7.400 (24,4%), Roma – 5.840 (19.3), Muslimana – 3878 (12,8%), Albanaca – 1.144 (3.8%), Egipćana – 917 (3.0%), dok su „ostali“ – 417 lica, odnosno 1,4%. Podaci o izbeglicama i raseljenim licima razlikuju se u zavisnosti od izvora i trenutka prikupljanja. Tako je u intervjuu za *Glas solidarnosti* (List Crvenog krsta Crne Gore, God. IV, br. 5, maj 1999, str. 3) Slobodan Kalezić, sekretar Crvenog krsta Crne Gore, izjavio: „Podatak da naša Republika ovih dana zbrinjava oko 130.000 raseljenih lica, što čini preko 20% u odnosu na ukupan broj njenih stanovnika najubjedljivija je potvrda složenosti humanitarne krize čijem razrješavanju naša organizacija daje maksimalni i nesebični doprinos. Od ovog broja 28.338 je izbjeglih – raseljenih lica sa područja bivših jugoslovenskih republika, preko 30.000 lica koja su se tokom prošle godine raselila sa Kosova i Metohije, a oko 70.000 je s ovog područja pristiglo u Crnu Goru u posljednjih mjesec dana, odnosno sa početkom agresije NATO alijanse.“ A na sedmoj strani istog broja *Glasa solidarnosti*,

bliski Romima, ali naglašeno insistiraju na tome da su – Egipćani. S obzirom na iskustva sa sličnim popisima, njihov je broj sigurno veći, jer se Romi često izjašnjavaju kao Srbi, Jugosloveni, Muslimani itd². Najveća koncentracija Roma raseljenih sa Kosova je u najvećim gradovima Podgorici i Nikšiću, a zatim u Baru i Beranama³. Nastanili su se u pravilu u blizini svojih sunarodnika domicilnih Roma koji, uz retke izuzetke i sami žive u najsiriromašnijim mogućim uslovima u drvenim, kartonskim ili od metala sklepanim nastambama. Trude se da obezbede dovoljno hrane i odeće da bi preživeli. Mnoge od elementarnih potreba ne mogu zadovoljavati i veliko je pitanje kako uopšte mogu da prežive. Pojedine porodice raseljenih Roma još uvek žive u šatorima, a neki su iznajmili šupe lokalnih Roma u kojima nije moguće obezbediti bilo kakvo grejanje niti postoje osnovne sanitarije, kao WC. U Nikšiću, gradu poznatom po ostrim zimama koje je nemoguće preživeti u šatorima, SDR/UNHCR su raseljenim Romima podelili konstrukcioni materijal (izolacioni materijal, drvene podnice, plastične krovove) i zajedno s drugim humanitarnim organizacijama vunenu ćebad, vreće za spavanje itd.

dr Asim Dizdarević, potpredsednik Crvenog krsta Jugoslavije pominje cifru od 120.000 ljudi i dodaje: „To je petina sopstvene populacije. Takav primjer nije zabilježen u istoriji evropskih naroda. Ako tome dodamo činjenicu da se preko 90% nalazi u porodičnom smještaju, kod domaćina koji jedva sastavljaju kraj s krajem, onda je sasvim jasno da Crna Gora i njeni građani mogu svijetla obraza pogledati svima u oči.“

² S obzirom na tradicionalnu *fleksibilnost* romskog ponašanja može se sa velikom verovatnoćom pretpostaviti da je broj Roma svakako veći, jer su se, u zavisnosti od potreba i procena šta je za njih povoljnije u datoj egzistencijalnoj situaciji mogli deklarirati i kao Crnogorci, Srbi, Muslimani ili Albanci. S druge strane, sa sigurnošću se može tvrditi da se jedan broj domicilnih Roma ili Roma koji su sa Kosova doselili pre više godina, pa i decenija izjasnio kao „raseljena lica sa Kosova“ jer su se na taj način uključili u korisnike humanitarne pomoći za „raseljena lica“.

³ Prema pomenutom popisu Komesarijata za raseljena lica najviše ih je u Podgorici – 3.468 Roma i 415 Egipćana, Baru – 645 Roma i 132 Egipćanina, Nikšiću – 644 Roma i 21 Egipćanin, Beranama – 521 Rom i 51 Egipćanin. Zanimljivo je da u četiri crnogorske opštine nije, osim Crnogoraca i Srba, sa Kosova, došlo ni jedno raseljeno lice druge nacionalnosti. To su Cetinje, Plužine, Šavnik i Žabljak.

Kosovski Romi su najteže deprivirana grupa među raseljenim licima, a među porodicama koje još uvek nisu našle bilo kakav, čak ni šatorski smeštaj najviše je romskih. Te porodice su u principu i najbrojnije. Ako su Romi u svojim stalnim i polustalnim naseljima na Kosovu činili najsiromašniji deo kosovske populacije, može se slobodno tvrditi da su i u Crnoj Gori među siromašnima, nezaposlenim i na druge načine socijalno ugroženim licima, izbeglicama i raseljenim licima, kosovski Romi najugroženiji. Tu činjenicu su u svojim delatnostima uočili i uvažili republički i lokalni organi vlasti, organizacije Crvenog krsta, predstavnici međunarodnih institucija i većeg broja humanitarnih organizacija.

Kratak pogled na istoriju

Prvi pisani dokumenti o postojanju Roma u Crnoj Gori vezuju se za početak XVIII veka⁴. Bilo ih je tada u severnoj Crnoj Gori kao i na svim turskim važnijim raskrsnicama puteva. Obavljali su za Turke poslove „nalbata“ – potkivača konja. Prihvatili su ih i kao zanatlije, trubače ili egzekutore. Neki su bili i dobošari po varošicama Crne Gore. U vreme knjaza Nikole i prodiranja stranog kapitala u siromašnu stočarsko-ratarsku zemlju kakva je bila Crna Gora osetila se potreba za zanatima. Romi su kao zanatlije koje je narod zvao „majstori“ pristizali iz Srbije i Bosne.

U Crnoj Gori Romi su se međusobno izdvajali prema zanimanjima. Prvi Romi koji su došli u Crnu Goru još za vreme Turske vlasti zvali su se Mađupi. Vremenom se od njih izdvojila posebna grupa koja se isključivo bavila kovačkim zanatom i zvali su se Kovači. U Crnoj Gori Kovači su najbrojniji i vezani su za svoje mesto boravka⁵. Prosečno

⁴ Za istorijske podatke uporedi, Momčilo Lutovac, *Romi u Crnoj Gori*, Društvo prijatelja knjige, Ivangrad, 1987.

⁵ Prema popisu iz 1981. Kovači su najbrojniji. Njih ima u svim gradovima Crne Gore i uglavnom su starosedeooci, jer su se njihovi preci naselili još za vreme turske vladavine. Mađupi su dolazili od Kosova i Makedonije i

su njihove porodice imale šest članova, manje nego kod Čergaša i Mađupa. Svoju decu su slali u školu i među njima je bilo najmanje nepismenih, 80%, prema popisu stanovništva iz 1981. godine. Formiranju posebnih romskih grupa doprinele su i njihove ženidbene veze. Oni koji se danas izjašnjavaju kao „pravi“ Mađupi između dva svetska rata su dolazili sa Kosova i iz Makedonije. Planiranja porodice kod Mađupa nije bilo. U novije vreme uglavnom rade kao fizički radnici i bave se preprodajom robe iz Italije i Turske. Nisu nastojali da školuju svoju decu pa je među njima broj nepismenih 85%, prema popisu stanovništva iz 1981. U ovim porodicama je prosečno devet članova. Masovnije su se naselili na Vrela Ribnička.

Treću grupu Roma čine Romi Čergari ili Gabelji kako ih zovu Crnogorci. Njih karakteriše nomadski način života tj. nestalnost boravka na jednom mestu, koji se kao trajna karakteristika sve više gubi. Njihov dolazak u Crnu Goru se vezuje za period s početka XX veka. Gabelji smatraju da Kovači i Mađupi nemaju bliže krvne veze sa njima i da su oni druga etnička grupacija. Ne orodaavaju se i ne sahranjuju na istom groblju. Gabelji su bili uvek simpatični Crnogorcima zbog njihove snalažljivosti, upornosti i zbog toga što su znali da „prevare“. Kuće Gabelja su od lošeg materijala, ne retko kartona ili lima. Porodice Gabelja su prosječno osmočlane. Nepismenih je kod Gabelja 90%, prema popisu stanovništva iz 1981. Iz gabeljskih porodica je u poslednjih dvadeset godina osnovnu školu završilo samo osmoro dece.

Romi nekada nisu imali građansko pravo da stupe u brak sa Crnogorkom. Potomci mešovitog braka čak i kada

prodavali razne predmete. Pošto su zapazili da im odgovara klima u Podgorici i da postoji mogućnost obavljanja raznih delatnosti koje donose dobit u ovom gradu i okolini, najpre su se naselili na Vrelima Ribničkim. Formirali su naselje i na Čepurcima koje je 1972. god. uklonjeno zbog zagađivanja životne sredine u ovom delu grada. Treća grupa, Čergari ili Gabelji, su pretežno nomadi. Među njima ima antagonizma. Za razliku od Kovača i Mađupa koji se sahranjuju u muslimanskim grobljima, Gabeljima je grob najčešće tamo gde umru.

stupe u brak sa pravim Crnogorcima ni u petoj generaciji ne smatraju se pravim Crnogorcima. Biti kum nekada cigan-skom detetu smatralo se vidom pokroviteljstva dok je u obr-nutom slučaju kumstvo Roma smatrano vrlo ponižavajućim i neumesnim. U ratovima Romi su mogli biti dobrovoljci, jer nisu bili vojni obveznici, mogli su dobiti medalje za hrabrost, ali nikada ne i bilo kakav čin, pa ni najniži. Romima nije bilo dopušteno da se sahranjuju na opštinskom groblju. Kasnije im je to omogućeno ali samo u posebnom delu groblja.

U Crnoj Gori zanatski posao nije uvažavan; štaviše bio je i preziran. Naročiti prezir bio je izražen prema ko-vačkom zanatu koji je povezivan sa Ciganima. Ovo je veo-ma negativno uticalo na integraciju Roma u crnogorsko društvo, iako je ona osim toga zavisila i od njihovog opre-delenja za stalan boravak među Crnogorcima.

Zvanična statistika je prema popisu stanovništva iz 1991. godine zabeležila samo 4.000 Roma, stalno nastanje-nih na teritoriji Crne Gore. Međutim, prema podacima Cr-venog krsta Crne Gore, samo u Podgorici stalno je nasta-njeno 7.500 Roma, a na teritoriji Crne Gore oko 17.000, od čega u Nikšiću 2.700. Romi u Podgorici uglavnom žive u naselju Konik, tako da nema ništa neobičnog u činjenici da je u tom naselju smešteno preko 3.000 Roma raseljenih sa Kosova. Ova činjenica će imati veoma ozbiljne posledice u budućnosti. Naime, na Koniku, veoma blizu centra glav-nog grada Crne Gore, stvara se veliki *izbegličko-raselje-nički geto*, preciznije rečeno, *romsko-izbeglički geto*. Stoga je potrebno nešto više reći o naselju Konik.

Na obali Ribnice jedne od podgoričkih reka nalazilo se nekada romsko – tada se govorilo „cigansko“ – naselje Tabana. Podgorički Romi bili su uglavnom kovači smešte-ni u tesnim kućicama na desnoj obali reke Ribnice. Pored kovanja bavili su se i špediterstrvom konjskim zaprežnim kolima.⁶ Negde šezdesetih godina stanovnici naselja pored

⁶ Jedan od njih bio je i Arif Mali koji je bio veoma omiljen u gradu gdje je konkurencija bila značajna i među kočijašima sa zaprežnim kolima. V. Ivanović, *Podgorički vremeplov* str. 109. Kulturno prosvjetna zajednica Podgorica 1999. god.

Ribnice preseljeni su na Konik. To novo kovačko naselje Konik delovalo je tada, a svedoci smo i danas, neobuzdano, nesimetrično kao skrpljeno i završavalo se bez međe na golom dlanu Čemovskog polja. Jedino su u naselju tada simetrično, ali raznobojno, upečatljivo delovale kućice poređane u nizu u kojima je bilo po osam stanova i koje im je kako su njihovi stanari tada govorili „podigla država“.⁷

U neposrednoj blizini tog naselja koje sada više nije daleka periferija nalaze se i naselja Vrela ribnička, Omerbožovići i Novo Selo na putu za Dinošu. Sva tri naselja su naseljena uglavnom neromskim stanovništvom. Vrela Ribnička crnogorskim i jednim delom domicilnim Romima, a Omerbožovići i Novo Selo uglavnom Albancima-Malisorima. Neke od porodica u ovim naseljima su tu nastanjene decenijama ili pak stolecima kao što su meštani Omerbožovića.

Danas naselje Konik u svom sastavu ima tri mesne zajednice: Stari Aerodrom, Ribnicu i Vrela Ribnička. Jedna trećina svih stanovnika Podgorice smeštena je na Koniku, što prema popisu iz 1991. godine iznosi 18.000 žitelja. Od toga broja 8,3% su Romi. Sama činjenica da su Romi populacija visokog nataliteta, te da je bio veliki priliv izbeglica, prenaseljenost će postati jedan od značajnijih problema Konika. Sem toga, visok procenat romskih porodica su korisnici socijalne pomoći, što ukazuje na nizak životni standard. Vrela Ribnička su jedna od tri mesne zajednice naselja Konik i nalaze se na krajnjoj ivici naselja pokraj puta za Tuzi i Dinošu. Neposredna okolina naselja su kuće domicilnih Roma sa jedne strane, izbegličko naselje Vrela Ribnička, deponija smeća i automobilskih olupina s druge i reka Ribnica sa treće strane.

Mesto centralnog prihvata raseljenih Roma

Vrela Ribnička su od početka ratnih sukoba u bivšoj SFRJ postala stecište izbeglica. Najpre su to bile izbeglice

⁷ S.Piletić, *Saga o Podgorici* str. 420, Kulturno prosvjetna zajednica Podgorica 1999 god.

iz Bosne i Hercegovine i iz Hrvatske. Izbijanjem sukoba na Kosovu, već u jesen 1998. godine, počela je pristizati i reka romskih porodica. Na Vrela Ribnička, mesto najveće koncentracije, su dolazili uglavnom Romi sa Kosova koji su prvo smešteni u šatore, ali je početkom decembra 1999. situacija postala neodrživa. Naime, 5. decembra 1999. godine to šatorsko naselje je teško stradalo u oluji. Snažan vetar je porušio jedan deo (170) šatora i oko 600 ljudskih bića ostavio bez ikakve zaštite, na otvorenom, u blatu, na temperaturi od 0° C⁸. Šatorsko naselje je praktično moralo biti rasformirano, a ljudi su prebačeni u drvene barake u kamp Konik I (kasnije i u Konik II) ili u privatni smeštaj.

U kampu Konik I živi 399 romskih i egipćanskih porodica sa 2290 članova. Od toga je 38 porodica smešteno u objektima u kojima je predviđena kuhinja a ostali su u barakama. Prema podacima INTERSOS-a, humanitarne organizacije koja je najviše angažovana u kampu Konik I, do decembra 1999. godine iz kampa je otišlo 145 osoba a došlo je 97 novih. Izgrađeno je 50 baraka. Svaka baraka služi za smeštaj četiri porodice. Postoje 4 sanitarna bloka sa 64 toaleta, 36 tuševa, 32 slavine za vodu u zatvorenom i 20 slavina na otvorenom prostoru. Tu su i dve ambulante, Centar za brigu o majkama i deci, 17 zajedničkih kuhinja, distributivni centar, a jedna baraka je namenjena društvenim aktivnostima. Kamp nema električne instalacije, niti su u barakama izgrađeni dimnjaci⁹.

⁸ Šire o tom događaju videti, *Vijesti*, Podgorica, 7. decembra 1999, p. 15, pod naslovom "Oluja sraznila sa zemljom šatorsko naselje, najmanje osam povrijeđenih": "Naselje je juče popodne izgledalo sablasno, od 300 šatora većina je potpuno uništena, a njegovi stanovnici su sakupljali malobrojne stvari koje nijesu uništene u toku olujne noći." Isti list će narednog dana (8. decembra 1999, str. 13) objaviti i članak pod naslovom "Nakon preksinoćne katastrofe u barake je smješteno još 1.500 ljudi".

⁹ Raseljene romske porodice su se tokom zime snalazile na taj način što su probijale drvene zidove i improvizovale dimnjake. Graditi za Rome barake bez dimnjaka značilo je krajnje ignorisanje elemenata romske kulture koja je bez vatre praktično nezamisliva. Graditelji baraka takođe nisu vodili računa o potrebi grejanja u toku zime. U svakom slučaju, tip gradnje baraka i domišljatost romskih porodica mnogostruko su povećale opasnost

U vreme istraživanja, u prvoj polovini aprila 2000. godine građen je i kamp Konik II, ali je od 56 baraka za smeštaj 56 porodica do tada bilo završeno i useljeno samo 14. Za razliku od kampa Konik I, ovaj kamp je solidnije planiran i građen, komforniji je, a prateći objekti za vaspitanje, obrazovne, kulturne i druge socijalne aktivnosti su kvalitetnije građeni nego u kampu Konik I. Barake imaju dimnjake i priključke za električnu energiju.

Pa ipak, kamp Konik I, a naročito Konik II, pružaju romskim porodicama sa Kosova daleko bolje uslove života od onih koje imaju Romi kao podstanari, naročito u Nikšiću. Smešteni su u barake u naseljima „Budo Tomović“ I i II kod željezare i u naselju Brliji u kome je italijanska humanitarna organizacija COOPI finansirala 800 metara prilaznog puta.¹⁰ Neke od tih porodica žive među gomilama smeća, tako da se teško može govoriti o bilo kakvim sanitarnim, higijenskim ili smeštajnim standardima. Pa i te, često krajnje nehumane uslove stanovanja romske porodice ponekad plaćaju nezamislivo visokom cenom za svoje platežne mogućnosti. Štaviše, neki od domaćina treba da primaju po dve marke dnevno koje Evropska unija obezbeđuje za svakog člana romske porodice kojeg su primili „na stan“, mada u tom slučaju ne bi smeli da naplaćuju „kiriju“¹¹. S druge strane, neke od romskih porodica su se prijavile kao novopridošle sa Kosova, mada u Nikšiću borave više godina. Pretpostavlja se da od 150 porodica bar polovina spada u tu kategoriju.

od požara. I zaista, u jednoj baraci je izbio požar u kome je izgorela jedna beba, a tragične posledice su mogle biti drastičnije da je u momentu požara bilo vetrovito.

¹⁰ Uporedi, *Vrela*, List za izbjegla i raseljena lica u Crnoj Gori, 1. februar 2000, str. 3

¹¹ U starom Baru su zabilježeni još drastičniji slučajevi kršenja uspostavljenih normi.

OKVIR I OSNOVNI CILJEVI ISTRAŽIVANJA

Okvir istraživanja

Pred raseljenim Romima sa Kosova koji trenutno žive u Crnoj Gori stoje tri mogućnosti. Prva i svakako najprirodnija bila bi da se u laganom procesu repatrijacije vrate i nastave da žive na Kosovu. Realizacija te mogućnosti u sadašnjim okolnostima je veoma malo verovatna. Romi su sa Kosova, zajedno sa Srbima i drugim nealbanskim stanovništvom bežali, ili su ih brutalno proterali ekstremni albanski elementi, često krijući banalnu pljačku tuđe imovine iza parola o albanskom Kosovu. Kuće su im spaljivane, a ono malo imovine koju su stekli opljačkano. Ako KFOR nije uspeo da im pruži neophodnu zaštitu dok su živeli na Kosovu, ne može se očekivati da bi ih pod sadašnjim okolnostima mogao efikasno zaštititi kao povratnike. Druga mogućnost, koju raseljeni Romi priželjkiju je emigracija u treće, pre svih, evropske zemlje. To za veliki broj Roma ostaje nedostižni, a ponekad i tragični san. Želeći da ostvare taj san Romi postaju žrtve kriminalnih grupa, gubeći sve što su stekli, a ponekad gubeći i živote¹². S druge strane, ni

¹² O stradanjima Roma u nastojanju da se prebace u zapadnoevropske zemlje nema sistematičnih podataka. Ponešto zabeleži RAI ili neka druga od svetskih TV mreža ili agencija. Pa ipak veće katastrofe se ne mogu sakriti od javnosti. Tako je u jesen 1999. godine javnost saznala za tragičan događaj kada se prilikom potapanja broda na putu za Italiju udavilo, prema novinskim izveštajima, oko 100 Roma. Uporedi, *Monitor*, God. X, No 462, 27. avgust 1999, str. 8–12, u kome je objavljen kratak dosje romske tragedije u

evropske i druge zemlje ne pokazuju ni malo političke volje da bar neka od tih nesretnih ljudskih bića iz humanitarnih razloga prihvate na svojoj teritoriji. Štaviše, često nisu u stanju da spreče rasističko nasilje ekstremnih grupa svojih građana, kao što pokazuju slučajevi zabeleženi u većem broju evropskih zemalja.¹³

Kao najrealnija pokazuje se treća mogućnost – da ostanu u Crnoj Gori: privremeno – do bitnog poboljšanja prilika na Kosovu ako do takvog poboljšanja za Rome ikada dođe – ili trajno kroz postepen, težak i protivrečan proces njihove integracije u crnogorsko društvo.

Očigledno je da pod postojećim okolnostima kao pretpostavkama trajna integracija Roma izbeglih sa Kosova nije moguća. Još je manje verovatna njihova trajna integracija kada se imaju u vidu elementarne činjenice da su to pripadnici druge rase, drugog naroda (Romi) i vernici druge vere (islamske), da imaju drukčiju kulturu i da pripadaju drukčijoj civilizaciji. No pod promenjenim okolnostima integracija ne bi bila nemoguća.

Ciljevi istraživanja

Osnovni ciljevi istraživanja života Roma raseljenih sa Kosova, a nastanjenih u Crnoj Gori, bili su usklađeni sa ovom procenom. Istraživanje je bilo okrenuto prvenstveno praktičnim ciljevima i usmereno na:

- ☐ *ispitivanje mogućnosti neposrednog poboljšanja životnih uslova raseljenih Roma;*
- ☐ *poboljšanje međusobnih odnosa romske populacije;*

Jadranu pod naslovom „Ko trguje ljudima? – Ostaće, izgleda, tajna kako je moguće da se utopi sto ljudi, a da o tome javnost sazna tek nedelju dana kasnije, i to pored preživjelih brodolomaca, smještenih u bolnici! Tajna je i u čije se džepove slilo najmanje pet miliona maraka.“

¹³ Karakterističan slučaj su zabeleženi rasistički ispadi prema Romima u Češkoj i Nemačkoj. Tako je češka vazduhoplovna kompanija odredila u svojim avionima posebna mesta za Rome.

- ❑ *razvijanje odnosa između domicilnog stanovništva i raseljenih Roma;*
- ❑ *ispitivanje različitih uslova i okolnosti pod kojima bi bila moguća postepena privremena ili trajna socijalna, ekonomska, kulturna i obrazovna integracija raseljenih Roma.*

Praktični cilj istraživanja bio je da predloži celovite mere za rešavanje socijalnih i drugih problema života raseljenih Roma, kao i ispitivanje mogućnosti integracije raseljenih Roma u Podgorici (u podgoričkom naselju Vrela Ribnička) i Nikšiću.

Polazeći od pretpostavke da *ad hoc* palijativne mere ne mogu biti osnova za trajnije rešenje problema, odlučili smo se za ovaj pristup koji na dužu stazu može da d trajne rezultate. Istraživanje, dakle, nije bilo zamišljeno kao akademsko, nego je imalo jasno definisane praktične ciljeve. Pre se može reći da je ovo istraživanje priprema za praktične aktivnosti koje računaju ne samo na angažovanost domaćih institucija i/ili međunarodnih institucija nego i na razvoj emancipatorskog potencijala Roma koji se, sadržan u specifičnim strategijama preživljavanja, „...ispoljio kao delotvorno sredstvo za poboljšavanje uslova života“.¹⁴

Najkraće rečeno, postavljeni ciljevi istraživanja odredili su njegov predmet. Ako je tačna bila pretpostavka da u dogledno vreme ne može biti govora o povratku raseljenih Roma na Kosovo, bilo je neophodno tražiti praktična neposredna i dugoročna celishodna rešenja od smeštaja u ne-uslovnim nastambama, često šatorima i eventualno kolektivnim centrima, kampovima, (mada značaj i vrednost

¹⁴ Uporedi, Aleksandra Mitrović, Gradimir Zajić, „Decenija s Romima u Masurici“, *Društvene promene i položaj Roma*, SANU i Institut za socijalnu politiku, Beograd 1993, str. 103. Isti autori će vrednost akcionog istraživanja oceniti na sledeći način: „Akciono istraživanje je ograničenog dometa; ono ne može ukinuti globalne uslove i uzroke i ne može imati uticaj na globalne promene. Međutim može biti efikasna istraživačka strategija za rešavanje socijalnih problema u lokalnoj zajednici.“ *Ibid.*, str. 106.

kolektivnog smeštaja nikako ne treba potcenjivati) za njihov privremeni ili trajni život u Crnoj Gori. Na primer, da sami učestvuju u gradnji svojih kuća i naselja, pod uslovom da to ne budu nova geta.

Da bi proces integracije, u svojim bitnim aspektima: socijalnom, ekonomskom, kulturnom i obrazovnom, stekao bilo kakve šanse na uspeh, bilo je neophodno da eventualne mere za poboljšanje uslova života i otvaranje procesa integracije budu zasnovane na što preciznijim saznanjima o kulturi, običajima, stavovima i ponašanju, željama i očekivanjima od budućnosti tog dela romske populacije. Stoga su u toku istraživanja prikupljane činjenice i saznanja o realnom životu, stavovima, nadama i očekivanjima raseljenih romskih porodica. Bili su istraživani različiti aspekti njihovog života na Kosovu: kako su živeli, šta su znali, radili, posedovali, u šta su verovali, kako su vodili domaćinstva i poslove, kako su se obrazovali, kakvi su im bili odnosi sa susedima itd. Na isti način su ispitivane i činjenice, stavovi i saznanja iz njihovog „novog“ života u Crnoj Gori i otkrivana njihova očekivanja od budućnosti.

Ispitivanje domicilnog romskog i većinskog crnogorskog stanovništva bilo je usmereno pre svega na ispitivanje stavova o raseljenim Romima, njihovom životu i perspektivama; uz pomoć sistema skala ispitivano je u kojoj su meri ove dve grupe spremne da prihvate ideju o integraciji raseljenih Roma, kako vide njihovu situaciju i da li su spremni da im pomognu.¹⁵

Jedinica istraživanja bila je porodica, koja je u tradicionalnim kulturama kao što su i crnogorska i romska, osnov socijalnog, ekonomskog i kulturnog života. Štaviše, može

¹⁵ Ovakav pristup preporučuje Sreten Vujović koji piše: „...potrebno je proučiti i percepciju i stavove neromskog stanovništva o stanovanju Roma i uopšte o višetetničkom suživotu u urbanom prostoru. Verujemo da bi rezultati proučavanja ove vrste, između ostalog, raspršili određene predrasude i smanjili etnoprostorne i druge distance.“ Vidi, Sreten Vujović, „Romi i stanovanje“, u: *Društvene promene i položaj Roma*, SANU – Institut za socijalnu politiku, Beograd 1993, str. 54–66.

se reći da je takav pristup primeren i tragičnoj sudbini koja je ojačala unutrašnju (porodičnu) solidarnost tog dela romske populacije. Istraživanjem su bile obuhvaćene tri grupe porodica:

- ❑ porodice raseljenih Roma sa Kosova smeštene u Podgorici i Nikšiću kao mestima njihove najveće koncentracije. Reč je o ukupno 250 porodica, 201 smeštenih u Podgorici i 49 smeštenih u Nikšiću, kao mestima najveće koncentracije;
- ❑ 100 domicilnih romskih porodica: 80 u Podgorici i 20 u Nikšiću, s kojima su povezane porodice raseljenih Roma i
- ❑ 100 domicilnih porodica većinskog crnogorskog stanovništva iz neposrednog susedstva porodica raseljenih Roma: 80 u Podgorici i 20 u Nikšiću, i
- ❑ 20 slobodnih intervjua sa predstavnicima zainteresovanih organizacija i institucija.

Ispitivanje domicilnih romskih i neromskih crnogorskih porodica bilo je neophodno da bi se preciznije sagledale mogućnosti unapređenja uslova života, oblici i mogućnosti pružanja pomoći porodicama raseljenih Roma sa Kosova, a naročito da se oceni pod kojim uslovima je privremena ili trajna, delomična ili potpuna integracija raseljenih Roma u crnogorsko društvo moguća – ako je uopšte moguća.

KARAKTERISTIKE ISPITIVANE POPULACIJE

Opšte karakteristike ispitivanih porodica

Jedinica anketnog dela istraživanja bila je porodica. Istraživanjem je obuhvaćeno ukupno 450 porodica sa 3087 članova. Anketirano je 250 porodica Roma raseljenih sa Kosova sa ukupno 1839 članova, 100 porodica domicilnih Roma i 100 porodica domicilnog neromskog stanovništva. Prosečan broj članova porodice raseljenih Roma je 7,36. Broj žena i muškaraca u raseljeničkoj romskoj porodici je vrlo ujednačen. U tim porodicama prosečno je 3,67 žena i 3,68 muškaraca. Broj žena ne prelazi 10 a muškaraca ima i do 14 u porodici. Najučestalije je prisustvo tri muškarca u domaćinstvu (34%), a potom četiri (21%).

Većina porodica raseljenih Roma (83,2%) je na okupu, odnosno svi članovi porodice su zajedno izbegli u Crnu Goru. U preostalih 16% porodica neki članovi su na Kosovu (4%), u inostranstvu (3,2%) a u 8% slučajeva se ne zna gde su.

Po jedna *porodica raseljenih Roma* ima sedmoro i devetoro dece, a najveći broj porodica (33,6%) ima dvoje dece do sedam godina. Dece do sedam godina je ukupno 563 ili 30,61%. Od sedam do 16 godina ima ukupno 509 dece ili 27,68%. Dece do 16 godina je 1072 ili 58,29 %. Kao što se vidi raseljeni Romi su izuzetno mladi. Slična je situacija i u istraživanoj populaciji *domaćih Roma*. Te porodice

imaju 355 dece starosti do 16 godina ili 59,3% od ukupnog broja svih članova.¹⁶

Od 250 anketiranih porodica raseljenih Roma sa Kosova 174 ili 69,6% je smešteno u kolektivnom centru, kampu Konik I, a samo 6 (2,4%) porodica je smešteno kod rođaka, dok kao podstanari žive 67 porodica ili 26,8%. Od tih porodica samo 17 (6,8%) živi u, po vlastitoj oceni, dobrim uslovima, dok je 50 porodica (20%) po vlastitim iskazima i zapažanjima anketara smešteno u krajnje neuslovne „objekte“ – ma šta to značilo.

Evidencija INTERSOS-a o stanovnicima kampa Konik I odgovara saznanjima ovog istraživanja da je reč o mladoj populaciji: 1432 osobe ili 64% od ukupnog broja je mlađe od 20 godina, a preko polovine stanovnika (51,7%) je mlađe od 15 godina. Preko 60 godina ima samo 3,6% stanovnika. Poslednji zvanični popis (1991.) beleži da je oko 12 % ukupnog broja stanovnika Crne Gore starije od 65 godina.¹⁷

Porodice domicilnih Roma, njih 100 sa 719 članova, imaju prosečno 7,19 članova. Najveći procenat porodica je upravo sa 7 članova (17,2%) , zatim sa 8 (14,8%). Postoje porodice sa 15, sa 16, 19 pa čak i sa 23 člana. Ovi podaci ukazuju na tipičnu sliku romske, mnogočlane porodice. Analiza je pokazala da je dosta ujednačen broj muškaraca i žena u porodicama u odnosu 341 ili 47,5% muškarci, i 378 ili 52,5% žena. Najučestalije su porodice sa tri muškarca – u 34% slučajeva, a potom sa četiri – u 21% slučajeva. Ta-

¹⁶ Kada bi se kao deca računali svi do 18 godine, kako se obično i radi, procenat mladih bi bio još više izražen. Tačno je da je granica od 16 godina arbitrarna, ali je činjenica da Romi sazrevaju i osamostaljuju se, žene i udaju, ranije. Ostali članovi porodica nisu razvrstavani po godištima iz prostog razloga što bi se domaćini teško snalazili u klasifikacijama. Dovoljno je napomenuti da je, prema podacima INTERSOS-a, u analizi „Occupations, Skills and Self-reliance in Konik I“, od 28. marta 2000. godine, 87,38% populacije u naselju mlađe od 40 godina. Takođe se može napomenuti da planiranje porodice kod Roma (posebno kod Mađupa koji su ovde najviše prisutni) ne postoji. Stoga je kod njih priraštaj pravi demografski „bum“.

¹⁷ Jovanka Vuković, *Izbjegništvo u Crnoj Gori*.

kođe su najčešće porodice sa tri žene u porodici (25%). Maksimalan broj žena u jednoj porodici domaćih Roma iznosi 11, naspram 7 muškaraca. U dve porodice ima ukupno po 17 članova. U istraživanoj populaciji domaćih Roma porodice imaju ukupno 355 dece starosti do 16 godina ili 59,3% od ukupnog broja svih članova porodica. Od toga je 189-oro dece do 7 godina starosti ili 26,3%, te 166-oro dece od 7 do 16 godina ili 33% ispitivane populacije. Najčešće je po dvoje dece u porodici, a zanimljivo je 27,5% porodica uopšte nema dece u školskom uzrastu. Sve nas to ponovo upućuje na zaključak da su domicilni Romi mlada populacija.

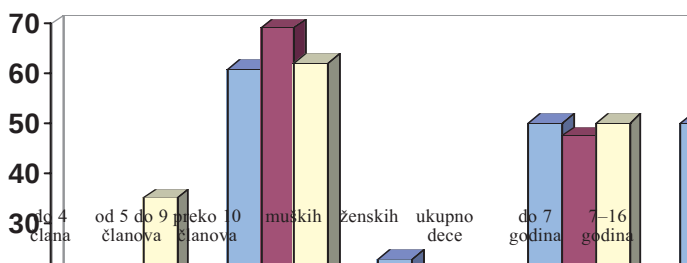
Tabela 1. – Brojnost ispitivanih porodica

Porodice	Raseljenih Roma	Domicilnih Roma	Ne-romskog CG stanovništva
<i>Broj porodica – ukupno</i>	<i>N = 250</i>	<i>N = 100</i>	<i>N = 100</i>
Porodice do 4 člana	41 (16,4%)	12,0%	35,0%
Porodice od 5 do 9 članova	152 (60,8%)	69,0%	62,0%
Porodice 10 i više članova	57 (22,8%)	19,0%	3,0%
<i>Broj članova porodice – ukupno</i>	<i>N = 1839 (100%)</i>	<i>N = 719 (100%)</i>	<i>N = 529 (100,00%)</i>
Muškog pola	921 (50,08%)	341 (47,5%)	50,09%
Ženskog pola	918 (49,92%)	378 (52,5%)	49,91%
Ukupno dece u porodici	N=1072(58,29%)	N=355 (49,37%)	N= 131 (24,76%)
Deca do 7 godina	563 (30,61%)	189 (26,28%)	84 (15,68%)
Deca od 7 do 16 godina	509 (27,68%)	166 (23,08%)	47 (8,88%)
<i>Prosek članova porodice</i>	<i>7,36</i>	<i>7,19</i>	<i>5,29</i>

Uzorak *crnogorskog ne-romskog stanovništva* je činio 100 porodica sa ukupno 529 članova. Prosečan broj članova tih porodica je bio 5,29. Porodice su vrlo heterogene po svom sastavu i broju članova. Najčešće ispitivane neromske porodice su bile petočlane (31%), pa zatim četvo-ročlane (26%) i šestočlane (14%). Ispitivanu populaciju činio je domaće neromsko stanovništvo, Crnogorci, Albanci

i Muslimani¹⁸. Porodica od šest pa do jedanaest članova je bilo više od jedne trećine, 34%. U porodicama su najčešće po dva (36%) i tri muškarca (30%). Vrlo slična situacija je i sa ženama. Najčešće su porodice sa dve (34%) i tri žene (29%). U 1/5 ispitivanih porodica nema ni jedno dete.(20%). Dece do sedam godina ima u 44% porodica i ukupno ih je 84. Od sedam do šesnaest godina dece ima u 36% porodica i ukupno ih je 47. Kao što se vidi radi se o starijoj populaciji. U uzorku od sto porodica ima 131 dete ili 24,76%.

BROJNOST I STRUKTURA PORODICA



Obrazovni nivo i zaposlenost

Više od polovine domaćina u porodicama *raseljenih Roma* je bez škole ili sa nepotpunom osnovnom školom (61,6%) a samo 4,4% ima srednju školu ili više od toga. Mali procenat (14,4%) domaćina se izjašnjava da ima neki zanat ili da je samouk. Istraživanjem su potvrđeni nalazi INTERSOS-a da ni jedna žena u kampu Konik I nema kvalifikaciju¹⁹. Posmatrano prema obeležju školske spreme, dobijena je očekivana slika za romsku populaciju.

Uprkos tako lošoj kvalifikacionoj strukturi čak 44,4% domaćina kaže da su imali stalno ili privremeno zaposlenje

¹⁸ Ovde treba naglasiti da u istraživanju nije ispitivan nacionalni sastav ne-romskog stanovništva koje je anketirano, pa je brojnost tih porodica nešto veća, s obzirom na učešće albanskih/malisorskih i muslimanskih porodica.

¹⁹ Podaci INTERSOS-a iz pomenute analize za uzrast od 15 do 60 god.

pre izbeglištva, a 26% ih se bavilo poljoprivredom. Samo 8,4% ih se bavilo zanatima, znači da je većina bila uposlena na drugim poslovima (komunalne delatnosti, stražarska mesta...). Nizak nivo obrazovanja odražava se nepovoljno na socio-profesionalnu strukturu. Veoma mali broj Roma u naselju je sa prepoznatljivim zanimanjem. Većina pripada neizdiferenciranoj grupi radnika „bez zanimanja“. Među onima koji „imaju zanimanje“ preovlađuju veštine stečene radom a ne zanimanja koja su stečena formalnim obrazovanjem. Neizdiferencirana socio-profesionalna struktura je indikator niskog društvenog položaja i začaranog kruga bede. Time su potvrđeni nalazi prethodnih istraživanja života Roma u Jugoslaviji koji su ukazivali na okolnost da je Roma najviše u onim zanimanjima za koja nije potrebna nikakva stručnost, kao što su radnici na održavanju objekata i čistoće, nosači, skladišni radnici, građevinski radnici i sl..²⁰ U uslovima opšteg osiromašenja, visoke nezaposlenosti i rastuće bede u društvu, smatraju Aleksandra Mitrović i Gradimir Zajić, „Stopa ekonomske aktivnosti je bitan indikator isključenosti Roma iz osnovnih društvenih i ekonomskih tokova. Niska ekonomska aktivnost stanovništva, veoma mlada starosna struktura romske populacije i veliki udeo izdržavanog stanovništva predstavljaju ključne činioce održavanja i produbljivanja razlika i, može se reći, socio-ekonomskog jaza između Roma i većinskog naroda.“²¹

Humanitarna organizacija INTERSOS koja je svojom delatnošću najprisutnija u kampu Konik I (učestvovala je u gradnji baraka, dodeli prostora u barakama, distribuciji humanitarne pomoći, organizovala pojedine oblike obuke za decu itd.), prikupila je i niz zanimljivih podataka o raseljenim Romima i, između ostalog i zastupljenost pojedinih

²⁰ Uporedi, Milutin Prokić, „Socijalno ekonomske karakteristike Roma u Jugoslaviji“, u: *Razvitak Roma u Jugoslaviji – Problemi i tendencije*, SANU, Beograd 1992, str. 107.

²¹ Aleksandra Mitrović i Gradimir Zajić, „Društveni položaj Roma u Srbiji“, u *Romi u Srbiji*, Centar za antiratnu akciju i Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja, Beograd 1998, str. 29.

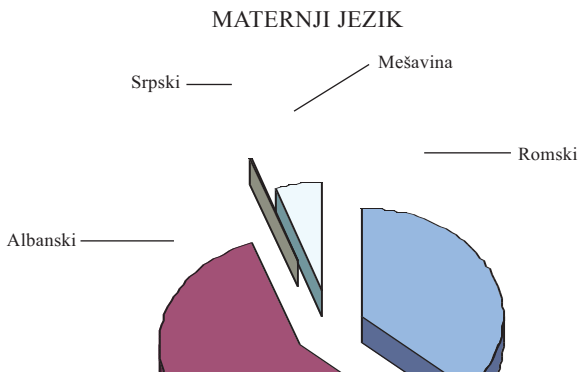
zanata u ovoj populaciji. Istorijski posmatrano, Rome su zanimanja razbila u posebne grupe (Kovači, Mađupi i Gabelji) razvila im vremenom i posebnu individualnost i stvorila njihov posebni društveni položaj.

Tabela 2. – Kvalifikacija za uzrast od 15 do 60 god. u kampu Konik I

Kovač	5	Česar	10	Vozač	6	Mehaničar	11
Mesar	5	Rudar	8	Električar	4	Poljoprivr.	9
Čistač	33	Muzičar	13	Bez kvalifikacija	116	Kelner	3
Zidar	10	Obezbeđenje	10	Vatrogasac	3	Drugo	11

Albanski jezik je maternji jezik kojim se govori u ispitivanim porodicama raseljenih Roma sa Kosova – u 58% slučajeva, dok se nešto više od trećine (36,4%) izjašnjava da im je maternji jezik romski. Samo jedna porodica je izjavila da im je srpski maternji jezik. One raseljene porodice koje se izjašnjavaju kao „Egipćani“ su posebno osetljive i ponosne na upotrebu albanskog jezika u porodici. Tako je anketar (upitnik 78) zabeležio: „Egipćani koji ne prihvataju i ne vole Rome. Govore samo albanski, srpski ne znaju.“ A u upitniku 241 anketar je zabeležio: „Anketirani se ljuti što ga oslovljavam sa Rom. Kaže da je Egipćanin ili Albanac, albanski mu je materinji jezik“. Etnolozi, antropolozi i demografi potvrđuju sklonost Roma da prihvataju jezik i način života stanovništva sa kojim žive na istom području. Ovo ipak nikada nije rezultiralo i boljim prihvatanjem Roma od strane većinskog stanovništva. Jezik je svakako jedna od krupnih prepreka za integraciju Roma u novu sredinu²².

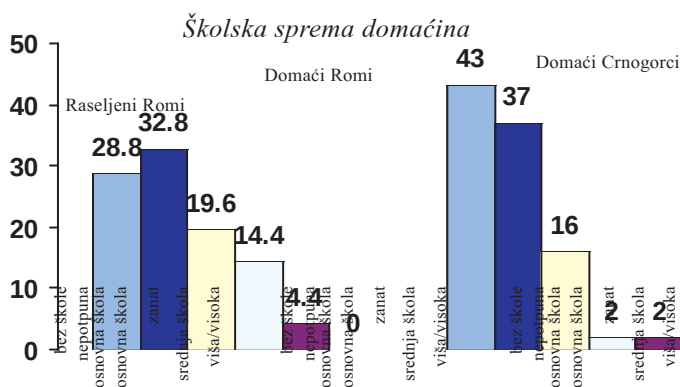
²² Jezička barijera nam je predstavljala problem i u anketiranju, rešavan angažovanjem poznavalaca romskog jezika kao anketara i prevodilaca. Jedan od anketara bilo je lice romske nacionalnosti.



Domicilni Romi imaju još niži nivo školske spreme. Naime, bez škole je 43% anketiranih domaćina, 37% ima nepotpunu osnovnu školu, a završenu osnovnu 16%, dok zanat, srednju školu ili eventualno višu ima samo 4% ispitanih. Dakle, ukupno 80% svih je bez škole uopšte, ili ima nezavršenu osnovnu školu, što je u poređenju sa raseljenim Romima nepovoljnije, jer kod njih taj procenat iznosi 61,6%. Kao i kod raseljenih, obrazovna struktura domicilnih Roma nije adekvatna zanimanjima kojima se bave (prema njihovim iskazima). Nije bilo za očekivati da je 31% domaćina privremeno ili trajno zaposleno, a ako se zna da ih je 80% bez škole ili sa nezavršenom osnovnom školom. Verovatno, tamo gde su zaposleni, oni obavljaju najjednostavnije fizičke poslove; 30% ispitivane populacije se bavi nedozvoljenom trgovinom i švercom. Kao nezaposleni se izjašnjavaju 19% domaćina.

I pored činjenice da se radi o mladoj populaciji, samo mali broj dece pohađa školu – svega 27% dece školskog uzrasta. Ovde treba imati u vidu činjenicu da 37% porodica nema decu školskog uzrasta. Porodice koje imaju decu u 16% slučajeva kao razlog navode siromaštvo, a u 15% da deca ne žele da idu u školu, što odslikava „bezbrizan“ način življenja Roma i prepuštanje tako važnih odluka deci. Uočljiva je velika disproporcija u verbalnom iskazu o značaju školovanja dece i stvarnog ponašanja. U 96% slučajeva ispitanici su izrazili stav da je neophodno školovanje

dece. Međutim, kao što je rečeno, svega 27% dece škol-skog uzrasta pohađa školu²³.



Stoga nije čudno što su i raniji istraživači primetili dramatičnu povezanost nivoa (ne)obrazovanosti i lošeg materijalnog statusa romskih porodica. Tako Milutin Prokić smatra podatke o obrazovanju Roma najdramatičnijim vidom „ispoljavanja njihove profesionalne i socijalne inferiornosti“, jednom od „najtamnijih tačaka životne stvarnosti Roma“. Njegov zaključak je precizan i sumoran: „Zatvoreni u svoje etničke okvire, Romi reprodukuju jedni druge. Polupismeni i neobrazovani, oni ne mogu uputiti svoju decu u tajne boljeg uspeha u školi ili profesionalnog napredovanja. Kao slabo plaćeni i potcenjeni radnici, oni ne mogu, ni sebi ni svojim porodicama, da obezbede pristojan život, niti kome mogu služiti za ugled.“²⁴ Ni praksa da se romska deca zbog

²³ Istraživanje koje je Živorad Tasić obavio 1999. godine za COOPI, *Romi u Crnoj Gori – status i perspektive*, je pokazalo da se 60% svih romskih mališana u Crnoj Gori nikada ne upiše u školu, a u ovom istraživanju zabeleženo je da u 96% slučajeva odrasli, roditelji, smatraju da decu treba slati u školu i da je to bitna odrednica daljeg života i budućnosti njihove dece. Ova disproporcija između verbalnog iskaza i stvarnog stanja ukazuje na neophodnu rezervu prilikom donošenja zaključaka nakon analize statističkih podataka o Romima.

²⁴ Milutin Prokić, „Socijalno ekonomske karakteristike Roma u Jugoslaviji“, u: *Razvitak Roma u Jugoslaviji – Problemi i tendencije*, SANU,

nepoznavanja jezika, siromaštva, stambene i urbane segregacije, šalju u specijalne škole u kojima u pravilu postižu dobre rezultate u krajnjoj liniji nisu rešenje za romsku decu. „Specijalna škola i uslovi života u romskim enklavama žgarantuju’ siromaštvo i nizak socijalni i kulturni status budućeg odraslog Roma“, s pravom tvrdi Sulejman Hrnjica.²⁵

Domaćini su u *crnogorskim ne-romskim porodicama* najčešće sa završenom srednjom školom (45%), u približno istom procentu su zanatlije i samo sa završenom osnovnom školom (19% zanatlije, 18% osnovna škola). Neškolovanih je 5% domaćina, a sa višom školom i fakultetom 13%. Najčešće su zaposleni u državnoj službi – 31%. Stalan izvor prihoda ima 60% domaćina a time i njihovih porodica. To su domaćini stalno zaposleni u državnoj firmi, kod privatnika ili su penzioneri. Domaće stanovništvo koje ima neuporedivo bolju kvalifikacionu strukturu ima lošiju stopu zaposlenosti od one koju su imali raseljeni Romi sa Kosova pre izbeglišta. Nezaposleno je nešto manje od 1/3 domaćina ili 28%.

Socijalno-zdravstveni status

Uprkos lošim životnim, posebno lošim higijenskim uslovima, većina dece u romskim raseljeničkim porodicama je boljeg zdavstvenog stanja od očekivanog. Oštećenja vida, sluha i govora su registrovana u šest porodica, mentalna zaostalost u jednoj, distrofija, paraliza i hronična obojenja u 15 (6%), a fizička oštećenja i invaliditet u osam porodica. Pošto je reč o teškim oštećenjima, ove brojke su

Beograd 1992, str. 112. Slično tvrde Aleksandra Mitrović i Gradimir Zajić: „Školovanje dece za Rome je mogući kanal socijalne promocije koji je, međutim, isuviše dug, neizvestan i skup, zahteva mnogo strpljenja i rada...Školovanje dece je napor koji romska porodica ne može sama da savlada.“ „Društveni položaj Roma u Srbiji“, u *Romi u Srbiji*, str. 43, Centar za antiratu akciju i Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja, Beograd 1998.

²⁵ Sulejman Hrnjica, „Izrada kompenzatorskih programa obrazovanja za učenike Romske etničke grupe“, u: *Društvene promene i položaj Roma*, SANU – Institut za socijalnu politiku, Beograd 1993, str. 183.

sigurno zabrinjavajuće. Imajući u vidu u kojim uslovima ta deca odrastaju, ili drastične slike od pre nekoliko meseci kada je vetar lomio stoletna stabla i nosio sve pred sobom, uništio šatore a ljudi ostali bez ikakve zaštite, fizička izdržljivost te dece jednostavno izaziva divljenje. Odrasli su sličnog zdravlja kao i deca. Njih 3,6% ima oštećen vid, sluh ili glas, a 14% je obolelo od hroničnih bolesti. Najčešće su bolesti pluća što svakako, s obzirom na uslove stanovanja, ishranu i slično, nije iznenađujuće. Fizička oštećenja i invaliditeti su prisutni u 4,8% porodica. Zanimljivo je primetiti da se zdravstveni status raseljenih i domaćih Roma značajnije ne razlikuje. Uslovi života, stresogene situacije su sigurno značajno povećale rizik narušavanja zdravlja raseljenih Roma sa Kosova, ali ni uslovi života domaće romske populacije nisu ništa bolji, o čemu će još biti reči.

Anketari su u toku istraživanja registrovali primere lošeg zdravstvenog stanja i uslova života porodica. Beležili su izjave kao što su: „jedan sin bogalj“, „žena bolesna, a kćerka paralizovana“, „stariji sin teško povrijeđen u saobraćajnoj nesreći“, „nemaju novaca za liječenje“, „bolesno dijete u porodici ne vode u bolnicu, mada imaju uput, jer nemaju para za sok!“ Relativno zadovoljavajuća slika o vlastitom zdravstvenom stanju koju su Romi stvorili više je rezultat subjektivnog odnosa prema zdravlju i zdravstvenim tegobama nego objektivno dobrog zdravstvenog stanja. Tako svega 4,8% ispitivanih porodica raseljenih Roma smatra da im je zdravstvena zaštita najveći problem. Međutim, pogled na stanje zuba odraslog romskog stanovništva, pa i dece, o tome jasno svedoči. Ko bi još vodio računa o zubima u stanju opšte bede i borbe za preživljavanje! Posmatrano u široj perspektivi, anketari su stekli utisak o ukupno lošem materijalnom, stambenom i zdravstvenom statusu romskih porodica. Pa ipak, težnja za boljim životnim uslovima provejava i kada je najteže. „I kada je loše, moraš da kažeš da je dobro“, kaže jedan od ispitanika (anketni list 203). Čini se da ovaj stav izražava filozofiju Roma u borbi za preživljavanje, strategiju socijalne mimikrije i izuzetne sposobnosti prilagođavanja.

USLOVI ŽIVOTA I MOGUĆNOSTI NJIHOVOG POBOLJŠANJA

Uslovi stanovanja

Pored objektivne slike o uslovima života prema kojoj Romi predstavljaju visoko depriviranu socijalnu grupu (nepodnošljivo loši stambeni uslovi, visoka nezaposlenost radno sposobnog stanovništva, nedovoljna uključenost dece u obrazovni sistem, slabe komunikacije sa većinskim stanovništvom, loša higijenska i zdravstvena situacija), važan deo celovitije slike o njihovom životu predstavljaju i subjektivna osećanja. Neki istraživači smatraju da je subjektivno osećanje čak znatno važniji pokazatelj kvaliteta života od niza objektivnih kriterijuma²⁶. Romi su sa obe pomenute strane ipak specifična populacija koja pokazuje

²⁶ Uporedi takođe, *Romsko naselje „Mali London“ u Pančevu*, Društvo za unapređivanje romskih naselja – Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja, Beograd 2000, str. 26. A u zborniku *Javno mnjenje Srbije*, (Udruženje za unapređivanje empirijskih istraživanja, Beograd 1999) jedan od saradnika, Dragan Popadić, konstatuje: „Subjektivno osećanje je znatno važniji pokazatelj kvaliteta života od niza objektivnih kriterijuma kao što su visina primanja, imovina i slično. Tako je u upitniku kojim svetska zdravstvena organizacija nastoji da meri kvalitet života, uz opštu ocenu vlastitog zdravstvenog stanja i života u celini, dat niz pitanja koja se odnose na depresivnost, anksioznost i neurasteniju. Ovi simptomi su poznati kao simptomi stresa, tj. kao tipične reakcije na kratkotrajne ili stresne životne okolnosti. Subjektivno osećanje zadovoljstva (subjective well-being) predmet je stalnog praćenja i u istraživanjima 'Eurobarometra', koja se od 1973. godine rade u većini zemalja Evropske unije.“, Vidi, str. 91.

tipičnu sliku niskih aspiracija i izuzetno brzih adaptacionih sposobnosti. Isto tako, često njihovi subjektivni iskazi nisu u skladu sa objektivnim uslovima života.²⁷

Skoro sve ispitivane porodice raseljenih Roma izjavljuju da su izgubili *sve*. Pominju kuće, namještaj (vrlo luksuzan po njihovim riječima), zemlju i vrlo često pominju stoku (kozu, kravu, konja)...Najčešće su spašavali živote bežeći od terora, ostavljajući sve što su sticali godina-ma²⁸. Dakle, u Crnoj Gori, prema iskazima ispitanika, porodice počinju raseljenički život uglavnom „od ništa“.

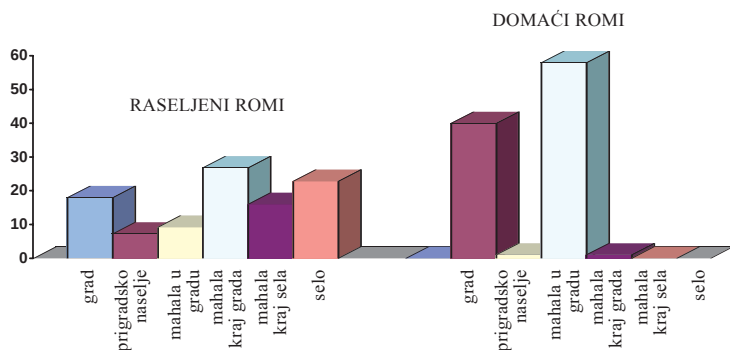
Iz izjava o prethodnom prebivalištu 61% porodica raseljenih Roma sa Kosova živelo je u gradu, mahalama pored grada i prigradskim naseljima, a na selu 39%. Nakon dolaska u Crnu Goru porodice su u 98% slučajeva nastanjene u mahalama pored grada i prigradskim naseljima, što znači da u raseljeništvu skoro svi gravitiraju ka gradskim područjima. Kada se uporede podaci o školskoj spremi sa podacima o prethodnom prebivalištu vidi se da su srednju školu završili i više obazovanje stekli oni koji su živeli u gradu. Baz škole i sa nepotpunom osnovnom su oni doma-

²⁷ Ovaj istraživač je u toku zime obilazio u više navrata jednu romsku porodicu u Nikšiću koja je živela u nemoguće lošim uslovima stanovanja. U jednom od ponovljenih susreta sa sedamdesetogodišnjim domaćinom, izuzetno starim za prosečni životni vek romske populacije, pitao se da li će ta porodica uopšte da preživi jaku zimu. Na pitanje kako su, domaćin je odgovorio: „Kako bi bili! Odlično!“

²⁸ Kosovske Rome prvo su drastično zloupotrebili srpska policija i lokalne vlasti tokom vojne intervencije NATO-a. Romski civili prisiljavani su da sahranjuju tela ubijenih pripadnika OVK i albanskih civila, da kopaju rovove za vojsku i da pljačkaju i uništavaju imovinu Albanaca. Posle potpisivanja mirovnog sporazuma i odlaska srpskih oružanih snaga, Romi su postali glavna meta osvete Albanaca i žrtve istog nasilja kojem su srpske snage prethodno podvrgavale Albance: fizičkog maltretiranja, zatvaranja, otmica, ubistava, silovanja, pljačke i uništavanja imovine, prisilnog rada i proterivanja. Pretnjama, zastrašivanjem, maltretiranjem i uništavanjem imovine Romi su u velikom broju naterani da napuste Kosovo. Tako su se Romi pokazali kao večiti žrtveni jarci koje su obe sukobljene strane naizmenično zloupotrebljavale. V. Milan Jokić, „Kosovo Roma: Targets of Abuse and Violence, 24 March – 1 September 1999“, AIM, Priština.

ćini u porodicama raseljenih Roma koji su bili vezani za selo (od 39% onih koji su živeli na selu, 26%).²⁹

RASELJENI ROMI I DOMAĆI ROMI: MESTO STANOVANJA

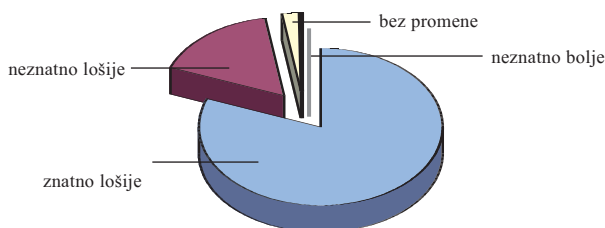


Posedovanje kuće se smatra elementarnom ljudskom potrebom. U sociološkoj istraživačkoj literaturi stanovanje predstavlja klasičan pokazatelj životnog standarda i socijalnog položaja porodice uopšte. Usporedba podataka o uslovima stanovanja raseljenih Roma, pre dolaska u izbeglištvo, dok su živeli na Kosovu, i stambenim uslovima domaćih Roma daje zanimljive rezultate. Prema iskazima anketiranih raseljenih Roma (koji se moraju prihvatiti kao krajnje subjektivni) njih 80,4% su imali kuću u vlasništvu, stan 6,8%, a neuslovnu kuću samo 12,4%. Podstanara, izuzev jedne porodice, prema iskazima ispitanika nije bilo. Nasuprot tome 48% anketiranih domaćih romskih porodica su vlasnici kuća i stanova, u 40% slučajeva su vlasnici baraka, a 8% porodica su podstanari u lošim uslovima. Svi ti parametri ukazuju na činjenicu da su stambeni uslovi domaćih Roma lošiji i da su se u nekim slučajevima pogoršali dolaskom raseljenih Roma. Najčešće žive u grubim čatmarama ili stračarama skrpljenim od kartona i raznog lima,

²⁹ Neophodno je napomenuti da nisu ispitivani domaći Romi sa sela, jer su raseljeni Romi sa Kosova smešteni u gradovima, tako da je realna slika u tom pogledu delimično deformisana.

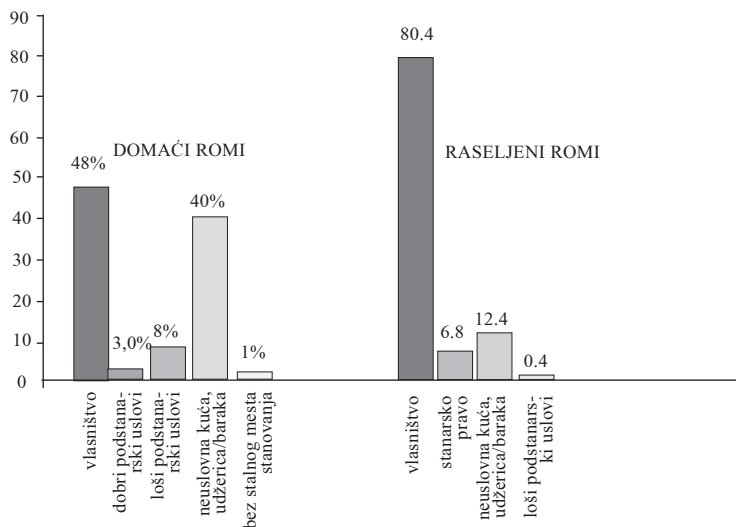
na kojima su vrata i prozori neodređenog izgleda i profila, često preuzetih sa starih porušenih kuća u gradskim naseljima. Porodice koriste za stanovanje i školjke od automobila. Pri tome treba imati u vidu da je i među domaćim Romima došlo do raslojavanja i da nasuprot sirotinjskim nastambama postoje kuće u vlasništvu Roma na kojima bi im pozavideli mnogi imućni meštani. Velika je socijalna polarizacija među domicilnim Romima, tako da skoro nema srednjeg sloja. Dakle, rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da su stambeni uslovi raseljenih Roma na Kosovu bili izrazito bolji nego što su to sadašnji uslovi stanovanja ispitivanog domicilnog, romskog stanovništva. To, međutim, ne menja realnu sliku o njihovom ukupnom statusu u Crnoj Gori, gde su se našli na dnu društvene lestvice.

Kako vam je u Crnoj Gori?



Skoro sve ispitivane ne-romske porodice crnogorskih građana žive u svojim porodičnim kućama (77%) ili svojim stanovima (19%). Samo četiri porodice su podstanari. Ovo je vrlo značajno jer samo po sebi govori da se radi o populaciji koja je mestom svog stalnog boravka opredeljena da živi na tom prostoru, pa je utoliko bilo značajno čuti njihova mišljenja i stavove o problemima raseljenih Roma sa Kosova koji su od nedavno i njihove komšije. U celini gledano prema subjektivnoj proceni anketara uredenost i kvalitet tih kuća je solidan.

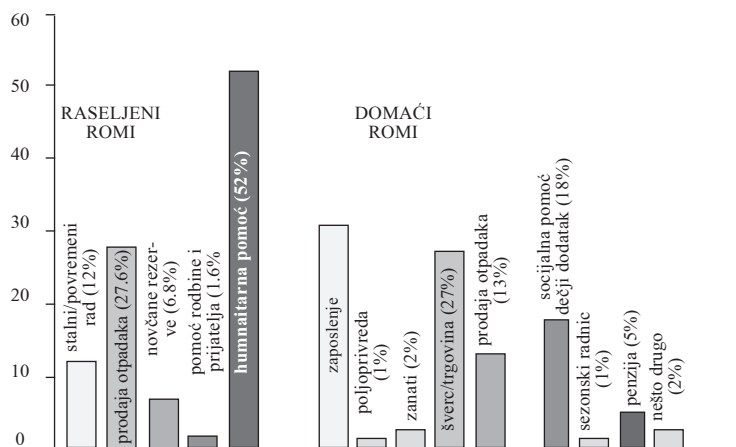
DOMAĆI ROMI: SADAŠNJI USLOVI STANOVANJA RASELJENI ROMI: RANIJI USLOVI STANOVANJA



Procena statusa i spremnost na angažman

Svaka druga porodica raseljenih Roma (52%) živi od humanitarne pomoći koja je, po njihovim rečima, sve manja, i donosi sve više problema. Nešto više od četvrtine (27,6%) pomaže se prodajom raznih otpadaka, a samo 12% povremeno radi i to uglavnom na nadnicu u poljoprivredi ili na istovaru i utovaru roba. Više od trećine izjavljuje (37,6%) da ni ne znaju od čega žive, što bi verovatno rekla i većina ostalih građana Crne Gore. Domaće stanovništvo često optužuje raseljene Rome da su sa sobom doneli mnogo opljačkanog novca, zlata i drugih dragocenosti koje se pojavljuju u ilegalnoj trgovini. Takav stav povećava napetosti među njima i potencira ionako vidljivu socijalnu distancu. U ispitivanoj raseljeničkoj populaciji, međutim, samo 6,8% porodica navodi da živi od ranijih novčanih rezervi. Poređenja radi, domaći Romi pretežno žive od stalnog ili privremenog zaposlenja (31%) i od šverca i trgovine (27%).

RASELJENI ROMI I DOMAĆI ROMI: SADAŠNJI IZVOR PRIHODA



Sadašnji status raseljenih Roma, domicilni Romi u 51% slučajeva ocjenjuju kao zadovoljavajući, 25% kao loš, a u 22% slučajeva isti kao i prethodni. Za razliku od njih, skoro svi raseljeni Romi (u 97,6% slučajeva) smatraju da su mnogo bolje živeli na Kosovu, pre izbijanja ratnih dejstava. Nešto manje od četvrtine crnogorskih ispitanika, procenjuje da je položaj raseljenih Roma dolaskom u Crnu Goru postao lošiji nego što je inače bio: čak 36% ispitanika smatra da je Romima u Crnoj Gori bolje nego što im je bilo na Kosovu. Može se pretpostaviti da se ova ocena zasniva pre svega na proceni uslova koje raseljeni Romi sada imaju u novoizgrađenom kampu Konik u poređenju sa položajem i uslovima života domicilnih Roma u Crnoj Gori. Naime, po podacima prikupljenim u jednom od prethodnih istraživanja, jedva oko 20% Roma u Crnoj Gori uživa blagodeti civilizacije u formi tekuće vode ili električne energije.³⁰

Kada raseljeni Romi procenjuju pruženu pomoć na kojoj im zavide domaći Romi – zadovoljno je nešto više

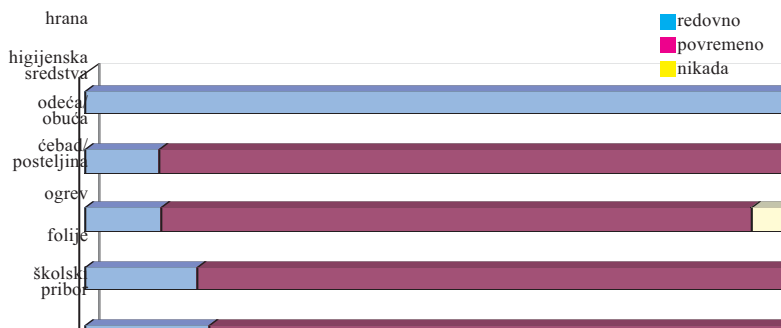
³⁰ Živorad Tasić, *Romi u Crnoj Gori – Status i perspektive*.

od polovine 58% – naspram 42% nezadovoljnih, koji pomoć ocjenjuju kao lošu – 30% ili vrlo lošu – 12%.

Svaka druga porodica raseljenih Roma povremeno ili redovno prodaje namirnice iz humanitarne pomoći. Tvrdi da to nikako nisu „viškovi“, nego se odriču hrane da bi došli do novca koji im je neophodan za druge potrebe. Nešto preko polovine raseljeničkih porodica (55,2%) se, takođe, obraćalo za pomoć raznim humanitarnim organizacijama, ali je pruženom pomoći zadovoljno nešto iznad jedne trećine (38,8%).

Pomoć u hrani je uglavnom redovna (89,6%), a povremena u higijenskim sredstvima (79,6%), odeći i obući (71,6%), posteljini (82%) i ogrevu (74,4%). Pomoć u hrani ni jednoj porodici nije izostala a povremena je bila u 10% slučajeva; pomoć u higijenskim sredstvima nije nikada dobilo 11,2% porodica, u odeći i obući 18,8%, ogrevu 10%. Građevinski materijal, najlonske folije i sl. nije dobijalo 66,4% porodica³¹, a oko četvrtine porodica 23,6% je povremeno dobijalo ovakvu vrstu pomoći.

VRSTE POMOĆI



Anketirane raseljeničke porodice se žale da je hrana vrlo lošeg kvaliteta, da je rok upotrebe mnogih prehrambenih

³¹ To je sasvim razumljivo ako se ima u vidu da većina anketiranih raseljeničkih porodica živi u kampu Konik I.

proizvoda koje dobijaju istekao i da se događaju trovanja hranom³². Čebad su ponekad prepuna vašaka. U kampu Konik I neki ispitanici su zazirali od „sektorista“, pa i od komšija. Kada bi se osećali sigurnim da ih niko ne sluša, kretala bi erupcija žalbi na raspodelu pomoći, na razne „mahinacije“ od strane onih koji dijele pomoć. Od njih se traži da budu srećni i zadovoljni prilikom posjeta uticajnih ljudi i da se slučajno na šta ne žale. Često moraju ponavljati „HVALA CRNOJ GORI“³³. Stiče se utisak da su Romi ubeđeni da ih stalno neko vara. Imaju utisak da im se na svakom koraku zakida i da se „mnogi obogatiše na njihov račun“. Zanimljivo je da je jedna od predrasuda ne-romskog stanovništva o Romima, upravo to isto uverenje o varanju. Ne-Romi, naimе, često misle da Romi varajući preživljavaju.

Iako se žale na loše uslove života, skoro svaka druga porodica nije ništa preduzimala da budu bolji uslovi (45,2%). Oni koji su nešto preduzimali (54,8%), uglavnom su sređivali svoj stambeni prostor, sakupljali sekundarne sirovine, bavili se sitnom trgovinom, povremeno radili na nadnicu, a samo u par pojedinačnih slučajeva pokušavali su da nešto rade u svom zanatu (zidar, muzičar). Da su se ipak trudili da sređuju stan vidi se i po proceni urednosti, koju su davali anketari. Više od polovine porodica, 64,8%, uredno održava svoje prostorije. Kada ove procenite uporedimo sa ocenom vlastitog statusa po kojoj 44% ima zadovoljavajući status, a 56% loš i izuzetno loš, mora se prime-

³² Neke žalbe anketari su zabeležili u upitnicima: „Primamo kao pomoć pokvarenu hranu koja ne vrijedi ništa“ (138), „Trovanje od gulaša, konzerve neispravne“ (145)

³³ Izbeglički list *Vrela* od 1. aprila 2000. godine (str. 6) zabeležio je posetu gospođe Sadako Ogata, visokog komesara za izbeglice UN romskom kampu Konik I koja je tom prilikom izjavila: „Hvala vam na dobrodošlici. Veliku zahvalnost dugujemo Crnoj Gori, koja je u ovolikom broju primila izbeglice sa Kosova.“ Prilikom anketiranja dve sedmice kasnije anketar je u upitniku 172 zabeležio sledeću izjavu u jednoj porodici: „Traže da pravimo pitu za Japanku. Treba da dođe u posjetu jedna Japanka, pa su nam službenici rekli da se lijepo obučemo, našminkamo, skuvamo čaj i napravimo pitu. Svi da izademo na trg i kažemo hvala Crnoj Gori.“

titi da se Romi ipak trude, u skladu sa svojim običajima i kulturom, da održavaju svoje prostorije. Unutrašnjost prostorije uređena je vrlo slično kod svih anketiranih. Pored zidova raspoređeno je nekoliko sunđerica. Danju se na njima sedi, a noću spava. Na sredini prostorije je *sinija* (okrugli sto sa veoma niskim nogama). Ukućani sede na jastucima prekrštenih nogu. (Mađupi, koji su među raseljenim Romima najbrojniji, su muhamedanske vere.) Ovde je očigledan uticaj albanskog okruženja u kom su oni živeli na Kosovu. Ako se ima u vidu i procenat Roma kojima je albanski maternji jezik, jasno je da su njihovi običaji mnogo bliži albanskim nego običajima sredine u koju su došli i u koju eventualno treba da se privremeno ili stalno integrišu.

Prethodna zapažanja mogu se potvrditi i u nekim elementima opremljenosti prostora i kulturi života. Uređenost stana je u visokoj korelaciji sa školskom spremom domaćina. Što je školska sprema viša i urednost stana je bolja i obrnuto. Urednost je takođe u korelaciji i sa planovima za budućnost. Pokazuje se da je neurednost stana veća kod onih koji nemaju nikakve određene planove za budućnost i planiraju da nastave da žive od humanitarne pomoći. Poređenje stanja sadašnje nastambe sa mestom gde su ranije živeli pokazuje jasnu korelaciju. Domaćinstva koja su živela u gradu i mahalama pokraj grada imaju i bolje uređen stambeni prostor od onih koji su živeli u selu i mahalama pokraj sela. Nažlost, ako je higijena stambenih prostorija zadovoljavajuća, isti zaključak se ne može izvesti i za zajedničke prostorije i prostor između zgrada. Ti prostori su izrazito neuredni i zapušteni. Ovaj zaključak se posebno nameće za izrazito nehigijenske i nehumane uslove stanovanja raseljenih porodica u Nikšiću. Na primer, u toku zimskog perioda, vrata na zajedničkim klozetima u kampu Konik I, postavljena preko dana, nestanu preko noći jer ih neko uzme za ogrev, pa tako nekoliko puta. U Nikšiću je stanje još lošije. Tamo često uopšte i nema klozeta.

Raseljeni Romi kažu da imaju želje i volje da ličnim radom učestvuju u poboljšanju uslova života (67,2%), ali do

sada to nisu realizovali. Oni su raspoloženi i da prihvate kredit za poboljšanje uslova života. Izjašnjavaju se da bi radili „sve“ poslove (verovatno zato što ni sami ne znaju koje bi poslove mogli raditi dobro). Radili bi na poslovima čistoće (11 odgovora), građevinskim 9, fizičkim poslovima i kao najamnici 6, zanatima 3, a njih 44 izjavljuje da nemaju šta da rade.

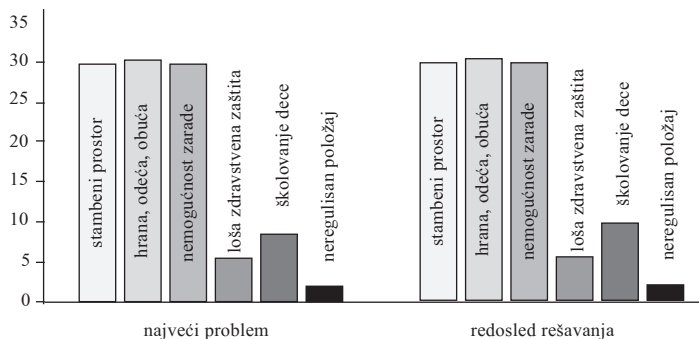
Koji su najteži problemi

Na pitanja šta im je u mnoštvu životnih problema sa kojima se susreću najteže raseljeni Romi su se najviše žalili na loše uslove stanovanja (81 odgovor), gubitak imovine (59), lošu hranu (45), nemogućnost da koriste električnu energiju (42), nedostatak zaposlenja (34), gubitak zavičaja (32), nedostatak novca (29), lošu prihvaćenost u novoj sredini, rat i bombardovanje, smrt u porodici. Uslovi života u kojima su se našli podeljeni su na više parametara, kako bi bilo moguće što konkretnije definisati probleme. Na prvom mestu navode problem stambenog prostora (41,6% kao prvi odgovor), nedostatak hrane, odeće i obuće (27,6%) i nemogućnost zarade (26,8%). Sva tri ova uslova se prepliću i skoro je nemoguće odrediti koji je najteži, jer sva tri su u preko 90% slučajeva rangirana kao prva tri.

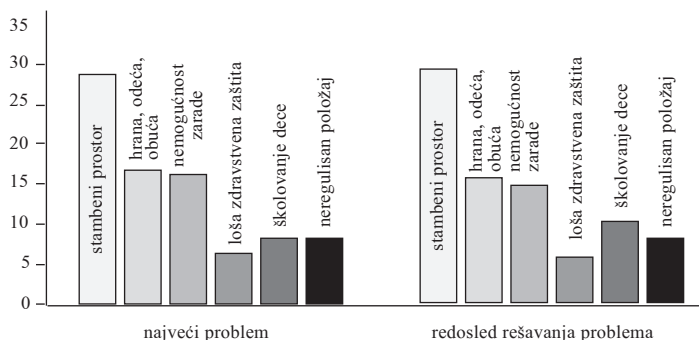
Tabela 3. – Šta je najveći problem?

	Raseljeni Romi		Domicilni Romi		Crnogorsko stanovn.	
	najveći problem	redosled rešavanja	najveći probl.	redosled rešavanja	najveći problem	redosled rešavanja
Stambeni prostor	30,13	29,73	38%	39%	27%	28%
Hrana, odeća i obuća	30,80	30,53	22%	20%	17%	20%
Nemogućnost zarade	30,00	29,2	21%	19,5%	18%	22%
Loša zdravstvena zaštita	4,80	5,33	8,33%	7,67%	19%	18%
Školovanje dece	8,17	9,23	10,33%	13,67%		
Neregulisan položaj	2,13	1,73	11%	10,67%	16%	8%

RASELJENI ROMI: NAJVEĆI PROBLEM I REDOSLED REŠAVANJA PROBLEMA



DOMAĆI ROMI: NAJVEĆI PROBLEM I REDOSLED REŠAVANJA PROBLEMA



Stambeni prostor kao najveći problem doživljavaju podstanari. Od domaćinstava koja su smeštena u barakama rangovanje stambenog prostora kao problema ne zavisi od broja članova. Veliki je procenat domaćina koji stavljaju stambeni prostor kao najveći problem (39,2% I, II i III rang) i nisu se angažovali na poboljšanju uslova života. Kredit kao način rešavanja stambenog problema prihvatljiv je za 49% onih koji ovaj problem doživljavaju kao prvi ili drugi u rangovanju. „Problem“ hrane, odeće i obuće takođe ne zavisi od broja članova porodice. Neobično je ipak da se hrana ranguje tako visoko, jer je pomoć, kako

sami kažu, redovna i često se prodaje. Čak 42% od ukupno 45,6% anketiranih koji procenjuju humanitarnu pomoć kao zadovoljavajuću stavljaju problem hrane, obuće i odeće na prva tri ranga. Anketirani domaćini koji nemogućnost zarade ranguju među prva tri su najčešće upravo oni koji u budućnosti nameravaju da rade bilo šta da bi prehranili porodicu. Takođe ovo doživljavaju kao najveći problem ljudi koji su na Kosovu imali stalno ili povremeno zaposlenje. Zdravstvena zaštita se izdiferencirala kao četvrti problem po težini, peti rang je zauzelo školovanje dece, a neregulisan položaj više od polovine anketiranih (52,8%) stavlja na poslednje mesto.

Testiranje osećanja solidarnosti i empatije i subjektivne ocene raseljenih Roma o spremnosti okruženja da im pruži pomoć dalo je zanimljive rezultate. Kad im je teško i kad imaju neki problem, raseljeni Romi se najčešće obraćaju humanitarnoj organizaciji INTERSOS (66 odgovora), komšiji 61, „predsedniku“ kampa 23, sektoristi 20³⁴, porodici 16, a 17 domaćina je izjavilo da nema kome da se obrati kad mu je teško. Kako je reč o pitanju sa mogućnošću otvorenog odgovora, razumljivo je da se veliki broj (63) ispitanika nije uopšte izjasnio.

Poznat je manir romskog stanovništva da daje društveno poželjne odgovore. Tako smatraju da je sigurnost porodice veća ako deca pohađaju školu (87,6%). Preostalih 13,4% ne školuju svoju decu zato što su siromašni, ne znaju jezik, deca ne žele da pohađaju školu, a predrasude prema Romima su razlog u 2% slučajeva. Podaci bi bili ohrabujući kad bi se radilo o redovnim školama. Sva deca idu u škole koje su za njih posebno organizovane i koje su više zabavnog karaktera. To su programi rađeni posebno za ovu populaciju. Više se može govoriti o pokušajima opi-

³⁴ Ispitanici prepoznaju INTERSOS kao organizaciju kojoj najviše veruju, što ne iznenađuje s obzirom da je najveći broj porodica smešten u kampu Konik I i najčešće kontakte imaju sa predstavnicima te organizacije. Deprivirane grupe češće preferiraju institucionalnu pomoć i podršku nego individualnu.

smeњavanja mladih Roma nego o sistematskom školovanju. Organizovano im je dnevno po tri predmeta po 35 minuta. Ovakav oblik nastave se u aprilu, u vreme istraživanja, izvodio u barakama izgrađenim u tu svrhu, a u jesen je organizovan u Osnovnoj školi „Božidar Vuković“ u naselju Konik. Program je trajao od septembra 1999. do januara 2000. godine i obuhvatao je preko 100 dece uzrasta od 7 do 12 godina. Zamisao Ministarstva prosvete Crne Gore je bila da se ta deca od februara 2000. uključe u redovnu nastavu. Međutim, samo su dva učenika nastavila da pohađaju školu i uključeni su u redovnu nastavu. U istoj školi, u toku polugodišta je organizovano elementarno opismenjavanje za preko 700 Roma od 10 do 25 godina. Dužina i broj časova su se i ovde morali prilagođavati navikama Roma. Časovi su umesto 45 trajali 35 minuta, a veliki odmor je ukinut jer bi veliki broj učenika sa odmora otišao kući. Često je jedini motiv pohađanja ove škole pomoć koju dele humanitarne organizacije.

Porodice koje šalju svoju decu u školu dobijaju školski pribor (61,6%), ali treba imati u vidu da 31,2% porodica nemaju decu školskog uzrasta ili ih ne šalju u školu. Deca, u školi, često dobijaju odeću i obuću, mada se roditelji žale da uglavnom dobijaju neadekvatnu veličinu.

Informisanost domaćeg stanovništva o dolasku raseljenih Roma je skoro potpuna (samo 2% neinformisanih). Crnogorci procenjuju da je neodgovarajući smeštaj najveći problem raseljenih Roma 27,3%, pa zatim loša zdravstvena zaštita 19%, nemogućnost zarade 18%, loša hrana, odeća i obuća 17% i na kraju neregulisan položaj 16%. Verbalni iskazi domaćina kada je u pitanju zdravstvena zaštita svodili su se na to da ne higijenski uslovi življenja Roma mogu dovesti do epidemije žutice i svih drugih zaraznih bolesti.

Prvi problem koji im treba rešavati je obezbeđivanje elementarnih uslova smeštaja od čvrstog materijala, smatra 28,6% Crnogoraca, drugi po važnosti je obezbeđivanje mogućnosti zarade 22%, na trećem mestu po prioritetu je obezbeđivanje hrane odeće i obuće 20%, a zatim zdrav-

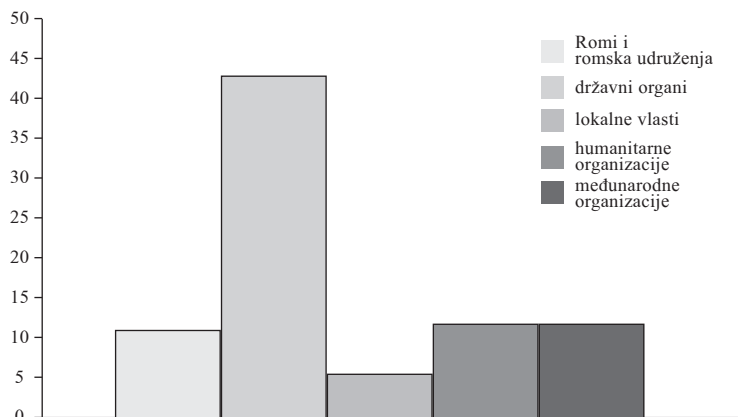
stvena zaštita 18% i regulisanje položaja 8%. Kada se radi o podršci i učešću u realizaciji programa pomoći raseljenim Romima stav Crnogoraca je ambivalentan. Kada se radi o podršci onda je ona relativno visoka (63%), ali kada treba i da učestvuju u realizaciji programa i budu akteri, Crnogorci se opet distanciraju u istom procentu (63%).

Ko može i treba da pomogne?

„Riješavajte probleme Roma, vodite ih što dalje od nas!“
(CG upitnik 20)

Kao najodgovornije za rešavanje životnih problema raseljenih Roma crnogorski građani smatraju državne organe (44%) i lokalne vlasti (4%) ili „one koji su ih doveli“ kako su imali običaj da kažu tokom anketiranja. Vrlo su često naglašavali da se tu zapravo radi o kratkoročnim interesima države koja zahvaljujući Romima i pomoći koja se njima pruža od strane humanitarnih organizacija istovremeno kupuje socijalni mir svog stanovništva koje prima deo te pomoći. Ne retko su upućivali žestoke kritike predsedniku Republike Crne Gore Milu Đukanoviću sa porukom da ih „on vodi svojoj kući“.

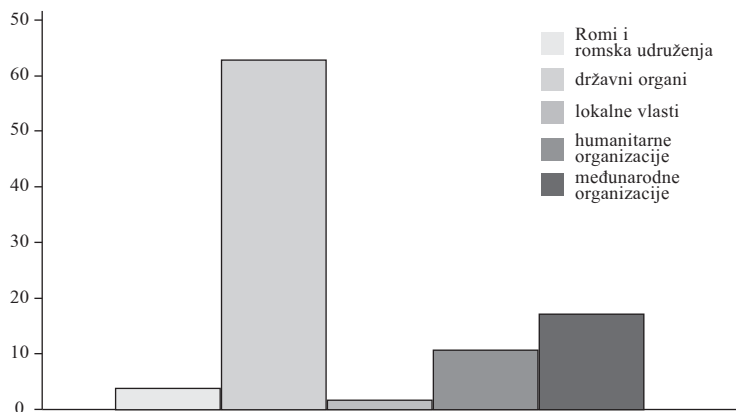
CRNOGORCI: KO MOŽE POMOĆI?



Da humanitarne i međunarodne organizacije mogu povoljno uticati na rešavanje problema raseljenih Roma misli 24% Crnogoraca, a da Romi mogu pomoći sami sebi 11%, dok je 14% onih koji nemaju mišljenje o tom pitanju. U visokom procentu procenjuju pomoć koja je pružena raseljenim Romima u Crnoj Gori kao vrlo dobru i zadovoljavajuću (78%), a sebe kao pojedince ne smatraju „moćnim“ za rešavanje njihovih problema. (samo 2% misli da bi im mogli pomoći) a 97% da ne žele ili da nisu o tome razmišljali.

Zanimljivo je da su se ispitanici u odgovorima na ona pitanja koja se tiču problema raseljenih Roma u velikom procentu (čak i do 42%) opredeljivali za odgovor „ne znam“ što govori o indiferentnom odnosu i nedovoljnom razumevanju Crnogoraca za situaciju raseljenih Roma. Ovo je još jedan dokaz da teritorijalna blizina ne mora značiti i ljudsku bliskost i empatiju.

RASELJENI ROMI: KO MOŽE POMOĆI?

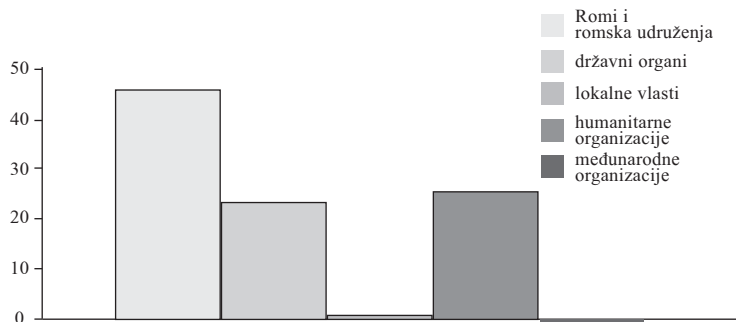


Verbalni iskazi Crnogoraca govore o tome da je uglavnom ono što oni mogu da urade to da ne otežavaju svojim odnosom ionako težak položaj raseljenih Roma, da budu gostoljubiviji, da ih ne omalovažavaju i eventualno pruže pomoć u hrani, odeći i obući. Ovakva pozitivna razmišljanja su bila malobrojna. Svi ostali govore o svom teškom položaju o tome da se plaše nehigijene Roma, rezig-

nirano izjavljaju „Najbolje da sve prodamo i ustupimo im Konik“ ili „Da im pomognemo da se spakuju i odu odakle su i došli „ i sl. Slična je situacija i u Nikšiću.

Problemi su, dakle, elementarni, egzistencijalni. Ti problemi prate svako izbeglištvo i iseljništvo. Otuda se pitanja o tome ko može efikasno pomoći i ko treba da rešava egzistencijalne probleme raseljenih Roma nameću kao veoma značajna. Na ta pitanja tri ispitivane grupe daju različite odgovore. Domaći Romi smatraju u 46% slučajeva da nagomilane probleme raseljenih treba da rešavaju sami raseljeni Romi i njihova udruženja³⁵, 26% anketiranih misli da te probleme treba da rešavaju humanitarne organizacije, dok 24% smatra da država-domaćin treba da rešava probleme novopridošlih Roma sa Kosova. Distribucija odgovora raseljenih Roma je značajno drugačija: 62% ispitanika misli da država-domaćin treba da rešava probleme koji su nastali izbeglištvom.

DOMAĆI ROMI: KO MOŽE POMOĆI?



³⁵ Romska udruženja, pogotovo međunarodna, zaista pokušavaju – u okviru svojih ograničenih mogućnosti – da doprinesu ozbiljnijem tretiranju teškog položaja kosovskih Roma, kako na samom Kosovu tako i u izgnanstvu. Skretanje pažnje međunarodne javnosti na ovaj problem bio je cilj Konferencije balkanskih Roma za mir i bezbednost održane u Sofiji 18. i 19. juna 1999. Na konferenciji su se čula dramatična svedočanstva kosovskih Roma o maltretiranjima kojima su bili izloženi od strane osvetoljubivih kosovskih Albanaca; takođe je formulisana niz zaključaka i upozorenja koji je upućen na adresu relevantnih međunarodnih tela. Neposredan plod tog napora bila je zajednička terenska misija OEBS/ODIHR/Saveta Evrope o položaju Roma na Kosovu, u julu i avgustu 1999. Misija je stekla precizan uvid u stanje na terenu i ponudila međunarodnim faktorima smernice o merama koje bi trebalo preduzeti da se ona popravi; praktični efekti, nažalost, bili su gotovo ravni nuli.

5. MEĐUSOBNI ODNOSI

„Nijesmo rasisti, ali moraju ići“
Barske novine, maj, 2000.

Socijalna distanca

Istraživanje postojanja stereotipa jedan je od načina ispitivanja mišljenja o marginalnim etničkim grupama kao što su Romi. Izbegavanje kontakata, manifestovana ili latentna socijalna distanca je jedan od pokazatelja neprihvatanja neke etničke grupe. U ovom istraživanju socijalna distanca je procenjivana na osnovu pokazatelja o mestu stanovanja, spremnosti da se pomogne u teškim situacijama, odnosu prema školovanju dece i na osnovu prilagođene Bogardusove skale. Odnosi su ispitivani u dvostrukoj perspektivi, od domicilnih Roma i ne-romskih građana Crne Gore prema raseljenim Romima i obratno. Jedan od jugoslovenskih socijalnih psihologa primećuje: „Bogardus (1925) je pod socijalnom distancom podrazumevao različite stupnjeve osećanja intimnosti koje pripadnici jedne društvene grupe doživljavaju u odnosu na pripadnike drugih društvenih grupa iste vrste. Prva i većina kasnijih istraživanja odnosila su se na procene udaljenosti koju pripadnici jednih etničkih grupa osećaju prema pripadnicima drugih etničkih grupa.“³⁶

Polovina anketiranih domaćina u porodicama raseljenih Roma bi stupila u brak sa Crnogorcima (50,8%), druga polo-

³⁶ Nenad Havelka, *Socijalna percepcija*, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Beograd, 1992, str. 206.

vina je izjavila da se ipak ne bi ženili i udavali sa Crnogorcima i Crnogorkama. Zanimljivo je da su na brak sa Crnogorcima spremniji oni sa nepotpunom osnovnom školom ili bez škole. Domaćini sa osnovnom školom ili zanatom u većini ne bi stupili u brak sa Crnogorcima. Skoro svi koji se odlučuju da žive u Crnoj Gori bi prihvatili brak sa domaćim stanovništvom, za razliku od onih koji bi da se vrate na Kosovo i koji ne bi stupili u ovakvu vrstu odnosa. Vrlo su spremni, u preko 90% slučajeva da budu prijatelji, komšije, kolege, podređeni na poslu, sugrađani i stanovnici iste države sa Crnogorcima.

Mišljenja koja su izneli domicilni Romi o pitanjima saradnje sa Crnogorcima vrlo su slična onima koje su dali raseljeni. Svi anketirani (100%) izrazili su spremnost da se druže sa njima, u istim procentima da žive sa njima u komšiluku, kao i da rade u istoj firmi. Ali, na pitanje o stupanju u brak sa Crnogorcima (Crnogorkama) pozitivno se izjasnilo 44% ispitanika a 56% je protiv. Dakle, kada se radi o odnosima u koje bi trebalo uložiti najviše ljudskih energija, postizati najveći stepen intimnosti i poverenja, domaći Romi u 56% slučajeva izražavaju neskrivene barijere i negativan stav. U ovom slučaju može se pretpostaviti da su bili iskreniji u davanju odgovora. „Romi neće lako da prihvate da njihove devojke odlaze u domove porodica druge narodne pripadnosti“, kazao je Sejdo Selimović iz Podgorice: „Niko ne želi da mu se išteti krv, pa to ni mi Romi ne možemo lako prihvatiti“.³⁷

Nasuprot Romima – i raseljenim i domicilnim – svoju potrebu za uspostavljanjem socijalne distance Crnogorci su pokazali biranjem odnosa u koje bi stupili sa Romima. Skoro svi ispitanici (97%) se izjašnjavaju da ne bi stupili u brak sa Romima. Za prijatelje ih ne želi 59%, kao ni za komšije (57%), ili pretpostavljene na poslu 61%. Rezultati istraživanja – *Romi u Crnoj Gori – Status i perspektive* koje je izveo Živorad Tasić³⁸ govore o 50% ispi-

³⁷ Videti, Momčilo Lutovac, *Op.cit*, str.94.

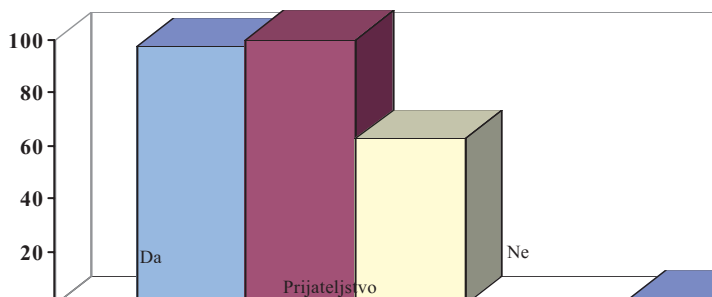
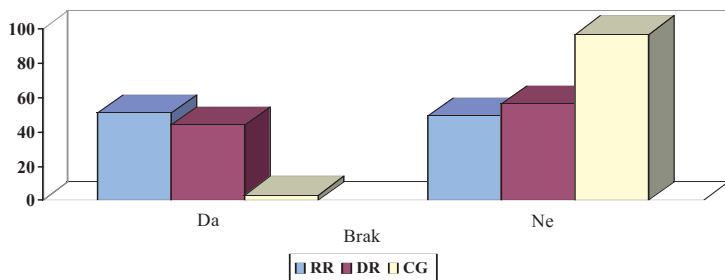
³⁸ Videti, Živorad Tasić, *Romi u Crnoj Gori – Status i perspektive*, istraživanje obavljeno 1999. godine za COOPI.

tanika koji su spremni da prihvate Rome kao susede, 60% ispitanika kojima ne bi smetalo da im dete sedi u istoj školskoj klupi sa romskim detetom i 62% onih koji „jednostavno rečeno osećaju gnušanje pred idejom o braku ili bilo kakvoj sličnoj vezi sa Romima.“ Odnosi koji su formalniji i ne zahtevaju dublje lične kontakte su prihvatljiviji. Tako se 63% ispitanika izjasnilo da bi radilo sa Romima u istoj firmi, za sugrađane bi ih imalo nešto više od tri četvrtine (78%) a zajednički život u istoj državi je prihvatljiv za 87% ispitanika. Poražavajuće je da većina ispitanika koji bi živeli sa Romima u istoj državi ne žele njihovom integraciju u crnogorsko društvo (69%). Ogromna većina ispitanog domaćeg stanovništva smatra da Romi treba da žive u svojim mahalama (85%). Zanimljivo je da isti procenat raseljenih Roma ima to mišljenje. Reč je, očigledno o socijalnoj distanci prema različitoj socijalnoj grupi, ali su Romi svesni da ih „drugi“ ne prihvataju, pa „biraju“ svoju izolaciju. Izgleda da je izolovanost u kojoj su Romi živeli oduvek sprečavala njihovo utapanje u većinske narode koji su ih okruživali, jer *geto sistem* podrazumeva i izolovan način života.

Na saradnju sa Romima spremno je nešto manje od jedne trećine ne-romskih ispitanika (30%), a u približno istom postotku procenjuju da su i Romi voljni da sarađuju sa njima (35%). Odnos domaćeg stanovništva prema raseljenim Romima može se najbolje sagledati kroz rečenicu jednog domaćina: „Svaka čast svakome ali neka idu odakle su došli“. Ovakav stav prema Romima bio je izraženiji u porodicama koje su u bližem susedstvu, i u Podgorici i u Nikšiću. Uopšteno posmatrano, socijalna distanca može da preraste i u otvoreno neprijateljstvo, na šta ukazuje jedan od boljih poznavalaca ove problematike, Nikola Rot: „Ukoliko je postojao ili postoji antagonizam, a taj se veoma lako javlja između naše i tuđe grupe, javlja se ne samo ocenjivanje razlika i osećanje distance nego i osećanje neprijateljstva. U tom slučaju pridajemo tuđim grupama zle namere prema našoj grupi, a njihovim pripadnicima nega-

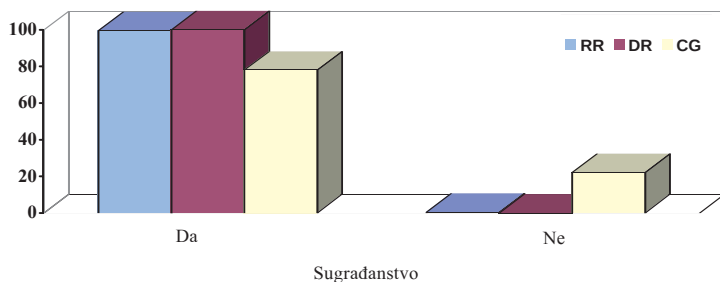
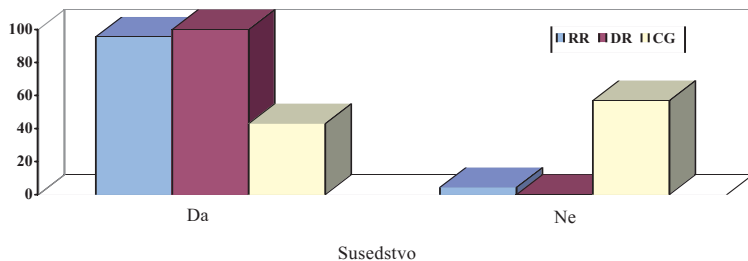
tivne karakteristike.“³⁹ Negativan stav prema Romima i postojanje socijalne distance su činioci koji se moraju uzeti u obzir s najvećom obazrivošću pri razmatranju mogućnosti integracije Roma, jer podaci ukazuju da su to veoma nepovoljni faktori.

Crnogorsko društvo sebi pripisuje visoku „deferencijalnu evaluativnu prednost“⁴⁰ u odnosu na druge grupe u društvu. Takva samoocena povezana je sa većom zatvorenošću i komunikacijskom izolovanošću. Zato ne treba da čudi da prema Romima kao tradicionalno etiketiranoj grupi sa najčešće negativnim obeležjima pokazuju prilično strukturisanu i prepoznatljivu distancu.



³⁹ Nikola Rot, *Psihologija grupa*, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Beograd, 1999, str. 67.

⁴⁰ Uporediti takode, Mirjana Vasović, „Karakteristike grupnih identiteta i odnos prema društvenim promenama u javnom mnjenju Srbije“, u zborniku *Javno mnjenje Srbije*, Udruženje za unapređivanje empirijskih istraživanja, Beograd 200, str. 18.



Procena osobina

Na pitanja o karakternim osobinama raseljenih Roma, domicilni Romi su se izjašnjavali pozitivno, što pokazuju odgovori: njih 70% se delimično slaže da su raseljeni gostoljubljivi, a svega 2% se ne slaže; 63% se delimično slaže da su vredni, a samo 14% se ne slaže sa tom konstatacijom; 64% domicilnih Roma se delimično slaže da ih raseljeni Romi razumeju; 56% se delimično slaže da raseljeni Romi nisu sebični.

Ove stavove domicilnih Roma je vrlo bitno uporediti sa mišljenjima raseljenih Roma sa Kosova o domaćem stanovništvu. Raseljeni Romi procenjuju da je domaće stanovništvo gostoljubivo (potpuno se slaže 54,8%), da je sebično delimično se slaže 43,2%, da ne primećuju Rome uopšte delimično se slaže 40,8%, da ne vole naročito Rome (60%), te da su domaći građani vredni u 90% slučajeva se potpuno ili delimično slažu.

Tabela 4. – Procena karakteristika

	Raseljeni Romi o Crnogorcima N=250=100%						Dominicilni Romi N=100=100%			Crnogorci o Romima N=100%		
	pns*		ds*		ps*		pns	ds	ps	pns	ds	Ps
	N	%	N	%	N	%						
Gostoljubivi	39	15.6	73	29.2	137	54.8	2	70	27	14	48	37
Vredni	25	10.0	111	44.4	113	45.2	14	62	23	52	24	23
Ne vole nas	99	39.6	83	33.2	67	26.8	63	30	6	25	45	27
Razumeju nas	61	24.4	102	40.8	86	34.4	7	64	28	38	42	19
Sebični su	89	56.0	108	33	52	10.0	36	43	21	37	23	39
Ne primećuju nas	98	35.6	102	40.8	58	23.2	55	40	4	36	30	33

* pns = potpuno se ne slažem; ds = delomično se slažem; ps = potpuno se slažem

Tri četvrtine ne-romskih ispitanika (78%) misli o Romima da su lenji i neodgovorni, a razloge za neuspeh romske dece u školi vidi podjednako u nemotivisanosti (26%), nepoznavanju jezika i kulture većinskog crnogorskog stanovništva (26%), kao i lenjosti i neodgovornosti (22%). Postoji veliki stepen slaganja među Crnogorcima u tome da su Romi gostoljubivi (potpuno i delimično se slaže 85% ispitanika). Sa stavom da su Romi sebični slaže se 60% ispitanika kao i da ne vole domaće stanovništvo (72%). U 63% slučajeva crnogorski ispitanici veruju da ih raseljeni Romi i ne primećuju. Među onima koji procenjuju da ih Romi ne vole 88,7% je onih koji izjavljuju da sa Romima i nemaju socijalne odnose. Verovatno je da se u ovom slučaju radi o stereotipu. Ipak 38% ispitanika veruje da Romi razumeju teškoće domaćeg stanovništva.

Slika o Romima ipak nije jednostrana. Crnogorski građani pripisuju im i pozitivne i negativne osobine, mada negativne prevlađuju. U nastojanju da se razume ovaj problem može korisno poslužiti zapažanje Nenada Havelke:

„Kako će svako od nas da 'raspakuje' kategorijalnu pripadnost neke osobe zavisi od niza okolnosti. Pre svega to zavisi od naše sopstvene kategorijalne identifikacije. Na jedan način vidimo kategorije kojima i sami pripadamo a na drugi ostale kategorije. Te ostale kategorije mogu nam biti dobro poznate, bliske i prihvatljive, ali i slabo poznate, udaljene i neprihvatljive.“⁴¹ Pitanje je sada da li su negativni stavovi crnogorskih ispitanika stvar predrasuda ili su realna procesa. Izgleda da je u pravu Milutin Prokić kada konstatuje da „Romi nisu prisutni u svesti prosečnog građanina kao problem ovog društva, odnosno kao kategorija ljudi koja podnosi najveće teškoće svakodnevnog života.“⁴² Činjenica je, ipak, da ti stavovi i predrasude, nezavisno od toga koliko su realni, mogu imati negativan uticaj na socijalni položaj raseljenih Roma na jednoj strani kao i na opšti tok njihove integracije u crnogorsko društvo, na drugoj.

Verbalni iskazi Crnogoraca nam daju drugačiju sliku⁴³. Naime najveći broj ispitanika govori o životu na ovim prostorima od davnina, o svojim dedovima i precima koji su se tu naselili, o tolerantnim međunacionalnim odnosima i svemu onome što im je život činilo normalnim.

⁴¹ Nenad Havelka, *Socijalna percepcija*, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Beograd 1992, str.204.

⁴² Milutin Prokić, „Socijalno-ekonomske karakteristike Roma u Jugoslaviji“, u: *Razvitak Roma u Jugoslaviji – Problemi i tendencije*, SANU, Beograd 1992, str. 112. Autor s razlogom postavlja pitanje da li „...ima ikakvih izgleda za Rome u ovim vremenima, u jednom društvu koje i samo posustaje, i koje se nalazi na izmaku svojih moralnih i materijalnih snaga“ i zaključuje „Romi nemaju ni snage ni volje da se brže podižu sa dna na koje se nalaze.“ *Ibid*, str. 112–113.

⁴³ Uporedi takođe Edit Petrović, „Stereotipije o romskim zanimanjima i zanimanja Roma“, u: *Društvene promene i položaj Roma*, SANU – Institut za socijalnu politiku, Beograd 1993, str. 140-147, posebno sledeće mesto: „Bez obzira na formalno prihvatanje 'svojih Cigana', može se uočiti da se u Crnoj Gori razvila vrlo jaka distanciranost Crnogoraca prema Romima upravo na osnovu njihovih zanimanja. To se može posmatrati kroz pežorativan odnos koji Crnogorci razvijaju prema zanatskim zanimanjima, koja se smatraju najnižom vrstom ljudskog rada – raditi za druge, usluživati druge.“ *Ibid*, str. 143–144.

Intergrupna dinamika

Raseljeni Romi sa Kosova procenjuju njihove odnose sa domaćim stanovništvom kao vrlo dobre u 53,6% i kao dobre u 33,2% slučajeva. Samo 13,2% ispitanika kažu da su odnosi loši ili vrlo loši. Iako procenjuju odnose kao dobre, svesni su da im domaće stanovništvo ne može mnogo da pomogne. Oko jedne četvrtine ispitanih porodica takođe misli da je realno očekivati da im domaće stanovništvo da ono što im nije neophodno i da razume njihove poteškoće.

Istraživanje je pokazalo da i u ovom segmentu postoji nedoslednost u verbalnim iskazima anketiranih Roma i raskorak između verbalnih iskaza i postupaka u praksi. Naime, 49% svih anketiranih domaćih Roma se izjasnilo da je spremno da pomogne raseljenim Romima. Međutim, verbalni iskaz i praktično ponašanje se često veoma razlikuju. Verbalno iskazana spremnost 49% ispitanih domaćih Roma, da pomognu raseljenim Romima, nije imala svoju konkretizaciju čak ni u odgovorima na pitanje: „Šta može domaće stanovništvo da učini u rešavanju problema raseljenih Roma?“ Najčešći odgovori su bili: „ništa“, „malo“, „vrlo malo“, „slabo može bilo šta“, „gotovo ništa“. Pojedini odgovori su išli do izrazito negativnog stava: „Ništa i nama treba pomoći“, „Ništa, nemamo ni za sebe“, „Ništa, sem da ih poćeramo na njihova ognjišta“, „Nemamo dovoljno ni za nas“. Međutim, statistički su najučestaliji citirani odgovori da ne mogu ništa, da ne znaju šta bi i sl. Sve ukazuje na zaključak da domaći Romi imaju potrebu da se distanciraju od problema svojih raseljenih sunarodnika. Oni koji misle da je pomoć ipak moguća izražavaju uglavnom stav da ta pomoć treba da bude u odeći, obući, hrani ili „da im ustupimo sobu za smještaj“. Bilo je zanimljivih ideja, kao što su „da im pomognemo u pronalaženju sezonskog posla“, „da domaćini ne plaćaju struju i vodu“, „da shvatimo njihove probleme i da im pružimo podršku“. Neki odgovori su poprimili altruistički ton, kao npr. „dala bih im sve što imam“, „da podijelimo sve naše sa njima“.

Izvesnu napetost između raseljenih i domaćih Roma, pa čak između različitih grupa raseljenih Roma, treba imati u vidu nezavisno od toga što pripadaju istom narodu, kulturi i rasi. Te nesuglasice, koje ponekad poprimaju izgled ozbiljnih sukoba, su pre deo svakodnevnog folkloru koji se manifestuje u povišenim tonovima i na druge slične načine. Domaće stanovništvo na osnovu ekscesa smatra da su i stope kriminaliteta među Romima povišene.⁴⁴

Pomoć je najčešće pružana rodbini koja je došla u koloni raseljenih Roma sa Kosova, a njih je 57%. Od tog procenta su domaćini—rođaci prihvatili i smestili u svoje domove 35,9% rođaka sa Kosova. Ostali su verovatno zaboravili na rođачke veze. Gostoprimstvo su pokazali najčešće oni domaći Romi, koji su vlasnici kuća i baraka. Anketari su registrovali da je porodica (upitnik br. 33) u kuću primila domaćinovog brata, koji je imao desetoro dece, zatim (upitnik br. 72) udomili su domaćinovog strica i sl. Međutim, u tim relacijama je dolazilo i dolazi do sukoba i nerazumevanja. Jedan anketar je zapisao iskaz ispitivanog domaćeg Roma; „Oni bolje žive nego mi! Mi imamo probleme, a ne oni. Vratiti ih na Kosovo“. „Imali smo rođake raseljena lica u kući. Nismo imali šta da jedemo, oni su svega dobijali, ali nisu davali mojoj djeci.“ „Sigurno je da je ovakve situacije proizvelo i objektivno loše materijalno stanje domaćina i nedostatak obostranog senzibiliteta u takvim situacijama. Sukobi su usledili kao neminovnost.

Domaći Romi sopstveni odnos prema raseljenim Romima ocenjuju kao zadovoljavajući u 87% slučajeva, a kao loš samo u 4%. Koliko taj odnos može da bude loš najslikovitije govori primer iz Mesne zajednice Stari Bar – op-

⁴⁴ To jednostavno nije tačno. Prema verodostojnom izvoru, delinkvencija romske populacije u Nikšiću od 1990. godine zadržava se na nivou od 1% i niža je od stopa kriminaliteta neromske populacije. Taj procenat nije povećan ni posle ratnih sukoba na Kosovu i dolaska raseljenih Roma sa Kosova. Najveći broj kriminalnih dela čine dela protiv imovine (krađe) i najčešće su povezana sa lošim životnim uslovima i nemogućnošću da drugi način obezbede neophodna dobra.

štine Bar, koji će ovde biti prikazan. Naime, u ovoj mesnoj zajednici uglavnom žive Romi, tako da je rukovodstvo mesne zajednice artikulisalo stavove i mišljenje njenih stanovnika, a oni se graniče sa rasnom segragacijom. U lokalnim sredstvima informisanja (*Radio Bar* i *Barske novine*) predsednik mesne zajednice, lekar ne-Rom, govoreći o problemima koje imaju, između ostalog, je rekao: „oni se kreću našim ulicama, govoreći za nas nerazumljivim jezikom. Obavljaju nuždu gdje stignu, naše ulice smrde, na njima nema mjesta za građane Starog Bara. Danas su oni u Starom Baru, sutra će se kupati na našim plažama, šetati po Topolici, krasti u Polju, njihova djeca, nevaspitana, zapuštena, vašljiva i bolesna ići će u našu školu. Romi, albanske nacionalnosti su poznati kao kliconoše raznih bolesti, zarazne žutice, tifusa, TBC i meningitisa...”⁴⁵

Može se reći da među raseljenim Romima nema transparentno iskazanih negativnih stavova prema domaćem stanovništvu. Bez obzira na primer iz Bara, može se zaključiti da je moguće uspostaviti dobre odnose između domaćeg i raseljenog romskog stanovništva. Pogotovo ako se zna da anketirani domaći Romi u 92% slučajeva veruju da

⁴⁵ *Barske novine* str. 10.br. 165/2000, maj 2000 god.) Ovakvo mišljenje je pretočeno u zvaničnu peticiju za deložiranje raseljenih Roma iz ove mesne zajednice, koja je upućena Predsedniku Vlade Republike Crne Gore, Opštinskom povereniku za raseljena lica, Predsedniku Opštine Bar, predsednicima Republičke i Opštinske komisije za raseljena lica. Inače, u ovoj mesnoj zajednici, kao što je već pomenuto, žive uglavnom Romi, tako da je najveći broj raseljenih Roma, pokušao tu da nađe utočište, s obzirom da imaju naglašenu potrebu da žive u romskim mahalama, a to je upravo Stari Bar. Verovatno nisu mogli očekivati ovakav prijem u jednoj romskoj mahali? Prema rečima Opštinskog poverenika, UNHCR i ARC su renovirali 100 kuća domicilnog stanovništva, i u to su uložili 120 000 DM, kako bi u njih uselili raseljene Rome sa Kosova. Od tih sredstava 80 000 DM je dato direktno na ruke vlasnicima objekata i raseljenim, a 40 000 DM Javnom preduzeću *Komunalne djelatnosti* Bar, na ime troškova vode i ugradnje kanalizacijskog kolektora za celu mesnu zajednicu. „Tada im nijesu smetali raseljeni Romi, a sada..“, kaže opštinski poverenik. Do kojih granica ide taj otpor govori i izjava jednog domaćeg Roma, koji je tražio od nadležnog Centra bezbjednosti, „...da treba češće prisustvo policijskih patrola u Starom Baru, zbog izbjeglica.“ Da li je u ovoj sredini moguće govoriti i razmišljati o integraciji raseljenih Roma ?!

raseljeni Romi žele da se druže sa njima, a 82% anketiranih, domaćih Roma je spremno da se druži sa raseljenim.

Nasuprot ovome većina anketiranih porodica raseljenih Roma procenjuje svoje međusobne odnose kao dobre: 84,4%; preostalih 15,6% procenjuje da su odnosi loši i vrlo loši. Navode česte sukobe u naselju između Mađupa, Gabelja i Egipćana. Događa se da jedni drugima bace zmiiju na kuću. Jedan broj porodica je preseljen u kamp Konik II upravo zbog čestih međusobnih sukoba. Navode da policija često ne reaguje na njihove tuče. Neki izjavljuju da je bolje u zatvoru, sigurnije je a ima i struje.

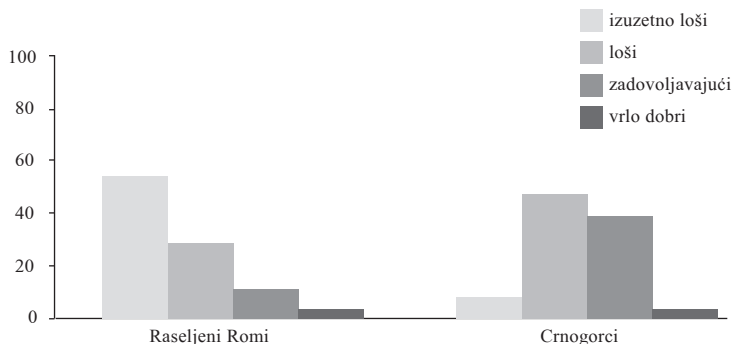
Izgleda da se i mišljenje da ne postoji spremnost među anketiranim domaćim Romima da prihvate raseljene Rome, može prihvatiti kao stav populacije. Oni ne prihvataju integraciju raseljenih Roma u svojoj sredini, tj. u svojoj državi.

S dosta valjanih razloga može se pretpostaviti da je ustaljene tokove života i odnose poremetio dolazak Roma sa Kosova. Kako kažu domaći ispitanici, oni su im oduzeli slobodu, ne mogu im se deca kretati slobodno i ići u školu, uništavaju im i zagađuju njihova imanja, krađu, od njih se širi neprijatan miris (lože plastiku, odeću, obuću) uništavaju uličnu rasvetu, galame noću. Vodovod romskog naselja je priključen na vodovod koji su oni izgradili samodoprinosom, kažu meštani Omerbožovića. Vrlo često se u razgovoru sa domaćinima mogla čuti rečenica: „Mi ili oni“. Neke porodice ozbiljno razmišljaju o prodaji svojih kuća po mnogo nižoj ceni samo da bi, kako kažu, sačuvali svoj porodični mir. Za neke ispitanike naseljavanje Roma je imalo i političku pozadinu pa zaključuju da je to državna politika koja je imala za cilj miješanje Albanaca i Roma, iako oni znaju da su Romi sarađivali sa Srbima na Kosovu i „obilježavali“ albanske kuće (iskaz jednog domaćina iz sela Omerbožovići).

Među onima koji smatraju da su odnosi Crnogoraca i Roma loši i vrlo loši ogromna većina (81,5%) nije spremna da pomogne, a skoro svi (92,5%) misle da raseljeni Romi ne treba da ostanu u Crnoj Gori. Može se samo pretpostaviti da su u prvom slučaju pod stavom podrazumijevali mi-

šljenje, a pod odnosom kontakt, pa u pozitivne stavove svrstavali one situacije u kojima nema odnosa. U socijalnoj klimi koja vlada u zadnjih deset godina na jugoslovenskim prostorima pod pojmom „dobar“ podrazumeva se svaki odnos u kome nema otvorenih sukoba. Moguće je i da se radi zapravo o razlici između formalnog i suštinskog, onog kako bi trebalo da bude i onog kako jeste, a moguće je da se radi o potrebi Crnogoraca da se prikažu kao pozitivni i dobri domaćini, jer je to, po njima, pitanje časti.

RASELJENI ROMI I CRNOGORCI:
MEĐUSOBNI ODNOSI RASELJENIH ROMA



Nešto više od polovine ispitanika (53%), crnogorskih građana ne-Roma, smatra da Rome uopšte ne treba tretirati kao građane drugog reda, skoro trećina (30%) ih smatra da za to ponekad i postoji razlog, a 16% ih zaista ne doživljava kao sebi ravne. Ipak među ispitanicima koji Rome ne doživljavaju kao građane drugog reda najviše je, 71,7%, onih koji ne bi dozvolili svom detetu da ide u odeljenje u kome je više od pola romske dece. Među njima je i više od polovine (54,7%) onih koji smatraju da Rome treba sahranjivati na posebnom romskom groblju. To naravno dovodi u pitanje verodostojnost njihovih iskaza o tome da Rome ne treba tretirati kao građane drugog reda.

U 86% anketiranih porodica domaći Romi su zadovoljni kako su prihvaćeni raseljeni Romi od strane domicil-

nog stanovništva, ali na pitanje da li bi se menjali s tim raseljenim licima, koji su dobro prihvaćeni, negativno je odgovorilo čak 77% porodica, a svega 8% bi se menjalo. U prilog hipotezi da domaći Romi u suštini znaju da je položaj raseljenih Roma vrlo težak je i podatak da njih 77% ne bi menjalo svoj, za njihov položaj, mada su se u visokom procentu od 51%, izjasnili da je sadašnji položaj raseljenih Roma bolji nego što je bio na Kosovu. Odgovori domicilnih Roma na to pitanje bili su najčešće: „Ne bih volio da patim kao što pate izbjeglice, „Ni njihov život nije lak,“ „Ne bih volio da budem u njihovom položaju“, „Ne, ni moj položaj nije dobar, ali se ne bih sa njima mijenjao“. „Ne, volim da ostanem ono što sam“ „Ne, ja sam ovdje rođen, a oni nam nagrdiše grad.“ „Ne bih volio da idem u rat“. Samo je nekoliko odgovora bilo „da bi se menjali“ i ti odgovori se mogu doživeti kao izraz protesta: „Da, ja bih se mijenjao, oni ništa ne rade, a sve dobijaju, pa preprodavaju“, „Da, oni bolje žive, primaju pomoć“, „Da, dobijaju mnogo više nego mi“. Štaviše, negativni stavovi domaćih Roma prema raseljenim Romima sa Kosova idu do optužbi za rušenje ugleda Roma: „Oni nas brukaju. Prosjače po gradu. Stidimo se zbog njih. Mi to nikada nismo radili. Zbog njih nam se čini da ljudi i nas drukčije gledaju“ (DR upitnik 60).

Kada ne-romska crnogorska populacija procenjuje svoj stav i odnos prema raseljenim Romima, lako su uočljive kontradiktornosti. Naime, nešto više od dve trećine crnogorskih građana ne-Roma procenjuju svoj stav prema Romima kao izuzetno dobar i zadovoljavajući (65%), a jedna trećina (tačnije 35%) ih procenjuje kao loš i izuzetno loš. Kada je, pak, u pitanju percepcija njihovog odnosa, onda je situacija drugačija. Samo 29% ispitanika odnos domaćeg stanovništva prema Romima procenjuje kao dobar i vrlo dobar, da su odnosi loši i vrlo loši smatra 32% ispitanika, a čak 39% se izjašnjava da uopšte nema nikakve socijalne odnose sa Romima. Međusobni odnosi raseljenih Roma nisu baš uzorni, smatra ta kategorija ispitanika. Da su njihovi odnosi vrlo dobri i dobri procenjuje 56% ispitanika a da su loši i vrlo loši 44% ispitivanih domaćina.

Da crnogorski građani ne-Romi žele da Rome „drže po strani“ i sa njima „nemaju baš puno posla“ kazuje podatak da čak tri četvrtine ispitanika ili 74% svoje dete ne bi slalo u školu gde ima više od polovine romske dece. Štaviše, među njima je 80,8% koji smatraju da integracija Roma u crnogorsko društvo nije moguća. Ovakve svoje stavove domaćini su nam potkrepljivali činjenicom da im sada deca pohađaju školu na albanskom jeziku iako su do dolaska Roma sa Kosova išli u školu na srpskom jeziku što je za njih bilo prihvatljivije. Naime, put do škole na Koniku koja je na srpskom jeziku vodi pored samog romskog naselja. Svom detetu bi dopustili da ide u školu i razred gde je samo nekoliko romske dece 70% ispitanika.⁴⁶ Negativni stavovi ne-romskog crnogorskog stanovništva su nekada tako snažni, puni gneva i mržnje, da ih nazivaju „ljudskim otpadom“: „I snove su nam poremetili! Daleko im kuća! Treba ih što prije protjerati nazad, da ih naše oči nikada više ne gledaju. Neka sa njima idu i oni što su dozvolili da dođu ovdje. Smeća i lopovluka s njihovim dolaskom nam ne fali“ (upitnik CG 57) Da nije u pitanju samo rasistički stav ili ksenofobični sindrom govori i podatak da ljudi u uslovima devastirane infrastrukture i u očaju daju oglase da prodaju kuće po daleko nižoj ceni od tržišne, jer žele da se isele u druge delove grada.⁴⁷

Crnogorski građani se slažu da Romi traže samo *lepu reč, uvažavanje*, da dobiju ono što je drugima suvišno, nepotrebno, i da im pomognu da nešto zarade. Međutim, raseljeni Romi procenjuju da domaće stanovništvo nije spremno ni toliko da uradi. Takođe misle da domaće stanovništvo nije spremno da ih prihvati kao ravnopravne građane. To nikako ne znači da se „ne slažu“ sa domaćim građanima. Naime, svoje odnose sa crnogorskim građanima smatraju dobrim u 86,8% slučajeva.

⁴⁶ Za ove stavove ispitivanih građana istržaivači nisu mogli dobiti potvrdu u osnovnoj školi „Božidar Vuković“ kojoj gravitiraju ta deca. Istržaivači su od direktora, profesora Rajka Lukića, dobili obaveštenje da niko od roditelja nije ni tražio niti dobio „prevodnicu za drugu školu“. A to je redovan postupak prilikom prepisivanja učenika iz jedne u drugu školu.

⁴⁷ Ako se izjava ispitanika (upitnik CG 87) „Dao sam oglas da prodajem kuću jer ne mogu da živim sa ovim ljudskim otpadom“, može smatrati rasističkim ispadom, to se ne može reći za porodicu (upitnik CG 72) koja kuću u vrednosti od 200.000 DM prodaje za 100.000 DM.

OČEKIVANJA I PLANOVI U BUDUĆNOSTI

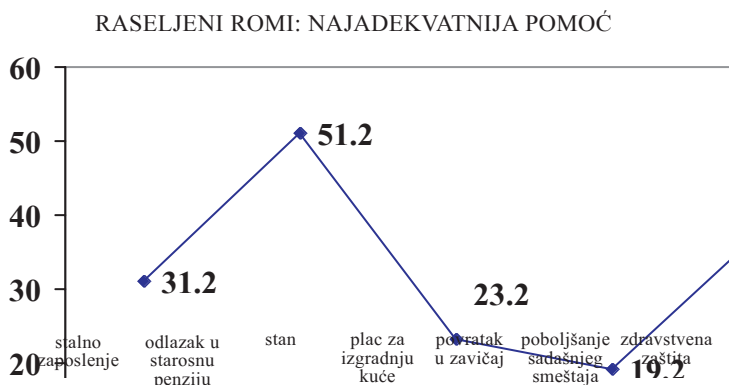
Romi su narod koji kao da uvek odiše optimizmom. Raseljeni Romi očigledno imaju loših iskustava koja ih navode na suzdržani, ali ipak, optimizam. Tako, nešto više od polovine (64,4%) smatra da će uprkos svemu, njihovoj porodici biti bolje. Da bi im bilo bolje sada i ovde, predlažu da se prvo obezbedi smeštaj od čvrstog materijala.

Verovatno im je sveže sećanje na vetar koji je nosio šatore pa se boje da bi ista stvar mogla da se dogodi i sa barakama. Takođe stalno se plaše požara. Za ovo imaju i puno razloga, jer barake koje su im napravljene nemaju odžaka⁴⁸. Drugi rang u redosledu rešavanja problema, zauzima mogućnost stalne zarade. Treći rang je dovoljna količina hrane, odeće i obuće, pa zdravstvena zaštita, školovanje dece i na kraju regulisanje položaja dobijanjem dokumenata. Izvestan broj Roma misli da se u postojećim uslovima ne može govoriti o značajnim poboljšanjima. Šta je za njih *najadekvatnija pomoć* predstavljeno je u grafičkom prikazu na sledećoj strani.

Dakle, Romi smatraju da je najadekvatnija pomoć da im se omogući odlazak u inostranstvo ili pak povratak na Kosovo. Pošto se ni jedna od tih opcija za sada ne može ostvariti, primamljivo je zaposlenje i stan. Zanimljivo je da niko od anketiranih koji predlažu poboljšanje sadašnjih

⁴⁸ Već je pominjan nemio događaj kada je u požaru izgorela beba od nekoliko meseci zajedno sa barakom i svim stvarima. Požari su bili česti i dok su stanovali pod šatorima. Tako je jednom prilikom izgorelo oko pedeset šatora, postavljenih na Koniku.

uslova stanovanja nema želju da ostane u Crnoj Gori, nego želi povratak na Kosovo ili odlazak u inostranstvo. Skoro isti rezultat je dobijen i na pitanje o preferenciji mesta za stalno nastanjenje. Blizu polovine (48,4%) se nada trajnom nastanjenju u inostranstvu. Od ovog broja njih 36,8% stavlja problem nemogućnosti zarade na prva tri ranga. Približno isti procenat 32,8% domaćina bez škole i sa nepotpunom osnovnom školom takođe želi inostranstvo. Nešto manje anketiranih, 36,8% bi se rado vratilo na Kosovo, ukoliko bi se za to stvorili uslovi. Interesantno je da su to uglavnom ljudi koji imaju zanate i koji su tamo ponešto stekli. Samo 12,4% bi i dalje ostalo u Crnoj Gori i to su uglavnom porodice domaćina bez škole. Pošto su odlasci za sada samo pusti snovi, većina ne bi menjala mesto boravka u Crnoj Gori, već bi ostali u istom naselju.



Pri zaključivanju terba ipak, biti oprezan. Na nivou verbalnih iskaza nema smetnji za integraciju i prihvatanje raseljenih Roma od strane domaćih Roma. S druge strane, evidentan je otpor domicilnih Roma prema Romima došljacima. Taj otpor se može tumačiti iz više uglova, ali se stiče utisak da su u pitanju prvenstveno ekonomski razlozi. Domicilni Romi prispele Rome sa Kosova doživljavaju kao *konkurenciju* u svakom pogledu. Konkurenciju u nezakonitoj trgovini, koja im donosi najviše prihoda, potom konkurenciju u nalaženju nadničarskih i sezonskih poslova, pri

čemu su raseljeni Romi jeftinija radna snaga, te konkurenciju kod centara za socijalni rad prilikom socijalnih davanja i raznih vidova pomoći. Da se stvarno radi o postojanju konkurencije ilustruje podatak da 27,6% raseljenih kao izvor prihoda navode prodaju otpada, a 12% radi u nadnicu i sezonske poslove, pri čemu se povećava ponuda jeftine radne snage. Dakle, oni u njima vide samo suparnike i konkurente. U pojedinim sredinama taj otpor domicilnih Roma prema raseljenim Romima sa Kosova poprima razmere otvorene netrpeljivosti. Siromaštvo, bespomoćnost, izolacija, praćena nepoverenjem prema „drugom“, poznato je, karakteristične su odlike života u getoiziranim sredinama.

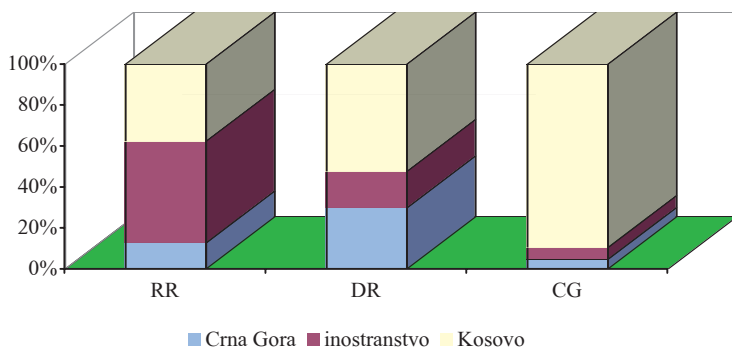
Tabela 5. – Planovi za neposrednu budućnost i preferencija mesta za trajno nastanjenje

Mesto za trajno nastanjenje	Bez odgovora	Zaposlenje	Prehranjivanje porodice	Primanje pomoći	Nema planova	Ukupno
Crna Gora		6 19.4	15 48.4	6 19.4	4 12.8	31 12.4
Inostranstvo	1 0,9	34 28.1	64 52.9	13 10.7	9 7.4	121 48.4
Povratak na Kosovo		17 18.5	62 67.4	10 10.8	3 3.3	92 36.8
Ne znam		1 0.4	1 0.4		4 1.6	6 2.4
Ukupno	1 0.4	58 23.2	142 56.8	29 11.6	20 8.0	250 100.0

Ponovo se nameće zaključak da su iskazi domaćih Roma o dobrom odnosu i prihvatu raseljenih, nedosledni. Tako, na pitanje da li su spremni da prihvate da raseljeni Romi trajno ostanu u Crnoj Gori, njih 52% se izjasnilo protiv ostanka, a svega 28% je saglasno da mogu ostati. Čak 20% o tom pitanju uopšte nije ni razmišljalo. Ukrštanjem varijabli se pokazalo da upravo oni koji su se verbalno izjasnili da su zadovoljni kako su primljeni raseljeni Romi, u najvećem procentu su protiv njihovog ostanka u Crnoj Gori.

Na pitanja o mogućnosti ostanka raseljenih Roma u Crnoj Gori, anketari su zapisali zanimljive odgovore: „Da se vrate na svoje“, „Da se vrate nama bi bilo lakše“, „Da se vrate na Kosovo, tamo je njihova kolijevka.“ Dakle, malo je onih koji razmišljaju o ostanku raseljenih u Crnoj Gori.

RR, DR, I CG: IZBOR MESTA ZA TRAJNO NASTANJENJE



Crnogorsko ne-romsko stanovništvo znatno drukčije vidi budućnost raseljenih Roma. Za raseljene Rome bi, po mišljenju crnogorskih građana, najbolje bilo da se vrate u zavičaj (77% odgovora). Interesantno je da je među njima 86,4% onih koji Rome ne žele za prijatelje. Ovaj podatak svedoči o tome da crnogorski građani ne-Romi zaista tu nisu mislili na Rome nego na sebe, što opet govori o tome koliko ih ne žele. Da je ostanak u Crnoj Gori, za raseljene Rome najbolje rešenje smatra samo 3%, a odlazak u Srbiju kotira još lošije, sa 1% ispitanika. U samo 5% slučajeva ti ispitanici vide odlazak u inostranstvo kao prihvatljivu opciju za Rome. Verovatno su se u ovakvom opredeljenju rukovodili saznanjem da su, kako je i rekao jedan domaćin, stranci spremni da ulože sve samo da im Romi ne dolaze, te zbog toga ljudi i ne veruju u mogućnost njihovog odlaska u inostranstvo. Da Romi ne treba da ostanu u Crnoj Gori i postanu njihovi ravnopravni građani smatra oko dve trećine tih ispitanika (73%). Skoro svi svoj stav obrazlažu

vrlo stereotipno tvrdnjama da je svakom najbolje u svom rodnom kraju, da tamo pripadaju, da će tako biti bolje i za Rome i za njih, građane Crne Gore. Sa mišljenjem da je ostanak Roma u Crnoj Gori za raseljene Rome najbolje rešenje saglasno je 10% ispitanika. U tom smislu ne pokazuju naročit optimizam, pa manje od jedne trećine (u 30% slučajeva) procenjuje da će Romima biti bolje.

Domaći Romi zastupaju treće stanovište. U pogledu definitivnih odluka za budućnost raseljenih Roma, 59% svih anketiranih domaćih Roma smatra da raseljeni treba da napuste Crnu Goru, povratkom na Kosovo (44%) ili eventualnim odlaskom u inostranstvo (15%), a samo jedna četvrtina (25%) misli da raseljeni Romi treba da se integrišu u crnogorsko društvo. Ovi podaci se podudaraju sa njihovim stavom. Oni su, naime, u 52% slučajeva protiv ostanka raseljenih Roma u Crnoj Gori iz bilo kojih razloga.

Razlozi koje raseljeni Romi navode u prilog odlaska u inostranstvo su sledeći: „bolje se živi“, „imamo rodbinu“, „više bi se vodilo računa o nama“, „bili bi nam rešeni problemi smeštaja i hrane“, „zaradili bi pare da napravimo svoju kuću...“ Nije ni potrebno navoditi razloge za povratak na Kosovo. To je naravno nostalgija, čežnja za zavičajem, ali uslov je sigurnost koju vide pre svega u povratku vojske Jugoslavije. Izbor Crne Gore je „izbor“ *status quo-a*, jer znaju da nemaju gde drugde da odu. Svesni su (više od polovine, 56,8%) da moraju raditi bilo šta da bi hranili porodicu, oko četvrtine (23,2%) bi da se zaposli, a 11,6% će i dalje da čeka da im se daje humanitarna pomoć. Zanimljivo je da su porodice koje nameravaju da žive od humanitarne pomoći ujedno i porodice bez ikakve preduzimljivosti i inicijative. Uzgred, Romi se jako dobro snalaze u teškim situacijama i vrlo su dovitljivi kada je u pitanju podela humanitarne pomoći⁴⁹. Gotovo svi raseljeni Romi koji

⁴⁹ U literaturi se može pronaći podatak o brojnom dolasku Roma sa Kosova u Crnu Goru posle zemljotresa 1979. god. Naročito je bio veliki priliv u Ulcinju. Uporedi, M. Lutovac, *Op. cit.*, str. 106.

su imali stalno ili povremeno zaposlenje na Kosovu, bi da se zaposle ili da rade bilo šta da prehrane porodicu. Ovaj podatak govori o tome da je moguće trajno naseljenje Roma, nezavisno od stereotipa o njihovoj nomadskoj prirodi i suviše elastičnoj kulturi življenja.

Raseljeni Romi formalno pokazuju interesovanje za organizaciju obuke za zanate. Jedna četvrtina je protiv ili je neodlučna, ali kad treba da se predlog o učenju zanata konkretizuje nailazi se na probleme. Domaćini u raseljeničkim porodicama se teško opredeljuju za određeni zanat koji bi mogli izučiti ako bi bila organizovana obuka. Više od četvrtine – 27,6% se nije odlučilo ni za jedan zanat, 10% bi išlo na bilo kakav zanat, 8% bi u vozače, po 5% u kovače i zidare a skoro su pojedinačna interesovanja za krojače, vulkanizere, limare, frizere, mašinbravare, varioce.

Romi se ne slažu sa predrasudom da su lenj i neodgovoran narod (70%). A u izuzetno visokom procentu (85,6%) se slažu da je za njih bolje da žive u svojim mahalama. Ako bi mogli da biraju između mešovitog naselja i romske mahale većina bi se odlučila za *mahalu* i u životu u mahali bi videla svoju budućnost. Ovaj stav je po sebi razumljiv i duboko je ukorenjen u tradiciju romskog načina života. Kako su primetili brojni istraživači, mahala i čerga nisu bili samo uobičajena romska staništa, nego i, kako kaže Vladimir Stanković, „njihovi autentični etnički simboli“. On naglašava da su „...stambene zone mahalskog tipa još uvek dominantan oblik urbanog, pa i seoskog nastanjanja Roma. Ta etničko-urbana ostrva su, po tradiciji, periferijskog tipa, mada su u novije doba neka od njih urasla u centralno gradsko tkivo, usled intezivne urbane ekspanzije. Mahale, međutim, najčešće opstaju kao etničko-urbane mrtvaje i nepatvoreni materijalni dokazi jedne tradicionalno uboge socijalne egzistencije. Njihova 'istorijska uloga' u konzerviranju etničke kompaktnosti i stihijskom negovanju romskog kulturnog identiteta plaćena je visokom cenom: skoro potpunom etničkom marginalnošću na svim

poljima društveno-ekonomskog i kulturnog života.⁵⁰ Kao i rezultati prethodnih, tako i rezultati ovog istraživanja pokazuju da je većina Roma i dalje spremna da plaća tu visoku cenu. Mada će se, ako to procene korisnim, poslužiti elementima „etničke mimikrije“ i „statističkog egzodusa“ iz svoje etničke zajednice i pretvarati se da prihvataju ne samo integraciju nego i asimilaciju, u osnovi će težiti – što je sasvim prirodno i ljudski opravdano – da očuvaju svoj integritet i identitet. Svaka politika pomoći Romima kao izrazito depriviranoj socijalnoj grupi trebalo bi da uvažava ovu činjenicu.

Tabela 6. – Raseljeni Romi: Gde su ranije živeli i stav da Romi treba da žive u mahalama

	Slažem se		Delimično se slažem		Ne slažem se		Ukupno	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
U gradu	27	32,4	3	5,0	15	6,5	45	18,0
U prigradskom naselju	10	13,0	5	2,0	2	2,6	17	6,6
U mahali u gradu	14	16,6	5	2,6	4	3,3	23	9,2
U mahali kraj grada	55	48,2	6	7,5	3	9,6	64	25,2
U mahali kraj sela	35	28,8	2	4,5	3	5,8	40	16,0
U selu	39	41,0	7	6,4	9	8,2	57	22,8
Ukupno	180	72,0	28	11,2	36	14,4	250	100,0

⁵⁰ Vladimir Stanković, „Romi u svetlu podataka jugoslovenske statistike“, u: *Razvitak Roma u Jugoslaviji – Problemi i tendencije*, SANU, Beograd 1992, str. 164. Slično naglašavaju i Aleksandra Mitrović i Gradimir Zajić, „Život u mahali, ma koliko segregiran, Romima u određenom smislu je pomogao da očuvaju savoj etnički identitet.“ Vidi, Aleksandra Mitrović i Gradimir Zajić, „Društveni položaj Roma u Srbiji“, u: *Romi u Srbiji*“, Centar za antiratinu akciju i Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja, Beograd 1998, str. 56.

Statistički najučestaliji odgovori domicilnih Roma na pitanje o integraciji raseljenih Roma, su bili: „U Crnoj Gori imaju dobre uslove za život“, „Bolje im je ovdje gdje su najpošteniji ljudi“. Ali, značajno je i to da ispitivani raseljeni Romi i sami u 51,2% iskaza izražavaju želju da odu u inostranstvo, a 38,4% da se vrate na Kosovo, tako da je očigledno da i oni većinom nisu spremni za integraciju. U visokom procentu od 89,6% kao definitivno rešenje za svoju budućnost, raseljeni Romi vide u napuštanju Crne Gore, a ne u integraciji. Spremnost za integraciju u Crnu Goru nije, dakle, prisutna ni kod ispitivane populacije raseljenih Roma.

Izrazito negativan stav ne-romskog crnogorskog stanovništva prema raseljenim Romima sa Kosova, pa i Romima uopšte, može se tumačiti kao izraz rasizma i ksenofobije karakteristične za tradicionalna patrijarhalna društva. Takvo tumačenje bi bilo jednostrano, ma koliko da je u osnovi tačno. Krugovi bede u kojima se nalazi romsko stanovništvo postaju sve dublji. Carstvo bede, međutim, se širi jugoslovenskim prostorom. Osiromašenje je opšte. Devastacija uslova života za sve građane Jugoslavije, odnosno Srbije i Crne Gore, izuzev uskog kruga ratnih profitera i ljudi iz centara moći, traje više od jedne decenije. Srednji slojevi su nestali sa društvene scene, a mnoge porodice su došle u subproletersku zonu siromaštva. Život izgnanih kosovskih Roma nije samo „deveti krug“ siromaštva i propadanja nego i ogledalo propadanja ogromne većine jugoslovenskih građana. Zar se onda treba čuditi nad otporom koji ti građani pružaju slici svog sadašnjeg i budućeg života u građanskoj nesigurnosti, duhovnom siromaštvu i materijalnoj bedi!

OPŠTI ZAKLJUČCI I PREPORUKE

Socijalno istraživanje *Život i mogućnosti integracije raseljenih Roma sa Kosova u Crnoj Gori (Podgorica i Nikšić)* pokazalo je da je kosovska kriza romski deo kosovske populacije ozbiljno oštetila u svakom pogledu. Ma koliko da su u proseku siromašnije, romske porodice sa Kosova su izgubile praktično sve što su posedovale, a dramatičnost njihovog napuštanja Kosova predstavlja istinsku ljudsku tragediju. U novoj sredini uslovi njihovog ionako skromnog života su se znatno pogoršali. To je razumljivo, ako se ima u vidu da su došli u siromašnu i višegodišnjim sukobima u bivšoj Jugoslaviji ekonomski iscrpljenu sredinu. Priпадnici druge etničke grupe, ljudi drukčije kulture, vere i jezika svojim masovnim dolaskom pojačali su strepnje, a ponekad i predrasude i animozitete, većinskog stanovništva u novoj sredini. U toj sredini oni su zapravo *nezvani* i, što je daleko bitnije, *neželjeni gosti*. Razmere njihove tragedije izbacile su ih u prvi plan interesovanja i međunarodnih činilaca i vlasti u Crnoj Gori.

Mada su naponi međunarodnih činilaca i vlasti u Crnoj Gori da pomognu raseljenim Romima da prežive vredni poštovanja, trenutna situacija je takva da se slobodno može reći da se ni jedan problem romske populacije ne rešava na kvalitetan način.

U romskim porodicama sa Kosova vladaju strah, osećanje nepravde da su nasilno isterani, osećanje izgubljenosti i besperspektivnosti, uverenje da je integracija nemoguća, verovanje da je loše uslove života veoma teško menjati.

Pa ipak, među evidentiranim porodicama Roma sa Kosova ima dosta onih koji su ranije došli, kao i onih koji su ranije sa Kosova prešli u Srbiju, a 1999. godine iz Srbije u Crnu Goru, što svedoči o tome da ni situacija ostalih Roma u Jugoslaviji nije ništa bolja.

Naime, životni uslovi domaćih Roma su najčešće lošiji u odnosu na uslove u kojima su živeli Romi na Kosovu. Domaći Romi su i sami deprivirani i žive u velikoj bedi. Ozlojeđeni su i uvređeni što su pitani o lošem životu raseljenih Roma, a ne o vlastitom lošem životu, koji je često objektivno teži. Raseljene Rome otuda doživljavaju kao konkurenciju na suženom manevarskom prostoru privređivanja.

Domaće ne-romsko stanovništvo takođe živi u strahu od proširenja dosadašnjih sukoba i siromaštva; boji se epidemija i devastiranja infrastrukture, što nije neopravdano s obzirom na činjenicu da u Crnoj Gori živi oko 10% izbeglica i raseljenih lica. Toliko povećanje broja stanovnika jedna inače siromašna zemlja ne može da podnese. Situacija u Crnoj Gori se u celini pogoršava, a životni uslovi i materijalne mogućnosti stanovništva su sve lošiji i lošiji.

Opšti zaključak

Nema tako dobrog programa niti mere za poboljšanje uslova života Roma koja ne može da propadne, bez obzira na finansijska sredstva i uloženi trud. Rezultati rada su krajnje neizvesni, a svaka prognoza nepouzdana. Od ad hoc kratkoročnih programa ne treba očekivati brze i velike rezultate: a dugoročno posmatrano u aktivnostima na poboljšanju uslova života Roma teško je postići trajno dobre rezultate.

Razviti i podržati sistem praktičnih mera koje imaju za cilj osposobljavanje i osamostaljenje romskih porodica za život bez socijalne i humanitarne pomoći. Sistem tih mera bi trebalo da obuhvati celinu života romske porodice. Bilo koja pojedinačna mera ili program imaće izgleda na uspeh samo utoliko ukoliko budu skladno ukomponovani u celinu romskog života. Mere koje ne vode računa o urgentnim potrebama, kulturi i tradiciji Roma nemaju izgleda na uspeh.

Dugoročno posmatrano rad sa decom, pomoć mladim Romima sa Kosova – bez obzira gde se nalazili, da se školuju, da razviju svoje duhovne potencijale, da steknu kvalifikacije za bolje plaćene poslove – taj deo romske populacije može pomeriti sa dna društvene lestvice.

Neposredna humanitarna pomoć

Humanitarna pomoć je neophodna i dragocena. Pored hrane, odeće i obuće u humanitarnoj pomoći bi trebalo redovno dostavljati sredstva za higijenu. Potrebno je, ipak, imati u vidu da humanitarna pomoć služi održavanju postojećeg stanja, da sprečava da dođe do pogoršanja situacije, ali ne služi ostvarenju trajnijih rešenja.

Veliki i praktično teško rešiv problem biće otvoren kada dođe do zamora donatora ili kada se pojave u svetu nova žarišta krize pa humanitarne organizacije napuste područje Crne Gore ili znatno smanje svoje aktivnosti.

Hipokrizija je *en bloc* osuđivati Rome što deo humanitarne pomoći iznose na crno tržište. Humanitarna pomoć je za njih, između ostalog sredstvo razmene, „platežno sredstvo“. Prodajom dela humanitarne pomoći oni zadovoljavaju neke svoje druge potrebe. Napokon, deo humanitarne pomoći bi propao neupotrebljen da ga Romi ne prodaju. Treba ući u romske izbe u toku zime pa shvatiti da zahtev da u tim uslovima čuvaju, na primer, brašno, znači sasvim sigurno da će to brašno za nekoliko dana biti neupotrebljivo za ishranu.

Programe humanitarne pomoći neophodno je nastaviti i razviti, a deo usmeriti ka domaćim Romima i siromašnom neromskom stanovništvu Crne Gore, jer bi na taj način bile smanjene tenzije između domaćeg stanovništva i raseljenih Roma i povećale bi se šanse za integraciju.

Postoji jedan segment humanitarne pomoći čiji je značaj potrebno posebno naglasiti, tim pre što su skoro mnogobrojne žalbe Roma na nedovoljnost pomoći bile upućivane u tom pravcu. To je *pomoć u sredstvima za održavanje*

higijene. Naime, potencijalno veliki rizik ne samo za raseljene Rome nego i za domaće stanovništvo predstavljaju izuzetno loše higijenske prilike u kojima živi ogromna većina Roma sa Kosova, ali i domicilnih Roma u Crnoj Gori. Kako je i humanitarna pomoć u sredstvima za higijenu nedovoljna, neophodno je tom delu pomoći posvetiti veću pažnju. Romi jednostavno nemaju novaca za nabavku sredstava za higijenu. *Rizik*: velika je verovatnoća da će deo te pomoći biti prodat na crnom tržištu, ali i uz tu pretpostavku pomoć u sredstvima za higijenu je neophodno povećati.

Preporuka I: Bilo bi neophodno specifikovati potrebe i sadržinu humanitarne pomoći, a njen karakter prilagoditi nužnim i elementarnim potrebama raseljenog i domicilnog romskog stanovništva. Strategiju humanitarne pomoći dovesti u proporciju sa osposobljavanjem i raseljenih i domaćih Roma da svojim privređivanjem obezbeđuju sredstva za svakodnevni život. Tek tada će humanitarna pomoć biti najefikasnija.

Preporuka II: Pored obimnije pomoći u sredstvima za higijenu, razviti *programe zdravstvenog prosvetćivanja*, posebno dece i žena. Učiti ih upotrebi klozeta, tekuće vode i sredstava za higijenu. Deo programa za zdravstveno prosvetćivanje posvetiti trajnom *održavanju podnošljivih higijenskih prilika* u romskim nastambama i staništima, kao i *planiranju porodice*.

Preporuka III: Organizovati patronažnu zdravstvenu službu i sistematske preglede celokupne populacije Roma, a posebnu pažnju posvetiti deci, trudnicama i mladim majkama, kao i starijim i hronično bolesnim osobama.

Stanovanje – pretpostavka trajnog poboljšanja životnih uslova i otvaranje mogućnosti integracije

Užasne uslove stanovanja i domicilnih i raseljenih Roma niko ne može niti ima prava da ignoriše. Raseljene Rome posebno treba pomoći da na najefikasniji način izađu iz tragične situacije u kojoj su se našli. Urgentno im se

moгу ponuditi prikolice, dok se ne izgrade trajnija stanista. Ne mogu sada biti deportovani niti biti ispraćeni u treće zemlje. Romi žele da idu u evropske zemlje, pozivajući se na rođake koji tamo žive i od lokalnih vlasti traže potvrde da im je u Crnoj Gori nemoguće živeti. Međutim, zemalja koje bi primile Rome jednostavno nema. Oni hoće, na primer, u Italiju, legalno ili češće ilegalno. Pod uslovom da ne završe tragično u Jadranskom moru, tako ulaze ne samo u Italiju nego i u zonu Šengenskog sporazuma, pa bi to imalo odraza na praktično sve evropske zemlje od Norveške do Španije i Grčke. Otuda suprotstavljanje Italije željama Roma za useljenjem i njihovim pokušajima da se dočepaju Italije je suprotstavljanje praktično svih evropskih zemalja i vlada.

S druge strane, povratak u zavičaj koji je druga opcija raseljenih Roma sa Kosova je u dogledno vreme praktično neostvarivo rešenje. Naime, Romi bi se vratili na Kosovo pod uslovom da im se garantuje bezbednost. To za sada međunarodne vojne snage nisu u stanju da obezbede. Romi opravdano svoj povratak vezuju za povratak Srba i Crnogoraca na Kosovo, što ponekad izražavaju i stavom zvanične jugoslavenske propagande „...da se na Kosovo vrate jugoslovenska vojska i policija“. Kako je multietničnost Kosova u ovom trenutku više stvar političke fikcije nego kosovske realnosti, otvara se pitanje da li postoji (ako uopšte postoji) bilo koji način da se Romima pomogne.

Pre odgovora na ovo pitanje neophodno je razumeti problem *integracije*. Rezultati istraživanja su pokazali da su mogućnosti integracije romske populacije u crnogorsko društvo, a posebno romskih porodica sa Kosova praktično minimalne. Nije izvesno da li je i za same Rome integracija neupitna. Čak i da se pitanje kako integrisati Rome u crnogorsko društvo a sačuvati njihov etnički i kulturni identitet može povoljno rešiti, ostaje otvoren problem da li je princip „integracija bez asimilacije“ održiv i praktično primenjiv. Da bi integracija bila uspešna neophodno je načelno menjati odnos sredine prema Romima.

Samo planska koordinacija aktivnosti romskih i humanitarnih organizacija, NGO i institucija lokalne vlasti u nastojanju da se poboljšaju životni uslovi i ostvari integracija Roma u crnogorsko društvo može dati trajne rezultate na duži rok. Bez organizovanog zajedničkog volonterskog rada i akcija građana Crne Gore sa Romima nema govora o bilo kom obliku integracije: privremenoj ili trajnoj, delimičnoj ili potpunoj.

Neophodne su, dakle, dugoročne i kratkoročne mere u zbrinjavanju Roma. Neke od tih mera su već poduzete i dale su nesumnjivo značajne rezultate. Zbrinuto je više hiljada raseljenih Roma. Redovno ili povremeno su snabdeveni osnovnim potrebštinama kao što su hrana, odeća, obuća, školski pribor za decu, pruža im se pomoć u lečenju. Može se reći da su i vlasti Crne Gore i humanitarne organizacije i druge međunarodne institucije učinile mnogo. Međutim, nedostaju dugoročni planovi.

Čak se i kampovi i naselja koja su planski građena, a da se ne govori o drugim oblicima krajnje neuslovnog smeštaja, veoma brzo pretvaraju u slamove, ako su bez ikakvih infrastrukturnih ekonomskih, kulturnih, obrazovnih, zdravstvenih objekata. Kampovi i naselja za Rome ne smeju biti samo spavaonice za veliki broj ljudi. Treba im omogućiti da nešto rade, da se bave zanatima, trgovinom da neguju oblike tradicionalne kulture življenja.

Trajniji vidovi poboljšanja životnih uslova – zapošljavanje, obrazovanje i kultura

Siromaštvo velike većine Roma je hendikep i u formalnoj – institucionalnoj i u neformalnoj mreži privređivanja. Paradoksalno je ali tačno: nezaposleni su zato što su siromašni i bez kvalifikacija, a siromašni su jer su nezaposleni ili obavljaju najniže plaćene poslove. Krug njihove bede je potpun. Tu činjenicu ne negira iskorak pojedinih porodica iz vrtloga siromaštva. Velike deponije kraj gradova i kontejneri sa smećem u gradovima kao da su baza

ekonomske aktivnosti Roma. Tu „ekonomsku vezu“: organi vlasti – i da imaju političku volju – ne mogu prekinuti: niti mogu Rome dislocirati daleko od deponija, niti Romi sami hoće da se udalje. Privređuju uglavnom u sferi sive ekonomije, baveći se sitnom trgovinom, preprodajom na crnom tržištu i otvorenim pijacama, radeći fizičke slabo plaćene poslove na nadnicu i slično. Neke romske porodice žive samo od humanitarne i socijalne pomoći. Reč je o *strategiji preživljavanja, o preživljavanju kao stilu života*. Neophodno im je omogućiti da rade ono što *znaju, mogu i vole da rade*.

Preporuka: razviti programe zapošljavanja, zajedno sa programima obrazovanja i samopomoći u proizvodnji dela hrane neophodne za svakodnevni život. Organizovati punktove za otkup sekundarnih sirovina (otpada), radionice, upućivanje ljudi na povremene i sezonske radove, radno angažovati ljude u delatnosti komunalnih preduzeća, bar u onom delu grada gde žive Romi. Iskustvo sa angažovanjem Roma sa Kosova u radu komunalnog preduzeća u Nikšiću je dobar primer, mada ima i suprotnih. Predložiti vlastima da preduzeća koja angažuju raseljene i domicilne Rome budu oslobođena plaćanja doprinosa.

Posebnu pažnju posvetiti programima zapošljavanja žena. Obučiti ih za neke zanate, kao što su frizerski i krojački, osnovati zadruga pletilja.

Da bi se otvorile bilo kakve ozbiljnije mogućnosti za zapošljavanja u formalnoj ekonomskoj strukturi, neophodan je uslov školovanje romske dece. To je, uz razvitak kulturnih aktivnosti i opšti prosperitet crnogorskog društva, neophodan uslov trajnog poboljšanja života romskih porodica. Deca iz porodica Roma sa Kosova su u tom pogledu višestruko hendikepirana. Najčešće ne znaju jezik sredine, ili ga ne poznaju u meri potrebnoj za uspešno školovanje. Kako da romska deca savladaju jezičku barijeru, koja je, a ne njihova mentalna zaostalost (kao jedna rasprostranjena rasiistička predrasuda), uz siromaštvo porodice odsustvo tradicije školovanja, naročito ženske dece, nezainteresovanost

roditelja i odbacivanje sredine, glavna prepreka integraciji romske dece u školski sistem? Čak i deca koja pohađaju školu pokazuju nestabilnost motivacije i kratkotrajnost pažnje. Cenu će plaćati i buduće generacije. Na delu je obrazovna segregacija! A jedan od najefikasnijih i najjednostavnijih puteva uspešne integracije je uključivanje romske dece u obrazovni sistem.

Preporuka: I među Romima sa Kosova i među domicilnim Romima se rađa svest o tome šta porodice gube zbog toga što ne školuju decu. Neophodno je stimulisati porodice, čak i novčano, da daju decu u školu i stimulaciju vezati za uspeh dece. Isto tako, postoje različiti oblici i mogućnosti stimulisanja dece. Na romsku decu neophodno je primeniti načelo pozitivne diskriminacije.

Opšta preporuka

Paralelno uvoditi programe zapošljavanja, kulturne programe, trajne i dodatne programe obrazovanja i unapređenja života u romskim naseljima i njihovom okruženju.

MOGUĆI PRAVCI AKCIJE SHELTER PROGRAMA SDR

Inciranjem ovog socijalnog istraživanja Shelter Office SDR-a u Podgorici je još jednom potvrdio ozbiljnost svojih namera da doprinese poboljšanju životnih uslova raseljenih Roma sa Kosova u Crnoj Gori. U realizaciji tog opredeljenja SDR-u stoji na raspolaganju široka lepeza *praktičnih kratkoročnih i srednjoročnih mera*.

Kratkoročne mere

Kratkoročne mere sastoje se u pružanju humanitarne pomoći koja doprinosi poboljšanju smeštajnih i sanitarnih uslova života raseljenih Roma. *Vrste pomoći, vreme trajanja i učestalost* bi trebalo veoma pažljivo odmeriti. Kako se pružanjem uobičajenih vidova humanitarne pomoći bavi veći broj institucija, Shelter program SDR-a bi trebalo da se ograniči na one vidove koji su deo njegove neposredne delatnosti (stvari koje služe za poboljšanje smeštajnih uslova, kao što su folije, topli podovi, drvene palete, eventualno ćebad). Tu pomoć bi trebalo pružati povremeno i izuzetno, samo u slučajevima kada se raseljene romske porodice nalaze u stanju krajnje životne nužde. Drugi vid neposredne humanitarne pomoći mogao bi da obuhvati grupe porodica koje žive van kolektivnih centara, ali na jednoj mikrolokaciji. Njima bi bila neophodna pomoć u poboljšanju sanitarnih uslova: vode za piće, klozeta i sl.⁵¹ *Rizici* pružanja ove pomoći su relativno niski: stvaranje „klijentističkih grupa“, neravnomernost i nepravедnost raspodele, sitniji nesporazumi sa lokalnim i drugim institucijama, opterećenje rada Shelter office SDR-a dodatnom

⁵¹ Ovu vrstu humanitarne pomoći neophodno je planirati i realizovati u koordinaciji sa lokalnim vlastima i organizacijom Crvenog krsta.

delatnošću itd. Stoga *ove tipove pomoći treba striktno ograničiti*, ali ne i sasvim isključiti iz dva razloga:

- prvo, dragocena je za raseljene romske porodice u situaciji krajnje nužde;
- drugo, doprinosi ugledu i poštovanju delatnosti SDR-a.

Srednjoročne mere

Srednjoročne mere Shelter programa SDR-a obuhvatale bi *izgradnju, adaptaciju i rekonstrukciju objekata za smeštaj raseljenih romskih porodica*. To bi bio *trajni doprinos* poboljšanju uslova života i/ili integraciji raseljenih Roma. U realizaciji ovih mera neophodno je imati u vidu sledeće okolnosti:

a) Romima je *neophodno obezbeđenje „krova nad glavom“* u obliku jeftino izgrađene porodične kuće, barake ili čak kamp prikolice. U gradnju objekata bilo koje vrste i uređenje prostora oko stambenih jedinica, kao radnu snagu obavezno uključiti i zainteresirane Rome i taj angažman predvideti tenderom za radove i ugovorima sa izvođačima.

b) U dogovoru sa lokalnim vlastima koje odobravaju lokacije za izgradnju ili postavljanje stambenih jedinica obezbediti i malo zemlje (okućnicu) za gajenje povrća i domaćih životinja, neophodnih za zadovoljavanje minimalnih, ili bar dela, potreba porodice.

c) U dogovoru sa lokalnim vlastima *mikrolokacije* bi trebalo da obezbede prostor za život najmanje pet a najviše dvadeset romskih porodica, tako da se, s jedne strane izbegne stvaranje novih geta, a s druge da romske porodice ostanu da žive u romskim zajednicama i da im se obezbedi da sačuvaju elemente života svoje kulture i tradicije.

Pogodne lokacije je moguće naći u Nikšiću, gde je evidentirano 150 raseljeničkih romskih porodica. Prema saznanjima poznavalaca lokalnih prilika od ukupnog broja tih porodica je oko polovina onih koje su ranije i nezavisno od kosovske krize došle u Nikšić, ali su zaista poreklom sa Kosova. Pomoć u poboljšanju smeštaja tih porodica ili izgradnji novih smeštajnih kapaciteta bila bi istovremeno pomoć i raseljenim i domicilnim Romima, mada su, formalno,

sve to porodice izbeglih sa Kosova. U Nikšiću već postoje tri romske enklave na obodima grada, pa je realno pretpostaviti da bi se s lokalnim vlastima mogao lako pronaći zajednički jezik u pitanjima njihovog uređenja i dogradnje. Staviše, ljudi zaduženi za urbanizam u Nikšiću potvrdili su da postoje pogodna mesta za gradnju kuća za raseljene Rome. Međutim, u organizaciji Crvenog krsta u Nikšiću ističu da se raseljeni Romi očigledno služe mahinacijama u sticanju prava na humanitarnu pomoć. Po evidenciji Crvenog krsta od 1080 raseljenih lica, ogromnu većinu čine Romi. Kažu, realno, ih ima 600 do 700. Nekim romskim porodicama su počeli da oduzimaju identifikacione kartone ako se redovno ne pojavljuju u Crvenom krstu, jer pretpostavljaju da su prijavljeni za pomoć na više mesta. U Komesarijatu za raseljena lica su potvrdili da je ta praksa rasprostranjena, tako da raspolažu sličnim podacima.

Centar za socijalni rad u Nikšiću je u junu 2000. godine, evidentirao 155 romskih porodica sa Kosova, sa ukupno 664 člana. Ako se pomogne u smeštaju 33 porodice (21%) sa sedam i više članova, rešen je problem smeštaja za 277 ljudi ili 41,7% romske populacije sa Kosova u Nikšiću. U romskom naselju Brlja, po njihovoj evidenciji, živi 37 raseljenih Roma. U tom naselju teren je nepristupačan, pa bi troškovi pripreme za gradnju bili visoki. Pristupačniji teren pored naselja je postao veoma atraktivan zbog izgradnje nove benzinske pumpe i verovatno biznis centra, tako da su moguće poteškoće u dobijanju dozvole za gradnju.

Najveće naselje domicilnih Roma se nalazi pod Trebjesom i prostire se sa obe strane puta Željezara–Gračanica. Iz reke Gračanice se koristi pesak. Na toj mikrolokaciji postoje velike površine koje se mogu nasuti i graditi. Jedna od tih površina je već pripremljena za gradnju. Za tu lokaciju bila je zainteresovana jedna humanitarna organizacija, ali je odustala, jer bi bila neophodna i izgradnja trafostanice. U tom delu grada snabdevanje električnom energijom i vodom je inače problematično jer ne zadovoljava potrebe potrošača. Ali, to je opšti problem, naročito u letnjim mesecima. Ta lokacija je i dalje slobodna. Pitanje lokacije je osetljivo i zbog otpora meštana. Tako jedan pokušaj gradnje

u OZRINIĆIMA kraj Nikšića nije uspeo zbog otpora meštana.⁵² Zato bi bilo najbolje graditi u postojećim romskim naseljima. Takvih lokacija ima na pretek i u gradovima i u neposrednoj okolini. Na taj način bi mogle biti izmeštene udžerice i zamenjene kvalitetnijim objektima.

Podgorica je mesto najveće koncentracije romske populacije. U Podgorici bi Shelter Office mogao učestvovati u programima poboljšanja uslova smeštaja romskih porodica samo u slučaju parcijalnog dislociranja porodica iz Kampa Konik I, na druge lokacije u gradu, kao što je, na primer, naselje Komanski most, gde teren nije osobito pristupačan. Eventualno se može graditi pored reke Sitnice, gde ima mesta za pet baraka. Na toj lokaciji je verovatan otpor domicilnih Roma, ali bi bilo moguće naći *modus vivendi*, u slučaju da i oni imaju neke koristi od te gradnje. Druga lokacija na kojoj već žive neke romske porodice u Podgorici i koju bi u dogovoru sa lokalnim vlastima bilo moguće koristiti nalazi se u blizini stočne pijace. Ta lokacija pruža šire mogućnosti od Komanskog mosta.

Napokon, imajući u vidu opšte prilike u Crnoj Gori, bilo bi dobro ponuditi i učestvovati u realizaciji programa smeštaja romskih porodica u Rožajama i/ili u Starom Baru.

Realizaciji programa srednjoročnih mera treba pristupiti fleksibilno i oprezno. U jednom slučaju to može biti izgradnja baraka za porodični smeštaj, u drugom mala porodična kuća sa okućnicom, u trećem pomoć romskoj porodici koja je sama počela gradnju u građevinskom materijalu, kreditu ili nepovratnoj pomoći. Dragoceno bi bilo pokrenuti akciju u Švajcarskoj da porodice koje više ne koriste svoje kamp prikolice, ustupe te prikolice raseljenim romskim porodicama. Naravno, to nisu jedini modaliteti. Tako su, na primer, mali objekti poput onih u Koniku II, daleko povoljniji za romske porodice od velikih grupnih baraka. Takođe su objekti od gitar blokova povoljniji i traj-

⁵² Mesno stanovništvo ima jake rezerve prema humanitarnim organizacijama koje često mnogo obećavaju a potom ništa ne urade. „Spomenika“ takvom odnosu ima na pretek. Tako je COOPI počeo izgradnju kupatila i kuhinje koje nije završio.

niji od drvenih baraka, a nisu mnogo skuplji. Gradnja lamelnih objekata za dve do četiri porodice, sa striktno zasebnim celinama, je povoljno rešenje, jer omogućava život zajednice, a ne stvara tenzije oko korišćenja zajedničkih prostorija. Različiti modaliteti su mogući i u organizaciji gradnje. Romske porodice su sposobne i spremne da same grade. Uz stručnu pomoć i kontrolu, taj tip organizacije posla bi mogao biti vrlo efikasan. Krediti (bespovratni) u materijalima za gradnju, (nikako ne u novcu) koji bi romske porodice dobijale prema potrebama za pojedine faze gradnje i tek nakon kontrole da je prethodni materijal adekvatno upotrebljen, bili bi ne samo efikasna materijalna pomoć, nego i značajna psiho-socijalna podrška. Ugovorima bi se mogao regulisati i status porodica u tako izgrađenim objektima: one ne bi imale pravo vlasništva za određeni period vremena, ne bi ih mogle prodavati niti izdavati, bile bi obavezne da ih održavaju u zadovoljavajućem stanju, jer bi u suprotnom gubile pravo korišćenja.

Prednost smeštaja raseljenih romskih porodica na lokacije na kojima već žive domicilni Romi su očigledne. Ma koliko na prvi pogled problem integracije izgledao nerešiv, smeštaj raseljenih Roma sa Kosova na ove lokacije bi omogućavao, ako ne njihovu trajnu, a ono privremenu integraciju u crnogorsko društvo bez opasnosti od asimilacije. Drugim rečima, proces eventualne integracije bi se odvijao na prirodan način. S druge strane, gradnjom na ovim lokacijama izbegao bi se slučaj tzv. promašenih investicija, veoma čest u balkanskim državama. Naime, izgrađeni objekti predstavljaju trajno dobro za crnogorsko društvo: i u slučaju da ih raseljene romske porodice napuste, uvek će postojati porodice domaćih Roma kojima će ti objekti biti neophodni.

Mogući *rizici* su pre svega u otporima lokalnog stanovništva. Planska gradnja u romskim enklavama bi taj otpor nesumnjivo ublažila. Pojačanom brigom o infrastrukturnim objektima bi se taj rizik sveo na najmanju moguću meru, ako ne i efikasno sasvim otklonio. Drugo, u crnogorskoj javnosti se mogu stvoriti pogrešni utisci da SDR može i treba da rešava probleme raseljenih Roma u celini, ili da, kao ključno rešenje, vidi integraciju raseljenih Roma u

crnogorsko društvo. Oba utiska bi bila veoma pogrešna i treba ih striktno izbegavati. Treće, gradnja objekata za raseljene Rome može izazvati nepovoljne reakcije centralnih i lokalnih vlasti u Crnoj Gori. Međutim, te vlasti su tolerisale izgradnju kolektivnog smeštaja u kampu Konik I, sa mogućim katastrofalnim posledicama. Otuda i praktična preporuka koju treba razmotriti u svoj njenoj ozbiljnosti.

Praktična preporuka: SDR bi trebalo da izbegava bilo kakav angažman u Kampu za raseljene Rome na Koniku I u Podgorici, ali i da podrži sve one programe koji vode smanjenju broja stanovnika kampa.

Razlog: neposredni i posredni rizici na Koniku su ogromni.

Neposredni rizici su:

- a) opasnost od epidemija,
- b) izuzetno velika opasnost od požara koji prethodi da izazove veliku ljudsku tragediju i
- c) svakodnevni otvoreni sukobi i tenzije koji onemogućavaju normalan život i rad, u izuzetno velikoj koncentraciji stanovnika na veoma malom prostoru.

Posredni i dugoročni rizik: Kamp Konik I je ekološka i socijalna bomba za koju se nikada ne zna kada će eksplodirati. To je veliki, loše postavljen *geto*, koji će dugoročno posmatrano emitovati sve one probleme koji karakterišu život u *devastiranom getu* bilo gde u svetu. Za Podgoricu kao glavni grad Crne Gore i njene stanovnike će to biti nerešiv problem ako ga budu morali sami rešavati.

Neophodno je da pristup realizaciji bilo kog programa SDR-a sadrži sledeće korake:

Prvo, doneti odluke o kratkoročnim i srednjoročnim merama i aktivnostima SDR-a u cilju poboljšanja uslova života raseljenih Roma sa Kosova na teritoriji Crne Gore i angažovati stručni kadar SDR i eksperte da te odluke operacionalizuju. Podrazumeva se da te odluke budu praćene i određenom budžetskom konstrukcijom.

Drugo, postići načelni dogovor o tim merama i aktivnostima u krugu sledećih institucija:

– Vlada Crne Gore,

- Komesarijat za raseljena lica Vlade Crne Gore,
- UNHCR Podgorica i
- Crveni krst Crne Gore

Treće, Obratiti se predsedniku Skupštine opštine u Nikšiću (Dr. Milorad Drljević⁵³) i predsedniku grada Podgorice (Dr. Miomir Mugoša) sa konkretnim predlozima, a potom te predloge razmotriti sa predstavnicima odgovarajućih resora za urbanizam i za rad i socijalna pitanja.

Napokon, četvrto, ovaj izveštaj i mere koje *the SDR Shelter Program* u Podgorici namerava da poduzme bilo bi dobro učiniti dostupnim javnosti. Predlažem da ovaj izveštaj bude predmet javne rasprave predstavnika zainteresovanih domaćih i međunarodnih institucija i humanitarnih organizacija. Takođe bi bilo korisno upoznati predstavnike masovnih medija i javnog mnjenja u Crnoj Gori sa rezultatima istraživanja i namerama Shelter programa SDR-a.

Opšti zaključak

Nema nikakve dileme o tome da li raseljenim Romima sa Kosova treba pomoći. To je narod koji zaslužuje maksimalnu pomoć. Ne samo zato što su u jednom od najsiromašnijih regiona Evrope bili na dnu lestvice siromaštva, niti zbog toga što su doživeli tragičnu sudbinu nasilno prognanih ljudi. Preživeli su mnoga nasilja, pali su u još veću bedu, izgubivši čak i svoju siromašku imovinu. Dragoceno im je pomoći već iz tih razloga, tim pre što ta pomoć godi i savesti Evrope. Postoje i drugi, politički razlozi kojima se ovo istraživanje nije bavilo. Napokon, postoje i treći, koji su veoma bitni. Pomoć je dvosmerna: ako Evropa pomaže Romima da prežive i Romi mogu da pomognu razvijenim i manje razvijenim evropskim zemljama da se oslobode ksenofobije i rasizma. Iz romskog života i romske kulture Evropa može mnogo da nauči na putu prevladavanja ksenofobije. Pomoć i darovi koje Evropa pruži Romima vратиće se Evropi višestruko.

⁵³ Potpredsednik opštine u Nikšiću, dr Radovan Mijanović, je predsednik jugoslavenskog Crvenog krsta u Beogradu.

Božidar Jakšić

ROOFLESS PEOPLE

The Life of Refugees and Displaced
Kosovo Roma in Montenegro

Translated by Ivana Spasić

Belgrade, 2002

FOREWORD

In the Balkans, the twentieth century began and ended with wars. Two world wars, and at least three specifically Balkan ones, have left tragic consequences behind: hundreds of thousands of killed and wounded human beings, millions of expellees and refugees, ruined villages and towns, destroyed temples, industrial plants, cultural monuments of precious historical value, devastated infrastructure and social institutions. If the end of World War I in the Balkans was marked by the wave of refugees amounting to one million people between Greece and Turkey, the end of the 20th century was marked by huge waves of refugees and displaced persons from the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Most often, these unfortunate human beings were saving their bare lives by fleeing. Sometimes they were expelled: Serbs and Slovenians into Vojvodina in the beginning and Germans from Vojvodina at the end of World War II; Serbs from Croatia, Bosnians, Serbs and Croats from various parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Croats first and Serbs afterwards, from the Knin Krajina; Serbs, and for some time Albanians as well, from Kosovo and Metohija – in the “third” Balkan war at the turn of the present century. Less frequently, migrations were voluntary: the colonization of Kosovo in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, or the colonization of Vojvodina by families from Lika, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro in the wake of World War II.

Refugees and displaced persons are the tragic victims of violence, plunder, and blood-soaked destruction of the common state and creation of separate nation-states in its stead. Lines of desperate people, expelled or fleeing danger, were uninvited and undesired guests wherever they appeared. Inhumane living conditions of most refugees and displaced persons are just the most striking part of the evidence of the large-scale social catastrophe in the Balkans. Meeting these human beings helps one better to grasp Herman Broch’s metaphor of the *crime of indifference*

which he defines as "...the inability of the modern man to conceive and comprehend the suffering of the man next to him".¹ Opposing the indifference of the average person towards other's suffering, Broch expressed another truth, probably more profound but hard to grasp: misery deriving from catastrophe might prove ennobling.

It is difficult to establish the exact number of refugees and displaced persons from and in the Balkans. Several factors have contributed to that effect: 1) All sides involved in the Balkan conflicts have sought to blow up the number of their 'own' victims and reduce the same figure for the opponent, before national and international public; 2) in all the newly established states the number of refugees and displaced persons has been subject to manipulation, depending on the current political needs and calculations; 3) refugees and displaced persons have often eschewed registration, fearing that their status rights might be taken away, that they might be mobilized, and so on; 4) data from third countries are somewhat more precise, but again the number of illegal entries and changes in status remains unknown. If we add to these circumstances the notorious Balkan lack of organization in keeping records, then indeed nobody can assert with certainty that any specific data are accurate. Estimates of the total number of refugees and displaced persons usually range from 1,752,500 (mentioned in July 1992), to 3,800,000 (the figure presented by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs Sadako Ogata, on 13 April 1993). UNHCR estimated that 3,722,000 people from the former Yugoslavia were receiving humanitarian aid in the year 1995. Later registrations and estimates show a substantial decline so that in the late 1996 the figure discussed was two million people. Statements that in Serbia there are about one million refugees, or that, according to the findings of the Ministry for Refugees and Social Assistance of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 2,600,000 people went into exile from Bosnia-Herzegovina, are definitely exaggerated.

¹ Herman Broch, *Pisma o Nemačkoj 1945-1949 (Letters on Germany 1945-1949)*, p. 52, Svetovi, Novi Sad 1994.

The refugee and displaced population is object of concern of various international and state institutions, numerous foundations, humanitarian and non-governmental organizations, as well as target of interest of the mass media, but also of bigger or pettier political interests. The mass of refugees and displaced persons ought, first, to be accommodated, fed and clothed, and then supplied with other kinds of aid, from the official regulation of status to psycho-social support programs. These programs are particularly indispensable since refugees and displaced persons are faced with a Hamlet-like to-be-or-not-to-be sort of dilemma – “to go back or to get integrated”. The discouragingly poor results of the internationally proclaimed *Year of Return* (1998) in the Balkans suggest that the distress of the refugees and the displaced will not end soon. Hence the importance of social research into the living conditions of these people, especially in collective centers.

The studies I made were action-oriented and had limited but significant practical goals. They were preceded by other, more broadly conceived and more ambitious studies in both Serbia and Montenegro, as well as in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. Some of these studies were international; at the same time, numerous conferences and symposia on refugees and IDPs have been held. Two research endeavors immediately preceded my own. One was conducted by dr Vladimir Cvetković, published as *Strah i poniženje – Jugoslovenski rat i izbeglice u Srbiji 1991-1997 (War and Humiliation: The Yugoslav War and Refugees in Serbia 1991-1997)*² and the other by Jovanka Vuković, *Izbjegništvo u Crnoj Gori (Refugees in Montenegro)*.³

Unlike the refugees, Roma have traditionally been interesting to social scientists in the Balkans ever since the

² Vladimir Cvetković, *Strah i poniženje – Jugoslovenski rat i izbeglice u Srbiji 1991-1997*, Institute for European Studies, Belgrade 1998.

³ Jovanka Vuković *Izbjegništvo u Crnoj Gori*, Association of Social Workers of Montenegro, Podgorica 1998.

beginning of the twentieth century. Special attention was paid to their lifestyle, language, customs, beliefs and music. Works by Tihomir Đorđević, Rade Uhlik, Miljenko Filipović and their associates are a part of our cultural tradition. Within the more recent output, works by Tatomir Vukanović on Roma in Yugoslavia and Momčilo Lutovac on Roma in Montenegro are often cited in the literature. There are also symposia and collective works of the *Commission for the Study of Life and Customs of Roma* of the Department of Social Sciences of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the works by Aleksandra Mitrović and the research group affiliated with the *Society for the Advancement of Roma Settlements* on the social position and living conditions of Roma people, as well as the group of sociologists from Niš led by Draguljub Đorđević and associated with the *Komren Sociological Meetings*. Finally, it is encouraging that Roma themselves have contributed significantly to this body of research: Slobodan Berberski, Dragoljub Acković, Rajko Đurić, and many others.

To what extent the life of Roma is on the margins and beyond the margins of social life and concern of state institutions is indicated by the fact that the figures on the size of the Roma population are extremely unreliable. Thus according to the latest census conducted in 1991 about 137,000 Roma live in the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Roma circles estimate that there are between 700,000 and 800,000 Roma in FR Yugoslavia, while estimates of researchers and demographers range between 400,000 and 450,000.⁴ Since Kosovo has been under international protectorate, Roma have become the largest nation-

⁴ Just to what extent data circulating in the public may be unreliable can be shown on the following example from Montenegro. In his paper "The Position of Roma in Montenegro" Dr Srdan Vukadinović says that "in mid-1999 43,000 displaced Roma came to Montenegro from Kosovo, while in March-April 2000 10,000 of them remained". In the meantime, this author says, "most of them went to European countries". If someone may believe that 43,000 Roma from Kosovo came to Montenegro, it is absolutely unbelievable that 33,000 Roma could within less than one year leave Montenegro for Western countries. See Dr Srdan Vukadinović, „Položaj

al minority in Yugoslavia, although they have not yet been accorded the legal status of minority.⁵

My own research of living conditions of displaced Roma from Kosovo in Montenegro was immediately preceded by Živorad Tasić's study, carried out with very modest funding but extremely conscientiously. It helped me greatly to understand better the subject-matter of my research. That small-scale studies can yield important results can be shown on an example from Slovenia: the study in question looked at the response of the Slovenian media to the wish of a Roma family to settle in the Slovenian village of Maline in the fall of 1997.⁶ The study gives a remarkable portrait not only of the discriminatory attitude of the villagers, other citizens and the media towards Roma,⁷ but of the general petit-bourgeois mentality as well.

The results of studies of living conditions of Roma people, whether displaced from Kosovo or native of particular social settings, have to be presented to the broader public. Most of these fellow citizens of ours, often invisible, live in impossible conditions. Insights into their daily struggle with life and for survival can leave no one indifferent. The picture offered by such studies could perhaps be the bell that will wake up human conscience; indirectly, it is an appeal for help and a revolt against miserable living conditions. It was precisely these prospects that obliged me to

Roma u Crnoj Gori“ (“The Position of Roma in Montenegro”), in: *Romi - Sociološki uvid (Roma – A Sociological Insight)*, ed. by Dragoljub Đorđević, Komren Sociological Meetings - Pelikan print, Niš 2000, p. 45.

⁵ The federal law on national minorities that regulates this issue is still in the stage of draft.

⁶ See Karmen Erjavec, Sandra B. Horvatin and Barbara Kelbl, *Mi o Romih-Diskriminatorski diskurz v medijah v Slovenii/We about Roma - Discriminatory Discourse in the Media in Slovenia*, Open Society Institute - Slovenia, Ljubljana 2000.

⁷ The experience of the present researcher in the town of Bar was similar. This topic will be dealt with in more detail on the pages of this book. On the case of the young Roma boy Dušan Jovanović from Belgrade who was murdered by skinheads just because of his ethnicity see Dragoljub Acković, *Oni su ubili njegove oči (They Killed His Eyes)*, Romainterpress, Belgrade 1997.

make the results of my research available for public critical scrutiny.

The social research of the Vrela Ribnička refugee settlement in Podgorica was undertaken on the initiative of the Swiss Disaster Relief, Shelter Office – Podgorica in the period between early November 1998 and end of March 1999, though the preparations began earlier. The study was wholly sponsored by the SDR. In doing this work I was assisted by Zorica Minić and Nada Luteršek, psychologists from Podgorica, as well as Jovanka Vuković, M.A., social worker from Bar and the author of a book on refugees, to my knowledge the only existing study of the topic in Montenegro. While the responsibility for research results and any possible shortcomings of the entire study is borne exclusively by myself, I wish to use this opportunity to thank my co-workers and the interviewers for their professionally correct and highly committed engagement. I am no less indebted to Ms Barbara Rothenberger, Chief of the SDR Shelter Office Podgorica, and her assistants, as well as to Mr. Richard Maranta, Chief of the regional SDR Office in Belgrade, and his assistants, for their strong logistic support, cooperation and benevolent encouragements. Other persons I would like to thank include Mr. Đorđe Šćepanović and his assistant Ms. Ivanka Kojić of the Commissariat for Displaced Persons of Montenegro; representatives of the Red Cross of Montenegro Messrs. Slobodan Kalezić, Vuk Darmanović and Lazar Vujović; Siniša Stanković from the City Secretariat for Labor and Social Work; Mr. Pierfrancesco M. Natta and Ms. Darka Minić from the UNHCR's Podgorica office. Cooperation with refugees-representatives of the Council of Tenants – Milinko Ostojić, Božidar Grdinić and Slavoljub Vujović – as well as numerous other refugees and Romanies from Vrela Ribnička, particularly Mr. Isen Gaši, President of the Association of Romanies of Montenegro, helped me invaluablely in understanding human suffering and pain. Last but not least, I am grateful to the man whose quiet but unconditional support and help I enjoyed throughout the research – Zuvdija Hodžić, writer

and painter from Podgorica, who has generously shared with me some of his infinite love for Podgorica and its people.

The social research *Life of Displaced Kosovo Roma in Montenegro (Podgorica and Niksic) and Possibilities for Integration*, commissioned by the SDR-Podgorica Shelter Program, was conducted in the period February – June 2000. I am greatly indebted to my collaborators Zorica Minić, Ivana Spasić, Jovanka Vuković, Nađa Luteršek, Vesna Miletić and Vera Cicmil who assisted me throughout the research. Apart from precious professional cooperation, I wish to express my particular appreciation for the self-sacrificing work of Ivana Spasić in translating all research materials into English. Special thanks to the group of 18 interviewers and Roma interpreters who helped us communicate with Roma families during the interviews. I wish to stress that at the SDR Shelter Office – Podgorica I have always met with understanding and wholehearted support on the part of Ms Barbara Rothenberger, the former Head, and Mr. Urs Rudolf, the current Head, as well as of their staff. To them, as well as to the Commissariat for Displaced Persons of the Government of Montenegro, to the Red Cross and the local authorities, I wish to express my gratitude for their understanding and help in my work. Last but not least, I greatly appreciate the good will of Roma and non-Roma families who, in spite of the hardships they live in, acted so cooperatively and obligingly in relating to our researchers and interviewers.

Kumodraž, December 2001

Part One

THE LIFE
OF REFUGEES
AND
DISPLACED ROMA
IN
VRELA RIBNIČKA

PRELIMINARY DESCRIPTION OF THE SITUATION

The Vrela Ribnička refugee settlement is located in the part of Podgorica called Konik, one-time far periphery but nowadays quite close to the city center. The settlement is in the southeastern part of town, separated from the city core by the river Ribnica. It lies on the road to the village of Dinoša and the township of Tuzi, on the very edge of Konik, between the Romany settlement and the large city dump. The settlement was built for temporary accommodation of a number of refugee families. Incidentally, Konik is comprised of three local communities: Stari aerodrom (a couple of large apartment blocks, now an extension of the Podgorica city center), Ribnica, and Vrela Ribnička.

Table 1. – Number of inhabitants of Konik according to the 1991 census

<i>Settlement</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Serbs</i>	<i>Monte-negrins</i>	<i>Jugo-slavs</i>	<i>Alban-ians</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Rom-anies</i>	<i>Others</i>
Stari Aerodrom	5285	426	3998	43	10	11	9	788
Ribnica	4983	398	3197	/	281	232	151	599
Vrela Ribnička	7854	438	2565	332	363	2561	1334	261

According to the 1991 census, 18,000 people or one-eighth of all Podgorica's inhabitants lived in these three

local communities. If we know that at the time Podgorica was divided into as many as 71 local communities, we can see that even then this part of the city was overpopulated. Overpopulation will certainly grow in the future, since the population of Vrela Ribnička and Ribnica are characterized by high birthrate, and there is an intense inflow of refugees and displaced persons into these settlements.

According to the statements given in the census¹, in addition to 32.65% Montenegrins and 5.57% Serbs, the domestic population of Vrela Ribnička includes 4.60% Albanians, 32.60% Muslims and 16.98% Romanies. In terms of religion, 46.39% of the inhabitants are of Islamic faith. As this population is extremely poor, the incidence of illiteracy is almost three times as high as in Podgorica (18.67% : 6.28%), while the percentage of inhabitants with college education is almost nine times as small (1.57% : 9.62%). More precise data on this population are difficult to get, because official records are kept on the level of town rather than settlement. There are, however, some indirect indices that are telling enough. Thus, for instance, a dozen social workers cover 68 out of 71 Podgorica's local communities, while the three local communities we are talking about are covered by three social workers, each of them being responsible for about 200 welfare cases. The poverty of the population of Vrela Ribnička is also illustrated by the fact that children are often enrolled in school just to get the confirmation needed for child allowance, and then never appear in school again. The number of children never enrolled in school at all is virtually impossible to determine. In senior years of the elementary school the number of Romany and Muslim children is almost negligible. As soon as third or fourth grade these children become

¹ The qualification "statements given in the census" is stressed here because some ethnic Romanies are very likely to have declared themselves "Montenegrins", "Serbs", "Yugoslavs", "Muslims" or "Albanians".

involved in whatever business their parents may be running, which means dropping out of school.

The Romany population, consisting primarily of petty craftsmen (e.g. blacksmiths²) was moved into this part of the city upon the renewal of the city center. They were moved two kilometers away from the center as this neighborhood was expected never to urbanize. However some Romanies who earned money by working abroad built or bought houses in Ribnica and Vrela Ribnička. Although in this neighborhood, too building is done without permit it is less prominent here than in other, more attractive parts of town. The reasons for this are manifold, including the poverty of its inhabitants, lack of space, poor infrastructure, closeness of the dumpsite, as well as the negative image of Vrela Ribnička as a “Gypsy settlement”. The domestic population and people who moved in here from other parts of Montenegro, mainly from the north, build their houses on the outskirts of the refugee settlement, without a building permit, without engineering plans and designs or any approval. Houses are mushrooming arbitrarily, without inspection or other supervision, thereby seriously overburdening the already inadequate and insufficient infrastructure.

The Vrela Ribnička refugee settlement is one of the five sites for family accommodation of refugees in Montenegro. This form of accommodation is the least painful for refugees themselves, since the family can preserve as much as possible its identity and integrity, and is relieved of financial burdens such as paying rent or other housing expenditures.³ The settlement was built in 1994. Financial

² Among Romany occupations in Europe Rajko Djurić cites blacksmiths in the first place, followed by musicians, shopkeepers, fortune-tellers (a female occupation), trainers of various animals, entertainers. See: Rajko Djurić, *Seobe Roma – Krugovi pakla i venac sreće (Romany Migrations – Circles of Hell and Wreath of Happiness)*, BIGZ, Belgrade 1987, p. 243.

³ On this type of settlement Jovanka Vuković writes: “Within family accommodation of refugees, the best and most humane form of caring for

resources were provided by the UNHCR, while construction works were organized by the *Agency for the Accommodation of Refugees – Podgorica* and carried out by the “Neimar-inžinjeri” contractor firm from Podgorica. The settlement consists of 8 one-storey residential buildings, containing 200 housing units altogether. A housing unit is comprised of one room occupied by one family and a common bathroom and toilet they share with neighbors from the next housing unit. In principle, each family is given one room, and two families share one bathroom and toilet. Two housing units on the first floor, together with the bathroom and toilet, cover an area of 25.71 m² (rooms 12.85 m² each, bathroom and toilet 2.805 m²). On upper floors the situation is, if we may say so, somewhat more “favorable”, since the area of the room used by a family is 13.11 m². Estimated cost of one housing unit was about 5,000\$. Each housing unit is equipped with elementary furniture and appliances (cooking stove, refrigerator, heater, table, chairs, beds). The evidently low quality of construction was justified by the fact that the settlement was intended for temporary accommodation, but the exile has lasted for too long, so that the problems in the functioning of the settlement have grown immense.

According to the information gathered in interviews at the Commissariat for Displaced Persons of the Government of Montenegro, the idea was to place refugees – up to one thousand persons – in the settlement for a short period of time. Each housing unit was intended to accommodate temporarily five persons, so that in practice an average of 2.6 m²

families is in settlements adapted for individual life of new families... This form of accommodation is the most painless for refugees, but also the most propitious for the integration of refugees in the local community at both communal and functional levels. Besides, the family can to some extent preserve its identity and integrity, while it is relieved of the financial expenditures of paying rent for a leased apartment.” See: Jovanka Vuković, *Izbjeglišтво u Crnoj Gori (Refugees in Montenegro)*, Društvo socijalnih radnika Crne Gore, Podgorica 1998, pp. 47–48.

of living space was anticipated per family member. Currently, 196 refugee families live in the settlement, with a total of about 850 household members. Adjoining the settlement, a tent camp of Romanies displaced from Kosovo was set up in 1998. In October 1998, the Podgorica Red Cross registered nearly 2,000 Romanies in the tent camp – men, women and children, living in absolutely inhumane conditions.⁴ The tents except for two of them, were removed in late fall 1998, but many displaced Romanies continued to live there in similar conditions. So on the outskirts of Podgorica, in the immediate vicinity of the dump, a *refugee-DP ghetto*⁵ emerged, lacking the most basic conditions for permanent living.

Table 2. – Year of arrival in the settlement

Year of arrival	Number of families	Percentage	Summary percentage
1994	123	63,4	63,4
1995	46	23,7	87,1
1996	12	6,2	93,4
1997	7	3,6	97,0
1998	5	2,5	99,5
Unknown	1	0,5	100
Total	194	100	100

⁴ According to the data of the Association of Romanies of Montenegro, provided by Mr. Isen Gaši, the President of the Association at the time of the polling, in late January 1999 135 Romany families displaced from Kosovo still lived in Vrela Ribnička. The findings of the present study show that families of displaced Romanies from Kosovo have 7 members on the average, wherefrom we may estimate that in late January 1999 about 1000 displaced Romanies from Kosovo were still in Vrela Ribnička.

⁵ One respondent stressed that the settlement is located on a wrong place – “a ghetto on the dump” - while another concluded with resignation: “We are on the dumpsite of life”.

Since the domestic population consists mainly of Romanies, Vrela Ribnička is at the same time the *largest Romany ghetto* in Podgorica. Besides, it is not unimportant that Vrela Ribnička are located in the immediate vicinity of one of the three largest black-market centers in Yugoslavia: the famous black market in Tuzi is less than 10 kilometers away.

It is not the intention of this author to broach questions of irresponsibility, incompetence, corruption and theft; nevertheless, it is worth noting that refugees and other interviewed people were unanimous in the opinion that the settlement was built up in haste and extremely poorly. Construction works were executed so badly that nothing functions properly. Some refugees do not believe any repairs are really possible. Roofs are leaking heavily, there is no insulation between floors, fecal matter is flowing in the open along the buildings, more often than not there is no water, electrical wiring is bad and it is difficult to use electricity safely and without interruption.⁶ The construction was not completed, and the material was not built in, according to the project. In spite of that, all the bills were charged as if everything had been done in accordance with the project.⁷ The general view, voiced by some

⁶ Obviously, not all these faults can be blamed on the organizer, the contractor, the supervising body, inspection commission, etc. Water supply during summer months is a chronic problem of the whole city of Podgorica; the sewage network never existed in this neighborhood; and the capacity of the local transformer station is insufficient. It should also be stressed that in the fall of 1998 the SDR Shelter Program in Podgorica launched large-scale works on the construction of the sewage system in order to put an end to this problem. The works were prompted by numerous appeals by the refugees. The municipality of Podgorica strongly supported the project and participated considerably in the expenses. The works are due to be finished by the beginning of April 1999. In this way, one of the problems refugees most complained about, and with a good reason, will be permanently eliminated.

⁷ For this reason it is necessary to repeat here that the construction works were carried out by the firm "Neimar inžinjering", while for organizing the whole business a special Agency for the Accommodation of Refugees – Podgorica was formed. In the document No. 4325, of February 2,

refugees and other persons, is that the works were so ill done that there are ample reasons for raising the issue of responsibility of the contractors, the supervising authority and other actors involved in the process of construction. Mice, snakes, flies and vermin can be found everywhere. Due to the poor quality of construction, and still poorer maintenance of the sewage system, the settlement is continuously threatened by epidemics⁸. There are rumors that radioactive waste from the Clinical-Hospital Center is

1995, signed by Slobodan Kalezić on behalf of the Red Cross of Montenegro, and by Dževdana Đukanović, Acting Director, on behalf of the Agency, it is stated: "The Agency for the Accommodation of Refugees, in accordance with the description of subproject 94/YU/YUG/CM/270 (d\$ annex ANEWKEY94YUG270 (d\$ position 2 paragraph 4 of May 10, 1994 of the tripartite agreement between the Red Cross of Montenegro, the Government of the Republic of Montenegro and the United Nations High Commissariat for Refugees, and according to the contract No. 1740 of November 17, 1993 (our reference) Article 6, handed over all the objects on the site provided by the Municipality of Podgorica on the location "Vrela Ribnička" in Podgorica, as the property of the Red Cross of Montenegro, to be used as stipulated in the quoted agreement."

Let us note here that the Agency *hands over* the settlement to the Red Cross of Montenegro as *property* of the latter, while the question of *who, how and with what financial resources is responsible for continuous maintenance of the objects* remains completely open. It was quite clear then, as it is today, that the Red Cross has no possibility or resources to take upon itself a proper maintenance of the objects involved. Without questioning the legal background for the ownership of the Red Cross of Montenegro over the refugee settlement in Vrela Ribnička, it is necessary to add another paradox: the settlement is practically run by the Commissariat for Displaced Persons of Montenegro.

⁸ That the danger of epidemics is not unfounded is evidenced, apart from constant complaints and warnings on the part of the Council of Tenants, by the outbreak of jaundice epidemic in the settlement. Thus in the letter of January 18, 1999 addressed to the Commissariat for Displaced Persons of Montenegro the Council of Tenants writes: "1. In spite of the draining of septic tanks conducted by public utilities and housing services fecal matter overflows on the septic tank itself and through manholes by the buildings, so that jaundice appeared in the settlement". The Podgorica daily "Vijesti" of January 15, 1999, page 14, published an article entitled "Jaundice Threatening" along with a photo of the settlement overflowed with fecal matter. While the survey was being conducted three new cases of jaundice were recorded.

dumped at the dumpsite; there is no proof though. The question of sewage and waste is just the tip of the iceberg in the sea of problems bothering the refugees living in the settlement.

Yet, the Vrela Ribnička refugee settlement looks like a paradise in comparison with the accommodation of the displaced Kosovo Romanies. There are no words strong and precise enough to describe faithfully the appalling, ghastly conditions they live in. Quite simply, their situation is disastrous.⁹

⁹ Aleksandra Mitrović writes: "A large number of members of the Romany ethnic group remained outside the division of labor. In particular, they could not compete for higher social positions because of their alienation from the educational institutions. This lack of inclusion in secondary relations being opened is a factor related to the status of Romanies as an ethnic group, so that these two aspects together blocked the promotion of Romanies, placing them thereby *at the bottom of the social ladder* (emphasis B.J.)." See: Aleksandra Mitrović, "Romi na granicama siromaštva" ("Romanies on the Verges of Poverty"), in: *Razvitak Roma u Jugoslaviji – Problemi i tendencije* (*The Development of Romanies in Yugoslavia – Problems and Tendencies*), SANU, Belgrade 1992, p. 92. Those who claim there is no humanitarian catastrophe in Yugoslavia should spend at least two hours among displaced Romanies in Vrela Ribnička.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Main Research Objectives

The basic objectives of this research were to devise and formulate practical measures and actions that would contribute to:

- a) immediate improvement of living conditions of refugees and displaced persons;
- b) improvement of interpersonal relations within the refugee population;
- c) promoting social contacts between the domestic population, refugees, and displaced persons;
- d) achieving full integration of those refugees and displaced persons who are willing to do so.

The possibilities for social research in the Vrela Ribnička settlement are excellent, but the researcher bears an enormous responsibility.¹⁰ To study the emergence of a ghet-

¹⁰ In this type of research abstention of respondents, up to as much as 20%, is quite common. The fear that the same phenomenon might appear in this study was caused by the fact that over the preceding period various registrations and examinations of refugees and DPs sometimes resulted in the reduction of rights they had previously enjoyed. The refugees had had enough of visits and promises that never brought them any improvement in their life situation. But there was virtually no abstention in this study. Three factors seem to have played a decisive role here: 1) Intense preliminary contacts and interviews with the refugees which served as the basis for constructing the questionnaire; in this way respondents had been acquainted in advance with aims of the study. 2) Activities of the Shelter

to in virtually natural-experimental conditions is an extraordinary challenge. Of course, the research had to be aimed at describing, diagnosing, and defining problems involved in refugees' and DPs' life, as well as ways to solve them. *The practical aim of the research was to suggest a set of coordinated and comprehensive measures for resolving problems faced by people in the Vrela Ribnička refugee settlement.*

Framework and Methods of Research

Survey of refugee families in the Vrela Ribnička settlement. The unit of study was a family. Out of a total of 196 refugee families, 194 were polled,¹¹ on the basis of a special questionnaire designed for them.

Survey of displaced Romanies from Kosovo. 50 families (out of 135) were interviewed, selected by random sampling and on the basis of a special questionnaire. Interviewed persons predominantly belonged to the Mandžupa-Romany group, speaking an endemic variant of the Romany language. For these respondents an interpreter was secured.¹²

Survey of 50 families of domestic Romanies, on the basis of a questionnaire designed specially for them. For this population, too an interpreter was provided whenever necessary.

Interviews with representatives of involved organizations and institutions (total 20).

Program on helping with maintenance of the settlement, and the construction of the sewage conducted by this program, both of which have been extremely beneficial. Thus several interviewed heads of family stressed their positive attitude towards the SDR, while one of them said the survey encompassed all aspects of their life and was excellently prepared. 3) Personal interest of the refugees in improving their living conditions certainly also played a significant role.

¹¹ Two families were inaccessible, because the interviewing was done during winter school holidays, when these families were away from the settlement together with their children.

¹² The communication with displaced Romany families from Kosovo was established primarily thanks to the kind assistance of Ms. Tatjana Gaši, a polyglot Romany, and Mr. Aleksandar-Saša Pupin, Program Assistant of the *Italian Consortium of Solidarity (Consorzio Italiano di Solidarietà)*, the Italian humanitarian organization whose activities are mainly directed to Romanies.

In sum, three separate questionnaires were constructed in order to examine views relevant for the research objectives as set above. The questionnaires for refugees and displaced Romanies from Kosovo were made as similar as possible, while the questionnaire for domestic Romanies was considerably different.¹³ The questions included in the questionnaire were selected on the basis of previous conversations with the refugees and recording all points mentioned by them as their most difficult problems, then by a personal insight into the conditions of life in the settlement, as well as by consulting literature and previous studies of the issue. The final version of the questionnaire was completed after conducting test surveys in the refugee settlement “Safari kamp” in Ulcinj, and in two Romany settlements – Suvi Potok near Sutomore and in Bar.

The main focus of the research was the refugee population, while problems of displaced persons and domestic population were in the background. This was done because a number of displaced Romanies may return to Kosovo or change their place of residence and settle permanently elsewhere. The domestic population is also partly composed of Romanies, and in this study the interrelations of refugees and domestic population were significant for understanding the problems of integration. The research was oriented primarily to examining vital problems of the refugee population, in view of the possibilities of their permanent settling down, and dealt only secondarily and to a much smaller extent with relations between refugees and displaced Romanies, of the domestic population toward the refugees, of the local authorities toward the refugees and DPs, and finally relations of the Red Cross, other international humanitarian and other organizations toward refugees and DP s.

¹³ It was an interesting experience to hear one domestic Romany say in the interview: “Welcome, this is the first time in the last ten years that somebody is asking me how I live and what I think”.

THE SURVEYED POPULATION

The refugee population came from Bosnia-Herzegovina, but most of them were either born in Montenegro or have close relatives in Podgorica or Montenegro.¹⁴

In the Vrela Ribnička refugee settlement 196 families reside permanently, but the *surveyed population* consisted of 194 families with 837 members altogether. In the settlement four-member families prevail (41.2%) with a roughly balanced gender distribution, consisting of two men (father and son, 41.8%) and two women (mother and daughter, 34%). Seven families consist of women only, and in two there are only men. In the total women are slightly more numerous (442 women : 395 men). Families of displaced Romanies are considerably more numerous, having 7 members on the average, and among domestic Romanies 6 members.

Son and daughter, as the third and fourth member of family, are under 16 and go to school. One-fourth of all the families have 5 members, while 12.4% have 6 or 7 members. Eight, 9 and 11 members are found in one refugee family each. Interestingly, households with 1 or 2 members (n=13) make up 6.7%, while families with 7 to 11 members (also n=13) make up exactly the same percentage of 6.7% of the family population. In light of this fact, it is

¹⁴ Preceding studies also show that a large part of the refugees who came to Montenegro is of Montenegrin descent. See: Jovanka Vuković, *Op.cit.*, p. 40. It is also important to note that in Montenegro, in accordance with the "Act on Care of Displaced Persons", *Official Gazette of Montenegro* No. 37/92, all refugees are treated as displaced persons.

clear that a more just redistribution of space is not so difficult a problem as it may seem.

Table 3. – Refugee families in the settlement according to number of members

Number of members	Number of families	Percentage	Summary percentage
1	2	1,0	1,0
2	11	5,7	6,7
3	27	13,9	20,6
4	80	41,2	61,9
5	47	24,2	86,1
6	14	7,2	93,3
7	10	5,2	98,5
8	1	0,5	99,0
9	1	0,5	99,5
11	1	0,5	100
TOTAL	194	100	100

This problem must be singled out because many refugees complain that the distribution of space in the settlement was not just: according to some refugees, two 2- or 3-member families use one bathroom, just like two 6- or 7-member ones. Insecurity, frustrations and fear give rise to many rumors that are difficult to check out. For example, some people are claimed to live in the settlement without being registered. *Fama est*: some of the registered inhabitants possess their own houses which they give on lease, while they continue living in the settlement.¹⁵

¹⁵ The Commissariat for Displaced Persons of Montenegro was approving moving into the settlement on the basis of certain criteria. These criteria were not the subject of this research, but the respondents often expressed their dissatisfaction with some of Commissariat's actions. One of them observed that the Commissariat manipulates with numbers and deliberately keeps people under tension in order to manipulate them more easily. A particularly tense situation arose at the end of January, just at the time of

Most refugee families (56%) have remained in the same composition, in 19% cases the number has increased, and in 24.4% decreased. The causes of these changes include: losses of family members during war and exile, while in exile 19 people have died, 15 girls got married, and 24 children have been born. No young man got married in the preceding period. All girls got married outside the settlement.

The families of displaced Romanies arrived most frequently in the same composition as they had lived in Kosovo. Here we should note that in any analysis of the Romany population the following remark of Milutin Prokić must be kept in mind: "When Romanies are concerned, any statistics on them is unconvincing and must be taken with a great deal of caution".¹⁶ Evidently, in order to gather as reliable statistical material as possible, the statistical system would have to be adjusted to their views on the selection of phenomena to be recorded and the phenomena itself.¹⁷ On the other hand, in this study only 50

polling, when the Commissariat issued decisions ordering some illegally settled families to move out. The resistance was strong and the police intervened. Behavior against the law, of course, is unjustifiable, refugee families included. Nevertheless, some of the families in question had been living in the settlement for over two years. If they had been using housing space unlawfully and beyond criteria, one wonders why the Commissariat waited for so long to protect "law and order"! In the communication of December 3, 1998 sent by the Commissariat for Displaced Persons of Montenegro to the Secretariat for Labor and Social Security of Podgorica it is claimed that the refugees transferred "benefits to families of their friends, to relatives, or frequently sold them. Such behavior is appalling..." Hence it is reasonable to be skeptical regarding the data on the number of family members collected in this study as well. Probably there are reasons to speak of the so-called *fictitious members*, and some families declared the number of members not after the real situation, but rather in accordance with what they had registered with the Commissariat.

¹⁶ Milutin Prokić, "Socijalno-ekonomske karakteristike Roma u Jugoslaviji" ("Socio-Economic Characteristics of Romanies in Yugoslavia"), in: *Razvitak Roma u Jugoslaviji – Problemi i tendencije*, SANU, Belgrade 1992, p. 97.

¹⁷ In the opinion of Aleksandra Mitrović, the Romany population cannot be studied in isolation. Sociological approach implies the study of

families of displaced Romanies were interviewed, which does not offer an adequate foundation for presenting data in percentages. But the technique will nevertheless be employed here and there in this Report, so that comparisons may be made with the refugee population.

Bearing these remarks in mind, we may say that 74% of displaced Kosovo Romany families arrived in Vrela in unchanged shape compared to their pre-exile situation. When they decided to leave Kosovo or better, flee from Kosovo, they chose Podgorica because of relatives in 52%, and accidentally in 32%. When the data on motives for coming to Podgorica and the data on previous accommodation are cross-tabulated, we arrive at an interesting finding that at the moment of interviewing only one displaced Romany family was accommodated at their friends' or relatives', "because of whom they had chosen Podgorica". At that moment, displaced Romany families were accommodated mostly in improvised accommodation of their own – 34, shacks and tents – 12, and rented apartments – 3 families. The length of stay has been maximum nine months – 15 families, about six months – 32 families, and less than three months – 3 families.

AGE AND EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURES

Heads of family among the refugees are predominantly (46.4%) between 40 and 60 years of age. They are high-school or first-level college graduates (44.3%), or hold B.A., M.A. or Ph.D. degrees in as many as 16.5%. If we add 22.7% skilled and highly skilled workers, we end up with a rather high percentage of 83% in these three educational categories. Heads of family among the refugees are

intergroup social relations, so that the study of Romanies should be placed in the wider network of relations and comparisons with the majority group. See Aleksandra Mitrović, „Romi na granicama siromaštva“ (“Romanies on the Verge of Poverty”), in: *Razvitak Roma u Jugoslaviji – Problemi i tendencije*, SANU, Belgrade 1992, pp. 87-96.

mostly unemployed (39.7%). The second member of refugee family – the wife, belongs in the same age category (49.5%) and has the same education (high school or more), and is even more frequently unemployed (46.9%). As the percentage of people over 60 in the age structure is low (11.8%), we may conclude that most adults in the settlement are potential workforce.

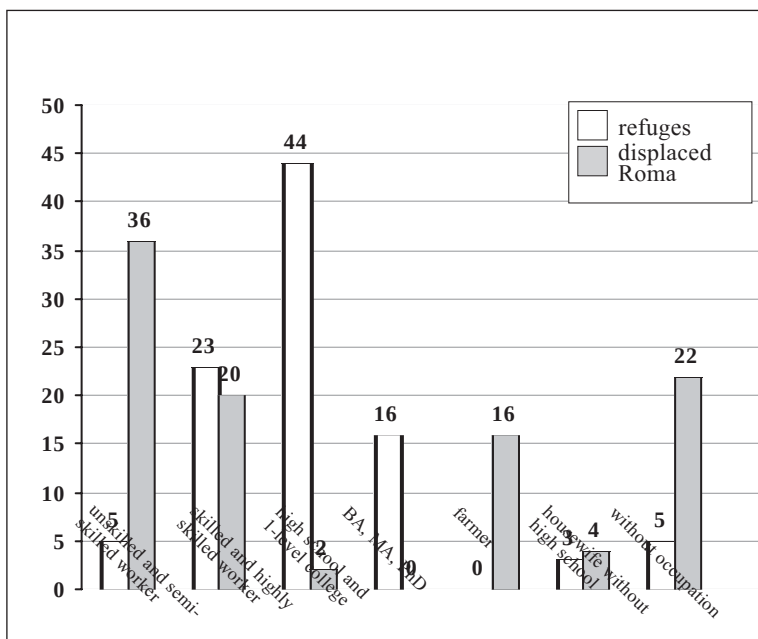
Displaced Romanies are, generally speaking, poorly educated, capable for work, and young.¹⁸ The bulk of work-capable members of family are unemployed. Among the displaced Romanies, 46% heads of family are under 25 years of age, while 44% belong to the 40-60 age category. The head of family among the displaced Romanies is an unskilled worker in 36% cases, in 22% without a particular occupation, in 20% skilled worker, and in 16% farmer. 86% of their wives are housewives, i.e. without occupation. The remaining five members of family are very often without occupation (52%-66%). Before the outbreak of conflicts in Kosovo the head of a Romany family was permanently employed in 46% cases, unemployed in 26%, and periodically employed in 22%. Their wives were unemployed in 92%, and the remaining five members of family were very often unemployed, with a negligible number of those holding steady or temporary jobs. In sum, even before the exile in these households the father was predominantly the sole breadwinner.

The exile further deteriorated the situation with permanent employment among displaced Romanies. Namely, 74% heads of family are unemployed, and only 20% work from time to time. None of them holds a steady job. The

¹⁸ The fact that Romanies, particularly women, have an extremely negative educational and unfavorable professional structure, that most Romanies has no stable and secure income, and that social institutions are practically inaccessible to them, is a commonplace finding among the researchers. See Milosav Milosavljević, „Romi i devijacije“ (“Romanies and Deviance”), in: *Društvene promene i položaj Roma (Social Change and the Position of Romanies)*, SANU – Institut za socijalnu politiku, Beograd 1993, pp. 34–47.

situation is similar with other members of family. They are mostly unemployed (wives 94%, second member 72%, third 72%, fifth 64%). Statistically speaking, the current employment status of displaced Romanies in unsatisfactory and provides not even the minimum for mere survival. However, one should bear in mind here that Romanies wherever they happen to be engage in their traditional occupations and thereby survive. It is not to be expected that their employment will significantly rise in the future.

OCCUPATION OF THE HEAD OF FAMILY



The educational structure of the surveyed refugee families points unmistakably to their urban background. The impression is that the refugees seek to compensate for their lost social milieu, at least ostensibly, trying to live in a social environment they had been accustomed to. "...The possession of an educational and professional profile is just fiction and a potential property in the circumstances

of losing one's employment status", writes a student of the topic.¹⁹

The educational structure of refugees, with 16.5% of families where father or mother, or both, are intellectuals, by far surpasses the Vrela Ribnička average (where college-educated comprise 1.57%). This fact could be taken as a significant presupposition for their integration into the Montenegrin society, but at the same time a limiting factor in their integration into the local milieu, since the professional structure of the refugees is about 11 times as "strong" as the professional structure of domestic population and displaced Romanians. Perhaps this is one of the areas where the reasons for a nearly total absence of regular communications and socializing between the surveyed groups should be sought. Most people belonging to well-educated workforce fled from their places of previous residence, which seriously undermines normal functioning of various social services in their native places, both at present and in the future.

WHAT ARE THE SOURCES OF LIVELIHOOD FOR YOUR FAMILY?

Refugees are multiple losers. A loser feeling is haunting them even when they lost no material goods.²⁰ The war has not only left people without homes, but also deprived them of many material prerequisites for life and social security. Homes, furniture, family valuables have been destroyed, plundered, seized... All these losses have resulted in a deeply unfavorable social-psychological and personal situation in which identity and subjectivity vanish, the person becoming dependent and in a role of object in most social relations being established in exile. Exile modifies thor-

¹⁹ M. Milosavljević, "Socijalni aspekti izbjeglištva" ("Social Aspects of Exile"), in: *Psihologija izbeglištva (The Psychology of Exile)*, IP Nauka, Belgrade 1997, p. 11.

²⁰ Only four examined refugee families (2.1%) lost nothing, because they had possessed nothing in the place of previous residence.

oughly one's social position in general, along with some of its constituent elements, just as it profoundly alters the conditions, style and way of life of people and their families, in comparison with what they had before exile. An effect of exile is that many structural properties of the refugee population get homogenized or lose their diversity, the basic elements of lifestyle and quality of life becoming largely uniform. Despair is a major feature of exile. Refugees feel they depend on impersonal, delayed decisions of large international or domestic institutions. They show signs of dependency syndrome and destructive tendencies. Being losers, they give in to resignation: they stop appreciating material and spiritual values. What they had and loved remained lost in the places they escaped from, whereas in the new environment there is nothing they are attached to. Everything around them may fall to ruins. And yet, many of them still strive to bear this burden and overcome such feelings. And they should be supported in these efforts!

In a war everything is lost. Of course, not everybody loses everything, but a large majority loses something. Thus for example, in a majority of refugee families adult members held a steady job in the place of previous residence before the exile (71.6% men and 63.9% women). They had also their housing problem solved, which is the key to normal and successful functioning of a family. As many as 94.3% of refugee families residing in Vrela Ribnička possessed their own apartment or house before the war, and only 9 families did not lose house or apartment by virtue of exile. Furniture and appliances were also lost by almost all of them (93.3%). Out of 194 surveyed families, 183 (95.3%) lost house or apartment, 68 (35.4%) land, 14 (7.3%) business premises, 73 (38.0%) car, and 16 (8.3%) undefined other property ("Something else").²¹

²¹ Studies of refugees in Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina indicate similar tendencies. Losses of various forms of property clearly show the extent of the need the refugees are in. According to one study, 74.72% of the property of surveyed refugees has been destroyed or seized, while in

Among those who were permanently employed 89% are refugees of Montenegrin descent. Nowadays in barely one-fifth of families (18.06%) a member holds a steady job. An almost negligible percent (3.1%) live off the aid of the Red Cross, relatives, or friends²². There are also those who simply do not know how they manage. Most families (65.5%) earn their livelihood by working periodically. In the words of respondents, the jobs they are working on are most often those that Montenegrins did not want to do, such as selling cigarettes in the street, working on the market, etc.²³

The background to this unhappy picture is equally bleak. The war brought about an overall pauperization of society, drop in production and exchange, sharp decline in the living standard of wide strata of the population, exhausting international sanctions and high taxes exacted by state and local authorities on the already insufficient income of domestic population, steadily decreasing humanitarian and other aid, etc. In light of all this, the question “*What are the sources of livelihood for your family?*” is better to rephrase as “*How does your family survive?*”. Refugees and DPs themselves often wonder how they manage at all.

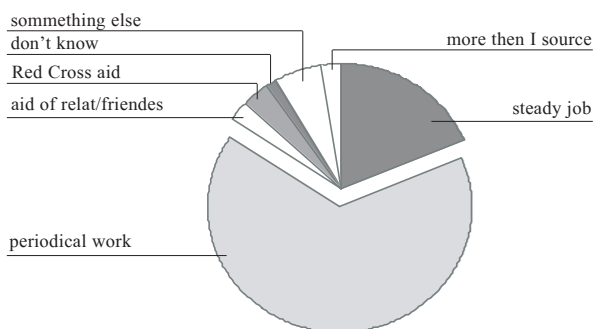
15.28% the property has been kept. This points to a simple fact – even those who want to go back, do not have where to. See: Vladimir N. Cvetković, *Strah i poniženje – Jugoslovenski rat i izbeglice u Srbiji 1991–1997 (Fear and Humiliation – The Yugoslav War and Refugees in Serbia 1991–1997)*, Institut za evropske studije, Belgrade 1998, p. 216.

²² Red Cross, other humanitarian organizations and state institutions have been providing aid to refugees, although increasingly less. In Montenegro this has been brought about not only by the so-called “donator exhaustion”, but also by a shift in attention of international humanitarian organizations toward DPs from Kosovo.

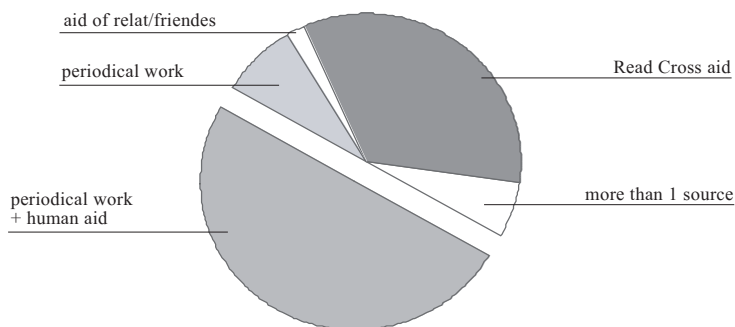
²³ Romanies and refugees, in both Serbia and Montenegro, have had to turn to the black market in order to survive. A. Mitrović and G. Zajić write that most domestic Romany families in Serbia earn income in the “hidden economy”. See – Aleksandra Mitrović and Gradimir Zajić, *Romi u Srbiji (Romanies in Serbia)*, Centar za antiratnu akciju/Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja, Belgrade 1998, p. 40.

WHAT ARE THE SOURCES OF LIVELIHOOD FOR YOUR FAMILY?

Refugees



Displaced Roma



The interviewed displaced Romanies replied in 98% that they lost a house upon exile.²⁴ In addition 92% reported having lost furniture and appliances, as many as 16% business premises, and 22% car (?). Only 4% of the interviewed reported to have lost nothing in the places they had fled from. On the basis of these data we may conclude that

²⁴ Of course, this statement should be taken with a grain of salt, because the understanding of the term “house” among Romanies differs somewhat from the general usage.

families of displaced Romanies in a majority had their housing problem solved.²⁵

It should be noted here that observations of interviewers and research team members diverged to some extent from statements of refugees on their material status. The refugees are certainly right when speaking of their poor material condition and life in general. However, the interviewers and research team members noticed something that refugee families could be proud of. Namely, they strive to organize their miserable situation as best they can, and to make living conditions in their rooms (“housing units”) as decent as possible.²⁶ According to interviewers’ inferences on the basis of observing the refugees’ “housing interior”, the material status of refugee families is as follows: 15.5% well to do, 37% satisfactory, 37% bad and 8% extremely bad. Among domestic Romanies bad material status is found in 68% families, while the same category among displaced Romanies accounts for as much as 86%. The condition of housing interiors of the refugees is satisfactory, or better, in 80% cases. A need to refine the environment they live in is felt by most families. They strive to

²⁵ Here again it should be kept in mind that for Romanies the notion of house and housing does not have the same significance as for refugees. Thus Milutin Prokić writes: “As people who have valued freedom of movement and life without imposed social limits and duties more than anything, Romanies give precedence to the right to such a way of life over any material security and certainty of bourgeois life”. *Ibid.* p. 101.

²⁶ A somewhat paradoxical situation arises when the interviewer, while listening to complaints – usually justified – about poor material status of refugees in general and the present family in particular, at the same time sees in the room a color TV, a PC, video, artistic paintings and a good collection of books... and looks at the young members getting prepared for a course for fashion models. One refugee family managed to bring a whole piano into its cramped housing space. Of course, it would be wrong to make a general conclusion that these families are well off, but this observation is worth singling out. Another refugee family arranged its room beautifully, but interestingly, this did not serve as an “example to be followed” by others, but caused envy in some. In order to prove what a disaster has befallen them, some desperate people do not wish anything good to happen to them, do not even believe anything good may happen to them.

make their "homes" in Vrela as agreeable for living as possible. Cramped space is here a strongly limiting factor, especially for large families. One has to be exceptionally practical and inventive if one is to make functional such a small space, simultaneously serving as kitchen, living room and sleeping room. The interviewers' conclusion is that a majority of refugees have succeeded in that.

Current lack of willingness among the refugees to work on embellishing the settlement is enhanced by fre-

In arranging the cramped space of one and only room where all the family's activities are concentrated the refugees show extraordinary imaginativeness. With proper motivation, this may prove useful in embellishing the outside appearance of the settlement as a whole and improving living conditions therein.

quent reminders by people from the Commissariat for Displaced Persons of Montenegro that their stay is temporary, although most tenants (87%) have been living in the settlement since the very beginning of its construction, that is, since late 1994 and early 1995.

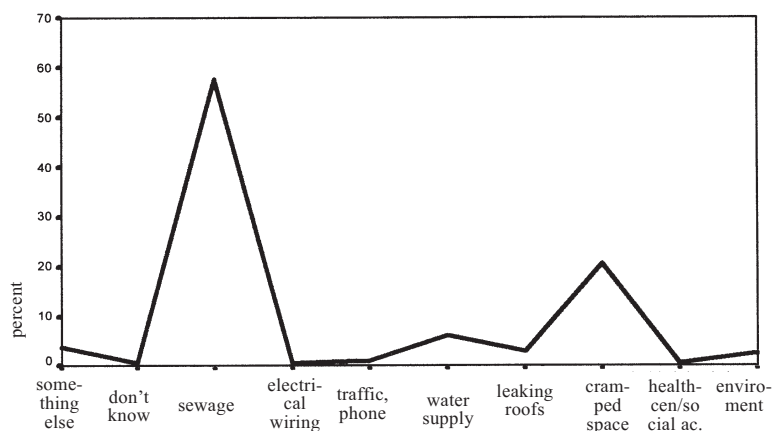
LIVING CONDITIONS IN THE VRELA RIBNIČKA SETTLEMENT

One of research objectives was to suggest practical measures and actions that would contribute to an immediate improvement of living conditions of refugees in the settlement. Therefore it was necessary first to get thoroughly acquainted with conditions the refugee families live in, assess their importance, and determine the order of priorities in solving problems in an attempt to improve refugees' life. In constructing the questionnaire for refugee families, the list of conditions offered for rating was composed on the basis of what tenants themselves, and the representatives of certain institutions, had mentioned in preliminary interviews conducted during the preparations for the survey. A majority of these problems is visible in all their seriousness at first sight already.

The biggest problem for researchers consisted in the sheer number of difficulties related to living conditions, making choice difficult. For example, respondents ranked particular conditions fourth or fifth, while it was obvious from the interview that the given problem is no lighter than the one rated second or third. The basis for setting priorities and planning may be created by a precise appraisal. In assessing the gravity of particular conditions the attention was concentrated on the population as a whole rather than individuals. Several sources of information were used simultaneously, which promises a greater accuracy in evaluating refugees' needs.

SOLOVING PROBLEMS IN THE SETTLEMENT

Refugees



Identity lost overnight destroys a refugee's calm and hope. Without their home, relatives and friends, without their city and their country, they become people without identity. This means also the loss of themselves as well integrated and healthy personalities. Fear becomes the most intense feeling and lost security turns into frustration. Refugees are deprived of all that used to be so common, usual, dear and familiar. "There was no place where they could hide from stress. For whatever one wishes to escape from is always carried with oneself", writes Dušan Kosović.²⁷ One could expect that all this would impair their health. Nearly one-fourth (24.1%) of heads of family describe their own health condition as bad.²⁸ The percent-

²⁷ Dušan Kosović, *Stres*, Belgrade 1997.

²⁸ As the refugee population is not very old, this percentage is not insignificant. Jovanka Vuković divides health disorders among refugees in three groups: 1. Illnesses characteristic of refugees (malnutrition disorders, contagious and poor hygiene diseases, mental disorders), 2. Earlier disorders that deteriorated in exile, 3. Other disorders caused by exile as additional factor. See: J. Vuković, *Op. Cit.*, p. 72.

age is roughly the same for the second member – usually the wife. As the third and fourth members of family are almost always children, for them the percentage is considerably lower – 12.5% for the third and 10.8% for the fourth member.

Anybody who gets an opportunity to see living conditions in the settlement understands that *health* is their basic problem.²⁹ But in the multitude of other problems families do not complain about poor health – over two-thirds report the health of the first two members to be good or satisfactory. It is also surprising that 90% of displaced Romanies describe their own health as good, even though in the period of conducting the interviews they lived almost in the open, under sweeping wind and at temperatures below zero.

Sewage is the most difficult problem of living conditions in the settlement according to 80% of inhabitants. Works on the sewage system are already under way. The second worst condition is cramped space and lack of privacy (71.5%), leaking roofs (67.8%) third, while lack of water in summer comes fourth (55.8%).

Relations with neighbors are described differently, depending on how much trouble respondents have with their neighbors over the bathroom – how many members, how many generations etc. This condition was attributed all possible degrees of difficulty, so that some qualified it as second, some as third, some as fifth, in roughly identical percentages (17.2%, 16.1%, and 17.2%, respectively). On the other hand, for some (17% again) it was the easiest one.

Lack of *traffic and phone connections* with town are in the fifth and sixth places.

Electrical wiring appears as a problem of similar gravity. No housing unit has its own meter. The problem

²⁹ An interviewed refugee says that they should be moved out and let live in town, and Gypsies should be moved in to live in the settlement. She demands that town be cleaned. She herself would go clean the city, although she is old. Their foreign daughter-in-law said *they were made of steel when they did not fall ill*. Is this really an ecological state, she asks?

has been exacerbated by “threats” on the part of the Commissariat that in the future the refugees will have to pay for electricity, all of them the same amount regardless of the level of consumption.

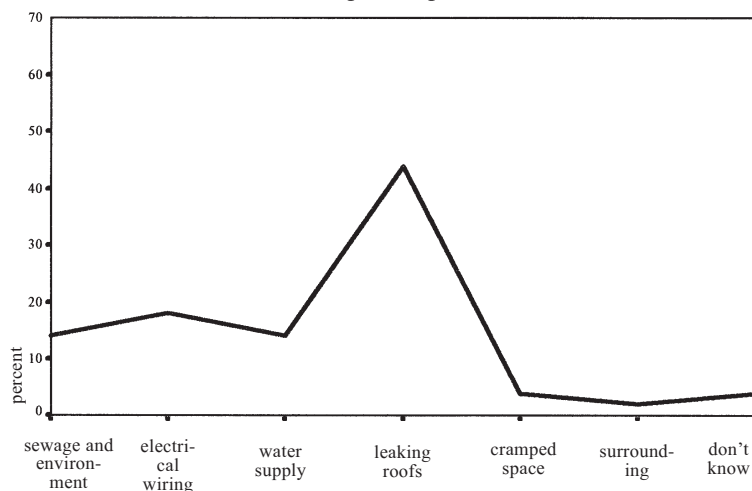
Lack of a *health center and facilities for social activities* is the lightest problem for tenants (41.2%, rank VII and VII).

When displaced Romanies were asked what living condition they find the most difficult, they mentioned in the first three places:

- lack of water and sewage, 74%,
- poor electrical wiring and cramped space, 54%,
- leaking objects they live in, 46%.

SOLVING PROBLEMS IN THE SETTLEMENT

Displaced persons



In the opinion of the interviewed domestic Romanies, a major problem faced by displaced Romanies from Kosovo is *inadequate accommodation* (85.7%). The problem of accommodation of Romanies, not only the displaced Romany families from Kosovo must be considered

here in more detail. One of the best Yugoslav experts on this issue, Sreten Vujović, writes about this: “When housing poverty and poor Romany settlements are concerned, the basic contention of this analysis is that, insofar as society reproduces conditions for the existence of poverty and misery among Romanies, attempts are illusory to improve significantly their housing and utility standard, or *conceal* it (emphasis B.J.) by architectural intervention and town planning. In other words, if there is marginalization and discrimination of Romanies in employment, education and political life, it will appear in housing as well.”³⁰ Domestic Romanies have grasped excellently where the problem lies – no one in Podgorica really wants the displaced Kosovo Romanies. The same conclusion could be arrived at in talks with representatives of various institutions that deal with problems of refugees and DPs. Thus the proposal of the *Italian Consortium of Solidarity* to build shacks for displaced Romanies in Vrela Ribnička has encountered various obstacles. And the proposal will most probably never be realized.³¹

The problem of *uncertain legal status* is also rated high (57.4%). There follows the problem of *lack of housing space* (40.4%). The problem of *food* comes only after these, followed by *lack of clothes and shoes*. Impossibility to earn an income is not considered so important compared to the problems cited above. Since Romanies in general rarely or never solve their housing problems through state institutions, it is understandable that domestic Romanies

³⁰ Sreten Vujović, „Romi i stanovanje“ (“Romanies and Housing”), in: *Društvene promene i položaj Roma*, SANU – Institut za socijalnu politiku, Belgrade 1993, p. 63.

³¹ One domestic respondent frankly says that Italian government’s policy is very wise: it is far easier and *cheaper* to build shacks for displaced Romanies in Montenegro and help them in all possible ways, than to solve their problems if they come to Italy. It was not said, but may be supposed, that Montenegro would also be relieved if they returned to Kosovo or went to Italy. In the Balkans there is the proverb “Sirotinjo i Bogu si teška” or, in English, “God helps the rich, the poor can beg”.

do not expect their compatriots from Kosovo to find a lasting solution to their housing problem. Hence they do not place this issue in the first place, mentioning any sort of accommodation instead. They also emphasize uncertain legal status, which means not possessing personal document, primarily the passport, but often ID card as well.

Of all the suggested problems displaced Romanies relegate *secure health care* to the last position. In this commentary no percentages are quoted since 50 out of 135 families of displaced Romanies were interviewed, so that presentation of findings in percentages is dispensable.³²

THE ORDER OF PRIORITIES IN PROBLEM-SOLVING FOR BETTERMENT OF LIVING CONDITIONS IN THE SETTLEMENT

In preliminary conversations with refugees-inhabitants of the settlement complaints about living conditions were quite diffuse and referred to virtually all aspects of their life. In the survey the researchers tried to systematize these complaints and ascertain which conditions they find the most difficult, and in what sequence these should be solved. From the overview that follows it is clear which conditions are most frequently mentioned as the first three to be solved:

First problem to be solved	1. Sewage and waste	57,7%
	2. Cramped space	20,6%
Second problem to be solved	1. Water supply	31,4%
	2. Cramped space	16%
Third problem to be solved	1. Decaying exterior	20,6%
	2. Cramped space	14,9%

As we can see, the most urgent problems to be solved in the settlement are sewage³³, water supply during sum-

³² Percentages are nevertheless included in the analysis of replies by domestic and displaced Romanies, but only where comparisons are made with the refugees, because this is a good way to acquire a more complete picture of the relations involved.

³³ Following the initiatives and numerous complaints by the tenants, with the support and participation of the Municipality of Podgorica and the

mer, decaying surroundings of housing blocks, as well as cramped space that often turns neighbors against each other because of the shared bathroom. The sewage overflowing between the blocks keeps people in constant fear of possible epidemics. Several cases of jaundice among children in the settlement substantiated this fear further.

If displaced Romanies were to decide what had to be fixed first, in their opinion the situation is as follows:

First group of priorities:	44% leaking 18% electrical wiring 14% sewage and water supply
Second group of priorities:	31,4% water supply 18,6% sewage 16% cramped space

Domestic Romanies on the whole agree that the elementary conditions of *accommodation* should be ensured first (46%), then to *legally regulate the status of DPs by issuing them documents* (42%). Problems of providing *food, clothes and shoes* come next (34%). Possibility to *earn money* and *house built of solid material* come sixth, with health care being on the bottom. This is completely in accordance with Romany habits. While for refugees housing is the first in the order of solving, for displaced Romanies a solidly built house is an unrealistic dream³⁴, so that they fancy about tents and shacks. The interviewed are aware that getting personal documents for displaced Romanies would also mean some privileges in getting aid.

SDR Shelter Program Podgorica, works on constructing the sewage system are just being completed. Podgorica daily *Vijesti* of March 11, 1999, p. 15, published an information under the upper heading "Refugee Settlement to Be Connected to Town Sewage Next Week", and heading "Connections also for the Urban Part of Vrela".

³⁴ According to Sreten Vujović, *self-help* among Romanies should be stimulated, while always keeping in mind their needs, wishes, and aspirations. He suggests the following measures. 1. Improving housing and utility conditions, 2. Renewal of illegally built settlements and houses and their legalization wherever possible, 3. Construction of new houses and settlements, 4. Pulling down immediately the housing that cannot be repaired, and so on. See *Op. cit.*, pp. 64–65.

Some refugees-tenants, especially those living on upper floors, very vividly conjure the atmosphere in the settlement in summer. There is no water, and no greenery. The buildings stand on a desolate piece of land, where only thorn-bushes may thrive. What abounds are only air pollutants, smoke and smell from the dump, which at a 40° C temperature seems to be testing people who can survive. The refugees, being constantly pressurized by the Commissariat that keeps counting them, often say they should be visited during summer heats since at that period, because of the impossible living conditions in the settlement, there remain only those who have absolutely nowhere else to go.

In view of the high living standard of refugees before the war (apartments, houses, employment, urban character of the milieus they came from), the high level of their dissatisfaction with living conditions in the settlement is not surprising. Only one-fourth evaluate conditions of life in the settlement as satisfactory (24.2%). In all remaining cases (72%) the judgment is negative (bad and very bad). In 117 families that are satisfied with the scope and quality of the aid they have received so far, 65% assess living conditions in the settlement as bad and very bad. The only thing they appreciate among the conditions is free accommodation. Among the discontent those of Montenegrin descent are the most numerous, then come those who have relatives here (as many as three-fourths). In Montenegro the tradition of common law is very strong, prescribing the duty to offer help to any person in distress, particularly to relatives and tribesmen. For refugees during the past several years this has been just a promise, not always fulfilled. This time generosity and humaneness – what Montenegrins would call *učinjenost* and *čojstvo*³⁵ – seem to have failed on the part

³⁵ *Učinjenost* and *čojstvo* are two very important precepts in the traditional Montenegrin ethical code. *Učinjenost* means basically “willingness to offer disinterested help”, and *čojstvo* “ability to defend others from yourself” (as opposed to *junaštvo*, which is “to defend oneself from others”).

of municipal and republic authorities.³⁶ The refugees are wondering where the Montenegrin authorities would place other people in need when they accommodated them – their brethren – by the dumpsite. Knowing all this, their discontent with the conduct of state institutions concerning Vrela Ribnička becomes, I believe, more understandable. Most of their vital problems have remained unsolved as yet, starting with the housing, to steady and secure income, to employment. What has been solved so far is secure health care and education of children.

WHO CAN HELP IMPROVE LIVING CONDITIONS?

When the solving of their vital problems is concerned the refugees most strongly trust international humanitarian organizations (34%), and very little the Commissariat that decides on their fate (9.8%)³⁷.

The question of what the domestic population may do to help refugees was asked of domestic Romanies,³⁸ displaced Romanies and refugees in the Vrela Ribnička settlement. As opposed to refugees, displaced Romanies expect help predominantly from local authorities (36%) and state institutions (18%). Interestingly, in all three groups the

³⁶ It is, of course, questionable how much either individuals or state and other institutions could objectively do to provide materially for refugees, in view of general pauperization, drop in production and other circumstances mentioned earlier. It should also be taken into account that in late 1998 refugees and DPs made up over 10% of total population of Montenegro.

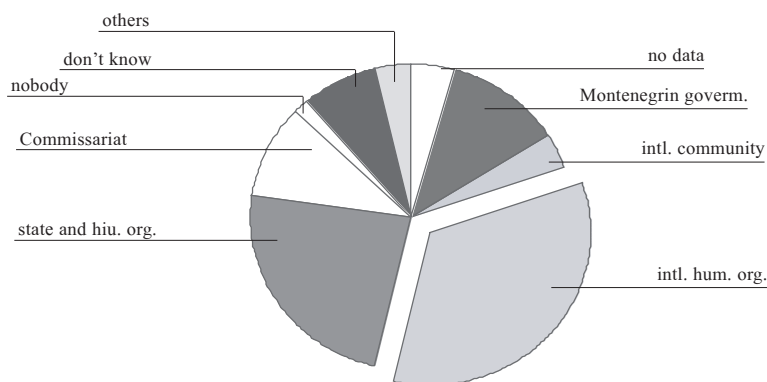
³⁷ Studies conducted in Serbia came to a different finding. Trust in the actions of the Commissariat for Refugees was considerably stronger there (31.03%). The explanation of the difference is probably to be sought in the character of the question. Namely, respondents in Serbia were asked *who should take care of refugees*, while in this study the replies referred to the experience the refugees have already had. For research in Serbia see Vladimir N. Cvetković, *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

³⁸ Overwhelming majority of domestic Romanies are extremely poor and live a very hard life. They often respond that they cannot help because they do not have enough even for themselves: "I can hardly help, because I'm in a difficult position myself".

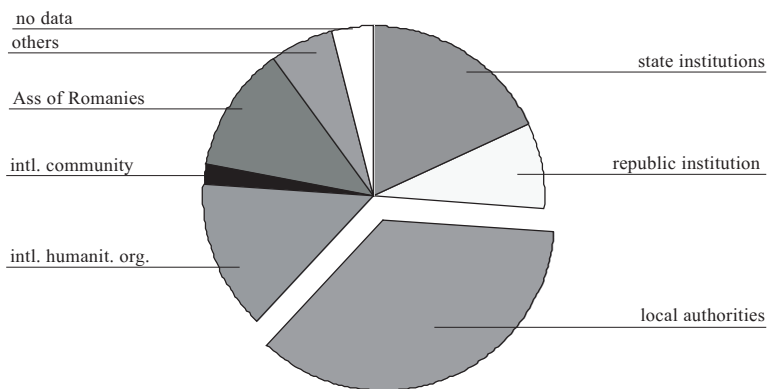
same percentage (51%) replied that the domestic population cannot help at all because they are poor themselves. The rest of domestic Romanies said one could help in food, clothes and shoes, or accommodation, but only in an organized action.

WHO CAN HELP SOLVE PROBLEMS?

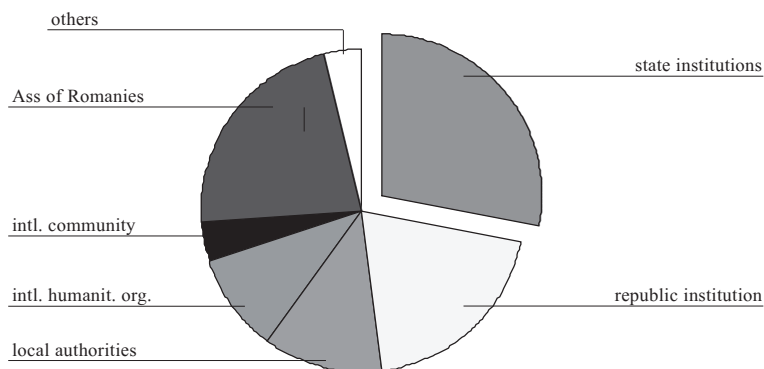
Refugees



Displaced persons



Domestic Romanies



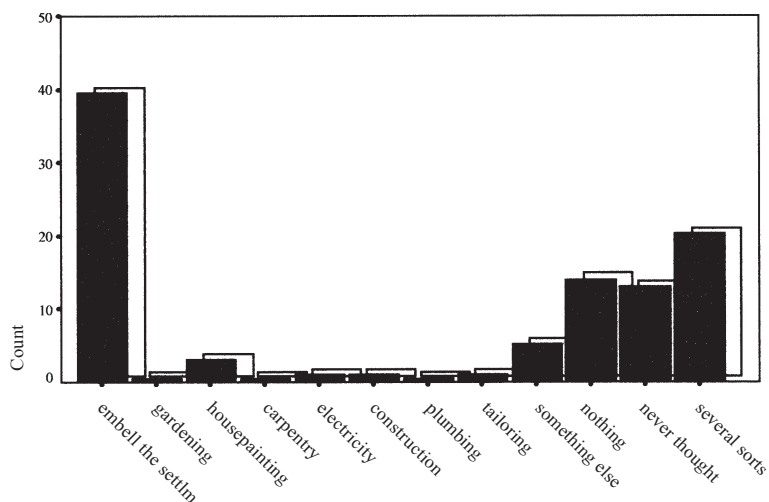
Domestic and displaced Romanies agree to a large extent as to who should help in solving the foregoing problems – state institutions (22%) and republic institutions (20%). Domestic Romanies expect the Association of Romanies to help displaced Romanies. Refugee problems in general, according to the interviewed domestic Romanies, should be solved by the international community. The prevailing view of all the interviewed is that in solving their problems international humanitarian organizations can play a major role.³⁹ Let us note here that the

³⁹ In the territory of Montenegro 28 humanitarian organizations are active. They deal mostly with collective centers. Humanitarian aid via the Red Cross has been reduced to a minimum: 6-10 kg of flour, 1 l of oil, 1 kg of sugar – this is all a family gets monthly for persons over 65 and children under 1. Families in private accommodation are practically anonymous people no one cares about. They get even less: 1 l of oil, 1 kg of pasta, and 3 kg of legumes for persons over 65 and children under 1. On the other hand, the Commissariat for Displaced Persons is often powerless to do anything more than offer service information. This is how an official of the Commissariat expresses his feelings: “We are in a hurricane path here”. And a Red Cross activist says: “If you give a pencil to one of them, but not to the other, the drama of invidiousness arises in the settlement”. Be it as it may, the point of contact between the Commissariat and the Red Cross is the distribution of aid to refugees. There are objections however that the Commissariat has a commanding attitude even toward the Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations, and toward the refugees in particular.

Red Cross of Montenegro and of Podgorica distribute material aid according to the criteria of the donator, while the Red Cross of Montenegro, with the financial support of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent as well as of the Fund for an Open Society runs programs of psycho-social support which include: "Rainbow Workshop", artistic, musical, computer, journalist and cinema workshops, a kindergarten, and a library.

SORTS OF PERSONAL ENGAGEMENT

Refugees



WHAT IS ADEQUATE HELP?

More than a quarter of the interviewed families, or 28.4%, think that getting an apartment would be the most adequate sort of help. Some of them add getting a job. Nearly a half of the interviewed consider more than one sort of help adequate. In the current circumstances employment alone would absolutely not enable people to solve their housing problem independently. Such low levels of steady employment (11.3% for men and 9.3% for women) could not provide a lasting solution to the housing

problem even in some more favorable general conditions. If we recall that only 5.7% families did not own housing before the war, it is evident that setting up a home all over again, “starting from zero point” – and most of these people are middle-aged – is clearly no longer a challenge or a pleasure.

Over a half of the interviewed (59%) did nothing to improve their living conditions, while one-fourth (25.3%) have tried something: arranging the interior, renewing the facade, garden or fence, accepting any sort of work they are offered, constructing the road in the settlement, repairing roofs, adding a ladder or a balcony to their room, etc. Such a large number (59%) of people who, one would say, displayed total inefficiency and lack of invention in improving their own living conditions, might at first seem to be a reason for worry. Of course, such a conclusion would be possible only if made uncritically, without linking this finding to the psychological states which these people have been suffering all these years. Helplessness is the daily prevailing mood of a majority of settlement's inhabitants. The awareness that problems are so numerous, and many of them really difficult and complex keeps people from taking delight or pride in, or even considering important, what they have done so far. That they did not cite what they had done simply does not mean they had really done nothing. The fact that 84% families earn a livelihood by their own work supports this. Among the suggested answers most interviewed chose embellishing the settlement (40%), while 12.9% had never thought about any of the suggested activities. Characteristically, very few people are ready to engage in various crafts (carpentry, bricklaying, plumbing... – just 7.1% altogether). The reason should be sought in the educational and professional structure of the families (middle and higher education account for 60.8%).

SOCIAL RELATIONS

As in any ghetto, social relations in Vrela Ribnička are rather peculiar. The original purpose of the refugee settlement was not permanent accommodation of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, at the family level already the relations get complicated. Three generations of the same family often have been living for over three years in one room, sharing the same bathroom with three generations of another family. Thus both intrafamilial and interfamilial relations in the refugee settlement are very tense, and antagonisms may be seen, as it were, with the naked eyes. "We fight like hungry dogs over bones thrown to us", says one refugee. Milosav Milosavljević writes in relation with the topic that the life of refugee families consists of mere survival, and definitely not of quality living. In his words, exile means a radical change and refugees have been "rooted out" from life.⁴⁰ Another renowned expert in the refugee issue, Jelena Vlajković, says that exile, as a form of forced, undesired migration comes close to catastrophic life events. People in exile, she says, are faced with two large groups of adaptive tasks: "to overcome what was experienced before exile, and get adapted to what refugee life itself brings".⁴¹

On top of all this, as some refugees claim, representatives of the authorities often demand that refugees spy and

⁴⁰ See: Milosav Milosavljević, *Op. cit.* p. 16.

⁴¹ See: Jelena Vlajković, „Psihološki aspekti izbeglišтва“ (“Psychological Aspects of Exile”), in: *Psihologija izbeglišтва (Psychology of Exile)*, IP Nauka, Belgrade 1997, pp. 21-28. The quoted passage is on p. 23.

inform on each other. Now the picture of disturbed social relations in the refugee settlement is complete. In such a situation, some teenagers show tendencies to deviant behavior. On the other hand though, it is precisely this segment of the population – however paradoxical it may seem – that establishes contacts with the domestic population and the displaced Romanies. Incidentally, the refugee population as a rule has no contact either with Romanies or with the domestic population. Prejudices are too well known: among the refugees the view dominates that all Romanies are thieves and criminals, while the domestic population is convinced that refugees are privileged, have everything, get everything for free.⁴² If we know that one-third of all people on welfare in Montenegro live in Podgorica, it is easier to understand how much envious this part of the poor population must be of the refugees.

Displaced Romanies from Kosovo, of Islamic faith, are too poor and preoccupied with daily struggle for bare survival. They were the last to come to Vrela Ribnička. Fenced-off by their absolute poverty, but also by the language barrier from local and refugee populations, they make up a world of its own. They are not particularly willing to communicate with the outside world and any sort of research into this part of the population is extremely difficult. Not even their leaders are ready to communicate. Possibilities for black marketeering offered by the closeness of Tuzi is certainly a point of attraction making it easier for Kosovo Romanies to accept inhumane conditions of

⁴² Prejudices against Romanies are particularly frequent and strong. In his paper “Stereotipije o Romima i etnička distanca” (“Stereotypes about Romanies and Ethnic Distance”) Bora Kuzmanović gives a review of the literature and studies on stereotypes held of Romanies. Most frequently, Romanies are said to be lazy, thievish, light-handed, funny, witty, likable, dirty, noisy, cheerful, gifted for music. See: Bora Kuzmanović, „Stereotipije o Romima i etnička distanca“, in: *Društvene promene i položaj Roma*, SANU – Institut za socijalnu politiku, Belgrade 1993, pp. 149-158. See also Milosav Milosavljević, „Socijalni aspekti izbeglištva“, in: *Psihologija izbeglištva*, IP Nauka, Belgrade 1997, pp. 9-20. The latter author mentions also untrustworthiness, deceitfulness, fickleness.

living in the Vrela Ribnička settlement, where two families survived the rather cold winter of 1998-99 in tents, and other families in shacks and other improvised "shelters".

The domestic population avoids more intense communication with either the refugees or the displaced Romanies. A part of this population take advantage of the newly created situation for illegal building and illegal trade, blaming it partly on refugees and Romanies. In this way tensions are spreading and mistrust is rising between the three basic groups of inhabitants of Vrela Ribnička.

It is patently obvious that no mechanism of responsibility for the settlement as a whole exists among either the domestic population, refugees, or Romanies. Nor do municipal bodies or other institutions in Podgorica display such responsibility. The circle of despair in the settlement is thus closed.

MUTUAL RELATIONS WITHIN THE REFUGEE POPULATION

More than a third of the interviewed refugee families (37.6%) think that relations among refugees in the settlement are bad. This is all the more surprising as all these people share a similar fate, and one could expect that common suffering, misfortune and uncertainty will bring them closer together. On the contrary: their different abilities helping them survive and make it in the new milieu seem to deepen social differences between them, create tension and envy. As if the trend of political and regional divisions were in a way transposed here as well. The labeling of Montenegrins and Herzegovinians is used when the interviewed speak about who is privileged in the settlement and who has made it better. Still, slightly over a half of the interviewed (52.6%) believe the relations are satisfactory.

As for readiness to socialize with neighbors belonging to another nation or religion, or coming from other parts of former Yugoslavia, the analysis shows it to be still very high, ranging from 86 to 95%. Belonging to different nations and religions and different origins cannot be the cause of bad relations among the refugees, according to the

judgment of one-third of the interviewed. About a half of the respondents (51%) do not know whether their neighbors of another religion or nationality are ready for socializing and cooperating with them. They are somewhat more convinced that neighbors from other part of former Yugoslavia are ready for cooperation and socializing. The reason for uncertainty as to the openness of another nation may lie in insufficient mutual acquaintance of the refugees, regardless of the physical closeness they live in, or mistrust resulting from the years of war.

The displaced Romanies assess mutual relations as satisfactory in as many as 72%, in further 28% as very good, so that they do not feel the need to exert additional effort to improve these relations. If we compare this to mutual relations among the refugees in the settlement, relations among displaced Romanies are better.

Displaced Romanies do not judge favorably their relations with the refugees, while their relations with the domestic population are in 38% satisfactory, and in 24% bad. The relations of domestic population toward them and vice versa they judge satisfactory in roughly identical proportion (68% and 76%, respectively). They are ready for cooperation with people of another religion and nation, which may be a good precondition for possible integration. They judge domestic population as honest, hospitable, ready to help, and cultivated. One gets the impression that they do not want to antagonize the locals.

REFUGEES, DOMESTIC POPULATION, AND DISPLACED ROMA – RELATIONS, VIEWS, COOPERATION

The basic fact one should start from in analyzing these issues is the finding that 92.3% of the refugees has no relations whatsoever with their first neighbors, displaced Kosovo Romanies. The motive for choosing Podgorica as a refuge and escape from the war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia the inhabitants of the settlement mostly saw in their own Montenegrin origin (72.6%). Before coming to the set-

tlement the largest number (44.3%) had been accommodated at their relatives' or friends'. This form of care for refugees is usually not practiced in contemporary world. Host families showed a high degree of solidarity and understanding for refugees by the very act of offering refuge and help to their homeless friends, relatives, or even strangers.⁴³ It is not easy to set aside additional material resources, nor is it easy to live with refugees' suffering and misfortune. A confirmation is found in this study as well, since, for example, almost all interviewed domestic Romanies who had received relatives displaced from Kosovo openly said their families bear this presence only with difficulty. Not infrequently, host families experienced structural and functional disturbances.

The small number of refugees who are not ready for cooperation and socializing with the domestic population are the same ones who judge the attitude of the locals toward them as bad. Generally speaking, the inhabitants of Vrela are satisfied with the attitude of the domestic population toward refugees (76.8% satisfactory and very good), as well as with the aid they have received so far (69.6% satisfactory and very good). This explains why they judge the inhabitants of Podgorica as honest, cultivated and ready to help.

Table 4.— Refugees' judgment of domestic population of Podgorica

Trait	Agrees completely	Agrees partially	Summary	Disagrees partially	Disagrees completely	summary
1. Honest	29,9%	58,2%	88,1 %	6,2%	4,1%	10,3 %
2. Uninterested	32,5%	42,3%	74,8 %	14,9%	9,3%	24,2 %
3. Ready to help	24,7%	47,4%	72,1 %	10,3%	16,5%	26,8 %
4. Lazy	25,3%	41,8%	67,1 %	16,5%	13,4%	29,9 %
5. Hospitable	51,0%	32,0%	83,0 %	8,8%	4,6%	13,4 %
6. Stingy	9,8%	36,1%	45,9 %	16,0%	36,1%	52,1 %
7. Cultivated	27,3%	49,0%	76,3 %	8,8%	11,9%	20,7 %

⁴³ More on this see in: Jovanka Vuković, *Op. cit.*, p. 46.

On the whole, the refugees ascribe positive traits to the inhabitants of Podgorica. The high incidence of judgment that they are *uninterested in refugee problems* is justified by the fact that the domestic population is simply not in a position to help rather than they do not want to. Out of 145 families agreeing with the statement that the domestic population is uninterested in their problems 67.58% believe that the locals are still ready to help if asked. The socio-economic milieu of society, as the basis for easier and quicker integration, is not very promising. Being aware of that, the refugees show understanding for the position of the domestic population – “they are in a similar situation as we are”, “they can’t help themselves”, etc.

It is interesting to compare what domestic population (Romanies) thinks about refugees and DPs:

Table 5. – Domestic Romanies' judgment of refugees and displaced Romanies

Trait	Agrees completely	Agrees partially	summary	Disagrees partially	Disagrees completely	summary
1. Honest	36%	52%	88 %	10%	2%	12%
2. Uninterested	18%	50%	68 %	12%	18%	30%
3. Ready to help	30%	44%	74 %	12%	14%	26%
4. Lazy	26%	32%	58 %	14%	26%	40%
5. Hospitable	28%	50%	78 %	8%	4%	12%
6. Stingy	38%	38%	76 %	6%	16%	22%
7. Cultivated	16%	44%	60 %	12%	28%	40%

The reciprocity is notable in judgments between domestic population and refugees except for the trait “stingy”, where the percentage is considerably higher in the domestic population.

Two-thirds of displaced Romanies (74%) describe the relations between domestic population and displaced

Romanies as satisfactory. An even higher percentage (86%) assess mutual relations among DPs as satisfactory. This assessment is more favorable than mutual relations among DPs are judged by DPs themselves (good and satisfactory, 72%), or by refugees (good and satisfactory, 52.6%). The relations between DPs and domestic population are judged good (76%).

Interestingly, in the domestic Romany population the readiness for cooperation and socializing with members of another religion or nation, or from other parts of former Yugoslavia is lower, ranging generally around 60%.

The interviewed displaced Romanies mainly replied mechanically, agreeing with every suggested trait. Over a half are ready to cooperate with members of another religion or nationality, and from other parts of former Yugoslavia. The largest number, 82%, is ready to cooperate with the inhabitants of Podgorica. A half believe the domestic population to be ready to associate with them, while for members of another religion or nationality, or from other parts of former Yugoslavia, they mostly don't know.

The interviewed displaced Romanies in 74% said they would like to settle permanently in Montenegro. Their opinion on the aid DPs have been given so far in Podgorica is divided. Half of them think enough has been done, another half it has not.

Table 6. – Displaced Romanies' judgment of domestic population

Trait	Agrees completely	Agrees partially	Summary	Disagrees partially	Disagrees completely	summary
1. Honest	56%	40%	96%	4%	0%	4%
2. Uninterested	6%	52%	58%	32%	10%	42%
3. Ready to help	36%	42%	78%	16%	6%	22%
4. Lazy	2%	64%	66%	24%	10%	34%
5. Hospitable-	72%	22%	94%	4%	2%	6%
6. Stingy	10%	52%	62%	28%	10%	38%
7. Cultivated	74%	24%	98%	0%	2%	2%

In spite of such good relations, over a half of the interviewed domestic Romanies think that DPs should not remain in Montenegro and get all civil rights. Among the 20% who believe DPs should become full-righted citizens almost all have relatives among them, and are ready to cooperate and socialize with members of another nation.

The displaced Romanies ascribe domestic population positive traits in high percentages. This is more a matter of tradition, custom, existential insecurity and fear than a sort of social conformity. Obviously, the respondents were giving desirable answers i.e. answers they supposed were expected from them.

INTEGRATION PERSPECTIVES

Social integration is here understood as the process of interaction between newcomers and the environment, which does not imply the loss of identity (personal or familial) of either side. It refers to the mutual influence of the environment and the individual (group), bringing an advancement of the individual (group), and improvement, change and rise in the quality of life in the community, resulting in its development.

Evidently, in current circumstances as given permanent integration of refugees is not possible. Permanent integration of DPs is even less likely, as these people are also members of a different nation (Romanies) and different faith (Islamic). But under changed circumstances integration would not be impossible. Integration might start from the fact that the bulk of the refugee population is of Montenegrin descent and already has relatives in Montenegro, and that they took refuge in Montenegro precisely for these reasons.

Most families settled in Vrela (77.8%) see Montenegro as the country of their future. This figure is higher than the proportion of refugees who in the 1996 census expressed a wish to stay in Montenegro (62.2%).⁴⁴

What accounts for such a commitment – descent, relatives, character of the domestic population, or something completely different? Very few of them are considering

⁴⁴ The Census of Refugees and other War-Affected Persons in FRY, Belgrade 1996, UNHCR and the Commissariat.

returning home as a possibility (5.2%)⁴⁵ while quite a number (7.2%) do not know what to do and where to go. Then perhaps to remain in Montenegro is the most realistic option – stay where they are and try to get on somehow. Also, we must bear in mind ôhat not all families that opted for leaving for a third country, or returning home, will be able to realize such wishes. Therefore the number of families that will actually stay in Montenegro is higher.

In any case, a satisfactory solution of the housing problem is the most important prerequisite for a commitment of refugees, regardless of age, to settle permanently in Montenegro.

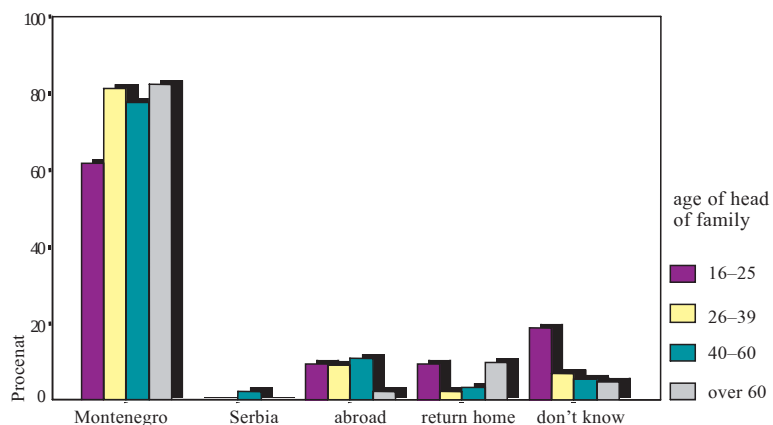
This proved to be equally important to those under 25 and those over 60. Among those under 25, 56% would stay provided they solve their housing problem, the same holds for 30% of the 26-40 age category, 56.7% of those between 41 and 60, and 30% of those over 60. One-fifth of respondents younger than 25 (20%) would stay provided they get a job within their profession. In the 26-40 age category 18% says the same, and in 41-60 category 16.5%. *Any kind of job* is not a motivation strong enough to stay, because for this factor in isolation almost no one opted.

Integration process involves inevitably interaction with local population. Obstacles to the integration of the middle-aged and older population consist not so much in the very position of the settlement – far away from the city center – as in its being hermetically closed, a ghetto, with public transportation that has to be paid for, and irregular sources of income. Integration is easier for those whose time is yet to come – for the young. Attending school daily involves contacts with peers from the local population.

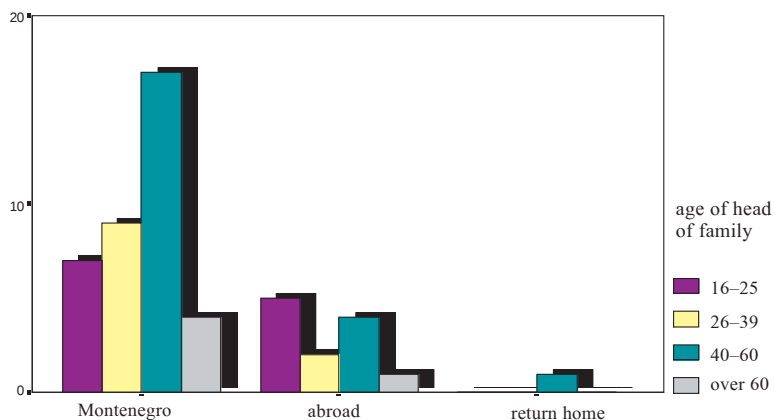
⁴⁵ In researches done in Serbia, probably during 1996, the percentage of respondents who would go back under any conditions was 9.14%. See: V. N. Cvetković, *Op. cit.*, p. 148. In view of the meager results of the international “year of return of refugees”, this percentage is likely to have dropped there as well.

WHERE WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR FAMILY TO FIND PERMANENT RESIDENCE?

Refuges – permanent settling



Displaced Roma



In a settlement like Vrela, with a Romany settlement adjoining it, there can be no genuine integration (92% of refugees have no contacts with displaced Romanies from

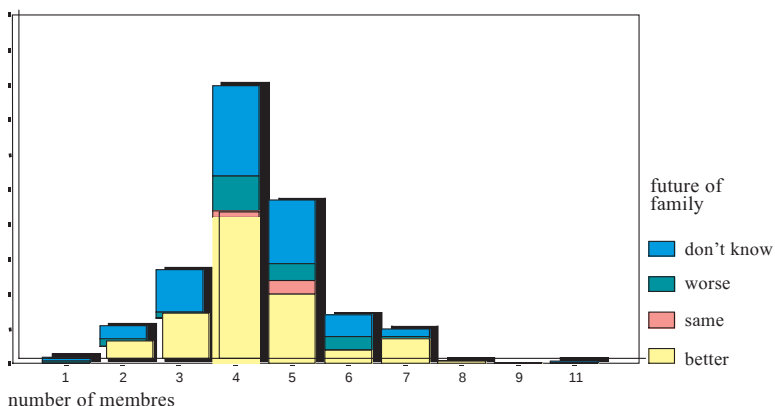
Kosovo). The inhabitants, if they do not work or go to school, are isolated here, mainly communicate between them and with difficulty reach out to and enter the world of the locals with whom they are supposed to integrate. Socializing exclusively with families beset by similar problems does not mean finding a way out more easily, but rather apathy and a vicious circle. The insight that somebody else is in a difficult situation just like they are does not offer a solution, but only short-lived relief and comfort.

Among the surveyed Romany families from Kosovo, 74% (32) opted for staying in Montenegro as a definitive solution, in spite of the fact, already mentioned above, that they have been in Montenegro for only 6 months in 64%, or 9 months in 30%. The question of motivation for staying arises: is it security, or social reasons?!

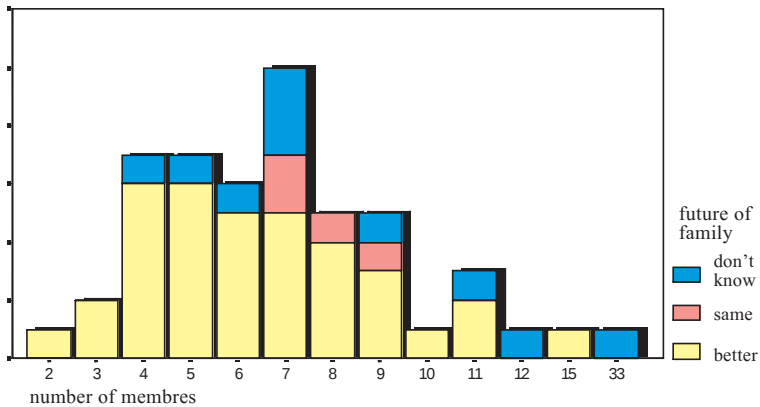
Conditions under which they would remain in Montenegro are *in the first place permanent accommodation and job*, but very often they would stay under any conditions. That is, there is a high interest in remaining in Podgorica, though they reported their elementary problems have not been solved: in 90% cases a steady source of income, in 80% employment, and in 56% housing.

HOW DO YOU SEE THE FUTURE OF YOUR FAMILY?

Refugees



Displaced Roma



Nearly a half (47,4%) of interviewed refugees believe their family will be better off in the future. For more that a third the agony has no end in sight – 36% don't know what is ahead for them. It is interesting that these are the 60 families which live off their own work (by periodical or steady employment). Seven-year long suffering has made 13% of the interviewed believe that in the future they will be even worse off.

At the end of the interview, probably in keeping with their mentality, 72% of displaced Romany families said their families will be better off, 8% believe their situation will be the same, and 20% don't know. *Not a single displaced Romany family said they would be worse off in the future*, which is far more optimistic than what the refugees said. But is it really life optimism, or superstition (belief that by very utterance evil is brought into the family) remains to be ascertained by some other type of research.

Almost four-fifths of interviewed domestic Romanies (78%) think that the position of refugees and DPs in Podgorica is bad and very bad. They don't know what future of the refugees will be like, and one-third hope it will be better. They think the best solution for refugees is to go back home.

While conducting the survey on the wall of a room in Vrela Ribnička I read the following graffiti: *WE ARE LOST, IF YOU ARE AN HONEST FINDER – KEEP US.* Words expressing the fate of refugees and DPs more precisely than this thought could hardly be found.

STATUS QUO IS UNTENABLE

Hamlet's *to be or not to be* for refugees and their settlement in Vrela Ribnička is – to renew or to pull down. Over the last decade in the Balkans there has been so much destruction that I am absolutely against pulling the settlement down. However, if *status quo* is maintained further, the settlement will fall to ruins, whether anybody wants it or not.

The settlement was constructed very badly. Low quality materials were used, and the works were ill done. In view of such low quality of construction, the technical lifetime of the settlement is necessarily short. Therefore renovation must be launched immediately. *Renovation is a conditio sine qua non of the settlement's further survival.*

If the renovation of the settlement is to bear lasting results, a stable policy regarding the settlement must be defined, with detailed rules of behavior of all responsible and concerned. First of all, it is necessary to *coordinate actions* and policies of state institutions, Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations (between themselves and with the state) in order to preserve the settlement as a lasting value. Without such coordination long-term favorable effects of renovation cannot be expected. Coordination is indispensable: if it is not precisely established who is doing (ought to do) what – everybody will think that someone else is going to do a particular thing, with the result that nobody is doing anything. *If the investments into renovation are to have a lasting effect it is necessary that the Commissariat for Displaced Persons of Montenegro commit itself to a*

long-term policy conducive to a reduction of the number of settlement's inhabitants, simultaneously strengthening the feeling of security among those already living there.

There is no need to expel people by force from the settlement; it is enough to implement well thought-out, long-term policy of reducing the number of tenants.

Such a policy is possible to design and realize if the following conditions are fulfilled:

1. To regulate the issue of ownership over and management of the settlement, and especially its continuous maintenance. The ownership of the Red Cross of Montenegro is based on a legally unsound document and (probably) not recorded in land-registry.
2. The Commissariat for Displaced Persons of Montenegro, the factual manager of the settlement, decides about policy of residence, but not about maintenance. The current situation is characterized by a paradox: the formal owner (the Red Cross) does not manage nor maintain the settlement, while the institution running it (the Commissariat) has such residence policy that the users (refugees) cannot feel secure in their tenant's rights. Hence the factual manager of the settlement is not the owner and does not maintain it. No wonder then that the settlement is in decay!
3. Given the current number of inhabitants, and the current attitude toward the settlement, any investment may bring only temporary improvements in refugees' living conditions; in a couple of months or a year the settlement would be back in the original state of decay. Only if the number of inhabitants is reduced can more long-lasting improvements in refugees' life be expected. It is generally believed both by the interviewed tenants and people working in the institutions concerned that in some families more members have been registered than

actually live there. Therefore by simply ascertaining accurately the real state of affairs some elbowroom would be created for the expansion of the most numerous families and improvement of living conditions of all the inhabitants. An overwhelming majority of refugee families (over 90%) have been living in the settlement for more than three years, so that their residence in the settlement can no longer be called temporary.

4. The settlement is overpopulated and the long-term goal should be to have each family in the settlement occupy two housing units with one bathroom/toilet. In this way the number of families in a longer rather than immediate perspective would be reduced to about one hundred. In the present circumstances this aim should be sought at least for those thirteen families with 7 or more members.

It is necessary to regulate the legal status of the settlement and update the act on refugees and DPs.

5. It is necessary that the institutions concerned, above all the authorities, Commissariat for Displaced Persons of Montenegro, and the Red Cross act in such a way that the refugees do not experience their actions as pressure, counting, expulsions, or denial of certain possibilities and rights. A changed attitude toward the refugees would defuse their feeling of insecurity and reduce their frustrations and fears to a reasonable degree, though it could not totally relieve them of such feelings.
6. The refugees themselves should also change their behavior in the settlement. However much their complaints about the technical conditions of life in the settlement may be justified, at least two circumstances should not be forgotten:
 - a) Though the refugees would probably find this surprising, permanent residence in the settlement makes them a privileged group among refugees in general. For,

refugees who rent an apartment pay for it 200 DEM monthly, or more, and yet often live in worse conditions than here. Free accommodation and free use of electricity and water makes these refugees undoubtedly privileged in comparison with other groups of socially deprived people, not only their co-sufferers – refugees and DPs – but also welfare cases among the domestic population. Regardless of the numerous complaints about life in the settlement, during the survey the refugees themselves often said they were privileged among underprivileged groups.

- b) The refugees themselves may and should contribute to the improvement of their own living conditions through a caring attitude to and concern for the maintenance of housing units and the settlement's exterior, and through self-organized joint work. As they are struggling for survival, they are unable to considerably participate financially in improving their living conditions, but they can do a great deal by their personal engagement and concern. It is inadmissible, for instance, that the refugees failed to put to good use the material they were given for free to mend the short piece of road to the settlement and within it.
7. If the refugees are to be motivated to take upon themselves the care for the appearance and maintenance of the entire settlement, well spelt-out measures are necessary that would stabilize their position, make them feel secure and enable those who wish to stay in the settlement accept this as permanent solution. They must be guaranteed security of residence. Along these lines I suggest that the appropriate institutions consider three possible ways of solving this problem and choose what is most suitable to both them and the refugees:
- a) To offer the refugees housing units (two rooms with bathroom and toilet) on lease with tenant's right of tenure, with the possibility of buying them off within a longer period of time (15–20 years), but without the right of sale, rental, or exchange during this period;

- b) To offer the refugees subsidized loan on a 20-year term without the right of sale, exchange or rental of housing units during the period of paying off the loan;
 - c) To offer the refugees plots of land on other locations in Montenegrin towns and villages, free of infrastructure charges, to build their own houses on the basis of self-help and with support of small loans.
8. The process of self-organizing of refugees and DPs doubtless implies an expansion of contacts and cooperation with the domestic population, for the simple reason that in most cases they share the same problems.

SUGGESTED MEASURES

Provided that the foregoing conditions are fulfilled and proposals accepted, I suggest three groups of encompassing long- and short-term measures. These measures would be elaborated by a set of actors: the authorities, the Commissariat for Displaced Persons, the Red Cross, the UNHCR, the SDR Shelter Program, and the Council of Tenants

These measures involve the development of five comprehensive programs:

1. *Renovation and Reconstruction Program*
2. *Program of Maintenance of Housing Blocks and Settlement as a Whole*
3. *Educational Program*
4. *Special Programs of Socio-Economical and Psychosocial Help to Refugees and DPs*
5. *Additional Programs for Displaced and Domestic Romanies*

1. RENOVATION AND RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

Within this program the obligations of: a) the authorities, b) sponsors and contractors, and c) refugees-inhabitants of the settlement, would be clearly defined and specified. The first group of renovation works would include: roofs, gutters and drainage, electrical wiring, plumbing, balconies, floors on the first floor, and constructions between floors. A technical plan should be elaborated pro-

viding for a whole set of details such as, for example, how to introduce separate electricity meters according to the number of bathrooms, etc.

I suggest that the SDR Shelter Program – Podgorica take upon itself the organization and execution of these works only if the conditions presented in the preceding section are fulfilled.

2. PROGRAM OF MAINTENANCE OF HOUSING BLOCKS AND SETTLEMENT AS A WHOLE

Within this program it would be necessary to specify clearly the obligations of local authorities, the owner, the manager, humanitarian organizations, and refugees. This program would not belong in the scope of work organized by SDR Shelter Program, but would complement it. The key idea of this program is to ensure OVERALL IMPROVEMENT OF CLEANLINESS AND SANITARY CONDITIONS IN THE SETTLEMENT, with permanent effects, so that the beauty of the housing units' interiors is transferred to the settlement as a whole. A set of practical measures may be employed to this purpose, such as:

- 1. To upgrade the access road to the settlement (about 300 meters in length);*
- 2. To create a green buffer zone between the settlement and the dumpsite, ensuring that it be protected from devastation by free movement of cattle and dumping waste outside the dumpsite;*
- 3. To increase the installation power of the transformer station;*
- 4. To arrange and refine the area within the settlement, planting flowers and possibly adding a small sports playground;*
- 5. To parcel out the settlement and create small yards so that it is known who is responsible for what; to define small plots by the housing units for flowers and gardens;*

6. *To enrich infrastructure in the settlement, e.g. to set up a phone-booth;*
7. *To set up a multi-purpose facility for social activities and socializing. Because the housing units are so cramped this space for joint activities and socializing is extremely important.*

For this program it is possible to ensure support and participation of most humanitarian organizations, even some enterprises in Podgorica. One organization could organize and sponsor the construction of a small playground in the open; another or others could participate in the construction of a multifunctional facility for diverse social activities. For the implementation of this program the inhabitants of the settlement must be highly motivated, because without their active participation the program is meaningless.

3. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

The aim of this program would be to make a shift from the concept of passive reception of aid to the concept of self-help, making the refugees active. If the situation of the refugees and DPs improved, if they felt secure, we may suppose they would be motivated to do something for the entire settlement as well. In this direction they ought to be encouraged and stimulated, and taught in the many areas they are not enough familiar with.

It would be necessary to engage a competent person with international experience on at least 2-year (preferably 4- or 5-year) term to organize the tasks of continuous maintenance of the housing blocks and the settlement as a whole, in cooperation with the tenants and their Council.

It may be assumed that at least a portion of the refugees, and particularly of displaced Romanies, would

be very willing to get training in some standard jobs, such as housepainting, petty house repairs (plumbing, electricity), carpentry, gardening, greenery maintenance, etc. The knowledge thus acquired would be beneficially applied in the settlement, but it could also help these people make some money outside it. In the developed stage the program could be enriched with higher forms of joint work and life.

4. SPECIAL PROGRAMS OF SOCIO-ECONOMICAL AND PSYCHOSOCIAL HELP TO REFUGEES AND DPs

Some of these programs are already running. The Red Cross of Montenegro, with the Fund for an Open Society, developed a program of psychosocial help, while the humanitarian organization Alter modus encourages small entrepreneurship by offering loans. Some other humanitarian organizations are carrying out their own programs. It would also be essential to develop programs of self-employment. In order for these programs to be successful, it is necessary to specify target groups (women, children, adolescents, the elder), Romanies who are interested in learning to read and write, to master elementary knowledge in some sort of trade, including offering them work on the dumpsite if they want it.

Some of these programs certainly can and should be supported by the SDR.

5. ADDITIONAL PROGRAMS FOR DISPLACED AND DOMESTIC ROMANIES

Displaced and domestic Romanies are most frequently at the bottom of the social ladder and live in a condition of utmost social deprivation. These are citizens no less worthy than others and within these programs they should also be helped. This help is necessary in several directions, such as: setting up temporary prefabricated houses for accommodation; renovation of the existing ones; renova-

tion of the sewage and water supply systems; making effort to include as many school-age children as possible into the educational system, as the *Italian Consortium of Solidarity* is doing. It is also necessary to enable the Romanies to engage in their traditional crafts and provide them with regular supplies of food, clothes and shoes. It is particularly important that Romanies learn well the language of the environment, so that their children would not have to go to special education schools or give up any school.

The local services should visit them frequently, go out into the places where they live, to see how they live and help them as much as they can.

The local authorities will benefit very much if they offer a hand to the Romany population – not the hand of a policeman extended by a truncheon, but the helping and teaching hand, accompanied with a smile, of a doctor, teacher, poet, social worker, singer, engineer, or craftsman.

Part two

LIFE OF
DISPLACED
KOSOVO ROMA
IN MONTENEGRO
AND
POSSIBILITIES
FOR
INTEGRATION

GENERAL VIEW

PRELIMINARY DESCRIPTION OF THE SITUATION

According to the data of the Commissariat for Displaced Persons of the Government of Montenegro, in the new wave of Roma IDPs from Kosovo, during and after NATO airstrikes against Yugoslavia in spring 1999, nearly 7,000 men, women and children came to Montenegro. Judging by available records, in the total number of IDPs (30,000) displaced Kosovo Roma account for 5,840. To this number 917 Egyptians also displaced from Kosovo should be added,¹ who are akin to Roma but insist on being

¹ The presented figures reflect the census of IDPs conducted by the Commissariat for Displaced Persons in December 1999. According to this census, in Montenegro there are 28,338 (4.54%) refugees and 30,289 (4.85%) IDPs, or 58,627 refugees and IDPs altogether. Compared to 624,115 permanently settled citizens this amounts to 9.39%. Among IDPs from Kosovo Montenegrins are the most numerous – 10,679 (35.3%), then Serbs – 7,400 (24.4%), Roma – 5,840 (19.3%), Muslims – 3,878 (12.8%), Albanians – 1,144 (3.8%), Egyptians – 917 (3.0%), while the remaining 417 persons or 1.4% comprise “others”. Data on refugees and IDPs differ depending on the source and moment of collection. Thus in an interview published in *Glas solidarnosti (Voice of Solidarity)*, paper of the Red Cross of Montenegro, Vol. IV No. 5, May 1999, p. 3) Slobodan Kalezić, Secretary of the Red Cross of Montenegro, said: “The fact that our Republic currently takes care of about 130,000 IDPs, which makes more than 20% in comparison with the total number of its inhabitants, is the best evidence to the complexity of the humanitarian crisis to whose resolution our organization has been offering a huge and generous contribution. Of this number 28,338 are exiled and displaced persons from the territories of former Yugoslav republics, over 30,000 people were displaced from

– Egyptians. Bearing in mind the experience with previous censuses of this kind, their number is certainly larger, since Roma often declare themselves as Serbs, Yugoslavs, Muslims, etc.² The highest concentration of Roma displaced from Kosovo is found in the largest cities, Podgorica and Nikšić, then in Bar and Berane.³

They have settled as a rule in the vicinity of their compatriots, domicile Roma, who themselves, with rare exceptions, live in the most miserable conditions in makeshift housing made of wood, cardboard or metal. They struggle to procure enough food and clothes to survive. They are unable to meet many fundamental needs and one wonders how they subsist at all. Many displaced Roma families still live in tents, while others have rented sheds from domicile Roma where they have no toilet and cannot provide any sort of heating. In Nikšić, well-known for its cold winters that are impossible to survive in tents,

Kosovo-and-Metohija during the past year, while about 70,00 people have moved in to Montenegro in the past month, since the beginning of NATO aggression.” And on page 7 of the same issue of *Glas solidarnosti*, Dr Asim Dizdarević, Deputy Chariman of the Red Cross of Yugoslavia, mentions the figure of 120,000 people and goes on to say: “This is one-fifth of the republic’s own population. Such an example has no precedent in the history of European peoples. If we also bear in mind that over 90% of these people are accommodated in families, at hosts’ who themselves can barely make two ends meet, then obviously Montenegro and its citizens have good reasons to be proud of themselves”.

² Taking into account the traditional *flexibility* of Roma behavior we may safely assume that the number of Roma is larger, because, depending on the current needs and estimates as to what is more favorable for them in a given existential situation, Roma may have declared themselves also as Montenegrins, Serbs, Muslims or Albanians. On the other hand, there is no doubt that some domicile Roma or Roma who have moved in from Kosovo many years or even decades ago registered themselves as “IDPs from Kosovo” because in this way they could join the beneficiaries of the humanitarian aid intended for “IDPs”.

³ According to the above-mentioned census of the Commissariat for Displaced Persons, they are most numerous in Podgorica – 3,468 Roma and 415 Egyptians, Bar – 645 Roma and 132 Egyptians, Nikšić – 644 Roma and 21 Egyptians, and Berane – 521 Roma and 51 Egyptians. Interestingly, in four Montenegrin municipalities – Cetinje, Plužine, Šavnik and Žabljak – no IDP of any nationality other than Montenegrin or Serbian has arrived.

SDR/UNHCR distributed construction materials (insulation, wooden flooring, plastic roofs) to Roma IDPs and together with other humanitarian organizations also woolen blankets, sleeping bags, etc.

Kosovo Roma are the most heavily deprived group among all IDPs; among the families that have as yet found no accommodation whatsoever, not even tents, Roma prevail. Moreover, these families are generally the most numerous. In their permanent or semi-permanent settlements in Kosovo Roma comprised the poorest segment of the Kosovo population. Knowing this, we can see that in Montenegro as well the Kosovo Roma are the most threatened group of all the poor, the unemployed and those otherwise socially underprivileged, refugees and IDPs. Republican and local bodies of government, Red Cross organizations, representatives of international institutions and a host of humanitarian organizations have perceived this fact and paid it due attention in designing their activities.

A BRIEF GLANCE AT HISTORY

The first written documents on the presence of Roma in Montenegro date from early 18th century⁴. In those times Roma lived in northern Montenegro as well as at all important conjunctions of Turkish roads. Roma serviced the Turks as farriers (*nalbat*). They were also accepted as artisans, trumpeters, or executioners. Some were drummers (town-criers) in various Montenegrin townships. Under the reign of Prince Nikola foreign capital started to penetrate Montenegro; in a poor cattle-breeding and agricultural country this process generated a demand for artisans of various sorts. Roma artisans, called *majstori* (“masters”) by the people, were coming to Montenegro from Serbia and Bosnia.

Roma in Montenegro were internally differentiated according to their trades. Differentiation into separate

⁴ For historical data see Momčilo Lutovac, *Romi u Crnoj Gori (Roma in Montenegro)*, Društvo prijatelja knjige, Ivangrad 1987.

groups was facilitated by their marriage practices. The first Roma to arrive in Montenegro, as far back as under the Turkish rule, were called the *Madjup*. Over time, from among them a separate group emerged engaging exclusively in the blacksmith trade and therefore called the Blacksmiths (*Kovači*). The Blacksmiths are the most numerous Roma group in Montenegro.⁵ They have mostly been tied to their place of residence. The average number of family members has been six, less than among the *Csergar* or the *Madjup*. They have often sent their children to school so that their rate of illiteracy has been the lowest (80% in the 1981 population census). Those who nowadays call themselves the “genuine” *Madjup* moved in from Kosovo or Macedonia in the period between the two world wars. Among the *Madjup*, there has been no family planning. The average number of members in a family is nine. Nowadays they work mainly as unskilled workers or engage in petty trading in merchandise brought from Italy and Turkey. They have not sought to educate their children so that they have an 85% illiteracy rate (1981 population census). They inhabit Vrela Ribnička in considerable numbers.

The third group of Roma is the *Chergar*, or *Gabelj* as Montenegrins call them. They have been characterized by a nomadic way of life and brief time spent at any one place, although this trait is increasingly on the decline. Their arrival in Montenegro is estimated to have begun in early 20th century. The *Gabelj* claim not to be related to the Blacksmiths and the *Madjup* by any closer kinship ties but rather represent an ethnic group in its own right. They do not intermarry nor share cemeteries with the other two

⁵ According to the 1991 population census, the blacksmiths are the most numerous. They live in all bigger Montenegrin cities. The *Madjup* were coming in from Kosovo and Macedonia, selling various items. In Podgorica they found the climate favorable and perceived opportunities to engage in various profitable businesses, in the city and its surroundings. Therefore they first settled at Vrela Ribnička. They also established a settlement at Cepurci which was removed in 1972 because of contamination of the environment in that part of the city.

groups – unlike the Blacksmiths and the *Madjup* who usually use Muslim cemeteries, the *Gabelj* are most frequently buried right there where they die. Montenegrins have always liked the *Gabelj* because of their resourcefulness, stubbornness and trickiness. Their houses are made of poor material, quite often of cardboard or tin. Their families have eight members on the average and the rate of illiteracy is 90% (1981 population census).. From all the *Gabelj* families only 8 children have finished elementary school in the past twenty years.

In the past Roma were deprived of a civil right to marry a Montenegrin woman. The offspring of a mixed marriage, even if married to full-blooded Montenegrins, were not considered genuine Montenegrins in five subsequent generations. To be godfather to a Roma child was understood as a kind of patronage, while vice-versa, to have a Roma godfather, was felt to be very humiliating and inappropriate. In wars, Roma could be volunteers, because they were not conscripts; they could get badges for courage, but never any rank, not even the lowest one. Roma were forbidden to bury their dead on municipal cemeteries. Later on, they were allowed to do so, but only on specially allotted plots.

In Montenegro the work of artisans was not highly esteemed, or worse, it was despised. Special contempt was reserved for the blacksmith's trade, which was associated with Roma. This had a very negative impact on the integration of Roma in the Montenegrin society, although integration also depended on the commitment of Roma themselves to residing permanently among Montenegrins.

In the 1991 population census the official statistics registered only 4,000 Roma permanently settled in the territory of Montenegro. According to the data of the Red Cross of Montenegro however 7,500 Roma have a permanent residence in Podgorica alone, and about 17,000 in the whole territory of Montenegro, 2,700 of them in Nikšić. In Podgorica, Roma mostly live in Konik. It is no surprise therefore that over 3,000 Roma IDPs from Kosovo have

been accommodated in that settlement, too. This fact is bound to generate rather serious consequences in the future, since in Konik, very close to the center of Montenegro's capital, a large *refugee-IDP ghetto* is being formed, or more precisely, a *Roma-and-refugee ghetto*. For this reason the Konik settlement must be described here in more detail.

Formerly, on the banks of the Ribnica, one of Podgorica's rivers, a Roma – or, as was common to say in those times, Gypsy – settlement called Tabana was placed. Podgorica Roma were mostly blacksmiths living in tiny houses on the right bank of the Ribnica. Apart from working as blacksmiths they also engaged in transport with horse-carts.⁶ In the 1960s, the inhabitants of the settlement by the Ribnica river were moved to Konik. At the time, this new blacksmiths' settlement of Konik looked – and we see it is no different today – uncontrolled, asymmetrical and hodgepodge. It was ending without a clear boundary on the bare expanse of the Čemovsko field. The only thing that looked symmetrical – though multicolored – was a line of houses with 8 apartments each which, as their inhabitants used to say, “the state” had built for them.⁷

In the immediate vicinity of this settlement, which nowadays is no longer distant periphery, there lie the settlements of Vrela Ribnička, Omerbožovići and Novo selo, on the way to Dinoša. The three settlements are inhabited mostly by non-Roma populations: Vrela Ribnička by Montenegrins and partly domicile Roma, and Omerbožovići and Novo selo mainly by Albanians-Malisors. Some of the families in those places have been settled there for decades, or even centuries, like the natives of Omerbožovići.

Today the Konik settlement comprises three local communities: Stari aerodrom, Ribnica, and Vrela Ribnička.

⁶ One of these drivers was Arif Mali, very much liked in the city, where horsecart waggoners were caught in bitter competition. See V. Ivanović, *Podgorički vremeplov*, Kulturno prosvjetna zajednica, Podgorica: 1999, p. 109.

⁷ S. Piletić, *Saga o Podgorici (Saga on Podgorica)*, Podgorica: Kulturno prosvjetna zajednica, 1999, p. 420.

One third of all Podgorica's inhabitants live in Konik, which according to the 1991 census amounts to 18,000 people. Of this number 8.3% are Roma. With the high birthrate characteristic of Roma population, and with the large recent influx of refugees, overpopulation is bound to become a serious problem in Konik. Moreover, a high percentage of Roma families are welfare recipients, which points to a low standard of living. Vrela Ribnička are one of the three Konik's local communities located on the very verge of the settlement by the road to Tuzi and Dinoša. The settlement is encircled by houses of domicile Roma on one side, the refugee settlement Vrela Ribnička, municipal dumpsite for garbage and junk cars on the second, and the river Ribnica at the third.

CENTRAL LOCATION FOR ACCOMMODATING ROMA IDPS

Since the very outbreak of armed conflicts in former SFRY Vrela Ribnička have become a refugee destination. The first to come were refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. With the outbreak of conflicts in Kosovo, as far back as fall of 1998, a flood of Roma families also began. Upon coming to Vrela Ribnička, the place of their highest concentration, Kosovo Roma were first accommodated in tents, but in early December 1999 the situation became untenable. On 5 December 1999 the tent settlement was severely damaged by a storm, when strong wind destroyed some of the tents (170) and left about 600 human beings without any shelter, in the open, in mud, at temperature of 0° C⁸. The tent settlement had to be practi-

⁸ For a more detailed report on the event see *Vijesti*, Podgorica, 7 December 1999, p. 15, under the title "Storm levelled the tent settlement, minimum eight people wounded": "Yesterday afternoon, the settlement looked ghostly. The majority of 300 tents had been completely demolished. The inhabitants were trying to collect their possessions, the scattered remnants of the stormy night." On the next day (8 December 1999) the same paper published another article entitled "Following the catastrophe of two days ago 1,500 more people accommodated in the barracks".

cally closed down, while its inhabitants were moved to wooden barracks in the Konik I camp (later to Konik II as well) or to private accommodation.

In the Konik I camp 399 Roma and Egyptian families live, with 2,290 members. 38 of these families are accommodated in buildings with a kitchen, while others are in barracks. According to INTERSOS's data, by December 1999 145 people left the camp and 97 newcomers arrived. 50 barracks have been built. Each barrack accommodates four families. There are 4 sanitary blocks with 64 toilets, 36 showers, 32 water taps inside and 20 in the open. There are also two primary health-care stations, a Mother and Child Care Center, 17 communal kitchens, a distribution center, and one barrack is intended for social activities. The camp has no electrical wiring, and the barracks have no chimneys.⁹

At the moment of conducting the research, in first half of April 2000, the Konik II camp was being built, but of 56 barracks for accommodation of 56 families only 14 had been finished and people moved in. In contrast with Konik I camp, this camp has been designed more planfully, it is more comfortable, and additional facilities for educational, cultural and other social activities have been built more carefully than in the Konik I camp. The barracks have chimneys and electricity hookups.

Nevertheless, the Konik I camp, and particularly Konik II, provide Kosovo Roma families with living conditions that are much better than those in which Roma sub-tendants live, especially in Nikšić. These are accommodated

⁹ During the winter the displaced Roma families coped by breaking through wooden walls and improvising chimneys. Building barracks for Roma with no chimneys implied a thorough neglect of specific features of Roma culture which is virtually unimaginable without a hearth. The constructors also failed to take into account the necessity for heating in winter. At any rate, the construction design of the barracks and ingeniousness of Roma families have multiplied the dangers of fire. And indeed, in one barrack fire broke out in which a baby burned to death. Tragic consequences could have been much more drastic if wind had blown at the moment.

in barracks in the settlement “Budo Tomović” I and the settlement by the “Steelworks”, and in the Brlja settlement, where the Italian humanitarian organization COOPI financed 800 meters of access road.¹⁰ Some of these families live literally among heaps of garbage, so that one can hardly speak of any sort of sanitary, hygiene or accommodation standards. And even for such living conditions, often quite inhumane, Roma families sometimes have to pay unbelievably high prices compared with their financial capacity. What is more, some of the hosts get 2 DEM daily given by the European Union per member of a Roma family they have received, but provided they do not charge them with “rent”.¹¹ On the other hand, some Roma families registered as newcomers from Kosovo, although they have been living in Nikšić for many years. It is estimated that out of 150 families at least a half belongs into that category.

¹⁰ Cf. *Vrela*, Journal for Refugees and IDPs in Montenegro, 1 February 2000, p. 3.

¹¹ In Stari Bar even more drastic cases of breaching the established norms have been recorded.

FRAMEWORK AND BASIC OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH

Roma IDPs from Kosovo currently living in Montenegro are facing three possibilities. One and certainly the most natural would be for them to go back in a gradual process of repatriation and continue living in Kosovo. Under the given circumstances this possibility is highly unlikely. For, Roma fled from Kosovo, along with Serbs and other non-Albanian population, or were brutally expelled by Albanian extremists, who often concealed banal robbing of other people's property behind slogans about Albanian Kosovo. Roma houses were burned down and the little property they had acquired was seized. KFOR did not succeed in ensuring them the necessary protection while they lived in Kosovo, hence it could not be expected to be in a position to safeguard them adequately as returnees, under present circumstances. The second possibility, which Roma IDPs strongly wish for, is emigration to third countries, primarily European ones. For very many Roma this remains an unattainable, sometimes even tragic dream. Seeking to make this dream true Roma fall prey to criminal gangs, losing everything they have, including occasionally their lives.¹²

¹² On the sufferings undergone by Roma in their attempts to reach West European countries there are no systematic data. Sometimes RAI or other world TV networks or news agencies report on them. Yet, large-scale catastrophes cannot be kept away from the public. Thus in the fall of 1999 the

On the other hand, European and other countries have manifested no political will to receive for humanitarian reasons at least some of these unfortunate human beings in their territory. What is more, they are often unable to prevent racist violence by extremist groups of their citizens, as illustrated by cases observed quite a few European countries.¹³

The third possibility proves most realistic: to stay in Montenegro temporarily – until the situation in Kosovo improves substantially, if such an improvement for Roma ever happens – or permanently, through a gradual, difficult and contradictory process of integration in the Montenegrin society.

If we start from the current circumstances as presuppositions, permanent integration of Roma exiled from Kosovo is obviously not possible. Their permanent integration is still more improbable, when some elementary facts are taken into account – that these people are members of another race, another nation (Romany), believers of another religion (Islamic), with a different culture and belonging to another civilization. But if circumstances change integration would not be impossible.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The basic objectives of the research into life of Roma IDPs from Kosovo living in Montenegro were in line with the foregoing observations. The research was guided primarily by *practical goals* and aimed at:

public learned of a tragic event when a large group of Roma – according to news reports, about 100 – got drowned in a shipwreck on their way to Italy. See *Monitor*, Vol. X, No 462, 27 August 1999, pp. 8–12, where a lengthy story on the Roma tragedy in the Adriatic is published under the title „Who Is Running the Business of People Trafficking – How is it possible that a hundred people get drowned and the public learns of the event only a week later, in spite of the survivors lying in the hospital? The question is likely to remain unanswered. Another secret is who collected at least 5 million DEM.”

¹³ Racist attacks against Roma in the Czech Republic and in Germany are characteristic in this respect. Thus the Czech airline company assigned special seats for Roma on its planes.

- ❑ *examining the possibilities of immediate improvement of living conditions of Roma IDPs;*
- ❑ *improving mutual relations within the Roma population;*
- ❑ *developing the relations of Roma IDPs with the domicile population;*
- ❑ *examining various conditions and circumstances under which a gradual – temporary or permanent – social, economic, cultural and educational integration of Roma IDPs would be possible.*

The practical objective of the research was to suggest comprehensive measures for solving social and other problems of living of Roma IDPs, as well as to examine the possibilities of integration of Roma IDPs in Podgorica (Vrela Ribnička settlement) and Nikšić.

Starting from the assumption that *ad hoc* palliative measures cannot serve as the basis for a permanent solution of the problems concerned, we chose this approach which in the long run may yield lasting results. The research therefore was not conceived as academic but had clearly defined practical goals. The research can rather be defined as a sort of preparation for practical activities that count not only with involvement of national institutional factors and/or international institutions but also with the *development of the emancipatory potential of Roma themselves* which, contained in specific coping strategies, “... has proven to be an efficient means of improving living conditions”.¹⁴

Most briefly put, the objectives of the research as defined above determined its subject. If the assumption

¹⁴ See Aleksandra Mitrović and Gradimir Zajić (1993), „Decenija s Romima u Masurici“ (“A Decade with Roma in Masurica”), *Društvene promene i položaj Roma*, Institut za socijalnu politiku, Belgrade, p. 103. The same authors define the value of action research in the following terms: „Action research is limited in scope; it cannot wipe out global conditions and causes nor influence global change. However, it can be an efficient research strategy for solving social problems in a local community.“ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

was correct that return of Roma IDPs to Kosovo in the foreseeable future was out of the question, it was necessary to search for such practical immediate and long-term solutions for their temporary or permanent life in Montenegro that would be more purposeful than accommodation in makeshift housing, often tents and possibly also collective centers, camps (although collective centers should by no means be underestimated). For instance, Roma could be given the opportunity to personally participate in building their own houses and settlements, provided that these do not become new ghettos.

If the process of integration, in all of its essential aspects – social, economic, cultural and educational – is to have any chance of success, the suggested measures aimed at improving the living conditions and at initiating the process of integration had to be based on an insight, as accurate as possible, into the culture, customs, attitudes and behavior, wishes and expectations from the future of this portion of the Roma population. Therefore the research sought to grasp facts and information concerning real life, attitudes, hopes and expectations of Roma families. Various aspects of their life in Kosovo was examined: how they had lived, what they had known, done, possessed, and believed, how they had managed their households and affairs, how they had educated themselves, what had their relations been with their neighbors, and so on. Along the same lines facts, attitudes and knowledge concerning their “new” life in Montenegro was investigated and their expectations from the future discovered.

The survey of the domicile Roma and majority Montenegrin populations was mainly focused on their attitudes toward Roma IDPs, their life and prospects; a system of scales was employed to measure to what extent these two groups were ready to accept the idea of integration of Roma IDPs, how they saw their situation and whether they were willing to help them.¹⁵

¹⁵ Such an approach is also recommended by Sreten Vujović who writes: „... it is also necessary to study perception and attitudes of the non-

The unit of research was the family, which in traditional cultures – and both Montenegrin and Roma cultures are traditional – is the basis of social, economic and cultural life. It may be argued additionally that such an approach is also compatible with the tragic destiny of this segment of the Roma population which strengthened its internal (familial) solidarity. Three groups of families were included in the survey:

- families of Roma IDPs from Kosovo accommodated in Podgorica and Nikšić, as places of their highest concentration. The total sample consisted of 250 families, 201 accommodated in Podgorica and 49 in Nikšić, as places of their highest concentration;
- 100 domicile Roma families: 80 in Podgorica and 20 in Nikšić, tied in various ways to Roma IDP families; and
- 100 families of domicile majority Montenegrin population from the immediate vicinity of Roma IDP families: 80 in Podgorica and 20 in Nikšić; as well as
- 20 open interviews with representatives of concerned organizations and institutions.

The interviewing of domicile Roma and non-Roma Montenegrin families was necessary in order to gain a more precise insight into the possibilities for improving living conditions, the forms and modalities of helping Kosovo Roma IDP families, and particularly to assess under what conditions – if at all – temporary or permanent, partial or complete integration of Roma IDPs in the Montenegrin society was possible.

Roma population concerning Roma housing and generally multi-ethnic coexistence in urban milieus. We believe that the results of such studies would, among other things, dissipate certain prejudices and reduce ethno-spatial and other distances. “ See Sreten Vujović (1993) „Romi i stanovanje“ (“Roma and Housing”), in: *Društvene promene i položaj Roma*, SANU – Institut za socijalnu politiku, Belgrade, pp. 54-66.

PROPERTIES OF THE SURVEYED POPULATION

GENERAL PROPERTIES OF THE SURVEYED FAMILIES

The unit of the survey segment of the research was the family. A total of 450 families with 3,087 members altogether was interviewed: 250 families of Kosovo Roma IDPs (1,839 members altogether), 100 families of domicile Roma and 100 families of domicile non-Roma population. The average number of family members among Roma IDPs is 7.36. The number of women and men in the IDP Roma population is rather even: families include 3.67 women and 3.68 men, on the average. The number of women in any one family does not exceed ten, while in some families there are as many as 14 men. The modal number of men per family is three (34% families), followed by four (21%).

Most families of Roma IDPs (83.2%) are complete, i.e. all members of the family came to Montenegro together. In the remaining 16 % some members are in Kosovo (4%), abroad (3.2%) while in 8% of cases their whereabouts are unknown.

Among *Roma IDP families*, there is one family with 7 and one with 9 children; most families (33.6%) have two children under 7. Total number of children under 7 is 563 (30.61%). Between age 7 and age 16 there are 509 children (27.68%). In sum, there are 1,072 children under 16 (58.29%). As can be seen, Roma IDPs are very young. In

the surveyed population of *domicile Roma* a similar situation was found. These families have 355 children under 16 which is 59.3% of the total number.¹⁶

Of 250 interviewed families of Roma IDPs from Kosovo, 174 (69.6%) are accommodated in the collective center, the Konik I camp, only 6 (2.4%) at their relatives', while 67 families (26.8%) live as subtenants. Of these, only 17 (6.8%) live, in their own judgment, in good conditions; 50 subtenant families (20%) live, in their own opinion as well as in the opinion of the interviewer, in extremely bad, shanty-like "housing" – whatever this may mean.

INTERSOS's records on inhabitants of the Konik I camp matches the findings of this research that this is a very young population: 1,432 people or 64% of the total are under 20, while over a half of all the inhabitants (51%) are under 15. There are only 3.6% of inhabitants aged over 60. The latest official population census (1991) registered about 12% of Montenegro's population as being over 65 years of age.¹⁷

Domicile Roma families, 100 of them interviewed with 719 members, have 7.19 members on the average. The highest is the percentage of families with 7 members (17.2%), followed by 8 members (14.8%). There are also families with 15, 16, 19, or as many as 23 members. The picture suggested by these data is that of the typical large

¹⁶ If we took as children all young people under the age of 18, as is usually done, the percentage of the young would be even more striking. It can be argued that setting the line at the age of 16 is arbitrary, but it is also true that Roma mature, begin a life of their own, get married, etc. at an earlier age. The other family members were not classified by age for the simple reason that the interviewees would find it difficult to follow the classifications. Suffice it to cite the INTERSOS analysis paper "Occupations, Skills and Self-reliance in Konik I" (28 March 2000) which says that 87.38% of the population in the settlement is under 40. Let me also add that among Roma (especially the *Madjup*, who are the most numerous here) there is no family planning. Therefore their birthrate may be called a veritable demographic "boom".

¹⁷ Jovanka Vuković, *Izbjeglišтво u Crnoj Gori (Refugees in Montenegro)*, p. 94.

Roma family. The analysis has found a rather even number of men and women in families, i.e. 341 or 47.5% men, and 378 or 52.5% women. Families with three men are the most frequent (34%), followed by those with four men (21%). Three women per family are also the most frequent (25%). Maximum number of women in a family among domicile Roma is 11, while the figure for men is 7. Two families have 17 members each. In the surveyed population of domicile Roma families have a total of 355 children under 16 or 59.3% of the total. 189 of these children are under 7 (26.3%), 166 between 7 and 16 (33%). Two children per family are the most frequent modality. Interestingly, 27.5% of families have no school-age children at all. All this once more suggest the conclusion that domicile Roma are a young population.

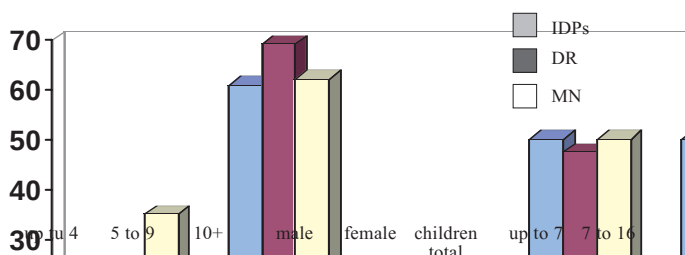
Table 1. – Number and structure of surveyed families

	Roma IDPs	Domicile Roma	Non-Roma Mn. population
<i>Number of families – total</i>	<i>N = 250</i>	<i>N = 100</i>	<i>N = 100</i>
Families up to 4 members	41 (16.4%)	12.0%	35.0%
Families 5–9 members	152 (60.8%)	69.0%	62.0%
Families 10 members and up	57 (22.8%)	19.0%	3.0%
<i>Number of family members – total</i>	<i>1839 (100%)</i>	<i>719 (100%)</i>	<i>529 (100,00%)</i>
Male	921 (50.08%)	341 (47.5%)	265 (50,09%)
Female	918 (49.92%)	378 (52.5%)	264 (49,91%)
<i>Number of children – total</i>	<i>1072(58.29%)</i>	<i>355 (49.37%)</i>	<i>131 (24,76%)</i>
Children under	563 (30.61%)	189 (26.28%)	84 (15,68%)
Children age 7 – 16	509 (27.68%)	166 (23.08%)	47 (8,88%)
Average number of members per family	7,36	7,19	5,29

The sample of *Montenegrin non-Roma* population consisted of 100 families with a total of 529 members. The average number of members per family is 5.29. These families are very heterogeneous in terms of their composition

and number of members. Among the surveyed non-Roma families the modal number of members was 5 (31%), followed by 4 (26%), and finally 6 (14%). The interviewed population included domicile non-Roma population, Montenegrins, Albanians and Muslims.¹⁸ Families with 6 to 11 members accounted for one third (34%). Two men per family are the most frequent (34%), followed by three men (30%). The situation is very similar with respect to women. Families most often include two women (34%), than three (29%). In one-fifth of this subsample there are no children (20%). 44% of families have children under 7 (number of children 84). 36% of families have children 7–16 (47 children). These figures indicate that this population is older. In the subsample consisting of 100 families there are 131 children or 24.7%.

FAMILY SIZE AND STRUCTURE



EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND EMPLOYMENT

Over a half of heads of household among *Roma IDPs* are without school or with incomplete elementary school (61.6%), while only 4.4% have secondary school or more. A small percentage of households (14.4%) report to be skilled in a trade or self-taught. The research confirmed the findings of INTERSOS that literally all women in

¹⁸ It should be stressed here that in the survey the nationality structure of the interviewed non-Roma population was not under examination, so that the average number of members in these families is comparatively high, due to the share of Albanian-Malisor and Muslim families in the sample.

Konik I camp are unskilled.¹⁹ In terms of level of education, an expected picture of Roma population has emerged.

In spite of such a poor skills structure as many as 44.4% of heads of household said they had held steady or temporary jobs before exile, while 26% had been farmers. Only 8.4% had practiced trades, which means that most of them were employed on other jobs (municipal services, security...). The low educational level reflects negatively on socio-professional structure. Very few Roma in the settlement have an identifiable occupation. Most of them belong into the undifferentiated group of workers "without occupation". Among those who do "have an occupation", skills learned at work rather than occupations acquired through formal education prevail. The undifferentiated socio-professional structure is an indicator of a low social position and the vicious circle of poverty. This confirms the findings of previous studies of Roma communities in Yugoslavia which pointed out that Roma are most numerous in the occupations requiring no skill, such as maintenance workers or cleaners, porters, warehouse workers, construction workers, etc.²⁰ In the conditions of overall impoverishment, high unemployment and rising poverty in the society at large, to quote Aleksandra Mitrović and Gradimir Zajić, „the rate of economic activity is an essential indicator of the exclusion of Roma from the main social and economic processes. Low economic activity, very young age structure of the population, and a large share of inactive population are the key factors in sustaining and deepening the differences or, to put it more bluntly, the socio-economic gap between Roma and the majority people.“²¹

¹⁹ See the cited analysis by INTERSOS, data for inhabitants age 15 to 60.

²⁰ See Milutin Prokić, „Socijalno ekonomske karakteristike Roma u Jugoslaviji“ (“Socio-economic Characteristics of Roma in Yugoslavia”), in: *Razvitak Roma u Jugoslaviji – Problemi i tendencije*, SANU, Belgrade 1992, p. 107.

²¹ Aleksandra Mitrović and Gradimir Zajić, „Društveni položaj Roma u Srbiji“ (“The Social Position of Roma in Serbia”), in: *Romi u Srbiji*, p. 29, Centar za antiracnu akciju/Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja, Belgrade 1998.

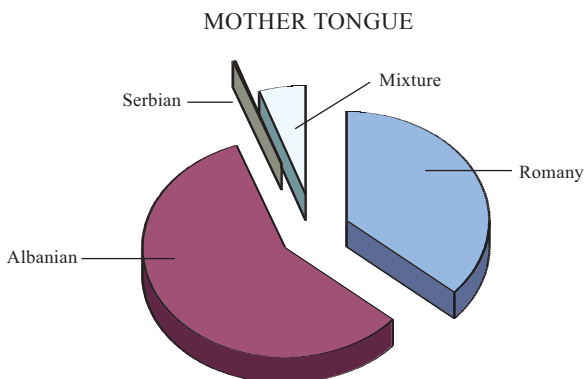
The INTERSOS humanitarian organization which is the one most active in the Konik I camp (it has taken part in building the barracks, allotting the space inside the barracks, distribution of humanitarian aid, organization of some forms of training for children, etc.) gathered a set of interesting data on Roma IDPs. Among others, there are figures on skills distribution within this population. Historically speaking, occupations have differentiated Roma into separate groups (the Blacksmiths, the *Madjup* and the *Gabelj*) and over time developed their particular identity and engendered their specific social position.

Table 2. – Skills distribution for men aged 15-60 in Konik I camp – N=257

Black-smith	5	Joiner	10	Driver	6	Mechanic/technician	11
Butcher	5	Miner	8	Electrician	4	Farmer.	9
Cleaner	33	Musician	13	Unskilled worker	116	Waiter	3
Mason	10	Security	10	Fireman	3	Others	11

Albanian language is spoken as mother-tongue in 58% of Kosovo Roma IDP families; slightly more than one-third (36.4%) declare their mother-tongue to be Romany, while only one family say their mother-tongue is Serbian. Those IDP families who declare themselves as “Egyptians” are particularly sensitive and proud of their usage of Albanian at home. Thus the interviewer (questionnaire no. 78) noted: “Egyptians who do not accept and do not like Roma. Speak only Albanian, don’t know Serbian”. In questionnaire no. 241, the interviewer recorded: “The interviewee is angry because I’m calling him a Rom. He says he is Egyptian or Albanian, and Albanian is his mother- tongue.”. Ethnologists, antropologists and demographers confirm that Roma are prone to adopt the language and way of life of the population with which they live in the same territory. This however never resulted in a

higher degree of acceptance of Roma by majority populations. Language is certainly one of the serious obstacles to the integration of Roma into their new social milieu.²²

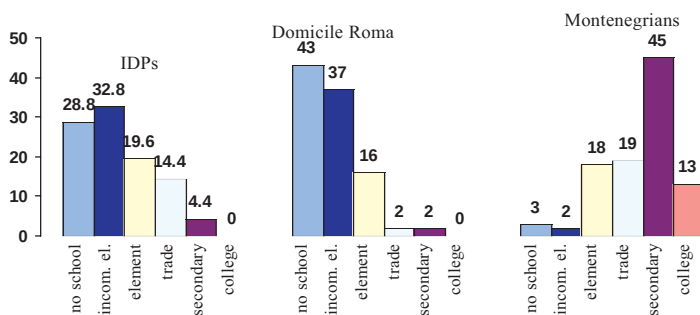


Domicile Roma have a still lower level of education. 43% of interviewed heads of household are without school, 37% with incomplete elementary school and 16% have finished elementary school. Just 4% of them have some trade, secondary school or more. In sum, 80% are with no school whatsoever or with incomplete elementary school, which is more unfavorable compared with the Roma IDPs, where this percentage is 61.6%. Like among the displaced Roma, the educational structure of domicile Roma does not correspond to the occupations they engage in (according to their own statements). It was rather surprising to find that 31% of heads of household hold temporary or steady jobs, if we know that 80% of them have not finished even elementary school. They most probably work on the simplest physical jobs. 30% of the surveyed population engage in illicit petty trading and black-marketeering. 19% of heads of household report they are unemployed.

²² Language barrier also appeared during the interviews. The problem was solved by engaging a person speaking the Romany language as interviewer and interpreter. One of the interviewers was a Rom.

Even though this is a young population, few children go to school: only 27% school-age children. Here we have to take into account that 37% of families has no school-age children. Families that do have children cite poverty as the reason for not sending children to school in 16%. 15% say that children do not wish to go to school, which reflects the “easygoing” Roma lifestyle, where making such an important decision is relegated to the children. A wide disproportion is very visible between verbal statements on the importance of educating children and actual behavior. In 96% of cases the respondents say education of children is indispensable. At the same time, just 27% of school-age children attend school.²³

EDUCATION OF HEAD OF FAMILY



It is not surprising therefore that other researchers have already noticed the striking correlation between the

²³ The research conducted by Živorad Tasić *Romi u Crnoj Gori – status i perspektive (Roma in Montenegro – Status and Perspectives)* showed that 60% of all Roma children in Montenegro never enroll in school, while in our survey 96% of interviewed adults, parents, said that children should be sent to school and that it was an essential determinant of their future life. This divergence between verbal statements and actual state of affairs recommends caution in making inferences on the basis of analysis of statistical data concerning Roma. Research conducted in 1999 commissioned by COOPI.

level of (un)education and low material standing of Roma families. Thus Milutin Prokić takes the data on Roma education to be the most dramatic form of “manifestation of their professional and social inferiority”, one of the “darkest sides of the reality of Roma life”. His conclusion is precise and bleak: “Closed into their ethnic confines, Roma reproduce each other. Semi-literate and uneducated, they cannot teach their children the secrets of a better school performance or professional advancement. As poorly paid and undervalued workers, they cannot provide themselves or their families with a decent living, nor can they serve as an example to anyone.”²⁴ The practice of sending Roma children, because of language incompetence, poverty, housing and urban segregation, to special schools, where they regularly achieve good results, is ultimately not a good solution for Roma children either. “The special school and the conditions of life in the Roma enclave ‘guarantee’ poverty and low social and cultural status of the Roma adult-to-be”, argues rightly Sulejman Hrnjica.²⁵

In *Montenegrin non-Roma families* heads of household have most often finished secondary school (45%); artisans and elementary school graduates account for roughly identical percentages (19% and 18%, respectively); 5% of heads of household have no school, while 13% hold college degrees. They are most frequently employed in the state sector (31%). 60% heads of household, i.e. their families, have

²⁴ Milutin Prokić, „Socijalno ekonomske karakteristike Roma u Jugoslaviji“, in: *Razvitak Roma u Jugoslaviji – Problemi i tendencije*, SANU, Belgrade 1992, p. 112. Similarly, Aleksandra Mitrović and Gradimir Zajić write: „Education of children is a possible channel of social promotion for Roma which, however, is too long, uncertain and expensive, demanding a lot of patience and work... Education of children is an effort Roma family cannot master by itself.” – „Društveni položaj Roma u Srbiji“, in: *Romi u Srbiji*, Centar za antiratu akciju / Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja, Belgrade 1998, p. 43.

²⁵ Sulejman Hrnjica, “Izrada kompenzatorskih programa obrazovanja za učenike romske etničke grupe” (“Compensatory Educational Programs for Pupils from the Roma Ethnic Group”), in: *Društvene promene i položaj Roma*, SANU – Institut za socijalnu politiku, Belgrade 1993, p. 183.

a stable source of income: those permanently employed in state enterprises or private firms, or pensioners. Thus the domicile population with a vastly better educational structure has a lower employment rate than the one characterizing Roma IDPs in Kosovo before exile. Slightly under one-third (28%) of heads of household are unemployed.

HEALTH CONDITION OF ROMA FAMILIES

Despite bad living conditions, particularly in terms of hygiene, most children in Roma IDP families are in good health. Impaired sight, hearing or speech are found in 6 families, mental retardation in one, dystrophy, paralysis and chronic ailments in 15 (6%), physical deformities and disability in 8 families. As these impairments are quite severe, the figures should certainly be a matter of concern. Having in mind the conditions in which these children have been growing up, or the dramatic scene of a couple of months ago when wind was breaking age-old trees and destroying everything in its way, pulling down the tents and leaving people in the open, physical endurance of these children is simply amazing. In adults the health condition is similar. 3.6% have impaired sight, hearing or speech, while 14% suffer from chronic ailments. Lung diseases are the most frequent, which is not surprising given the quality of housing, diet etc. Physical deformities and disabilities are found in 4.8% of families. It is interesting to note that health condition of IDP and domicile Roma are not much different. Difficult living conditions and stress-generating situations have certainly increased considerably risks for health among Kosovo Roma IDPs, but the living conditions of the domicile Roma population are no better, which will be taken up again below.

During the interviews the interviewers registered examples of poor health and living conditions in families. They wrote down statements such as “One son disabled”, “Wife ill, daughter paralyzed”, “Elder son badly injured in a traffic accident”, “don’t have money for medical therapy”,

“sick child in family is not taken to the hospital although they have the doctor’s recommendation, because they can’t afford fruit juice!” The relatively satisfactory picture on their own health created by Roma themselves is more a result of their subjective attitude to health and health problems than of an objectively good health condition. Thus just 4.8% of interviewed Roma IDP families consider health care to be their gravest problem. However, just a glance at the teeth of adult Roma people, or even children, for example, would suffice to appreciate the scale of the problem. Who could take care of teeth in a situation of overall misery and struggle for survival! From a broader perspective, the interviewers gained the impression of a generally bad material, housing and health status of Roma families. Yet, their hopes for better times are alive even in the most difficult situations: “Even if it’s bad, you have to say it’s good”, a respondent said (questionnaire no. 203). This attitude seems to express in the nutshell Roma philosophy in struggling for survival, the strategy of mimicry and exquisite adaptive capacities.

LIVING CONDITIONS AND HOW TO IMPROVE THEM

HOUSING CONDITIONS

Apart from the objective data on living conditions which make Roma a highly deprived social group (intolerably bad housing conditions, high unemployment of the potential workforce, insufficient inclusion of children in the school system, poor communication with the majority population, poor hygiene and health situation), an important part of the overall depiction of their life are subjective feelings. Some researchers argue that subjective feeling is a more significant indicator of the quality of life than a set of objective criteria.²⁶ Yet, on either account Roma are a specific population displaying typically low aspirations

²⁶ See also *Romsko naselje "Mali London" u Pančevu* (*The "Little London" Roma Settlement in Pančevo*), Društvo za unapređivanje romskih naselja / Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja, Belgrade 2000, p. 26. Similarly, in the collection of papers *Javno mnjenje Srbije* (*Public Opinion in Serbia*) (Udruženje za unapređivanje empirijskih istraživanja, Belgrade 1999), a contributor, Dragan Popadić, writes: "Subjective feeling is a considerably more important indicator of the quality of life than a set of objective criteria such as income, property, etc. Thus the questionnaire constructed by the World Health Organization to measure quality of life, apart from the general assessment of the respondent's own health condition and life in general, includes a set of questions referring to depression, anxiety and neurasthenia. These symptoms are known to be indices of stress, i.e. typical reactions to short- or long-term stressful circumstances. Subjective well-being is also continuously measured in "Eurobarometer" polls conducted since 1973 in most European Union countries" (p. 91).

and extremely well developed capacities for instant adaptation. Similarly, their subjective statements are often in contradiction with objective living conditions.²⁷

Nearly all interviewed families of Roma IDPs say they have lost *everything*. They mention houses, furniture (very luxurious, in their own words), land, and very often cattle (a goat, a cow, a horse...). They most often saved their lives fleeing terror, leaving behind all possessions they had been amassing over the years.²⁸ Thus, according to the statements of our respondents, in Montenegro families generally began their life in exile from zero.

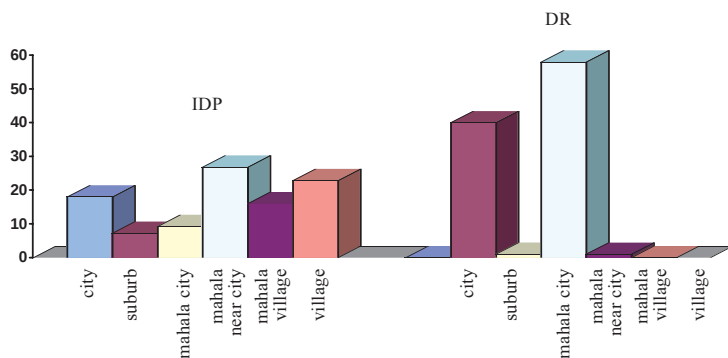
Judging by what they reported on place of previous residence, 61% of Roma IDP families had lived in cities, *mahalas* close to the city, or suburbs, while 39% had lived in the country. After their arrival in Montenegro, 98% of the families settled in *mahalas* close to cities or in suburban communities, which means that in exile almost all of them are oriented to urban areas. When data on level of education are cross-tabulated with data on previous place of residence the result shows that secondary school or more is

²⁷ During the winter this researcher has several times visited a Roma family in Nikšić living in impossibly poor housing conditions. In one encounter with the 70-year-old head of household, exceptionally old for the average life span of the Roma population, the researcher wondered how they would survive cold winter at all. To the question how they were doing, the host replied: "Why do you ask? Excellent, of course!"

²⁸ Kosovo Roma were first drastically abused by the Serbian police and local authorities during the NATO military intervention. Roma civilians were forced to bury the bodies of killed KLA members and Albanian civilians, to dig trenches for the military, and to pillage and destroy Albanian property. After the peace settlement was signed and the Serbian armed forces left, Roma became the main target of Albanian revenge, exposed to the same kind of violence used by the Serbian forces against Albanians: physical abuse, imprisonment, abduction, murder, rape, looting and destruction of property, forced labor, and expulsion. In large numbers, Roma were made to leave Kosovo by threats, intimidation, physical abuse and destruction of their property. Thus Roma turned out to be the eternal scapegoat alternately abused by both conflicting sides. See Milan Jokić, "Kosovo Roma: Targets of Abuse and Violence, 24 March – 1 September 1999", AIM Pristina.

most frequent among previous urban dwellers. Heads of household in families previously tied to rural areas are most often without school or with incomplete elementary school (26% of the 39% previously living in the country).²⁹

ROMA IDPs AND DOMICILE ROMA: PLACE OF RESIDENCE

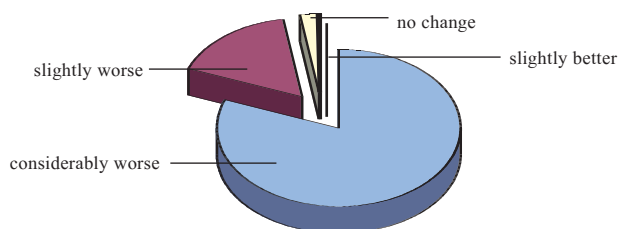


Owning a house is taken to be an elementary human need. In sociological research literature housing is a classical indicator of the standard of living and a family's social status in general. A comparison of data on housing conditions of Roma IDPs before exile, while living in Kosovo, and data on housing conditions of domicile Roma families yields interesting results. According to the statements of interviewed Roma IDPs (which must be taken as highly subjective) 80.4% of them owned their houses, 6.8% lived in an apartment, while only 12.4% had a shanty. Apart from just one family, there were no subtenants, according to the respondents' statements. Interviewed domicile Roma families, on the contrary, own their houses or apartments in 48%, own barracks in 40%, and 8% of families are subtenants in bad conditions. All these parameters indicate

²⁹ It must be pointed out that domicile rural Roma have not been surveyed, since Roma IDPs from Kosovo have been accommodated in cities, so that the real picture is slightly deformed in this respect.

that housing conditions of domicile Roma are worse, in some cases becoming even worse after the arrival of Roma IDPs. They most often live in rough shanties botched of cardboard and odd pieces of tin, with doors and windows of undefined shape, often taken from old ruined houses somewhere in the city. Families sometimes use even junk car bodies as housing. In all that, one has to be aware that among domicile Roma, too a social stratification has taken place: in contrast to shanty housing of the poor there are also houses owned by some other Roma that many well-to-do locals would find quite enviable. Domicile Roma are strongly polarized, so that a middle stratum is virtually non-existent. In sum, research findings show that previous housing conditions of Roma IDPs while in Kosovo were much better than are the current housing conditions of the surveyed domicile Roma population. Nevertheless this does not change the real picture of their general status in Montenegro, where they have sunk to the very bottom of the social ladder.

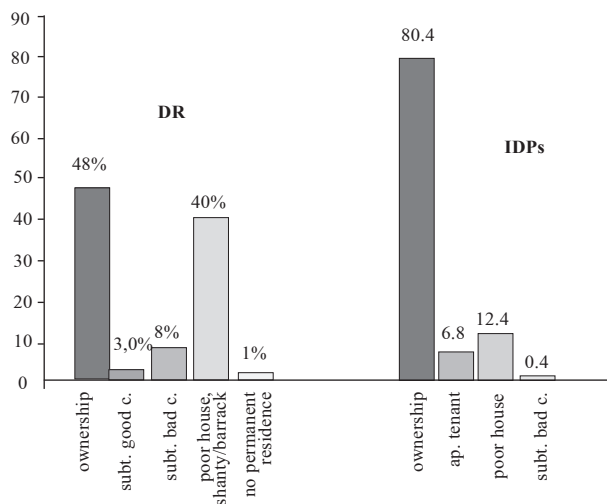
IDPS' SITUATION IN MONTENEGRO AS COMPARED TO KOSOVO



Almost all interviewed non-Roma families of Montenegrin citizens live in their own family houses (77%) or their apartments (19%). Only four families are subtenants. This is very significant because speaks by itself of a population which is committed to living in that area as their permanent residence. Therefore it is all the more important to hear their opinions and views on problems of Kosovo

Roma IDPs who have recently become their neighbors. On the whole, in the subjective judgment of the interviewers, the quality and interior of these houses are quite good.

DOMICILE ROMA: CURENT HOUSING CONDITIONS AND ROMA IDPS: PREVIOUS HOUSING CONDITIONS

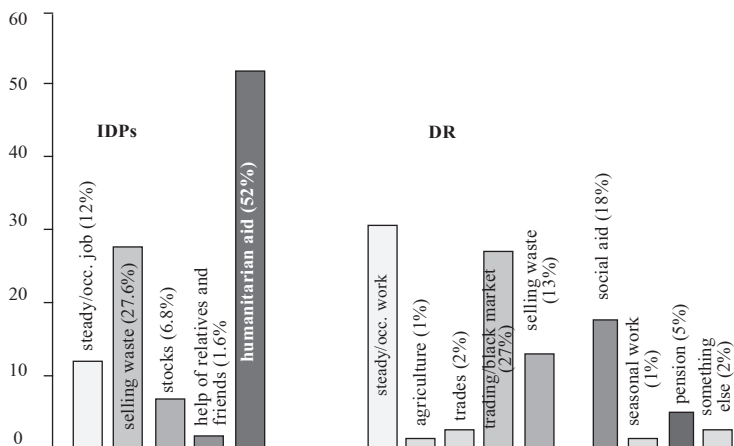


ASSESSMENT OF STATUS AND READINESS FOR ENGAGEMENT

Every second family of Roma IDPs (52%) lives on humanitarian aid which, in their own words, is increasingly scarce and brings more and more problems. Slightly over one fourth (27.6%) procures some income by selling waste, while only 12% works occasionally, and that mostly as day laborers on farms or as physical workers loading and unloading merchandise. More than a third (37.6%) say that they don't really know how they manage – an answer one would probably get from a majority of other citizens of Montenegro. Domicile population often accuses Roma IDPs for having brought with them large quantities of stolen money, gold and other valuables which they sell illegally. Such a belief increases tensions between the two

groups and enhances the anyway sharp social distance. In the interviewed IDP population, however, only two families say they live off previously acquired financial stocks. By way of comparison, domicile Roma generally subsist on permanent or temporary jobs (31%), or petty trading and black marketeering (27%).

IDPs AND DOMICILE ROMA: CURRENT SOURCE OF INCOME



As for the current status of Roma IDPs, 51% of domicile Roma judge it satisfactory, 25% bad, and 22% identical as before. almost all Roma IDPs (97%), on the contrary, say they lived much better in Kosovo, before the outbreak of armed conflicts. Slightly below one-fourth of Montenegrin respondents assess the situation of Roma IDPs after their arrival in Montenegro as worse than before; as many as 36% of these respondents claim that Roma are better off in Montenegro than they were in Kosovo. This judgment is probably derived primarily from an assessment of the conditions currently enjoyed by Roma IDPs in the newly built

Konik camp and its comparison with the situation and living conditions of domicile Roma in Montenegro. Namely, according to the data collected in a former study, barely 20% of Montenegrin Roma enjoy the benefits of civilization such as running water or electricity.³⁰

When Roma IDPs assess humanitarian aid they have been given, and for which domicile Roma envy them, slightly over a half of them (58%) are satisfied, while 42% are unsatisfied, i.e. 30% judging aid to be bad and 12% very bad.



Every second family of Roma IDPs sells foodstuffs they get as humanitarian aid occasionally or regularly. They claim these are no “surpluses” but rather they deprive themselves of food in order to get some money necessary for other needs. Slightly over a half of IDP Roma families (55.2%) have asked various humanitarian organizations for help, but just above one-third (38.8%) are satisfied with the aid they have been given.

Aid in food is generally regular (89.6%), in hygienic supplies occasional (79.6%), which also holds for clothes and shoes (71.6%), bedding (82%), and firewood (74.4%). No family reports it has never received food, while 10%

³⁰ Živorad Tasić, *Romi u Crnoj Gori – Status i perspektive (Roma in Montenegro – Status and Perspectives)*.

report it has received it occasionally. 11.2% families never got hygienic supplies, 18.8% clothes and shoes, 10% firewood. Construction material, plastic sheets etc. was never given to 66.4%³¹ of families and occasionally to 23.6%.

The interviewed IDP families complain that food is of very poor quality, that date for many foodstuffs they are given has expired, and that poisoning with food occurs.³² Blankets are sometimes full of lice. In the Konik I camp some respondents were shunning sector leaders or even their neighbors; when they made sure nobody was listening, a flood of complaints would burst out concerning the distribution of aid and various “machinations” on the part of those who distribute it. Roma are required to appear happy and content when influential persons come in for a visit, and never to complain about anything. Often they must repeat: “THANK YOU, MONTENEGRO”.³³ One gets the impression that Roma are convinced that somebody is cheating them all the time. They have the feeling that their due is being withheld from them and that “many people made fortunes at their expense”. Interestingly, one of the prejudices against Roma consists precisely of the same belief turned in the opposite direction: non-Roma are often convinced that Roma survive by cheating.

Although they complain about bad living conditions, almost every second family has done nothing to improve

³¹ This is quite understandable as most interviewed IDP families live in Konik I camp.

³² Some complaints were noted by interviewers in the questionnaires: “As aid we we get putrid food which is worth nothing” (138); “Poisoning with canned beef stew, cans not OK” (145).

³³ The refugee paper *Vrela* (1 April 2000, p. 6) writes about the visit of Ms Sadako Ogata, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, to the Roma camp Konik I and reports her words: “Thank you for your welcome. We must be very grateful to Montenegro, which received refugees from Kosovo in such large numbers.” During the interviewing, two weeks later, an interviewer wrote down (questionnaire no. 172) the following statement of an IDP: “They ask us to make a pie for a Japanese woman. A Japanese woman was supposed to come to visit us, so the officials told us to dress up, put on some make up, make a tea and bake a pie. Then we should all go into the square and say ‘Thank you, Montenegro’.”

them (45.2%). Those who have tried to do something (54.8%) have mostly worked to upgrade their housing interior, collected waste, engaged in petty trading, occasionally worked for a wage, and in just a couple of cases have put their professional skills to practice (mason, musician). Yet, interviewers' remarks concerning housing interiors testify that IDPs have really made efforts to embellish their lodgings. Over a half of the families, 64.8%, keep their living space tidy. When this percentage is compared with the assessment of their own status, where 44% judge it satisfactory, and 56% bad or very bad, we see that Roma families do strive, in accordance with their customs and culture, to keep their housing space in as good a shape as possible. The interiors are very much alike in all the interviewed families. Along the walls several large sponges are lined. During the day people sit on them, at night they sleep there. In the middle of the room there lies the *sinija* (a very short-legged round table). The family members sit on cushions with their legs crossed. (The *Madjup*, who are the most numerous among Roma IDPs, are Muslims.) Here one may perceive the influence of the Albanian cultural milieu within which they lived in Kosovo. If we recall the percentage of Roma IDPs whose mother tongue is Albanian, the conclusion is that their customs are much closer to Albanian ones than to the customs of the social environment in which they have arrived and in which they are supposed to integrate on a temporary or permanent basis.

These observations may also be confirmed by some features of house furnishing and lifestyle. Tidiness of the lodgings correlates highly with the educational level of the head of household: the higher the education, the tidier the interior, and vice-versa. Tidiness is also correlated with plans for the future. Interior turns out to be more untidy in families that have no definite plans for the future and plan to continue living off humanitarian aid. A comparison of the condition of the current housing with the place of previous residence shows another clear correlation. The households that lived in cities or *mahalas* close to the

cities have a better interior than those who lived in the country or in *mahalas* close to villages. Unfortunately, while the hygiene of the interiors of particular homes is satisfactory, the same does not hold for communal facilities and the space between the barracks. These areas are very untidy and neglected. This judgment holds particularly for the extremely unhygienic and inhumane living conditions of displaced families in Nikšić. An example from the Konik I camp: in winter, the doors on communal toilets in Konik I camp placed during the day would disappear during the night, because somebody would take them away to burn them as firewood. This was repeated several times. In Nikšić the situation is even worse. There toilets are often completely absent.

Roma IDPs say they are willing and ready to offer a personal contribution to the improvement of their living conditions (67.2%) but have not done so thus far. They are also willing to accept a loan for improving their living conditions. They say they would accept “any” sort of work (probably because they are not sure which job they could perform properly). Among specific choices, cleaning jobs are mentioned 11 times, construction work 9, physical labor and working for a wage 6, particular trades 3, while 44 people say there is nothing they could do.

WHAT ARE THE GRAVEST PROBLEMS?

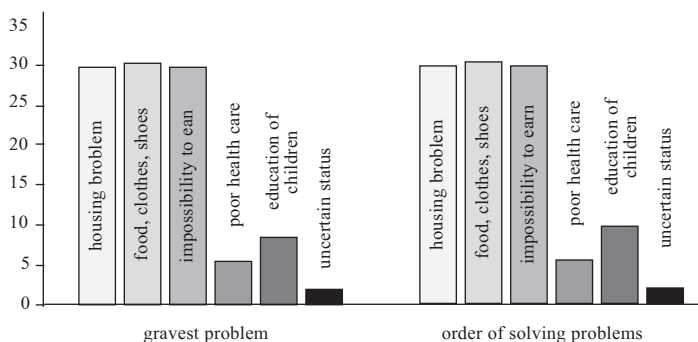
Asked to single out the gravest problem(s) in the multitude of difficulties they are facing Roma IDPs most often complain about bad housing conditions (81 replies), loss of property (59), bad food (45), impossibility to use electricity (42), unemployment (34), loss of their native place (32), lack of money (29), not being accepted by their new milieu, war and bombing, death in family. Their current living conditions have been divided into several parameters, so that the problems could be defined as concretely as possible. The problem of housing space is mentioned in the first place (41.6% as first choice), followed by lack of

food, clothes and shoes (27.6%), and impossibility to earn money (26.8%). These three conditions are all mutually connected and it is virtually impossible to say which of them is the most difficult, because all of them are rated as first three in over 90% of cases.

Table 3. – What is the gravest problem? (the average of first three replies in rating)

	Roma IDPs		Domicile Roma		Montenegrins	
	gravest problem	redosled rešavanja	order of problem	order of solving	gravest problem	order of solving
Housing space	30,13	29,73	38%	39%	27%	28%
Food, clothes and shoes	30,80	30,53	22%	20%	17%	20%
Lack of opportunity to earn money	30,00	29,2	21%	19,5%	18%	22%
Poor health care	4,80	5,33	8,33%	7,67%	19%	18%
Education of children	8,17	9,23	10,33%	13,67%		
Uncertain status	2,13	1,73	11%	10,67%	16%	8%

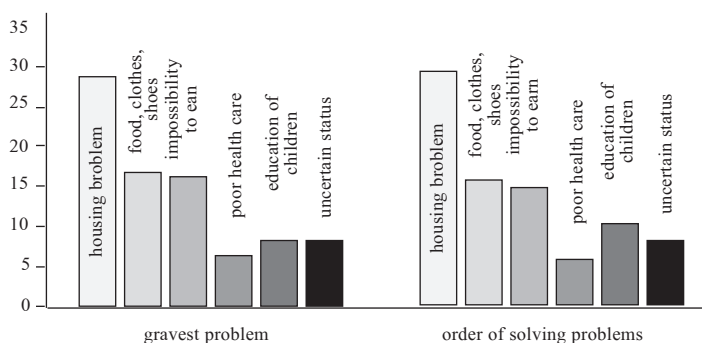
ROMA IDPs: GRAVEST PROBLEM AND ORDER OF SOLVING PROBLEMS



Housing problem is felt to be the gravest by subtenants. Among families accommodated in the barracks the rating of the housing space as a problem does not depend on the size of family. More than a third of heads of household who rate housing as the worst problem (39.2% ranking it I, II or III)

have not tried to improve their living conditions. Loan as a way to solve the housing problem is acceptable for 49% of those who rate this problem first or second. The “problem” of food, clothes and shoes also does not depend on the number of family members. It is strange nevertheless that food rates so high, since aid in food, in their own words, comes regularly and is often sold in the market. As many as 42% of the total of 45.6% of respondents assessing humanitarian aid as satisfactory rate the problem of food, clothes and shoes as first, second or third. Lack of opportunity to earn money is rated among the first three problems. These are generally precisely those respondents who plan to do anything in the future in order to feed their family. This problem is also experienced as the gravest by people who held steady or temporary jobs in Kosovo. Health care is rated fourth, education of children comes fifth, while uncertain legal status is relegated to the lowest position by more than a half of the respondents (52.8%).

DOMICILE ROMA: GRAVEST PROBLEM AND ORDER OF SOLVING PROBLEMS



Testing the feelings of solidarity and empathy, and subjective assessments of Roma IDPs on the readiness of their social environment to help them has yielded some interesting results. When in distress and beset by a problem, Roma IDPs most frequently turn to the INTERSOS humanitarian organization (66 replies), 61 to a neighbor,

23 to the camp “president”, 20 to sector leaders,³⁴ own family 16, while 17 respondents say they have no one to turn to for help. As this question was open-ended, some respondents (63) gave no answer.

Roma are known to be prone to giving socially desirable answers. Thus they say the family’s future is more secure if children go to school (87.6%). The remaining 13.4% do not educate their children because they are poor, don’t speak the language, children won’t go to school, while prejudices against Roma are cited as the reason in 2% of cases. These figures would be encouraging if they referred to regular schools. However, all the children here attend schools specially organized for them, whose character is entertaining rather than educational. The programs have been designed specially for this population and can be considered attempts at spreading literacy among young Roma rather than systematic education. Children are offered three subjects daily, 35 minutes each. In April, at the moment of interviewing, this form of education was taking place in the barracks built for that purpose, while last autumn it was organized in the “Božidar Vuković” elementary school in Konik. The program ran from September 1999 to January 2000 and included over 100 children aged 7 to 12. The idea of the Ministry of Education of Montenegro was to include these children into regular schools starting with February 2000. However, only two pupils continued to go school and were included in the regular curriculum. In the same school a basic literacy course was organized during the winter term for more than 700 Roma aged 10-25. The length and number of classes here again had to be adjusted to Roma habits. Classes lasted for 35 minutes instead of the regular 45, while the recess had

³⁴ The respondents recognize INTERSOS as the organization they trust the most, which is not surprising given the large number of interviewed families in the Konik I camp, and that they have had most contacts with representatives of this organization. Deprived groups often conformistically prefer to rely on institutional help and support rather than on individuals.

to be abolished because many pupils would simply walk away and go home. Often the only motive to attend this school is the aid distributed by humanitarian organizations.

Families sending their children to school get school supplies (61.6%), but it must be kept in mind that 31.2% of families do not have school-age children or do not send their children to school. In school, children often get clothes and shoes, although parents complain the sizes are usually inadequate.

Domicile population is nearly fully informed about the arrival of Roma IDPs (just 2% are uninformed). Montenegrins consider inadequate accommodation to be the gravest problem faced by Roma IDPs (27.3%), followed by poor health care (19%), lack of opportunity to earn money (18%), bad food, clothes and shoes (17%), and finally uncertain legal status (16%). Verbal statements of interviewed heads of households concerning health care are so phrased as to imply that poor hygiene of the conditions Roma live in may result in an epidemics of jaundice and any other contagious disease. Non-Roma population of Montenegro sees the poor living conditions of Roma IDPs primarily as something that threatens them. These respondents live in fear of epidemics, of poor hygiene habits of Roma, of pressure on the infrastructure – water supply, electricity and traffic networks.

For Montenegrin respondents, the first problem to be solved is ensuring elementary housing built of solid materials (28.6%), ensuring the opportunity to earn an income comes second (22%), ensuring food, clothes and shoes comes third (20%), and finally health care (18%) and achieving legal status (8%). Like in attitude and relation toward Roma, around the issue of support to and participation in implementation of programs helping Roma IDPs there is ambivalence. The support is relatively high (63%), but when it comes to participation in the implementation of programs and being actors in the process, Montenegrins again distance themselves, in the same percentage (63%).

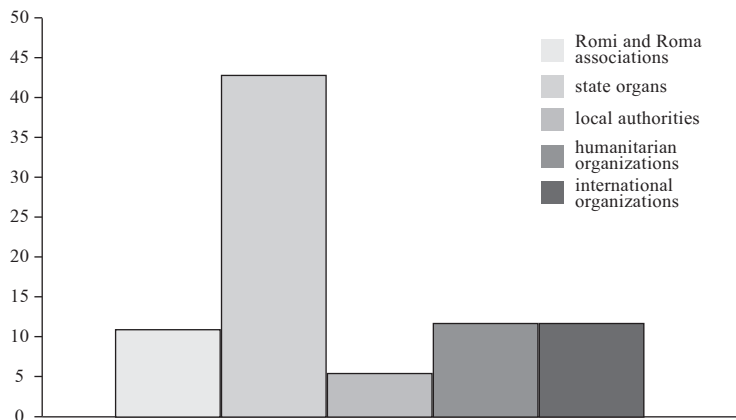
WHO CAN AND SHOULD HELP

Go solve the problems of Roma, take them
somewhere far away, as far as possible from us.

(MN, questionnaire 20)

In the opinion of Montenegrin citizens, the most responsible for solving problems of Roma IDPs are state organs (44%), and local authorities (4%), or “those who brought them here”, as many of them said in the interview. They stress very often that what is at stake here are short-term interests of the state which, thanks to Roma and aid they are given by humanitarian organizations, at once “buys” social peace of its own population which gets a portion of this aid. Not infrequently they address sharp criticisms to the President of the Republic Milo Djukanović with the message that he should take them to his own house.

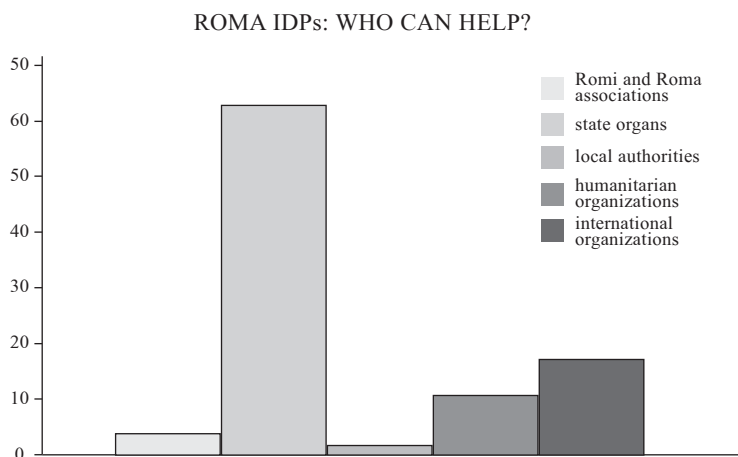
MONTENEGRINS: WHO CAN HELP?



Humanitarian and international organizations may play a positive role in solving the problems of Roma IDPs (24%). The least frequent answer among Montenegrins is that Roma can help themselves (11%), while 14% have no opinion on the issue. In a high percentage, they judge the aid given to Roma IDPs in Montenegro as very good and

satisfactory (76%). They consider themselves as individuals not capable of solving the problems of Roma IDPs: just 2% think they could help, while 97% say they do not wish to do so or have never thought about that. This indifference of non-Roma population may be interpreted by reference to the increasingly bad living conditions over the past ten years. Average citizens of Montenegro are actually unable to solve successfully even their own vital problems.

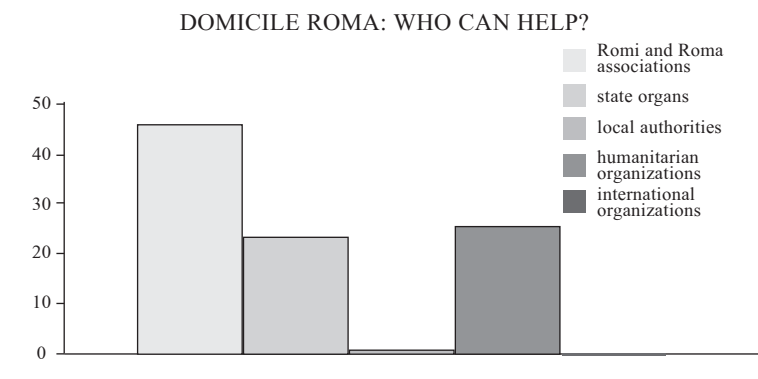
Interestingly, when answering the questions related to problems of Roma IDPs the respondents very often (up to 42%) choose the answer “I don’t know”, which indicates an attitude of indifference and lack of understanding among Montenegrins for problems faced by Roma IDPs. This is one more proof that close territorial proximity can sometimes enhance social distance.



Generally, what Montenegrins can do, according to their own verbal statements, is not to make the already difficult position of Roma IDPs even worse by their attitude, to be more hospitable, not to humiliate them, and possibly to offer help in food, clothes and shoes. Such positive thoughts were very few. All others speak of their own difficult situation and how they are afraid of poor hygiene among Roma. They say resignedly: “We’d rather sell out

everything and let them have the whole Konik”, or “We’d rather help them pack and go back to where they came from”, etc. In Nikšić the situation is similar.

Thus, the problems are elementary, existential. Such problems are concomitant to every exile and displacement. Therefore the questions of who can efficiently or who should solve the existential problems of Roma IDPs emerge as very important. To these questions the three subsamples answer differently. Domicile Roma think in 46% that the accumulated problems of displaced persons should be solved by Roma themselves and their associations,³⁵ in 26% humanitarian organizations, and in 24% the host state. The distribution of replies among Roma IDPs is considerably different: 62% of respondents think that the host state should solve problems arising from exile.



³⁵ Roma associations, particularly internationally based ones, have actually tried to contribute, within the limited scope of their possibilities, to a more serious consideration of the difficult situation of Kosovo Roma, both in Kosovo and in exile. Arousing international public consciousness was the aim of the Balkan Roma Conference for Peace and Security held in Sofia, 18-19 June 1999, where dramatic testimonies of exiled Kosovo Roma on the abuses they had suffered from revengeful Kosovar Albanians were heard, and a set of conclusions and warnings was formulated and addressed to the relevant international factors. The immediate fruit of that effort was the joint OSCE/ODIHR-Council of Europe field mission on the situation of Roma in Kosovo that took place in July-August 1999. The Mission gained precise insights into the situation and offered guidelines for the international factors on how to alleviate it; unfortunately, practical effects were virtually nil.

MUTUAL RELATIONS

“We’re not racist, but they must go”,
Barske novine, May 2000

SOCIAL DISTANCE

Studying stereotypes is one of the ways to explore the attitude towards marginal ethnic groups such as Roma. Avoidance of contacts, manifest or latent social distance indicates that an ethnic group is not accepted. In this research social distance has been measured through variables of place of residence, readiness to offer help in distress, attitude towards the education of children and with a modified Bogardus scale. The relations were examined in a twofold perspective, from domicile Roma and non-Roma Montenegrin citizens towards Roma IDPs, and vice-versa. A Yugoslav social psychologist writes: “By social distance Bogardus (1925) meant various degrees of feeling of intimacy felt by members of a social group towards members of other social groups of the same kind. The first studies, as well as most subsequent ones, concerned assessments of mutual distance felt by members of some ethnic groups towards members of other ethnic groups.”³⁶

A half of interviewed heads of household in Roma IDP families would marry a Montenegrin (50.8%), the other half say they would prefer not to marry Montenegrins. Interestingly, the

³⁶ Nenad Havelka, *Socijalna percepcija (Social Perception)*, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Belgrade 1992, str. 206.

idea of marriage with a Montenegrin is more acceptable for those with incomplete elementary school or with no school. Heads of household with complete elementary school or a trade in a majority would not marry a Montenegrin. Almost all those who choose Montenegro as a place to live would accept marriage with domicile population, unlike those who would prefer to go back to Kosovo and who reject this sort of relation. They are very willing, in over 90%, to be friends, neighbors, colleagues, subordinates, fellow townsmen and fellow citizens with Montenegrins.

The views expressed by domicile Roma concerning their cooperation with Montenegrins are very similar to those given by Roma IDPs. All the interviewed (100%) manifest readiness to associate with them, and in high and identical percentages to live with them in the same neighborhood and work in the same firm. But to the question of marrying a Montenegrin 44% of the respondents answered affirmatively, while 56% was against. That is, when it comes to a relation which presupposes the investment of much human energy and highest degree of intimacy and trust, domicile Roma manifest clear barriers and negative attitudes. In this case their answers may be assumed to be more honest. "Roma shall not easily assent to giving their daughters to families of another nationality", said Sejdo Selimović from Podgorica: "No one group likes its blood to be spoilt; we Roma are no different."³⁷

In contrast to Roma – either domicile and displaced – Montenegrins manifested their need for keeping social distance by selecting the kinds of relations which they are ready to establish with Roma. Almost all respondents (97%) say they would not marry a Rom. 59% do not want Roma friends, 57% Roma neighbors, and 61% Roma superiors at work. In the study *Roma in Montenegro – Status and Perspectives* authored by Živorad Tasić³⁸ 50% respon-

³⁷ See Lutovac, *Op.cit.*, p. 94.

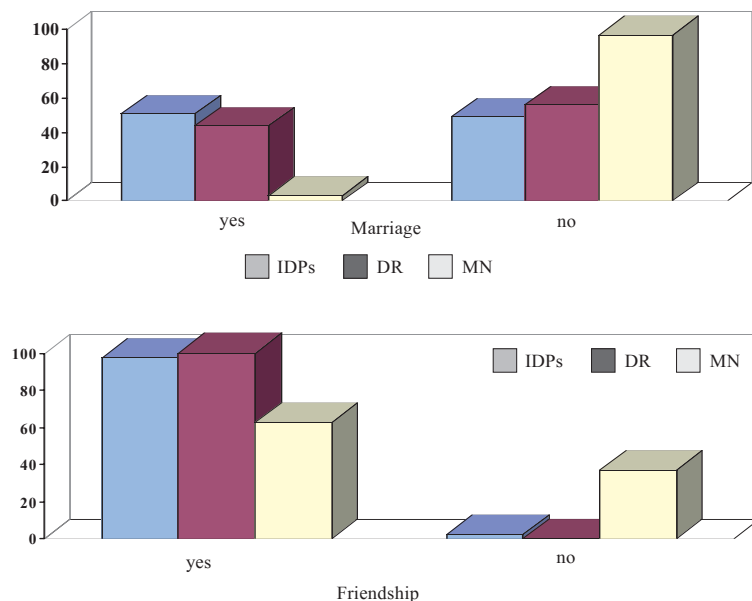
³⁸ See Živorad Tasić, *Romi u Crnoj Gori – Status i perspektive (Roma in Montenegro – Status and Perspectives.)*

dents were willing to accept Roma as neighbors, 60% would not mind if their children sat with a Roma child at school, while 62% “simply feel revulsion towards the very idea of marriage or any similar relation with Roma”. The relations that are more formal and not requiring more profound personal contacts are more acceptable. Thus 63% of respondents said they would work with Roma in the same firm, slightly more than three-fourths (78%) would accept them as fellow townspeople, while living together in the same state is acceptable for 87% of respondents. But it is very discouraging to learn that a majority of respondents who would live together with Roma in the same state do not wish their integration in Montenegrin society (69%). An overwhelming majority of the interviewed domicile population think that Roma should live in their *mahalas* (85%). Interestingly, an identical percentage of Roma IDPs share the same opinion. Obviously, what we have here is social distance toward a different social group, but Roma are aware that “others” do not accept them, so that they “choose” their isolation. Isolation in which Roma have always lived seems to have prevented their merging into majority peoples living around them, since the *ghetto system* implies also an isolated way of life.

Slightly less than one-third of non-Roma respondents (30%) are willing to cooperate with Roma; in a roughly similar percentage (35%) they judge Roma to be willing to cooperate with them. The attitude of domicile population towards Roma IDPs may best be summarized in a phrase of an interviewee: “With all due respect, they should go to where they came from”. Such an attitude towards Roma was more pronounced in families that live in immediate neighborhood, both in Podgorica and in Nikšić. Generally, social distance can grow into open hostility, as described by an expert on the topic, Nikola Rot: “If there was antagonism, which very easily emerges between our group and the other one, then not only a judgment of differences and feeling of distance but also the feeling of hostility arises. In this case we ascribe bad intentions towards our own

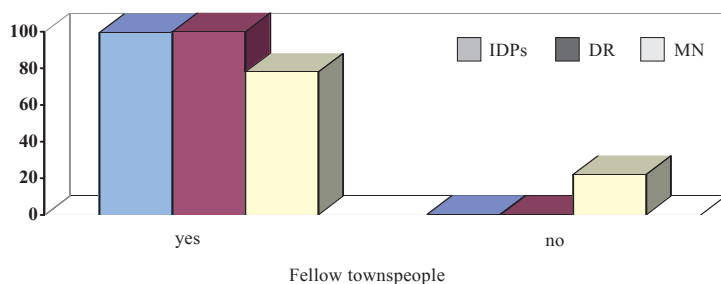
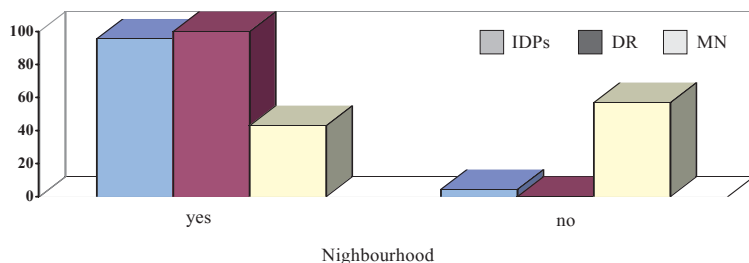
group to other groups, and negative characteristics to their members.”³⁹ The negative attitude towards Roma and the presence of social distance are factors that must be taken with utmost seriousness in considering the possibilities for integration of Roma, because the data suggest these factors are very unfavorable.

The Montenegrin society ascribes itself a high “differential evaluative advantage” in comparison with other groups in society. Such a self-evaluation is connected with higher closure and isolation from communication. Therefore it is not surprising that they display a rather structured and recognizable distance towards Roma which are a traditionally labelled group with usually negative traits.⁴⁰



³⁹ Nikola Rot, *Psihologija grupa (Group Psychology)*, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Belgrade 1999, p. 67.

⁴⁰ See also Mirjana Vasović, “Karakteristike grupnih identiteta i odnos prema društvenim promenama u javnom mnjenju Srbije” (“Characteristics of Group Identities and Attitude to Social Change in Serbian Public Opinion”), collection of papers *Javno mnjenje Srbije, op.cit.*, p. 18.



ASSESSMENT OF TRAITS

When asked about character traits of Roma IDPs, domicile Roma expressed themselves in positive terms, as illustrated by the following answers: 70% of them agree that Roma IDPs are hospitable, just 2% disagree; 63% partially agree they are hardworking, just 14% disagree; 64% of domicile Roma partially agree that Roma IDPs have an understanding for them; 56% partially agree that Roma IDPs are not selfish.

It is very important to compare these views expressed by domicile Roma with opinions of Roma IDPs about domicile population. Roma IDPs in 54.8% completely agree that the locals are hospitable, 43.2% partially agree with the view that they are selfish, 40.8% partially agrees they do not notice Roma, 60% that they do not like Roma very much, while 90% agree that they are hardworking.

Table 4. – Assessment of traits

	Roma o IDPs on Montenegrins						Domicile Roma N=%			Montenegrins on Roma N=%		
	da*		pa		ca		da	pa	ca	da	pa	ca
	N	%	N	%	N	%						
Hospitable	39	15.6	73	29.2	137	54.8	2	70	27	14	48	37
Hard-working	25	10.0	111	44.4	113	45.2	14	62	23	52	24	23
Don't like us	99	39.6	83	33.2	67	26.8	63	30	6	25	45	27
Understand us	61	24.4	102	40.8	86	34.4	7	64	28	38	42	19
Selfish	89	56.0	108	33	52	10.0	36	43	21	37	23	39
Don't notice us	98	35.6	102	40.8	58	23.2	55	40	4	36	30	33

* da= disagree; pa=partially agree; ca= completely agree

Three-fourths of the respondents (78%) hold Roma to be lazy and irresponsible, and attribute the failure of Roma children in school equally to lack of motivation (26%), unfamiliarity with the language and culture of the majority Montenegrin population (26%), and in laziness and irresponsibility (22%). Among Montenegrins there is a high degree of agreement that Roma are hospitable (85% completely and partially agree). 60% of the respondents agree that Roma are selfish, and 72% that they don't like domicile population. 63% of Montenegrin respondents believe that the displaced Roma don't even notice them. Among those judging that Roma do not like them 88.7% say they have no social relations with Roma. Obviously we find a stereotype here. Still, 38% of the respondents believe that Roma understand the problems of domicile population.

As can be seen, the image of Roma is not one-sided. Montenegrin citizens ascribe them both positive and negative traits, although negative ones prevail. In seeking to understand this problem, the following remark of Nenad Havelka may be helpful: "How each one of us will

'unpack' the categorial affiliation of a person depends on many circumstances. First of all, it depends on our own categorial identification. We see the categories that we ourselves belong to in one way, other categories in another. These other categories may be well known to us, close and acceptable, but also unfamiliar, distant and unacceptable."⁴¹ The question is whether these negative attitudes of Montenegrin respondents are a matter of prejudice or rather represent a realistic judgment. Milutin Prokić seems to be right when he claims that "Roma are not present in the awareness of the average citizen as a problem of this society, i.e. as the category of people who suffer the gravest hardships of daily life."⁴² Yet it cannot be denied that these attitudes and prejudices, no matter how realistic they are, may have an adverse influence on the social position of Roma IDPs, on the one hand, and on the overall course of their integration into Montenegrin society, on the other.

Verbal statements of Montenegrins give a different picture⁴³. Namely, most respondents speak of people living together in these regions over the centuries, of their grandparents and ancestors who had settled there and about tolerant inter-ethnic relations and all that used to make their life normal.

⁴¹ Nenad Havelka, *Socijalna percepcija (Social Perception)*, p. 204.

⁴² Milutin Prokić, „Socijalno ekonomske karakteristike Roma u Jugoslaviji“, in: *Razvitak Roma u Jugoslaviji – Problemi i tendencije*, SANU, Belgrade 1992, p. 112. The author rightly asks whether "there are any prospects for Roma in the present times, in a society which is itself weary, which has reached the end of its tether morally and materially", and concludes: "Roma have neither strength nor will to move more quickly up from the bottom where they currently are." *Ibid*, pp. 112-113.

⁴³ See also Edit Petrović, „Stereotipije o romskim zanimanjima i zanimanja Roma“(“Stereotypes and Reality of Roma Occupations“), in: *Društvene promene i položaj Roma*, SANU – Institut za socijalnu politiku, Belgrade 1993, pp. 140-147, especially the following point: „Regardless of the fact that 'our Gypsies' have been formally accepted, in Montenegro a very strong distance of Montenegrins toward Roma can be noticed that has developed precisely on the basis of Roma occupations. This is visible in the contemptuous attitude of Montenegrins toward various trades which are held to be the lowest form of human work – to work for others, to serve others.“ *Ibid*, pp. 143-144.

INTERGROUP DYNAMICS

Roma IDPs consider their relations with domicile population as very good in 53.6% and satisfactory in 33.2%. Only 13.2% of respondents say these relations are bad or very bad. Although they perceive relations as good, they are aware that domicile population cannot do much to help them. 24.4% of Roma IDPs are convinced that domicile population do not understand them. About one-fourth of interviewed families also think that it is be realistic to expect from domicile population to give them at least what they don't need and to understand their difficulties.

The research has shown that in this respect as well there is inconsistency in verbal statements of interviewed Roma and a gap between verbal statements and practical actions. Namely, 49% of all interviewed domicile Roma say they are ready to help Roma IDPs. Their readiness manifests mostly in giving aid in food or clothes, possibly in receiving IDPs in their house for a short period of time. Verbal statements and practical behavior, however, often diverge widely. The verbally expressed readiness of 49% of interviewed domicile Roma to help Roma IDPs fails to assume a concrete form even in responding to such questions as: "What can domicile population do to help solve the problems of Roma IDPs?" Here the most frequent answers are: "nothing", "little", "very little", "they can barely do anything", "almost nothing". Some answers go so far as to reflect a strongly negative attitude: "Nothing, we also need help", "Nothing, we don't have enough even for ourselves", "Nothing, except to chase them back to their places of origin", "We don't have enough for us". However, the most frequent statistically are the previously cited replies saying there is nothing that can be done or that the respondents don't know what could be done, etc. All this suggests that domicile Roma are inclined to distance themselves from the problems of their displaced compatriots. Among those who do think that help is possible the most frequently cited forms of help are clothes, shoes, food, or "giving them a room to stay". There are

also some rather interesting answers, such as “We can help them find seasonal work”, “Their hosts should be relieved of paying utility bills”, “We should understand their problems and give them support”. Some answers assume an altruistic tone, for example “I would give them everything I have”, “We should share with them all that is ours”.

A certain tension between displaced and domicile Roma, and even between different groups within Roma IDP population itself, may be accounted for by broad internal differences regardless of the fact of belonging to the same people, culture, and race. Their mutual disagreements that often assume the character of serious conflicts are rather a part of everyday folklore, manifested in heightened voices etc. Domicile population ascribes high criminality rates to Roma.⁴⁴

Help was most frequently offered to relatives among the displaced who came from Kosovo (57% of total number). Of this percentage, relatives-hosts received and accommodated in their houses 35.9% of their relatives from Kosovo. The others probably forgot about their kin. Hospitality was shown mostly by those domicile Roma who own houses and barracks. The interviewers noted that a family (questionnaire no. 33) received in their house the host's brother, with his ten children, then in another case (questionnaire no. 72) they hosted the host's uncle, etc. However, in these relations conflicts and misunderstandings broke out very soon. An interviewer wrote down a statement of an interviewed domicile Rom: “They live better than we do! It is us who has problems – not them. Send them back to Kosovo”. “We had displaced relatives in our house. We didn't have what to eat, they were getting

⁴⁴ This is simply not true. According to one source, the delinquency of Roma population in Nikšić since 1990 has ranged about 1%, which is below the rate for non-Roma population. The percentage has not risen even after the outbreak of armed conflicts in Kosovo and arrival of Roma IDPs. Roma most often perpetrate crimes of theft or robbery which are in most cases related to difficult living conditions and lack of opportunity to procuring the necessary goods in some other way.

everything but didn't give to my children." Beyond any doubt such situations were to a great extent generated by the objectively bad material condition of the hosts and lack of sensibility at both sides in such situations. The ensuing conflicts have been as it were inevitable.

Domicile Roma assess their own attitude toward Roma IDPs as satisfactory in 87%, and as bad in not more than 4%. Just how bad this attitude can be is most vividly illustrated by an example from the Stari Bar Local Community, Municipality of Bar, to be presented here. This community is mainly inhabited by Roma. The leadership of the community has articulated attitudes and opinions of its inhabitants, and these verge on racial segregation. In the local media (*Radio Bar* and *Barske novine*) the non-Roma president of the local community, a medical doctor, speaking about the problems they face, said: "They walk **our** streets, speaking a language unintelligible for us. They urinate and defecate anywhere, **our** streets stink, in them there is no longer place for the old-time citizens of Stari Bar. Today, they are in Stari Bar, tomorrow they will bathe at **our** beaches, stroll in Topolica, steal in Polje, **their** children – bad-mannered, wild, full of lice, sick – will go to **our** school. Roma of Albanian nationality are well known for being carriers of various diseases, jaundice, typhus, tuberculosis and meningitis..."⁴⁵

⁴⁵ *Barske novine*, No. 165/2000, May 2000, p. 10. Such an opinion was turned into an official petition demanding the eviction of Roma IDPs from this community, sent to the Prime Minister of Montenegro, Municipal Commissioner for Displaced Persons, President of the Municipality of Bar, presidents of the Republican and Municipal Commissions for Displaced Persons. As already said, this local community is inhabited mainly by Roma, and numerous displaced Roma sought refuge there because they felt an urge to live in a Roma *mahala*, which Stari Bar precisely is. They probably never dreamed of encountering such a "welcome" in a Roma *mahala*.

In the words of the Municipal Commissioner, the UNHCR and the ARC have reconstructed 100 houses owned by the domicile population, investing 120,000 DEM in the undertaking, in order to move in Kosovo Roma IDPs. Of this amount 80,000 DEM was given directly to the owners of the houses and to IDPs, while 40,000 was given to the community enterprise *Municipal services* in Bar to cover the costs of water supply and construction

Among Roma IDPs there are no manifestly expressed negative attitudes towards domicile population. The Bar example notwithstanding, the conclusion seems reasonable that it is possible to establish good relations between domicile and displaced Roma populations. All the more so if one takes into account that the interviewed domicile Roma in 92% of cases believe Roma IDPs to be willing to associate with them, while 82% of the interviewed domicile Roma are willing to associate with the displaced.

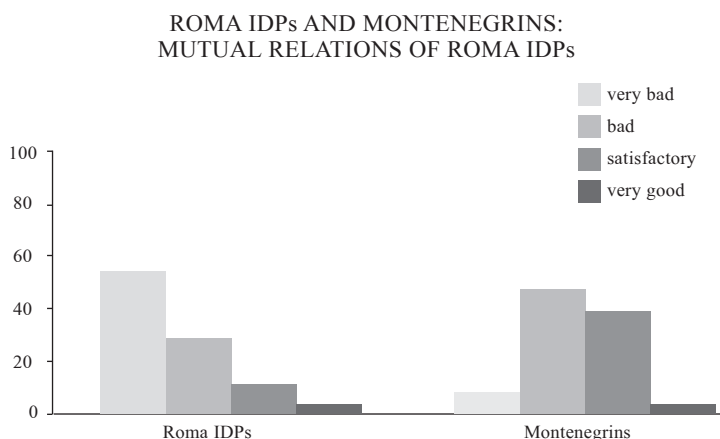
In contrast, most interviewed families of Roma IDPs judge their mutual relations as good (84%) while the remaining 15.6% consider them bad or very bad. They cite frequent quarrels inside the settlement between the *Madjup*, the *Gabelj* and the Egyptians. It happens sometimes that somebody throws a snake to the house of another. A few families have been moved to the Konik II camp precisely because of frequent conflicts. They say the police turns a blind eye to their fights. Some say that it is better in prison – it is safer and, what is more, there is electricity.

The opinion that among the interviewed domicile Roma there is no willingness to accept Roma IDPs can probably be taken as the attitude of the population. They do not accept integration of displaced Roma in their milieu, i.e. their country.

There are good reasons to assume that the habitual course of life and relations were disturbed by the arrival of Roma from Kosovo. As domicile respondents say, they took their liberty away, their children cannot move freely around and go to school, Kosovo Roma destroy and spoil their farms, they steal, an unpleasant smell spreads around them (they burn plastic, clothes, shoes), they break street lights, they make noise at night. The water supply system

of the main sewer for the whole local community. “Then, they didn’t mind the presence of displaced Roma, and now...”, says Municipal Commissioner. How far this resistance may go is well shown by a statement of a domicile Rom who demanded the local Security Center “... to increase the presence of police patrols in Stari Bar, because of the refugees”. Is it possible to speak or think about integration of Roma IDPs in this community?

of the Roma settlement is connected to the water supply they have built with their personal contributions, say the inhabitants of Omerbozovici. In conversations with the locals, very often one could hear the sentence: “Either us or them”. Some families seriously ponder the idea of selling their houses at much lower prices just in order to “preserve their family peace”, as they say. For some respondents, there is a political background to the decision to move Roma in: they say it is state policy aimed at mingling Albanians and Roma, although the locals know that Roma were collaborating with Serbs in Kosovo and “marking” Albanian houses (words of an interviewee from the Omerbožovići village).



Among those who consider relations between Montenegrins and Roma bad or very bad, an overwhelming majority (81.5%) are not ready to help, and almost all (92.5%) think that Roma IDPs should not stay in Montenegro. We can only assume that in the former case by attitude they meant opinion, and by relation contact, so that they classified as positive attitudes those situations where there are no relations. In the social climate prevail-

ing in the territory of Yugoslavia for the past ten years, by “good” one means any relations which is relieved of overt conflicts. It is also possible that what we have here is the difference between formal and substantial, theoretical and practical, what should be and what is, or perhaps the need of Montenegrins to present themselves as positive and good hosts, because for them it is a question of honor.

Slightly more than a half (53%) of non-Roma Montenegrin citizens think that Roma in general ought not to be treated as second-order citizens, almost a third (30%) think there is sometimes a reason for this, while 16% really do not see them as equals. Yet, among those for whom Roma are not second-order citizens there are very many respondents (71.7%) who would not let their child go to a class where more than a half of the pupils are Roma children. Among them also over a half (54.7%) think that Roma should be buried on a separate Roma cemetery. This, of course, brings into question the credibility of their statements that Roma ought not to be treated as second-order citizens.

In 86% of cases domicile Roma are satisfied with how Roma IDPs have been received by the domicile population, but to the question of whether they would like to change places with these displaced persons who are allegedly so well received as many as 77% reply negatively, while just 8% would like to do so. Another argument in favor of the hypothesis that domicile Roma basically do know the position of Roma IDPs to be extremely difficult is that 77% of them would not change places with them, though in a high percentage (51%) they say their position is better now than it was in Kosovo. To this question domicile Roma answer most frequently as follows: “I wouldn’t like to suffer as refugees do”, “Their life is not easy either”, “I wouldn’t like to be in their shoes”, “My situation is not rosy, but anyway I wouldn’t like to change places with them”, “No, I prefer to stay as I am”, “No, I was born here, and they came and made our city ugly”, “I wouldn’t like to go to war”. Only a couple of respondents

say they would like to change places and these answers may be interpreted as a sign of protest: “Yes, I would like to change places with them, they don’t work at all and get everything and then sell it”, “Yes, they live better, they get aid”, “Yes, they get much more than we do”. Moreover, the negative attitudes of domicile Roma toward Roma IDPs from Kosovo go as far as accusing them of undermining the reputation of Roma in general: “They are discrediting us. They go beg in the streets. We are ashamed because of them. We never did that. Because of them people seem to look at us differently as well” (Questionnaire no. 60).

When non-Roma Montenegrin population assess their personal attitude and relation toward Roma IDPs, contradictions may easily be noticed. Two-thirds of non-Roma Montenegrin citizens consider their attitude towards Roma very good or satisfactory (65%), and one-third (more precisely, 35%) bad or very bad. When it comes though to the perception of this relation the situation changes. Only 29% judges the relation of domicile population towards Roma as good or very good, 32% think it is bad or very bad, and as many as 39% say they have no social relations with Roma at all. Mutual relations of Roma IDPs are not exemplary, in the opinion of Montenegrins: 56% think they very good or good, while 44% say they are bad or very bad.

That non-Roma Montenegrin citizens want to keep Roma “aside” and “not to have much to do” with them is well illustrated by the data that as many as three-fourths of respondents (74%) would not send their child to the school where more than a half of pupils are Roma children. Moreover, 80.8% among them consider integration of Roma in the Montenegrin impossible. To support this view the interviewees cite that their children now attend an Albanian-language school, while before Kosovo Roma came they went to a Serbian-language school, which was more suitable for them. Namely, the way to the Serbian-language school in Konik goes just by the verge of the Roma settlement. 70% of respondents would let their child go to school and class where just a couple of pupils are

Roma.⁴⁶ The negative attitudes of non-Roma Montenegrin population are sometimes so powerful, so full of rage and hatred, that they call Roma IDPs “human trash”: “They have disturbed even our dreams! They’d better stay out of our way! They should be chased back as soon as possible, so that they don’t show their face around here ever again. And those who allowed them to come here should go away together with them. After they arrived the only thing we’re not short of is junk and villainy (questionnaire MN 57). This is not merely a racist stance or the xenophobic syndrome: the evidence may be found in the fact that in the circumstances of devastated infrastructure some people desperately announce their houses to be on sale at prices far below the real value because they want to move to another part of the city.⁴⁷

Montenegrin citizens agree that Roma ask just for a kind word, some respect, to get what others do not need, and to be helped to earn some money. Displaced Roma, however, claim that domicile population is not ready to do even that much. They also think that domicile population is not ready to accept them as equal citizens. This by no means is to say that they do not get along with the locals. On the contrary, 86.8% Roma IDPs consider their relations with Montenegrin citizens good.

⁴⁶ For these views the researchers were unable to get confirmation at the “Božidar Vuković” elementary school, to which these children tend. The principal, professor Rajko Lukić, informed the researchers that no parent has filed for, or has been granted an “official certificate for transfer to another school” which is a prerequisite in the official procedure of moving pupils from one school to another.

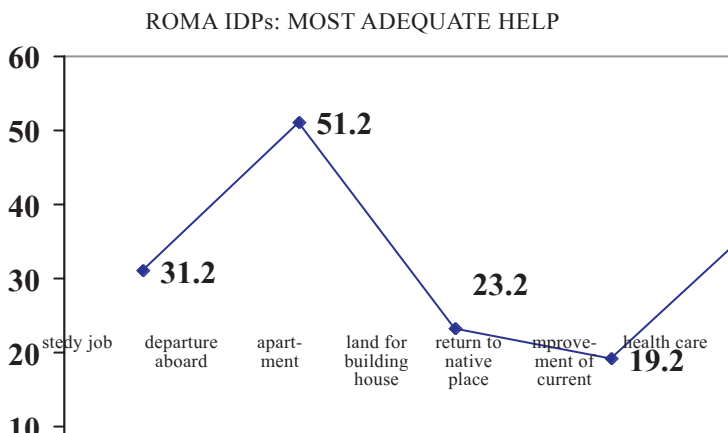
⁴⁷ If the statement of a respondent (questionnaire MN 87) who says “I have put my house on sale because I can no longer live with this human trash” may be taken as racist, the same cannot be said of another family (questionnaire MN 72) that is selling its house valued at 200,000 DEM for 100,000 DEM.

EXPECTATIONS AND PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

Roma are a people always exuding optimism. Displaced Roma have obviously had many hard experiences which have taught them to adopt the posture of reserved optimism – but optimism all the same. Considerably more than a half of them (64.4%) think that, in spite of all, their family is going to be better off. In order to make the situation better here and now, they suggest that solid-material housing be ensured first.

Probably they remember very vividly the wind that was carrying tents and are afraid that something like that might happen with the barracks, too. Also, they are constantly in fear of fire. For this they really have much reason, since the barracks built for them have no chimneys.⁴⁸ In the order of solving the problems, opportunity to earn money takes second place. Sufficient quantities of food, clothes and shoes come third, followed by health care, education of children and finally achieving legal status by getting personal documents. Some Roma think that in the current conditions no substantial improvements are really possible. What they consider the most adequate help is shown on the following table.

⁴⁸ The tragic event when a several month old infant died in fire along with the barracks and everything inside has already been mentioned. Fire was frequent when they lived in tents as well. Thus on one occasion about 50 tents set at Konik were burned down in a fire.



In sum, Roma think that the most adequate form of help would be to help them go abroad or back to Kosovo. As neither of these options is feasible at the moment, employment and apartment are attractive. Interestingly, none of the interviewed who suggest improvement of current conditions wishes to stay in Montenegro, but instead want to return to Kosovo or go abroad. The almost identical result was gained to the question concerning preferred place of permanent settlement. Nearly a half (48.4%) hope to settle permanently in foreign countries. Of this number 36.8% place the problem of impossibility to earn money on one of the first three positions. Roughly the same percentage (32.8%) of interviewees without any school or with incomplete elementary school also wish to go abroad. A slightly lower percentage of the interviewed – 36.8% – would like to go back to Kosovo, if preconditions for this are met. Interestingly, these are mostly people with skills, who had acquired some property in Kosovo. Just 12.4% would continue living in Montenegro and this includes mainly families headed by people without school. As departures abroad are for the time being just wishful thinking, a majority would not change their place of residence within Montenegro but would rather stay where they are.

Table 5. – *Plans for near future and preferred place of permanent settlement*

<i>Pref. place of permanent settlement</i>	No reply	Job	Feeding family	Aid	No plans	Total
Montenegro		6 19.4	15 48.4	6 19.4	4 12.8	31 12.4
Abroad	1 0.4	34 28.1	64 52.9	13 10.7	9 7.4	121 48.4
Return to Kosovo		17 18.5	62 67.4	10 10.8	3 3.3	92 36.8
Don't know		1 0.4	1 0.4		4 1.6	6 2.4
Total	1 0.4	58 23.2	142 56.8	29 11.6	20 8.0	250 100.0

Yet caution in making conclusions is advisable. At the level of verbal expression there are no obstacles to integration and acceptance of Roma IDPs by domicile Roma. On the other hand, resistance on the part of domicile Roma towards newcomer Roma is evident. This resistance may be interpreted from various viewpoints, but the impression is that it is primarily economic concerns that are at stake here. Domicile Roma see Kosovo Roma IDPs as *competition* in all domains: competition in illicit trading which is the source of the bulk of their income, then competition for day laboring and seasonal jobs, with Roma IDPs being cheaper labor force, and finally competition at welfare centers for getting social allowance and various kinds of aid. That competition is real is illustrated by the data that 27.6% of IDPs cite selling waste materials as source of income, while 12% works for wage and at seasonal jobs, increasing thereby the offer of cheap labor force. Hence, all that domicile Roma see in them is just rivals and competition. In some places the resistance of domicile Roma towards IDPs reaches the point of overt animosity. Poverty, powerlessness, isolation, accompanied with distrust toward the “other” are, as is well known, characteristic features of life in ghettoized communities.

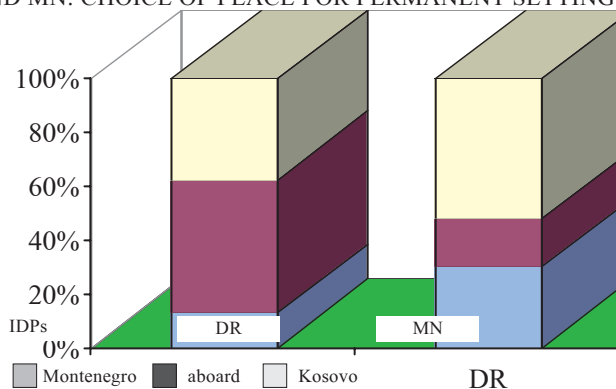
Again one cannot help notice the inconsistency within statements of domicile Roma on their good attitude and reception of the displaced. For example, when asked whether they are ready to accept that Roma IDPs settle permanently Montenegro 52% of them say no and only 28% agree. As many as 20% have never thought about the question. Cross-tabulation of variables shows that the largest number of opponents to the idea of IDPs staying in Montenegro is to be found exactly among those who verbally express satisfaction with how Roma IDPs have been received.

Concerning the question of possible settling of Roma IDPs in Montenegro the interviewers noted some interesting answers: “They should go back to their possessions”, “If they go back, we would be relieved”, “They should go back to Kosovo, their cradle is there”. In short, very few of them has thought about IDPs staying in Montenegro.

Non-Roma Montenegrin population sees the future of Roma IDPs considerably differently. For Roma IDPs, in the opinion of Montenegrin citizens, it would be best to go back to their place of origin (77%). Interestingly, among those giving this answer 86.4% of respondents also say they do not wish to make friends with Roma. This testifies to the fact that non-Roma Montenegrin citizens do not really have Roma in their minds at all but rather themselves; this additionally shows how much they do not want them. 3% of respondents think that staying in Montenegro would be second best to going to Serbia; 1% think this would be even worse. Just 5% of these respondents see going abroad as an acceptable option for Roma. This belief is probably based on information that – as a respondent said – foreigners are ready to give out everything just in order to prevent Roma from coming into their countries; therefore the respondents believe that going abroad is an impossibility for Roma. About two-thirds of respondents (73%) think that Roma should not stay in Montenegro and become its equal citizens. Almost all of them back this view with very stereotypical claims such as that everyone is happiest in his or her native place, that they belong

there, that this would be the best solution for both sides (Roma IDPs and them, Montenegrin citizens). 10% agree with the statement that for Roma IDPs the best solution is to stay in Montenegro. They are not very optimistic in this respect, so that less than one third (30%) anticipates that Roma will be better off.

IDPs, DR AND MN: CHOICE OF PLACE FOR PERMANENT SETTING



Domicile Roma suggest yet a third view. Concerning long-term decisions for the future of Roma IDPs, 59% of interviewed domicile Roma think that Roma IDPs should leave Montenegro, either by returning to Kosovo (44%) or possibly by going abroad (15%), while only one-fourth (25%) think that Roma IDPs should integrate into Montenegrin society. These figures match their attitude. Namely, 52% of them oppose the idea of Roma IDPs staying in Montenegro, for whatever reason.

Reasons cited by Roma IDPs in favor of going abroad are the following: “there one lives better”, “we have relatives there”, “we would be taken better care of”, “we would have the problems of accommodation and food solved”, “we would earn money to build our own house...” The reasons in favor of returning to Kosovo is not even necessary to adduce. These are, of course, nostalgia, yearning for one’s native place, but the precondition is safety which

they see primarily as the return of the Army of Yugoslavia. The choice of Montenegro is the “choice” of the *status quo*, because they know they have nowhere else to go. They are aware (over a half, 56.8%) that they must do anything in order to feed their family, about a fourth (23.2%) would like to get a job, while 11.6% will continue to wait for humanitarian aid. Interestingly, families intending to live off humanitarian aid are at the same time families with no entrepreneurial spirit and no initiative. Incidentally, Roma are very resourceful when coping with difficult situations and very ingenious when distribution of humanitarian aid is concerned.⁴⁹ Nearly all Roma IDPs who held steady or permanent jobs in Kosovo would like to get a job or do anything in order to feed their family. This figure points out that a permanent settling of Roma is possible, independently of the stereotypes about their nomadic character and too flexible culture of living.

Roma IDPs formally show an interest in training courses for learning various skills. One-fourth is against or undecided. But when it comes to making the suggestion about training more specific, problems arise. Heads of household in displaced families find it difficult to choose a specific trade that they could learn if training were organized. More than one-fourth (27.6%) choose none, 10% would take any, 8% would be interested in becoming drivers, 5% blacksmith and 5% masons, while just a couple of respondents expressed an interest in acquiring skills of a tailor, tire-repair specialist, tinsmith, hairdresser, machinist or welder.

Roma do not agree with the prejudice that they are a lazy and irresponsible people (70%). In a very high percentage (85.6%) they agree that it is better for them to live in their own *mahalas*. If they could choose between a mixed settlement and a Roma *mahala*, a majority would choose *mahala* and envisage their future in life there. This stance is

⁴⁹ The information may be found in the literature that a large number of Roma moved from Kosovo to Montenegro after the 1979 earthquake. The influx was particularly great in Ulcinj. See Lutovac, *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

self-understandable and deeply rooted in the traditional Roma way of life. As numerous researchers have noted, the *mahala* and the *cserga* (the traditional movable tent of nomadic Roma) have not only been the usual places of living for Roma, but also, in the words of Vladimir Stanković, “their authentic ethnic symbols”. He writes that “... *mahala*-type housing areas are still the dominant form of residence among urban and even rural Roma. These ethnic-urban islands have traditionally been located on the periphery, although in recent times some of them have merged into the central city cores, due to intense urban expansion. The *mahalas*, however, most often persist as ethnic-urban backwaters, genuine material testimony to a traditionally miserable social existence. Their ‘historical role’ in conserving ethnic compactness and a spontaneous cultivation of the Roma cultural identity has been paid too dearly: by the almost total ethnic marginality in all areas of socio-economic and cultural life.”⁵⁰ The findings of this research, similarly to previous ones, show that a majority of Roma is still ready to pay this high price. True, if they deem it useful, they will take advantage of elements of “ethnic mimicry” and “statistical exodus” from their ethnic community and pretend to accept integration and even assimilation; nevertheless, at bottom, they will strive to preserve their integrity and identity – which is completely natural and justifiable in humane terms. Any policy of helping Roma as an extremely deprived social group should take this fact into account.

Statistically most frequent answers given by domicile Roma to the question of integration of Roma IDPs were the following: “In Montenegro they have good conditions for

⁵⁰ Vladimir Stanković, „Romi u svetlu podataka jugoslovenske statistike“ (“Roma in Light of Yugoslav Statistical Data”), in: *Razvitak Roma u Jugoslaviji – Problemi i tendencije*, SANU, Belgrade 1992, p. 164. Similarly, Aleksandra Mitrović and Gradimir Zajić argue that “... life in a *mahala*, however segregated, has helped Roma in a way to preserve their ethnic identity.” See Aleksandra Mitrović and Gradimir Zajić, „Društveni položaj Roma u Srbiji“, in: *Romi u Srbiji*, p. 56, Centar za antiratnu akciju i Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja, Belgrade 1998.

living”, “They are better off here where people are most honest”. But it is also significant that in the interviewed displaced Roma population 51.2% wish to go abroad, 38.4% to return to Kosovo. This means that, obviously, they are not prepared for integration either. In a high percentage (89.6%) Roma IDPs see leaving Montenegro rather than integration as a definitive solution for their future. Readiness for integration into Montenegro is, therefore, not present among the interviewed IDP population either.

Table 6. – Roma IDPs: Place of previous residence and agreement with the statement that Roma should live in their mahalas

	I agree		I agree partially		I don't agree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
City	27	32,4	3	5,0	15	6,5	45	18,0
Suburban settlement	10	13,0	5	2,0	2	2,6	17	6,6
Mahala in city	14	16,6	5	2,6	4	3,3	23	9,2
Mahala near city	55	48,2	6	7,5	3	9,6	64	25,2
Mahala near village	35	28,8	2	4,5	3	5,8	40	16,0
Village	39	41,0	7	6,4	9	8,2	57	22,8
Total	180	72,0	28	11,2	36	14,4	250	100,0

The extremely negative attitude of the non-Roma Montenegrin population towards Roma IDPs from Kosovo, and even Roma in general, may be interpreted as a manifestation of racism and xenophobia characteristic of traditional patriarchal societies. Such an interpretation, however, would be one-sided. The circles of poverty in which Roma population is caught get increasingly deeper. However, the realm of poverty has been spreading throughout the Yugoslav society. Impoverishment is generalized. The dev-

astation of living conditions for all citizens of Yugoslavia, except for a handful of war profiteers and people closely associated with power centers, has been going on for more than a decade already. Middle strata have been wiped out from the social scene, and many families have dropped to the sub-proletarian poverty zone. The life of the exiled Kosovo Roma is not only the “ninth circle” of poverty and decay but also a mirror-image of the decay of the overwhelming majority of Yugoslav citizens. It is small wonder therefore that these citizens display such strong resistance to the image of their own current and future life in civic insecurity, spiritual misery and material poverty.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Social research *Life of Displaced Kosovo Roma in Montenegro (Podgorica and Niksic) and Possibilities for Integration* has shown that the Kosovo crisis has had a very damaging effect in all domains on the Roma segment of the Kosovo population. Although Roma families, on the average, had been the poorest in Kosovo, they lost virtually everything they had once possessed; their dramatic flight from Kosovo was a genuine human tragedy. In the new social milieu the already very humble conditions of their living have grown considerably worse. This is understandable if one takes into account that the milieu into which they have come is poor and economically exhausted by the decade-long conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. A massive influx of people of another ethnic group, a different culture, religion and language has enhanced anxieties, sometimes also prejudices and animosities of the majority population in this new environment. The scale of their tragedy has pushed them to the forefront of concern on the part of both international factors and Montenegrin authorities.

Although the efforts of international factors and Montenegrin authorities to help Roma IDPs to survive deserve respect, the current situation is such that it may safely be said that none of the problems of the Roma population is being solved adequately .

Families of Kosovo Roma IDPs are dominated by fear, feeling of injustice for having been expelled by force, feeling of disorientation and lack of perspective, belief that integration is impossible and that bad living conditions can hardly be improved. Yet, among Roma families from Kosovo as IDPs there is a number of families that came earlier, including cases that had previously moved from Kosovo to Serbia and then in 1999 from Serbia to Montenegro. This is a proof that the situation of other Roma in Yugoslavia was not better either.

For, living conditions of domicile Roma are most often worse than the conditions in which Roma lived in Kosovo. Domicile Roma are themselves deprived and live in utmost poverty. They are annoyed and hurt when asked questions about the poor life of displaced Roma instead of their own poor life, which is often objectively harder. Therefore they see Roma IDPs as competition within a greatly reduced field of possible economic activities.

Domicile non-Roma population also live in fear that current conflicts and poverty may spread. They are afraid of epidemics and devastation of infrastructure, which is not ungrounded, since Montenegro hosts about 10% of refugees and IDPs. Such an increase of population size is intolerable for a poor country. The situation in Montenegro on the whole has been deteriorating, and living conditions and material capacities of the population are increasingly bad.

General conclusion

There is no program or measure for improving living conditions of Roma good enough which cannot fail, regardless of the investments in financial resources or in efforts. The results are highly uncertain, and any prediction unreliable. Instant and large-scale results should not be expected.

A system of practical measures should be elaborated and supported that will aim at enabling Roma families to live an autonomous life of their own, without welfare and humanitarian aid. The system of such measures should encompass the entire life of a Roma family. Any individual measure or program will have some chance of success only insofar as it is harmonized with the whole of Roma life. Measures that do not take into account urgent needs as well as Roma culture and tradition are doomed to failure.

In a long-term perspective, working with children, help to young Kosovo Roma, wherever they are at the moment, to get education, develop their intellectual potentials, and acquire skills for better-paid jobs can push this part of the Roma population up from the bottom of the social ladder.

IMMEDIATE HUMANITARIAN AID

Humanitarian aid is necessary and valuable. In addition to food, clothes and shoes, humanitarian aid should regularly include also hygiene supplies. It must be borne in mind however that humanitarian aid serves to maintain the current state of affairs; while it keeps the situation from becoming worse, it cannot bring more lasting solutions.

Substantial and hardly soluble problems may be expected in the near future due to sponsors' fatigue or to the emergence of new crisis points elsewhere in the world that will cause humanitarian organizations to leave the territory of Montenegro or considerably reduce their activities.

To censure Roma *en bloc* for selling a part of humanitarian aid in the black market is hypocritical. Humanitarian aid is for them, among other things, an exchange value, a

“means of payment”. By selling a part of humanitarian aid they satisfy some other needs. Finally, a part of humanitarian aid would go unused if Roma did not sell it. It is enough just to visit a Roma lodging in winter to realize that keeping flour, for instance, in such conditions inevitably means that this flour will become inedible in a couple of days.

Humanitarian aid programs must be continued and developed. A part of them should turn to domicile Roma and poor non-Roma population of Montenegro, because in this way tensions between domicile population and Roma IDPs would be lessened and chances for integration increased.

There is a segment of humanitarian aid whose significance must be particularly stressed, all the more so since many complaints of Roma about insufficient aid referred precisely to this sort of aid. *This is aid in hygienic supplies.* Namely, the extremely bad hygiene conditions in which an overwhelming majority of IDP and domicile Roma in Montenegro live, is a great potential risk for both IDPs and domicile population. As humanitarian aid in hygiene supplies is insufficient, it is necessary to pay more attention to this aspect. Risk: with high probability, some of this aid will be sold in the black market, but even under this assumption aid in hygienic supplies must be increased.

Recommendation I: It is necessary to specify the needs and the contents of humanitarian packages, and adapt its character to the indispensable and elementary needs of Roma populations, both displaced and domicile. The humanitarian aid strategy should be consciously combined with enabling displaced and domicile Roma to ensure daily subsistence by their own economic activities. Only then will humanitarian aid be as efficient as possible.

Recommendation II: In addition to an increase in aid in hygienic supplies, *programs of health education* should

be devised, particularly intended for children and women. They should be taught how to use the toilet, tap water and hygienic supplies. A part of health education programs should be devoted to a lasting *maintenance of tolerable hygienic conditions* in Roma houses and settlements, as well as to *family planning*.

Reccomendation III: Community health service should be organized, along with general medical checkups of the entire Roma population, with special attention to children, pregnant women and young mothers, as well as elderly and chronically ill people.

*HOUSING – A PREREQUISITE FOR A LASTING
IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING CONDITIONS
AND OPENING THE PROSPECTS FOR INTEGRATION*

No one has the right to ignore the abominable living conditions of both Roma IDPs and domicile Roma. Roma IDPs should be specially helped to get as efficiently as possible out of the tragic situation they have found themselves in. As an urgent measure, trailers can be offered until more permanent housing is built. At the moment they cannot be deported or sent off to third countries. Roma wish to go to European countries, claiming relatives living there, and ask local authorities to issue them certificates stating that their life in Montenegro is impossible. However, there are simply no countries that are ready to receive Roma. Many of them try to get to Italy, most often illegally. Those who do not end up tragically in the Adriatic Sea, actually enter not only Italy but the whole Schengen zone. This means Roma immigration would affect virtually all European countries, from Norway to Spain and Greece. Therefore Italy's resistance to Roma wishes for emigration and their attempts to reach Italy is simultaneously the resistance of virtually all European countries and governments.

On the other hand, a return to homeland which is the second-best option in the eyes of Kosovo Roma IDPs is

and will remain in the foreseeable future practically unfeasible. Namely, Roma would return to Kosovo under the condition that safety be guaranteed to them. International armed forces are unable to ensure that for the time being. Roma rightly tie their return to the return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo, which they sometimes express in the words of the official Yugoslav propaganda "... if Yugoslav army and police go back to Kosovo". As the multi-ethnic nature of Kosovo is at the moment a matter of political fiction rather than reality, the question arises whether there is a way at all to help Roma.

Before answering this question it is necessary to understand the problem of integration. The findings of the research have shown that chances for integration of Roma population in the Montenegrin society, and particularly of Roma families from Kosovo, are slim. Moreover, it is not clear whether integration is an unquestionable value for Roma themselves. Even if the question is phrased as how to integrate Roma into Montenegrin society but preserving their ethnic and cultural identity, the problem remains open whether the principle of "integration without assimilation" is altogether viable and practically feasible. If integration is to be successful the attitude of the environment towards Roma has to be radically changed.

Only a planned coordination of Roma and humanitarian organizations, NGOs and local authorities in seeking to improve living conditions and achieve integration of Roma into Montenegrin society can yield lasting results in the long-term. Without organized joint volunteer work and actions of citizens of Montenegro with Roma any integration – temporary or permanent, partial or complete – is out of the question.

Hence, long- and short-term measures in helping Roma are necessary. Some of these measures have already been undertaken and bore significant results. Several thou-

sand Roma IDPs have been taken care of. Regularly or occasionally, they have been supplied with basic necessities, such as food, clothes, shoes, school supplies for children, as well as medical aid. It may be said that Montenegrin authorities, humanitarian organizations and other international institutions have done much. What is lacking, however, is long-term plans.

Even planned camps and settlements, let alone other forms of substandard housing, very quickly turn into slums if they are left without an infrastructure including economic, cultural, educational and health facilities. Camps and settlements for Roma must not be just a huge dormitory for a large number of people. These people should be given the opportunity to do something, to practice their skills, to engage in trading, to cherish the forms of their traditional culture of living.

*MORE LASTING FORMS OF IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING
CONDITIONS – EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION AND CULTURE*

Poverty of an overwhelming majority of Roma is a handicap in the formal, institutional economic network and in the informal one as well. It is paradoxical, but true, that they are unemployed because they are poor and unskilled, and they are poor because they are unemployed or work at jobs with the lowest pay. The circle of their poverty is complete. The fact that some families manage to get out of the whirlpool of poverty does not deny its existence. Large dumpsites outside the cities and garbage cans in the cities seem to be the basis of Roma economic activity. The authorities cannot sever this “economic connection”, even if they had political will to do so: neither can they move Roma far from the dumpsites, nor do Roma themselves want to go away. Their economic activity is largely in the sphere of the black economy, such as petty trading, selling things in the black market and at open-air markets, working at toilsome physical jobs for a small daily wage, etc. Some Roma families live simply on humanitarian aid and

welfare. This is a *strategy of survival*, or *survival as lifestyle*. It is necessary to find a way to enable them to do what they know, can and like to do.

Recommendation: Employment programs should be developed, together with educational and self-help programs for producing a part of the food necessary for daily life. Points can be set up where secondary raw materials (waste) are bought off; other forms include organizing workshops, sending people to occasional and seasonal work, engaging people in the work of municipal services, at least in the areas inhabited by Roma. The experience with engaging Roma by the municipal services enterprise in Niksic is a good example, although there are also opposite ones. Authorities may be given the suggestion to waive taxes to the enterprises employing displaced and domicile Roma.

Special attention must be paid to employment programs for women! Training in certain skills such as hair-dresser or tailor can be offered, knitting cooperatives can be organized!

If Roma are to get any serious chance of getting an employment in the formal economic structure, the prerequisite is education of Roma children. This, along with the development of cultural activities and general prosperity of Montenegrin society, is a necessary precondition for a permanent improvement of life of Roma families. Roma children from families of Kosovo Roma are doubly handicapped in this regard. Most often they do not speak the language of their new milieu, or do not speak it well enough to complete the school curriculum. How will Roma children overcome the language barrier which – instead of their alleged mental retardation (a very widespread racist prejudice) – is the chief obstacle to the integration of Roma children into the school system, along with poverty, absence of the tradition of education, particularly for girls, lack of interest on the part of parents and rejection by the wider milieu? Even children who do go to school show unstable motivation and poor concentration. The price for

this will be paid by future generations as well. This is educational segregation! And one of the most efficient and simplest avenues of successful integration is inclusion of Roma children into the educational system.

Recommendation: Among both Roma from Kosovo and domicile Roma the awareness is spreading of what families lose by not educating their children. It is necessary to stimulate families, even financially, to send their children to school. The stimulation should be tied to the children's success. Similarly, various ways of stimulating children may be deployed. It is necessary to apply the principle of affirmative action towards Roma children.

General recommendation

Educational, cultural, long-term and subsidiary programs of education and improving life in Roma settlements and communities ought to be introduced in parallel.

POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION OF THE SDR SHELTER PROGRAM

By initiating this social research SDR Shelter Office in Podgorica manifested once again its commitment to giving a well-grounded contribution to an improvement of the living conditions of Kosovo Roma IDPs in Montenegro. In accomplishing this intention SDR has at its disposal a wide range of *practical short- and middle-term measures*.

SHORT-TERM MEASURES

Short-term measures consist of giving humanitarian aid that will help improve accommodation and sanitary conditions of Roma IDPs. *Kinds of aid, duration and frequency* ought to be determined very carefully. As a considerable number of institutions have already been engaged in giving the usual kinds of humanitarian aid, SDR Shelter Program should limit itself to those forms that correspond with its immediate activities (such as objects serving to upgrade conditions of accommodation – plastic sheets, floor covers, wooden flooring, possibly blankets). This aid should be given occasionally and exceptionally, only if displaced Roma families find themselves in a situation of dire need. Another form of immediate humanitarian aid may be aimed at groups of families living outside collective centers, but at one micro-location. These people urgently need help in improving sanitary conditions, such

as drinking water, toilets, etc.⁵¹ The *risks* involved in giving this kind of aid are relatively low: the emergence of “clientelist groups”, uneven and unjust distribution, minor misunderstandings with local and other institutions, burdening of SDR Shelter Office’s work with an additional activity, etc. Therefore *these types of aid should be strictly limited*, but not excluded altogether, and for two reasons:

- first, such help is precious for Roma IDP families in a situation of extreme need;
- second, it contributes to the prestige of and respect for SDR’s activities.

MIDDLE-TERM MEASURES

Middle-term measures of SDR Shelter Program would comprise *building, adaptation and reconstruction of facilities for accommodating displaced Roma families*. This would be a lasting contribution to an improvement of the living conditions, possible return and/or integration of Roma IDPs. In implementing these measures the following points must be borne in mind:

- a. It is necessary to provide Roma with “a roof over their heads” in the form of cheaply built family house, barrack, or even a trailer. In constructing the housing units and clearing and upgrading the space between them the concerned Roma must also be included as workforce; this involvement should be explicitly stipulated in the tender and contracts with the contractors.
- b. In agreement with the local authorities charged with issuing permits for construction sites or the placing of housing units, small plots of land should be set apart as well, intended for vegetable growing and domestic animals breeding whose products would meet, partly at least, minimum needs of a family’s nourishment.

⁵¹ This sort of humanitarian aid must be planned and implemented in coordination with local authorities and the Red Cross.

- c. In agreement with the local authorities these micro-locations should accommodate at least fifth, and at most twenty Roma families. In this way, on one hand, the emergence of new ghettos is avoided, and on the other, Roma families may continue living in Roma communities and preserve elements of their culture and tradition.

Favorable sites may be found in Nikšić, where 150 Roma IDP families have been registered. According to the information obtained from locals well acquainted with the local affairs, about a half of these came to Nikšić earlier and independently of the Kosovo crisis, but really originate from Kosovo. An improvement of the accommodation of these families or construction of new housing facilities would therefore mean helping at once Roma IDPs and domicile Roma, although formally all of them are families displaced from Kosovo. Since three Roma enclaves already exist on the periphery of Nikšić, it may reasonably be assumed that the local authorities would readily assent to a project of upgrading and building in those areas. Moreover, people in charge of town planning in Nikšić have confirmed that there are sites available for building houses for Roma IDPs. However, at the Red Cross organization in Nikšić they say that there have evidently been abuses on the part of Roma IDPs in getting entitled to humanitarian aid. According to Red Cross records, Roma make up an overwhelming majority of the total of 1080 IDPs, even though in reality – Red Cross people say – there are not more than 600 or 700 of them. Some Roma families had their identification cards taken away when they stopped showing up regularly at the Red Cross because they were presumed to be registered for getting aid at a couple of places simultaneously. The Commissariat for Displaced Persons confirmed that this practice is widespread, and their data are similar.

In June 2000 the Center for Social Work in Nikšić registered 155 Roma families from Kosovo, with 664 members altogether. If 33 families (21 %) with 7 or more members get help to accommodate themselves, 277 people

or 41.7 % of total Kosovo Roma population in Nikšić will have their accommodation problem solved. In the Roma settlement of Brlja, according to their records, 37 Roma IDPs live. In this settlement the ground is rough so that the costs of pre-construction preparations would be high. A more favorable piece of ground nearby has recently become very attractive because a new gas station and probably a business center are being built there; so construction permit may prove difficult to get.

The largest settlements of domicile Roma is located under Trebjesa and spreads on both sides of the road from the Steelworks to Gračanica (39 and 74 families). Sand is taken from the Gračanica river. On this micro-location there are spacious areas which can be strewn and then used for construction. One of these areas has already been prepared for construction. A humanitarian organization showed an interest in this location but gave up, because a transformer station had to be built as well. In this part of town electrical power and water supply is problematic because it fails to meet the needs of consumers. But this is a general problem, particularly in summer. The location is still available. The question of location is sensitive also because of the resistance of local people. Thus an attempt to build in Ožrinići near Nikšić failed because the inhabitants were opposed.⁵² Therefore it would be best to build in the existing Roma settlements. There are many such locations, both in cities and in their surroundings. In this way shanties could be removed and replaced by higher-quality housing.

Podgorica is the place of the highest concentration of Roma population. In Podgorica, Shelter Office could participate in programs of improving the housing conditions of Roma families only in case of partial dislocation of families from the Konik I camp to other places in the city, such

⁵² Local population is very reserved toward humanitarian organizations which often promise a great deal but then do nothing. "Monuments" to such an attitude abound. For example, COOPI began to build a bathroom and a kitchen which it never completed.

as, for example, the Komanski most settlement, where the ground is rather rough. Construction is possible by the Sitnica river, where there is enough space for five barracks or small houses. On this location the resistance of domicile Roma is likely, but a *modus vivendi* could be reached if they also benefited from the construction. Another location where some Roma families in Podgorica already live and which could be used in agreement with the local authorities is near the cattle market. This location provides broader possibilities than Komanski most.

Finally, bearing in mind the overall situation in Montenegro, it would be advisable to offer programs for accommodating Roma families in either Rozaje or Stari Bar.

The implementation of middle-term measures should be approached flexibly and cautiously. In one case it could be the construction of barracks for family accommodation, in another a small family house with a plot, in a third help in construction materials, loans or grants to a Roma family which has already started building on its own. It would be worthwhile to launch an action in Switzerland appealing to families who no longer use their trailers to give these to Roma families. Of course, many other modalities are also possible. Thus, for instance, small-size facilities such as those in Konik II are by far more favorable for Roma families than large collective barracks. Also, houses built of prefabricated concrete blocks are more appropriate and lasting than wooden barracks, without being much more expensive. The construction of semidetached houses for 2-4 families, with strictly separate housing units, would be a good solution, because it enables community life but avoids tensions over the use of communal space. Various possibilities are open also in organizing the process of construction. Roma families themselves are able and willing to build. With expert assistance and control, work organized this way could be very efficient. Grants in construction materials (definitely not in money) that Roma families would get successively, according to the particular stages of the process of construction and only after being checked

if the previous supplies in material have been used adequately, would be not only an efficient form of material assistance, but also a significant psycho-social support. Contracts could also be made regulating the status of families living in houses built this way: the tenants would not have ownership rights for a specified period of time, selling or leasing would be prohibited, and they would be obliged to maintain the houses in a good condition lest they lose tenant's right.

The advantages of accommodating displaced Roma families on locations already inhabited by domicile Roma are obvious. However much the problem of integration may appear insoluble at first sight, the accommodation of Kosovo Roma IDPs at these locations would make possible their – temporary, if not permanent – integration into Montenegrin society without the threat of assimilation. In other words, the process of integration would proceed naturally. On the other hand, building at these locations would avoid the possibility of the so-called misinvestments, very frequent in Balkan countries. Namely, the built facilities would be a lasting good for Montenegrin society: even if displaced Roma families leave them, there will always be needy domicile Roma families to occupy them.

Possible risks refer predominantly to the resistance of the local population. Planned construction in Roma enclaves would undoubtedly appease this resistance. By paying more intense attention to the infrastructure this risk would be reduced to the minimum or even effectively eliminated altogether. Second, the Montenegrin public opinion may get the wrong impression that SDR can and should solve the problems of Roma IDPs generally, or that SDR sees the integration of Roma IDPs into Montenegrin society as the key solution. Both these impressions would be very misplaced and should be carefully precluded. Third, construction of facilities for Roma IDPs may provoke adverse reactions of central and local authorities in Montenegro. However, these authorities tolerated the construction of collective accommodation in the Konik I

camp, although its consequences may turn out to be disastrous. Hence this is the *only* practical recommendation which should be considered in all its seriousness.

Practical recommendation: SDR should avoid any engagement in the Roma IDP camp Konik I in Podgorica, but support all programs conducive to reducing the number of the camp's inhabitants. *Rationale:* direct and indirect risks in Konik are enormous. *Direct risks:* a) danger of epidemics, b) extremely high danger of fire that could cause a large-scale human tragedy, and c) daily open conflicts and tensions that render normal life and work impossible, in such a huge concentration of people in a very limited space. *Indirect and long-term risk:* Konik I camp is an environmental and social bomb that can explode any time. It is a large, ill-designed *ghetto* that in the long run will broadcast all the problems characterizing life in a *devastated ghetto* anywhere in the world. For Podgorica as the capital of Montenegro and its inhabitants the problem will be insoluble if they are to solve it on their own.

The implementation of any SDR program should necessarily involve the following steps:

First, to make decisions on short- and middle-term measures and activities of SDR aiming at an improvement of living conditions of Roma IDPs from Kosovo in the territory of Montenegro and to engage the SDR professional personnel and experts to operationalize these decisions. These decisions, of course, must be accompanied by the appropriate financial calculations.

Second, to assure general agreement on these measures and activities from the following institutions:

- Government of Montenegro,
- Commissariat for Displaced Persons of the Government of Montenegro,
- UNHCR Podgorica, and
- Red Cross of Montenegro

Third, to approach the President of the Municipal Assembly in Nikšić (Dr. Milorad Drljević⁵³) and the President of the City of Podgorica (Dr. Miomir Mugoša) with concrete proposals, and subsequently to discuss these proposals with representatives of the relevant departments of town planning and of labor and social work.

Finally, *the fourth*, it might be a good idea to make this Report and the measures planned to be undertaken by *the SDR Shelter Program* in Podgorica public. I suggest that this Report be turned into a topic of public debate between representatives of concerned national and international institutions and humanitarian organizations. It would also be worthwhile to acquaint representatives of Montenegrin mass media and public opinion with the results of this research and intentions of the SDR Shelter Program.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

There is no dilemma that Roma IDPs from Kosovo should be helped. This people deserves maximum possible help. Not just because they were at the bottom of the poverty ladder in one of the poorest regions of Europe, nor because they have lived through the tragic fate of forcefully expelled people. They have suffered much violence; they have fallen into still worse poverty, having lost even their meager property. It is imperative to help them for these reasons already, all the more so as such help also flatters Europe's conscience. But there are also other, political reasons, which are very important. Help goes both ways: if Europe helps Roma to survive, Roma can help developed and less developed European countries to get rid of xenophobia and racism. There is a lot in Roma life and Roma culture that Europe can learn from on its way to overcoming xenophobia. Help and gifts that Europe extends to Roma will be returned multiplied.

⁵³ Vicepresident in Nikšić is Dr. Radovan Mijanović, president of the Yugoslav Red Cross in Belgrade.

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