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EMIGRATION FROM MONTENEGRO BOTH IN THE PAST AND PRESENT-DAY

Abstract: Displaced inhabitants from the territory of present Montenegro can be traced from the first half of the 16th and even more reliable from the 17th century. Emigration from Montenegro, especially of the Montenegrins, was intense in other parts of the 18th century, and was very massive in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, especially after the Balkan, First and Second World War. For Montenegro it can be said that "it could settle others, and could not displace itself"; however, its emigration, disbanded in smaller or larger groups, enclaves and communities, ranging from a few centuries, was largely lost in new settings. The main cause of migration from Montenegro was the lack of minimal material conditions for life. There were social and economic differences in Montenegrin society. The main strata of society were the rich, most of the population falls to poverty, and from the middle of the 19th century ever-increasing debts. In addition, the general vulnerability, blood feuds, and epidemics — brought the population to the edge of survival. Nevertheless, the growth was constantly increasing. It was difficult to feed a large family. Emigration has established a balance. This tradition and today's economic climate encourages young people to leave the country, so we can talk about those who are leaving and those who are preparing to leave. Despite its undeniable results in the study of this topic, historiography and demography failed to follow all the waves of emigration from Montenegro, let alone individual or minor evictions that were constant in the past.

Key words: *emigration, economy, poverty, tradition*

1. INTRODUCTION

Migration is a very complex historical theme. It has lasted for a long time on our Balkan territories starting with the Migration Period when our ancestors came to these places, to stay there forever according to the reliable

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historical resources. Migration movements are one of the important features of the history of the people in this region. According to Cvijic, the emigration begins with the Turkish conquest in the 14th century due to retaliation as a response to resistance and feelings of insecurity of the population. It represented a part of the lives of a large number of people between the First and Second World War, and is present in the modern age. [1]

The geographical position of Montenegro is determined by the coordinates: 18 ° 26' and 19 ° 22' east longitude and 41° 52` and 43° 32` of the northern latitude. The total length of its land borders is 614 km. The distance of the end points of the coast of Montenegro is 100 km air distance, and the right length of its coastline is about 298.0 km, giving the indentation index of 2.98. Montenegro has a surface area and a population of at least six republics in the former SFRY. It covers an area of 13,812km2, or 5.4% of the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Montenegro has only 741km^2 of healthy soils (5.4% of the territory), which indicates that it has a special significance for Montenegro. The total area of arable land is 1891 km^2 or 0.31 ha per inhabitant. Montenegro belongs to countries that do not have enough arable land, and if only arable land, orchards and vineyards are considered, as in the EU countries, it is very deprived (0.09 ha/inh). The population of Montenegro is estimated at 620,145 inhabitants, and the average population per km2 is 44.8 inhabitants. The main cause of migration from Montenegro is the lack of minimal material conditions of life.

2. MONTENEGRO AND EMIGRATION

Despite its undeniable results in the study of this topic, historiography failed to follow all the waves of emigration from the Montenegrin area, let alone individual or smaller evictions that were permanent in the past of Montenegro. In this respect, it is particularly characteristic in the last decade of the twentieth and the first half of the twenty-first century. The eviction of the population from the territory of today's Montenegro can be traced from the first half of the 16th and more reliable from the 17th century. Emigration from Montenegro, especially of Montenegrins, was intense in other parts of the 18th century, and was very massive in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, especially after the Balkan, First and Second World War. Although Montenegro is said to "have inhabited other regions but have not dispersed itself," its emigration, disintegrated in smaller or larger groups, enclaves and colonies, ranging from a few centuries, was largely lost in the new environment. In order to make our analysis factually based we will use statistical data. According to the first known census of the 17th century, Montenegro had 90 villages with about a few hundred houses and

barely a thousand soldiers. The Montenegrins preferred to move to Serbia and Russia, then to the Venetian territory, especially to Istria, to the Naples Kingdom, to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but also to Turkey. They left to other countries, too long without any documents, until 1751, when the first Montenegrin passports were issued. Emigration was primarily directed to those countries from which assistance for emigrants and the provision of tolerable living conditions could be expected.

After the international recognition in 1878 (at the Berlin Congress), Montenegro became a 28-nation state. Accordingly the census was conducted. In the paper Đ. Pejovic: The eviction of Montenegrins in the XIX century, Titograd, 1962, we find on p. 7, 158, 294, the opinion that numerous allegations in domestic and foreign literature on the population of Montenegro were mostly arbitrary and inaccurate. This refers to estimates before and after 1878. He says: "It seems that they are deliberately and justly concealed: on the one hand for military reasons (neighboring countries, especially Turkey, think it has more than it actually could have been) and, on the other hand, "from the economic ones — that, in particularly difficult circumstances, the search for more help would be explained, if it could be reached at all" with p. 7. We also state that according to Pejovic: for the years around the first census, there are two hectic population data, 123,000 and 196 238. Nevertheless the exact figure is thought to be around 207,000 inhabitants. What are the factors that influence the emigration?

1. Firstly, the scarcity caused by poor harvest yields revealed a lack of the required amount of grains that were the essentials for the majority of the population. Since the harvest yield did not only provide food, but also ensured the seed for the next sowing, the sub-planting of the crop represented a multiple risk after the survival of the population. The need to ensure future harvest significantly affected the level of scarcity as it further reduced the amount of available cereals. The scarcity of incomes made it impossible for a significant portion of the population to buy the necessary amount of food, which in times of shortage was often added to the price. Under such circumstances, the population often resorted to "food crisis", which usually consisted of substances that were not normally used for human consumption. Permanent food scarcity, often transformed into real "hunger epidemics", as well as the lack of other, most elementary, essential products for life (e. g. salt, gas, canvas, and metal products — tools) were evident. Although the food base in Montenegro was improved by the cultivation of potato culture in the late 18th century, the permanent problem, the lack of arable soil, its primitive processing, affected the degeneration of culture, more than yield and surface yields. In the administrative sense, the authorities

tried to ensure a sufficient amount of food in the first place, which was approached in two ways: reducing food exports from the affected area and increasing imports. At the same time, the authorities insisted on sowing all the projected areas.

Some forms of public works provided the population with the opportunity to increase incomes. The final measure was most often the provision of direct aid, either in cash or in cereals (Russia, Greece), which was often implemented in the form of a loan. In addition to the low level of development of agricultural production and high representation of viticulture, the problem also had its market component: part of the peasant used to sell products in the Coastal Areas, at higher prices. This proved to be an aggravating circumstance in times of scarcity, because even in the best year's harvest yields could not make the larger stocks. And just reliance on supplies was a primary means of preventing hunger. [2]

2. According to Đ. Pejovic, who carefully collected all the available data on famine in his work on the emigration of Montenegrins, as the most significant immediate cause of emigration, was evident in the period from 1823 to 1874 i. e. 23 famished years. For the second half of the 19th century, until 1876, Đ. Pejovic mentioned: 1853, 1854/56/57/58, 1861/62/63 and 1873. [3]

3. Until the middle of the 20th century there was no medical help in Montenegro. Only from the end of the sixth decade, it was the first time to introduce some kind of medical state service and appoint physicians in individual towns (Danilovgrad, Rijeka Crnojevića, Vir Pazar). [4]

4. One, probably for Montenegro, a specific but not less important factor that made the general state even more difficult, was closing the markets. Namely, in the event of any epidemic, and often as a form of political pressure, the citizens of Montenegro, the Austrian and Turkish authorities banned access to markets in Kotor, Skadar and Podgorica. These were the only places where exchange, sale of livestock, wool, etc. could be made, grain purchasing, and so on. Dušan Vuksan thus states that in the twenties (1818/19), when a plague occurred in Montenegro, the disease was concealed from the Austrians, so that the Kotor market could not be closed. [5]

Apart from these predominant factors, a few others should not be forgotten in objective analysis. Among them, one should certainly point out: a) the assistance in the crop that Montenegro received during the famine years from its allies (Russia, Greece, France and Austria); Đ. Pejovic states that the wheat from Russia was sponsored (about 46,000 rubles per year, according to M. Djurovic, Montenegrin Finance 63), but the deliveries were not timely, as for example in 1953, or in 1859, when the grain did not arrive

at all. Larger quantities from Russia were delivered in 1863. During the war of 1876–78 wheat was being delivered in Perast, Kotor and Budva, for 10,818 families with 62,496 members. In 1862 and 1869, besides assistance from Russia, assistance was also sent from Greece, Austria and France. b) the possibility of relocating some families to the border zone towards Turkey; c) increasingly massive and organized migration flows of entire families towards Serbia and massive migrations of individuals to various countries of Europe, Africa and America. The migration was very large, which can be concluded on the basis of Pejovic's outcomes:

Only on the basis of two periodical and incomplete passport books, for the years 1853–1860 and 1860–1878, it can be established that 8,141 Montenegrins left for earnings or settlements; 185 left with families without determining the number of their members. "Only 3888 with 141 families went to Serbia, 4.684 in Constantinople, and remained in various countries of Europe, Africa and America." "The official documents were not recorded by hundreds of families who moved to Serbia in 1853–1856 and 1860–1863. The number of emigrants grew faster, and the emigration was seen as a regular and quite necessary phenomenon in the country. Movement of emigration was becoming more and more massive, even in the period of struggle for the expansion of territory and international recognition of Montenegro, and it was directed in several directions. In this period migration was better organized than earlier, and efforts by state authorities to improve the position of workers, especially in Turkey, and earning as much as possible achieved their first successes. [6]

The slow development of non-agricultural activities, accompanied by parallel deterioration of the position of peasants in the overburdened villages, resulted in mass emigration. In this period, the emigration was directly conditioned by the pauperization and the misery of the poor peasants, and the emigration of families to Serbia, after 1878, was in fact a significant (perhaps the most significant) part of the state administration activities on material security of the population in general. Liberation of Serbia creates wide opportunities, favorable conditions had been created, and mass exodus was adopted. After the Berlin Congress, when Serbia was territorially expanded, it became even more massive. Only in the years 1888 and 1889, there were 7,238 emigrants to Serbia, which exceeded the figure established in agreement with Serbia by one fifth. [7]

The main characteristic of the emigration from Montenegro in this period is its massive continuity in intensification almost to the very beginning of the First World War in 1912." The emigration rate in this period ranged from 17 to over 30 evicted inhabitants per every thousand assumed

numbers of the total population. With a review of emigration after 1903, when it was possible to re-establish monitoring through passports; 16,166 passports were issued in just three years, as follows: 6,582 passports were issued in 1903; in 1904, 6,724 or perhaps 11,605; in 1905, 2,870 only from January to April. For 1906 there is no direct data, but the mass departure could be judged based on the established absence of military payers from some Montenegrin battalions. Thus, according to Pejovic, p. 449, on May 1, 1912, there were 41,805 soldiers in the country, and 11,354 abroad. "It is true that emigration was greater than stated, but such data are also sufficient to show the opportunities in Montenegro and find that the percentage of the population, which had to seek the means of survival further from its home, is really high." [8]

The emigration of the population of this period has greatly relieved the pressure of the population in the country, both in terms of disparities between the population and production resources, as well as in terms of pressure on employment. The authorities in Montenegro in the later stages of this process were forced to restrict evictions, as well as to take some measures to keep the population. Mass emigration resulted in, even in the opinion of some authors, an increase in wages in Montenegro. For example, Bulajic believes that in 1907 about 15,000 were employed in America, on the eve of the Balkan war 20,000 or about 10% of the total population. In his opinion, the total outflow of labor from the CG amounted to one third of the total labor force in the country, or half of the most capable workers. This outflow was also caused by the increase in the labor force in the country.

In addition, income from emigration earnings contributed greatly to improving the economic situation of the emigrant families, and according to data in the years before the war, they had reached and exceeded the sum of all state budget revenues in these years. From 1907 to the Balkan wars, about 3 million perpers were directed annually from America. Only from 1907 to the Balkan wars was pressed from the USA to CG annually about 3 million perpers. For the changes in the economic life of Montenegro of this period they were more significant in terms of the breadth of the areas they began than to have substantially affected the change in the living standard of the population.

3. POPULATION OF MONTENEGRO FROM 1921 TO 2011 AND MIGRATION

The Population Census in 1921 is the first organized and systematic way of obtaining not only a reliable number but also other characteristics of the population of Montenegro. At the time, Montenegro entered the Kingdom

of SHS and within its current borders lived 311 341 inhabitants. This data came from the addition of the population of Montenegro in the census of 1921, within its borders before the Balkan wars (area of 9,475 km2), which amounted to 199,227 inhabitants, with the number of inhabitants of the regions that were later merged with Montenegro. By adopting the Resolution of the Anti-Fascist Assembly of People's Liberation of Serbia in April 1945 on the acceptance of AVNOJ decision on Sandzak, which concerned territorial issues, the current territory of Montenegro was definitely determined. In these newly formed areas, according to the 1921: district of Berane (Rožaje and Budimlje) had 23 864, district of Bijelo Polje (Lozina) 26 147, district of Pljevlja (Boljanić) 26 798 and district of Kotor 35.305 inhabitants. [9] During the population census in 1931, Montenegro entered the Zeta Banovina area, which covered 30 741 km2 with 925 516 inhabitants. [10]

According to the population census in 1931, Montenegro had 360 044 inhabitants. [11] The population census that was supposed to be in 1941 was not carried out due to the start of the Second World War. However, it is estimated that in that year Montenegro had 425 964 inhabitants in today's borders.

In the period of 1921–2003, there is a steady increase in the number of inhabitants in Montenegro, or 311 341 in today's borders, the census from 1921, the number of inhabitants has increased to 620 145. In this period of eighty-two years, the number of inhabitants of Montenegro increased by 308,804 or 99%. The average annual increase in the number of inhabitants is 3 765, i. e. the growth rate is 1.2%. The largest increase in the number of inhabitants between the two censuses was recorded in the period 1961–1971. (57 710 or 5710 annually and an annual growth rate of 1.16%). However, since this was not a ten-year period, the largest increase in the number of inhabitants was between 1948 and 1953, when the number of inhabitants increased by 42,684 in five years; an average of 8536 inhabitants per year or an average growth rate of 2.17. [12] The last decade of the 20th century was marked by moderate positive trends in the population movement in Montenegro. In the period between the two censuses (1991–2003), the number of inhabitants in the country increased by a total of 4.8%, i. e. the average annual growth was achieved at a rate of 0.34%. Population growth slowed down in this period over several decades after the Second World War, and at the same time it was accompanied by total population aging.

The density of population is very diverse in Montenegro, especially in the regions. On the surface of 13 812 km2, there are 620 145 inhabitants,

Table 1. Population of Montenegro according to censuses

	Population in the country (population present)	Population in the country (previous period = 100)	Total population	Density of population (number of inhabitants per km2)	Number of households	Number of women per 1000 male inhabitants
1921	311.341		311.341	22,5	55.463	1004,76
1931	360.044	115,6	360.044	26,1	62.836	1002,86
1981	565.467		584.310	42,3	142.692	1016,68
1991	591.269	104,5	615.035	44,5	163.274	1010,36
2003	620.145	104,8	673.078	48,7	191.047	1031,76
2011	620 029			44,9	194 795(p)	1 025

Monstat: Statistical Yearbook of Montenegro (2012)

and the average population per square kilometer is 44.8 inhabitants. The Northern region makes 52.9% of Montenegro territory with smaller population density of 26.6 inhabitants per square kilometer. The concentration of the population in the Central and the Coastal region shows the population density of 56.8 inhabitants for the Central part and 91.8 inhabitants for the Coastal region. These are processes that came to a great extent from the process of urbanization and mechanical movement of the population from the North to the Central and the Coastal region. [13]

The results of the 2011 Population Census in Montenegro showed a continuation of the trends of aging and slower growth of the Montenegrin population, observed in the 1990s. These trends, in combination with internal and external migrations, significantly influenced the change in the demographic picture of Montenegro. In 2011, there were 620,029 inhabitants in Montenegro, while in 2003 this number was 612,267. Thus, in the period between the two censuses, the total number of inhabitants increased by 1.3%. During the last decade of the 20th century, population growth slowed down and followed the overall aging of the population. In addition to biological factors, the movement of population, which in this period was also conditioned by socio-economic events, also contributed to this. We will mention the most significant: the disintegration of the former SFRY and the wars in the region, the sanctions of the international community, the deep economic and political crisis.

Population aging was a consequence of declining growth rate and the increase in life expectancy in the previous period. This resulted in a continuous increase in the share of the elderly in the total population and the rising mortality rate. [14] While in 1971 the average age of women and men in Montenegro was 29.8 years and 27.4 years in 2011, those values amounted to 38.4 years for women and 36 years for men. Natural increase declined

from 5,636 in 1991, to 1,368 in 2011 and to 1105 in 2016, when the lowest natural increase for the last twenty years was recorded. The rate of natural increase in 1951 was 20.8 ‰, and in 1961, 20.4 ‰, in the last two censuses the figures were significantly different — 4.3 ‰ in 2003, and only 2.2 ‰ in 2011. From 2003 to 2011, the total natural growth rate amounted to 18,196, which indicates that during this period a negative migration balance of 10,434 inhabitants was recorded.

According to the official data of the Monstat, mostly younger population is permanently leaving Montenegro. This is evidenced by the data that Montenegro had 615,035 inhabitants on the 2011 census and 25 years later (2017), 622,159. This means that in Montenegro for the fourth quarter the number of inhabitants increased by only seven thousand. Monstat has no official data on how many people in this period left Montenegro, but according to the data on the growth rate and immigration, it can be concluded that this number is about 140 000 citizens. The growth rate (the difference between the number of births and deaths) was positive each year and totaled for the period 1991–2015, 73.126. The number of immigrants from abroad in this period is at least 72 thousand. This means that the number of inhabitants, if not evicted, should have been increased by 145 thousand. The number of citizens that Montenegro "lost" in this period is twice as large as the municipality of Niksic has inhabitants. In the censuses by 2011, those who at the time of the census were living abroad, with the conditions that they lived there for up to a year, were officially registered and that the members of their household in Montenegro reported it to the enumerators. According to 1971 census, when the Yugoslavs went to work abroad, the number of registered residents of Montenegro abroad amounted to 11 thousand, in 1981 this figure was increased to 18 thousand, in 1991 to 23 thousand, in 2003, when they were last counted, their number was 55 thousand.

The fact that young people are leaving the country is evident when comparing data on age groups from the 1991 and 2011 censuses. According to 1991 census in the age groups from 10 to 19 and from 20 to 34 years there were 248 thousand inhabitants, and 20 years later that figure is 218 thousand. Also, in 1991, Montenegro had 50.6 thousand inhabitants of 65, i. e. their share in the total population was 8.3 percent. Their number was 20 years later 79.3 thousand, and the share in the total population was 12.7 percent. Although the birth rate was positive, all these years it has been in significant decline. The natural increase in 1991 was 5,634 inhabitants, and later until 2005 it had a steady decline when it amounted to 1,513. During the so-called economic boom, partial recovery began in 2006, at 1,563, in 2007, 1,855, in 2008, 2,550, and in 2009, 2,823. After that, which coincided

with economic crash, the natural increase again fell, so 2010 was 1.787, in 2011 it was 1.368, then the next three years it was held at about 1.500 to fall to the lowest number of World War II — 1.057.

According to the Monstat data on migrations from 2012, then there were 42,000 inhabitants living in Montenegro who settled in the period from 1991 to 1999. From 1991 to 2012, 72 thousand inhabitants who lived there lived in Montenegro; 45% of those who settled in Montenegro in this period were born in Montenegro, and 70% had Montenegrin citizenship. The economic factor is also a potential and real reason for leaving the country, regardless of age, but also education of citizens of Montenegro. The most common reasons were an uncertain future, a low standard of living and war as emigration motives. That is, the reasons of economic nature were a basic or important integral part of other prominent reasons. Nevertheless, the fact that the economic factor is very important for the decision to emigrate in us, it is possible also a socially acceptable departure motive and individual reasons. In particular, when it comes to motives for emigrating from Montenegro highly educated, experts, talented people after 2006, and other non-economic reasons such as professional and individual self-realization should be considered.

Apart from the external, there are also significant internal migrations. In the past 25 years, the number of residents in Podgorica, Danilovgrad and coastal municipalities has increased significantly, except for Ulcinj, while growth in the north has been recorded only in Rozaje. In the territory of the Municipality of Podgorica in 1991, there lived 152 thousand inhabitants, and now the figure is 195 thousand, while Budva recorded growth from 11.7 to 20.5 thousand inhabitants. Herceg Novi has increased its population by 2.7 thousand, Tivat for three thousand, Bar for 6.3 thousand, Kotor for only 164 inhabitants, while Ulcinj has fallen from 24 to 20 thousand inhabitants. Although Cetinje in the meantime became the capital, it lost a quarter of the population in 1991 (from 20.3 to 15.8 thousand citizens). One day, Rozaje increased the population from 22,976 to 23,152. We noticed the reasons for permanent migration. They are changing — but this process does not stop. By joining the EU — it may be even larger.

According to the UNDP Human Development Index (HDI) from 2015, Montenegro occupies the 49th position of 188 countries, which is classified as a category of "very high human development" countries. The expected life expectancy in Montenegro is 76.5 years, with a gap of 2.4 years in the sex, in favor of women. The population in Montenegro is expected to fall by 8.3 percent, from 0.63 million in 2016 to 0.57 million in the next four decades, mainly due to the low fertility rate projected by the UN that will remain around 1.6–1.7 between 2015 and 2050.

Unemployment of young people and the economic participation of women are among the most important social issues in Montenegro. Young people aged 15–24 face high unemployment (39.5 percent), with over 16 percent of those who are not in the education system, are not employed or on some training. The low quality of education is partly responsible for bottlenecks in the Montenegrin labor market. Although a child can expect to receive 15.2 years of schooling at the beginning of schooling (if the current forms of enrollment follow the same principle), the acquisition of skills remains at a low level. According to PISA 2015, 52 percent of 15-year-olds do not have basic computing skills (compared to 32 percent in Croatia and 53 percent in Albania), while only 1.5 percent of students in this age show advanced mathematical skills (compared to 5.6 percent in Croatia and 1.1% in Albania). In addition, graduates lack the practical skills necessary for private sector employers. Gender inequality exists in relation to economic participation, including employment, entrepreneurship, work practices and access to resources and finances. In 2014, the share of women in the labor force in Montenegro is 52 percent, compared to 66 percent in the EU4, while the gap is 16.15 percent, which is slightly better than the 16.7 percent in the EU- 28 6. Female entrepreneurship is also at a low level, with only 12 percent of women entrepreneurs, compared to 22 percent of men. According to BEEPS V, of the 150 surveyed enterprises in the country, 24 percent had women among their owners, 19 percent had at least 50 percent of women in the ownership structure, and only 19 percent of companies had women in the top management positions. Access to funds is also limited and the World Bank highlights that the low level of possession of property in families at the forefront of women is a major factor affecting women's ability to access banking services and start work7. The EU estimates that the average unemployment rate between 2004 and 2010 was 48 percent in the central part of the country and 35.9 percent in the northern region, compared to 16 percent in the southern region. The EU also raised concerns about increasing the number of "hard-working" individuals, including poorly educated, long-term unemployed, unemployed in less-developed areas, and those with a lack of professional competencies.

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In order to increase common prosperity, Montenegro should invest in an inclusive growth model, by providing better opportunities to unskilled labor units and raising the level of expertise. There are also significant differences between the relatively lively coastal zones and the poorer northern areas with high unemployment. In particular, employers in the coastal tourism industry often prefer to employ workers who are informal migrants from the Western Balkan countries where they live with less cost, so employees are of low-cost (Serbia, Northern Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Kosovo), rather than formally employing Montenegrins from the rural region in the north. Montenegro has adopted three main political goals, i. e. Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth in the Development Directions of Montenegro (MDD) 2015–2018. Development directions identify tourism, energy, agribusiness and rural development, as well as the manufacturing industry, as the most important sectors, while respecting the need to increase productivity and enable the creation of new jobs.

Projections of MONSTAT by 2060 point out significant factors:

1. The population aging process will be one of the most important features of Montenegro's demographic development, which will be demographically older than fifty years old at the end of the projection period. This trend will be present in all regions of Montenegro, so that the population of each region, as well as the entire country, will be at a stage of deep demographic aging. Population aging is a phenomenon that Montenegro faces with rising health care costs, slower growth in human capital, and an increase in the share of unproductive workers at the expense of the productive population. Such movements reflect in the medium and long term the reduction in per capita income, i. e. the fall in the standard of living. Problems with demographic aging have not come to a very critical stage, should act immediately so that the future effects of demographic aging can be mitigated. The aging population is not only a demographic problem, so its negative effects cannot be solved only by demographic policies. Immigration can be a solution for some smaller territorial units that are heavily affected by the aging process and quickly lose the working-age and younger population, but at the state level this is not a single long-term solution. The only combination of immigration policy, preferably selective, and pro-catastrophic demographic policies, can slow down the process of demographic aging, and in some areas it will also rejuvenate the population. [

2. The share of persons under the age of 15 in the total population of Montenegro will be less in 2060 than in 2011.

3. As a consequence of the first two factors, the index of dependence will increase. In the zero migration balance, this index will increase significantly — from 0.47 in 2011 to 0.75 in 2060.

4. The part of the Northern region in the total population of Montenegro will continue to decrease, while the share of the Central and Coastal regions will continue to increase.

5. In order to achieve the present level of economic development, it will be necessary to increase the working activity (primarily the population from 15 to 67 years), that is, the labor supply will be compensated by the labor force from abroad or by the possible engagement of the older population (over 67 years of age). If nothing changes in the economy and if patterns of labor market behavior remain the same, there will be a reduction in the number of people in employment, to a decrease in GDP and to a lower standard of living. The aging of the population leads to an increase in costs that are allocated from current fiscal revenues, i. e. to increase spending on pensions and health care, as well as to a higher burden on the working population.

6. According to the MONSTAT scenario, by 2030, a larger increase in the number of immigrants than the number of emigrants can be expected, which would result in a positive and rising migration balance. Migration in Montenegro will be significantly affected by the forthcoming expected integration in the EU and global movements. Bearing in mind the climate benefits of Montenegro, as well as EU integration, it can be expected that a certain number of immigrants will be of older age (such as, for example, Spain).

7. Montenegro will be exposed to uniform culture, which is a consequence of globalization trends and the interference of the population. Bearing in mind that Montenegro is a country with small population, additional efforts will be required within the framework of cultural policy in order to preserve the identity and original identity values of Montenegrin citizens. Immigrants will certainly not be of the same origin as those from the end of the past and the beginning of this century, when persons from the former Yugoslav republics prevailed in that population.

8. In one of the predictions of MONSTAT, the majority of immigrants will come from Asian and African countries, motivated by various reasons, including requirements for international protection. New investment investments will definitely bring employment from other and remote areas to Montenegro, but will continue to attract people from the region as well. Considering migration in a historical perspective is important because it seems that the long existence of the tradition of emigration from these areas has become part of the system of values and the cultural circle in certain local environments and social structures. It has also contributed to the establishment of disadvantaged migrant networks that reduce, as has already been pointed out, the social, economic and psychological cost of leaving the country on an individual level. Analyzing migration trends in the past, the present and the future is especially important when discussing the demographic effects of emigration.

4. CONCLUSION

The emigration from Montenegro, especially the Montenegrins, was intense in other parts of the 18th century, and was very massive in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, especially after the Balkan, First and Second World War. Its emigration, disbanded in smaller or larger groups, enclaves and communities, ranged from a great deal of centuries to a large extent in the new environment. The main cause of migration from Montenegro is the lack of minimal material conditions for life. In order to expand and increase common prosperity, Montenegro should invest in an inclusive growth model, by providing better opportunities to unskilled labor force and raising the level of expertise.

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