Demographic and Historical Features of Montenegro

Karadağ'ın Demografik ve Tarihi Özellikleri

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Near East Historical Review

10/1, January - Ocak 2020

e-ISSN: 2717-6363 (Online)

www.nehrreview.com

Article Type - Makale Türü : Research Article

Received Date - Geliş Tarihi : 30.12.2019

Accepted Date - Kabul Tarihi : 22.01.2020

Pages - Sayfa : 1-11

: <http://dx.doi.org/10.29228/nehreview.41554>

Citation - Atıf : Marijan Premović – Miroslav Doderović, “Demographic and Historical Features of Montenegro”, *Near East Historical Review*, 10/1, January 2020, pp. 1-11.

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Öz

Bu makale, Karadağ nüfusunun 1497'deki Osmanlı nüfus sayımından 2003'teki nüfus sayım istatistiklerine kadarki demografik ve tarihsel gelişimini ele almaktadır. Bu demografik süreçlerin yeniden yapılandırılması için aşağıdaki bilimsel yöntemler kullanılmıştır: Uygulamalı (aşamalı) yöntem, tanımlayıcı yöntem, sınıflandırma yöntemi, tarihsel yöntem, tümevarım ve tümdengelim, istatistiksel yöntem, analiz yöntemi, sentez ve genellemeler. Analiz edilen demografik istatistiksel veriler fiziksel gerçeklik ile ilişkilidir ve bazı tarihsel olayların nedensel bir açıklamasını sağlar. Ayrıca, geçmiş olayların ve çağdaş demografik eğilimlerin bu alanın dönüşümü üzerindeki etkisine özel önem verilmektedir. Olumsuz sosyo-ekonomik gelişmeler ve Karadağ topraklarında sık sık yapılan savaşların demografik gelişim üzerinde güçlü bir etkisi olmuştur. Makale, sunulan araştırma sonuçlarının anlaşılmasını büyük ölçüde kolaylaştıran ve belirli alanların demografik gelişimindeki çeşitliliğini daha da açıklayan grafik ekler (grafikler, tematik haritalar, fotoğraflar) ve tablolar içermez. Sonuçlar, çeşitli demografik istatistiksel verilerin ve araştırma sonuçlarının analizine ve yorumlanmasına dayanmaktadır.

Abstract

This paper deals with the demographic and historical development of Montenegro population from the Ottoman census in 1497 to the census statistics in 2003. For the reconstruction of these demographic processes the following scientific methods were used: applied (progressive) method, descriptive method, classification method, historical method, induction and deduction, statistical method, the method of analysis, synthesis and generalizations. The analyzed demographic statistical data are correlated with physical reality and provide a causal explanation of certain historical events. Also, special emphasis is laid on the influence of past events and contemporary demographic trends on the transformation of this area. Unfavourable socio-economic developments and frequent wars on the Montenegrin territory have had a strong impact on the demographic development. The paper is accompanied by a graphic attachments (graphs, thematic maps, photos) and tables which greatly facilitate the understanding of the presented research results and further explicate the diversity of the demographic development of certain areas. The conclusions are based on the analysis and interpretation of various demographic statistical data and research results.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Karadağ, Balkanlar, demokrasi, coğrafya

Keywords: Montenegro, Balkans, demography, geography

Introduction

Montenegro is an Adriatic-Mediterranean Dinaric country in the Balkans, located between 41° 39' and 43° 32' north latitude and 18° 26' and 20° 21' east longitude. On the western side, it borders Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia – to the north and northeast, Kosovo – to the southeast and east and Albania to the southwest and the Adriatic Sea. The greatest comparative advantage of Montenegro is its Mediterranean maritime position, which outlines its historical and cultural development. Montenegro is situated relatively on the side of the Balkan Peninsula hinterland; it is not located directly on the main lines of the chief European corridors (IX). However, the construction of the Adriatic highway and especially the Belgrade to Bar railway and the Port of Bar have considerably improved a rather peripheral traffic location of Montenegro in relation to the main European corridors. The total length of its land border is 614 km, of which the border with Croatia is 14 km long, with Bosnia and Herzegovina – 225 km, Serbia – 203 km and with the neighbouring Albania – 172 km (partly over Skadar/Shkoder Lake and along the river Bojana). The distance between the sea coast endpoints as the crow flies is 100 km. Straight length of its coastline is about 298 km, giving a ratio of 2.98 of the jagged coastline. Montenegro is in size and population the smallest of the six republics of the former Yugoslavia (13,812 km² or 5.4%). Montenegrin coast has a special importance for the development of tourism, which is illustrated by the fact that around 55,000 m or 19.16% of the total length of its coastline is suitable for maritime leisure activities, where sand beaches account for 20,500 m, gravel for 15,500 m and rocky beaches for 19,000 m. It is estimated that an average of 614m³/s of water or 19.3 km³ flows over its surface per year, with an average of 44.4 module, l/s/km³. Two-thirds of Montenegro is composed of karst terrain of Dinarida while one third is made of clay-marl-sand layers i.e. rocks, which are water-resistant¹.

This paper consists of three segments that help to understand the position of Montenegro through its demographic past and present: 1. Demographic – historical framework; 2. Natural change of population in Montenegro during the second half of the 20th and early 21st centuries; 3. Mechanical movement of the population in Montenegro. The aim of our study is to analyse demographic trends through history and highlight the uniqueness of the development of the population based on the first Turkish census, military intelligence, the information provided by researchers of the 19th century, the press and the censuses of 1909, 1921, 1931, 1948, 1961, 1981, 1991, 2003.

1. Demographic and historical framework

As far as the history of Montenegro is concerned, Census (cadastral) defter (Tahrir defterleri) by the Ottoman administration was very carefully maintained and presents a first-class valuable historical source. It was an information system that contained a record of land ownership which identified the sources of government revenue in a particular area and the records of such information were kept in books called The Census Cadastral Books. The Ottoman defters are one of the most important historical sources abounding in a variety of information on the settlements and population and they represent a good starting point for determining the basic facts. They contain information on all types of settlements and on the diversity of the population. The Ottoman descriptions reflect the actual situation on the location within the administrative units – nahijas, thus facilitating insights into the type of administrative arrangements, the typology of the villages and enable monitoring of changes in the population

¹ Radovan Bakić. *Promjene u prostornom razmještaju stanovništva Crne Gore u toku druge polovine 20. i prve decenije 21. Vijek, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Podgorica 2014, p.9–12.*

trends with regard to the land, the social groups divisions and their status, the tax system, economy and religious relations².

The first detailed census³ in Old Montenegro was created in early 1497 by the Ottoman Empire. That year "the Land of the Crnojevićs", i.e. Zeta was merged with the Skadar sanjak under the name Kara Dag, when Đurađ Crnojević, a hitherto Turkish vassal, escaped and left Cetinje⁴.

The next census in Old Montenegro was carried out in 1513 when Skender-beg Crnojević was appointed the sanjak-bey. The two signed defters have not been found so far. However, they can be largely reconstructed based on the capitation census that was carried out in 1520 and handed over to Porto in 1521, and also on documents dating from 1523 and later censuses. Further information on the number of dwellings and property (patrimony) in Montenegro, in nahijas and some settlements, could be found in the defters of 1523, 1529-36 and 1570⁵.

B. Đurđev (1968) states that, according to the earliest comprehensive data on the number of dwellings and property (patrimony) in Montenegro, taken from the Turkish censuses of 1523, 1529–1536 and 1570 on the territory within the current borders of Montenegro, "there were 2,146 dwellings in the year 1523 and 2,951 dwellings in 1570"⁶.

Nahija (administrative district)	1523		1529 – 1536		1570	
	Dwellings	Property (Patrimony)	Dwellings	Property (Patrimony)	Dwellings	Property (Patrimony)
Bezimeni (Grbavica)	545	156	453	213	525	89
Župa	147	63	148	70	144	33
Malošići	141	39	131	70	175	12
Pješivci	143	25	142	39	161	29
Cetinje	665	108	755	282	861	147
Rijeka	0	0	477	156	553	59
Crmnica	505	59	499	97	532	57
Total	2,146	450	2,705	927	2,951	426
Population estimate 5 members per dwelling	10,730		13,025		14,755	
6 members per dwelling	12,876		15,630		17,706	

² Marijan Premović, "Settlements and population of the Middle and Lower Polimlje in the summary list of the Bosnian Sanjak from 1468/69". In: Temizer, A. & Özcan, U. (Eds.): *Balkanlar'da Osmanlı Mirası ve Defter-i Hâkânî* – Cilt I, Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, İstanbul 2015, p.99.

³ See important types of methodological issues and approaches to source analysis in: Lundquist, Anderton, Yaukey, 2014, p.167–201.

⁴ Bojović, Radovan, *Prirodne promjene stanovništva Crne Gore od 1497. do 2011. godine*, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Podgorica 2014, p.19.

⁵ Branislav Đurđev, *Turska vlast u Crnoj Gori u XVI i XVII veku: prilog jednom nerešenom pitanju iz naše istorije*, Svjetlost Sarajevo 1953, p.39–48; Abidin Temizer, "Karadağ'da Osmanlı Hakimiyetine Dair", *Yeni Türkiye Yeni Türkiye, Rumeli-Balkanlar Özel Sayısı III*, Ankara 2015, p.3006–3013.

⁶ Branislav Đurđev, *Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender-bega Crnojevića: (prva sveska)*, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo 1968. p. 36.

The Ottoman defters facilitate estimations of the number of people per each nahija. Determining the approximate population allows us to observe some tendencies in the change and the size of the population.⁷ The data for the number of dwellings in Rijeka district for the year 1523 are missing, but they can be roughly estimated based on the data for the Bezimena nahija (Grbavica), Župa and Malošiće, and on the data for the period between 1529 and 1536 according to which Rijeka district had 477 dwellings. With households of approximately 5 – 6 members, it can be estimated that in 1523, Montenegro had a population of 10,730 to 12,876. If we apply the same criteria, between 1529 and 1536 there could have been 13,025 to 15,630 inhabitants and in 1570 – between 14,755 and 17,706. According to the data by an unknown monk for the year 1592, published by Solovyov, "in the Old Montenegro there were barely 1,700 houses." This would mean that Montenegro had only 8,500 to 10,200 inhabitants at the time. In 1692, the Kotor ruler, N. Erica, provided extensive and highly accurate data for Montenegro of that time. He reported that in the Old Montenegrin provinces – Rijeka, Lješanska, Crmnička and Katunska nahijas, there lived 12,418 inhabitants in 48 villages⁸.

Based on the information provided by the Austrian colonel Paulić in 1782, a considerable set of reliable demographic data on the population of Montenegro of that time were obtained. He stated that four former nahijas in Montenegro (Katunska, Rijeka, Pjesivacka and Lješanska) had 4,084 dwellings with about 40,000 inhabitants, of which 10,000 soldiers. According to his information, there were more women than man in Montenegro at that time. He also provided us with another valuable fact - that people became engaged very early – at the age of 12 or 13. Similarly, T. Đorđević states that in the year 1800, Montenegro occupied 3,000 km² and had about 40,000 inhabitants. To be more precise, T. Đorđević, citing some French sources, specifies the figure of 38,160 inhabitants. Austrian data from 1851 indicate that 120,000 inhabitants lived in Montenegro then and that it had 20,000 soldiers⁹. According to Gölen, the population of Montenegro varies between 120,000 and 125,000 in the years 1850-1860¹⁰.

There was no significant increase in the population in the 1860s¹¹. Magazine "Orlić" from 1865, published not only the first complete data on the number of the inhabitants, but also the full sex structure of the nahijas and the Highlands with Vasojevići and Morača. It is worth noting that this publication included the information on birth and mortality rates in Montenegro for the period from October 14, 1863 to October 14, 1864 – the period the census procedure lasted. The information on the population of Montenegro in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century based on the improvised censuses conducted by the authorities, is extremely unreliable and often grossly exaggerated, whereas the reports by B. Schwartz and P. Rovinski provide more accurate and dependable data. According to Schwartz, who visited Montenegro after the Berlin Congress (1878), the whole country with the annexed areas barely had 160,000 inhabitants, of which, due to continuous and bloody battles, males comprised a minority of about 75,000. Rovinski maintained that in 1880, Montenegro had 150,000 souls and 25,000 dwellings. Analyzing the data provided by Brockhaus and N. Dučić, Lj. Kostić claims that Montenegrin population in mid-1901 was no larger than 160,000 to 165,000, although the figures for 1898 point to a conclusion that there were around 200,000 inhabitants. Such

⁷ More on the methodology of calculating the number of residents in: Rašević, Miroslav, "Demografske prilike i stanovništvo". In: M. Macura (Ed.): *Naselja i stanovništvo oblasti Brankovića 1455. godine*, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti – Službeni glasnik, Beograd 2001, p.425–428.

⁸ Radovan Bojović, *ibid.*, p.18.

⁹ Pavle Radosinović, *Naselja stare Crne Gore. Opšti dio*, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti – Narodna knjiga, Beograd 1985, p.134–137.

¹⁰ Zafer Gölen, "XIX Yüzyılda Karadağ'ın İdarî ve Sosyal Yapısı", *Yeni Türkiye* (70), Yeni Türkiye Stratejik Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara 2015, pp. 5273-5292, 5286).

¹¹ Zafer Gölen, *ibid.*, p. 5286.

differences in population indicate that an extremely high population migration evidently occurred at the end of the 19th century¹².

In the Principality of Montenegro, the official figures for the first census taken on 31 December 1909 showed that there were 317,856 inhabitants, of whom 179,605 men and 138,260 women. Before the Balkan wars, in 1909, Montenegro occupied an area of 9,475 km², i.e. a territory smaller by 4,337 km², or by one-third of the present territory. Some data from other documents of the time, which were kept secret, had different, rather convincing figures. According to the documents of the State Archive of Montenegro and the Ministry of Interior of Montenegro no. 10334, dated November 1910, 222,015 inhabitants lived in Montenegro. These figures were further supported by stenographic notes of 1914 according to which Montenegro then had 220,000 inhabitants, or 37,911 households. Another proof that the 1909 census data were inaccurate was the presented ratio of men and women according to which there were 40,000 men more than women¹³.

Constant wars and migrations that preceded this period, significantly reduced the number of men and consequently such figures in favour of women are almost impossible. To remain as objective as possible, when considering the results of the population census in Montenegro in 1909, we shall use the information according to which it had 222,015 inhabitants. Based on the facts presented and for the purpose of clarity, we shall maintain that at the time when its borders extended rapidly, Montenegro had the following population: 1523 – 1692 (Katunska, Rijeka, Crmnica and Lješanska nahija) up to 12,000 inhabitants; in 1796 (Katunska, Rijeka, Crmnica, Lješanska nahija, Piperi and Bjelopavlići) up to 40,000. In 1859, (Katunska, Rijeka, Crmnica, Lješanska nahija, Piperi, Bjelopavlići, Vasojevići, Drobnjak, Rudine) – 120,000; in 1909 (Katunska, Rijeka, Crmnica, Lješanska nahija, Piperi, Bjelopavlići, Vasojevići, Drobnjak, Rudine, Nikšić, Kuci, Šaranci, Bar, Ulcinj) – 220,000¹⁴.

The 1921 census was the first organized and systematic way of getting not only reliable data, but also information on a number of other features of the population. That was the time Montenegro became a part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and within the current boundaries there lived 311,341 inhabitants. In the 1921 census, the Montenegrin population figure was obtained by adding the population within the pre-Balkan Wars boundaries (the area of 9,475 km² with 199,227 inhabitants) to the population of the areas which were later annexed. According to this census, 23,864 inhabitants lived in the district of Berane (Rozaje and Budimlje), 26,147 – in Bijelo Polje (Lozina) district, 26,798 – in Pljevlja (Boljanić) district, while 35,305 inhabitants lived in the district of Kotor. In the period between 1921 and 1931, the population change index for Montenegro was 115.6, while the population increased at an annual rate of 1.4%. During the 1931 census Montenegro was included into the Zeta Banovina which occupied 30,741 km², and which, according to the results of the census of that year, had 925,516 inhabitants. According to the 1931 census, Montenegro – within the present-day borders – had 360,044 inhabitants. The population census scheduled for 1941 was not carried out due to the commencement of World War II. However, it has been estimated that that year, Montenegro in its present borders, had 425,964 inhabitants¹⁵.

In this period, the growth index decreased to 104.8, and the annual rate to 0.3%. Such a shift in the population change index is the result of external factors (large losses in World War II, which, besides direct also had some indirect effects on the natural change of the population). The so-called "compensation" period which lasted from 1948 to 1961, was marked by increases

¹² Radovan Bakić, *Promjene u prostornom razmještaju...*, p.12.

¹³ Radovan Bojovic, *ibid.*, p.23.

¹⁴ Radovan Bakić, *Ogledi iz demografije*, Filozofski fakultet – Geografski institut, Nikšić 2010, p.60–66.

¹⁵ Radovan Bojovic, *ibid.*, p.56.

in birth rate, population change index, which grew to 125.1, and the annual population growth rate, which rose to 1.7% – with all three categories reaching their highest values for the whole observed period. The next time span between the years 1961 and 1981 was characterized by a slight decrease in the index of population change which fell to 123.8, and a significantly greater decrease in the population growth rate, which fell to 0.4%. Although the birth rate was lower than in the previous period, due to a bigger generation span entering the reproductive age as compared to the previous period, it was only in the following period 1981-2003 that the decline in the birth rate was reflected on the index of population change when it dropped to 106.1. The annual population growth rate fell to the level of 1931 – 0.3%, which was its lowest value in the whole period between 1921 and 2003. Unlike the period between 1931 and 1948, the low rate of growth in the last observed period (1981-2003) was solely the result of natural population change without any significant influences of other factors. For the entire period between 1921 and 2003 the population change index was 199.2 with the population growth rate of 0.8% (Table II)¹⁶.

Throughout the period from 1921 to 2003, there was a constant increase in the population and changes in the national structure in Montenegro. The population figure of 311,341 inhabitants within today's boundaries recorded in the census of 1921, rose to 620,145. In this period of eighty-two years, the population of Montenegro increased by 308,804 or 99%. The average annual increase in population was 3,765 and the growth rate was 1.2%. The largest increase in the population between the two censuses was recorded in the period between 1961 and 1971 (57,710 or 5,710 a year with the annual growth rate of 16.1%). However, since the censuses were not held at regular ten-year intervals, the highest population growth was recorded between 1948 and 1953 when during the five-year period, the number of inhabitants increased by 42,684, i.e. by an average of 8,536 inhabitants per year, or at an average growth rate of 2.17%¹⁷.

Table II Index and the annual population growth rates of Montenegro in the period 1921-2003

Year	Total number	Population Change Index trends	The annual rate of change in %
1921*	311341	-	-
1931*	360044	115,6	1,4
1948	377305	104,8	0,3
1961	471994	125,1	1,7
1981	584310	123,8	0,4
2003*	620145	106,1	0,3
1921-2003	465743	199,2	0,8

* The enumerations at the censuses of 1921, 1931 and 2003 were carried out using the *de facto* method, while in the other censuses the method of complete enumeration was applied.

All censuses conducted in the period from 1948 to 2003 recorded a decrease in the number of permanent members of the household or family. In sociology, this process is called "atomization" of the family and has been present in both urban and in rural areas.

¹⁶ Bakić, Radovan; Mijanović, Dragica, *Stanovništvo Crne Gore u drugoj polovini XX vijeka*, Filozofski fakultet – Geografski institute, Nikšić 2008, p.78.

¹⁷ Bakić, Radovan; Doderović, Miroslav; Mijanović, Dragica, *Naselja u prostoru*, Filozofski fakultet – Geografski institute, Nikšić 2009, p.387–392.

Here are some facts that illustrate the phenomenon: in Montenegro, the average household size in the cities in 1991 was 3.6 persons and in 2003 – 3.2. Similarly, the average size of a rural households in 1991 was 3.7 persons and in 2003 – 3.2. Furthermore, a strong and continual rural – urban migration trend could be noted. Internal migrants have left a profound mark on all the features of urban life continuum. The pressure on the cities was enormous, which is best illustrated by the fact that around 350,000 people in Montenegro in 1991 did not live in their birth places. The density of population varies considerably throughout the country and in particular from region to region. 620,145 inhabitants live on the territory of 13,812 km² and an average population density per sq km is 44.8 inhabitants. On the other hand, the northern region accounts for 52.9% of Montenegrin territory and has a lower density of 26.6 inhabitants per km². The concentration of population in central and coastal regions shows the population density of 56.8 inhabitants for the central part and 91.8 for the littoral region. In Montenegro, there are 40 urban and 1216 rural settlements¹⁸.

The decline in the index of population trends in a number of municipalities for the period 1981-2003 will show long term effects on the change of population in the Republic. The internal migrations were a very important factor that influenced the population change in all municipalities of the Republic, either positively or negatively. In many municipalities they had negative consequences such as depopulation¹⁹.

Chart 1- Number of citizens in Montenegro in the period 1921-2003 and by regions in the period 1961-2003

¹⁸ (Bakić, Mijanović, 2008, 56)

¹⁹ (Bojović, 2014, 54–58).

2. Natural change of the population of Montenegro in the second half of 20th and early 21st centuries

The most important components of the natural change of the population are birth rate, mortality, natural growth and infant mortality. The birth rate of the population of Montenegro in the period between 1966 and 1970 was 22.1 ‰ and is considered moderate. In the following observed periods it had a declining tendency which is a result of the general trend of declining birth rates. However, in the period 1976-1980 it was 19‰, which is still considered moderate, while in the last observed period from 2000 to 2004, it was 13.9 ‰ and belongs to the category of low birth rates. In the same period, mortality rates had the opposite tendency. From 1966 to 1970 it reached 6.6 ‰, and in the following period of 1976-1980 it decreased slightly to 6.4 ‰. A growth followed in the period 2000-2004 when it reached 9 ‰ as a result of the aging population of the Republic. Despite the upward trend in the mortality rate during the whole period it is still considered low. Mortality rate of infants in the first reported period of 1966-1970 was very high 40 ‰, with a tendency to decline; in the following period it was 25.4 ‰, and although it was much lower as compared to the previous period, it is still considered very high, while the period between 2000 and 2004 had the lowest rate of 11.1 ‰.

Population growth rate in the first reported period 1966-1970 reached 15.5‰, which is considered high. In subsequent periods, considering that the birth rate steadily declined and mortality rates tended to increase, there was a decline in the population growth rate – in the period 1976-1980, the rate of natural increase of the population of the Republic was moderate and reached 12.6 ‰, while in the period 2000-2004, it was low and reached only 4.9 ‰ (table III)²⁰.

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Table III Natural change of the population of Montenegro in the period 1966-2004 in ‰

Year	birth rates	Mortality rates	Rates of natural growth	Infant mortality rate
1966-1970	22,1	6,6	15,5	40,0
1976-1980	19,0	6,4	12,6	25,4
2000-2004	13,9	9,0	4,9	11,1

The biggest shifts in the natural population change occurred in the north and north-east regions, where the biggest declines in the birth rate were noted, which significantly contributed to the outward migrations. In particular, this change was markedly negative in the northern region, which had significantly lower birth rates and higher mortality rates due to the extremely negative trends in the north-east, which resulted in a negative natural population growth in the last period. In the other two regions, central and southern, due to the influx of population from the afore-mentioned two regions, the natural change of the population had a much more moderate character and more or less reflected the natural process of aging.

²⁰ Bakić; Mijanović, *Stanovništvo Crne Gore u drugoj*, p.98.

Chart 2 - Birth rates, mortality and natural growth of the population of Montenegro in the period 1966-2004

3. The mechanical movement of the population of Montenegro

Due to a lack of data on the population migration characteristics, a way to obtain the migration balance of the observed area is to establish it from the information on the total population change and the natural increase between certain census periods. The difference between these two population changes provides us with the migration balance for the Republic of Montenegro, its regions and municipalities, as well as the annual rate of net migration, which is the most reliable indicator of immigration and emigration in an area. In the period between 1961 and 1971 the overall population increase was 57,610 inhabitants, the natural increase was 67,583 and the migration balance was negative -9,973 inhabitants, i.e. the annual migration balance was negative by -0.2%. In the following period 1971-1981 the total population growth was 54,706 inhabitants, the natural increase – 56,819 inhabitants and the migration balance was again negative -2,113 inhabitants, with the annual migration balance of - 0.04%, which was lower than in the previous period. In the last period 1981-2003, Montenegro's total population growth amounted to 88,784, with the natural population increase of 91,108 persons, the migration balance of -2,324 inhabitants, and the negative annual migration balance of -0.02%, the lowest in the whole period²¹. In the observed period 1961-2003²², the difference between the total population growth of 201,100 persons and the natural increase of 215,510 persons is 14,410, which is a negative migration balance. The annual rate of migration balance in this period was - 0.06%. Based on this, we can conclude that the Republic of Montenegro in the period 1961-2003 was an emigration state, although the emigration was not intense (Table IV)²³.

²¹ *Crna Gora u XXI stoljeću – u eri kompetitivnosti*, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Podgorica 2010, p.34–38.

²² Population figures of the Republic, regions and municipalities in the period after 2003, were obtained by the methodology of the permanent population as in the previous census periods.

²³ Bakić; Mijanović, *Stanovništvo Crne Gore u drugoj*, p.96–98.

Table IV Migration balance of Montenegro and the region in the period 1961-2003

Republic-region		1961-1971	1971-1981	1981-2003	1961-2003
Montenegro	total change	57 610	54 706	88 784	201 100
	natural increase	67 583	56 819	91 108	215 510
	balance of migration	-9 973	-2 113	-2 324	-14 410
	ann. m rate. b%	-0,2	-0,04	-0,02	-0,06

The formation of the FRY in 1992 took place in the conditions of high external and internal instability, further complicated by the consequences of the breakup of Yugoslavia, the civil war on the territory of former Yugoslavia, international economic isolation and the onset of hyperinflation. The Third Republic of Yugoslavia consisted of Serbia and Montenegro, with the territory of 102,179 km² and the population of 10,338,000 (1990). Impoverished Montenegrin economy and society was the host to all refugees and internally displaced persons who sought refuge in Montenegro. At one point, the number of newcomers reached 20% of the total population of Montenegro. After the conflicts and tensions, with the help of international and national humanitarian organizations, many were able to return home. However, a large number of refugees remained in Montenegro, without much hope of restoring their previous lives and with the desire to become fully-fledged and equal members of the society (it is estimated that currently there are around 20,000 Romani, of whom 5,000 were from Kosovo, about 13,300 refugees from the former Yugoslav republics and about 28,000 internally displaced persons from Kosovo, which represents approximately 8% of the total estimated population)²⁴.

There was a huge asymmetry in terms of territory and in terms of population size between the two federal units, Montenegro and Serbia in the FRY. Montenegro accounted for 13.5% of the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 6.1% of the total population, 6.1% of employed persons and 4.9% of GDP. These figures are a clear indicator that the equality the two federal units was almost impossible to sustain.

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²⁴ Bakić; Doderović; Mijanović, *Naselja u prostoru*, Filozofski P.78.

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