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# An overview of the development of Mitrovica through the years

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# ABBREVIATIONS

ESI	European Stability Initiative
ICO	International Civilian Office
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo
SAP	Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo
SHS	Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes
SOE	Socially Owned Enterprise

# FOREWORD

In December 2009, Iniciativa Kosovare per Stabilitet (IKS) published six analytic briefs on the situation of the municipality and the city of Mitrovica.<sup>1</sup> Two years later, we return to the subject matter and attempt to deliver an area-based analysis of the situation in the municipality. Where traditional national policies can prove inadequate, ‘area-based development’ involves a holistic approach, focusing on the particular needs in a specific geographic area, instead of focusing on the transitional political processes, which are currently dominating the features of development. This research report focuses on the long-term structural changes and constants in the history of Mitrovica.

The research is undertaken at a historically significant moment in the history of Mitrovica, Northern Kosovo and the region as a whole. While the research was conducted in 2010/11, governance structures of the former municipality of Mitrovica have come to a complete dissolution, ending a process, which started in the 1980s.

In the course of implementing the regulations of the Ahtisaari Agreement, the International Civilian Office appointed a Municipal Preparation Team in February 2010 with the task to initiate the creation of the municipality of North Mitrovica. In May 2011, the administrator of the North Mitrovica Administrative Office, Adrijana Hodzic, started her work preparing the transition of local governance from the UNMIK Administration to the political stakeholders of the future municipality of North Mitrovica. The process remains open-ended however, some facts on the ground allow for predicting the outcome of the process.

Since Kosovo’s Declaration of Independence, in North Mitrovica, the structures of civilian rule implemented through UNMIK have been replaced by governance structures that are independent from Prishtina. While the ICO never enjoyed any support in Kosovo’s Northern municipalities, rudimentary UNMIK structures remained also largely ineffective. Despite the agreements reached with Belgrade in 2009, EULEX would never be able to fully deploy its mandate in the municipalities north of the Ibër/Ibar river. This concerns especially the judicial aspects of its program. Municipal elections organized by Belgrade in May 2008 reestablished political structures that remained in the shadow since 1999. Serbian parties that are not part of Kosovo’s political landscape are now dominating the life of North Mitrovica. The largely ‘parallel’ institutional structures (schools, security, and tax administration) are financed by the Serbian state. However, the locally elected Serbian parties were the parties that were opposing the politics of Belgrade. It took about two years until these parties were pushed back through renewed elections in Mitrovica and Leposavić/Leposavić, while Zveçan/Zveçan and Zubin Potok still remain in opposition to Belgrade.

In the course of 2010/11, Belgrade and Prishtina entered into an outright trade war. Combined with the failure of internationally managed civilian structures to effectively control the flow of goods and people, this development resulted in a violent confrontation of Prishtina and Belgrade over Kosovo’s Northern border. In the end of July 2011, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Kosovo, led by the former mayor of Mitrovica, Bajram Rexhepi, reestablished control over the Northern borders of Kosovo. Even though Prishtina’s security forces had to withdraw, the legitimacy of the process was in essence never disputed

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<sup>1</sup> Iniciativa Kosovare per Stabilitet, Mitrovica: Two Realities, One City, Pristina, 27 November 2009.

See: <http://iksweb.org/en-us/publications/Mitrovica-Two-realities-one-city-263>

by the International Community. NATO and EULEX police forces effectively backed the intentions of Kosovo's government and engaged in a month long confrontation with Serbia's 'parallel' security structures and their supporting mob. However, The EU's diplomatic negotiations with Belgrade on dismantling its parallel institutions are proving less successful

Following weeks of violent clashes in Northern Kosovo, continued barricading of strategic roads to Montenegro and Serbia, injured KFOR and Kosovo Police troops, and EULEX staff, the German Chancellor Angela Merkel travelled to Belgrade, on August 23, 2011, where she publicly announced the new German doctrine concerning Serbia's EU aspirations:

*"The summer was not so great and it led to events that we believed were in the past. ... If Serbia wants to achieve candidate status, it should resume the dialogue and achieve results in that dialogue, enable EULEX to work in all regions of Kosovo, and abolish parallel structures and not create new ones. ... One of the preconditions for Serbia is Kosovo, that relations between those states get normalized."*<sup>2</sup>

Since then, the situation on the ground has not changed for the better and KFOR is controlling the border crossings towards Serbia and Montenegro. Meanwhile the modalities and the timeframe for the creation of an independent municipality of North Mitrovica are subject to negotiations between Pristina and Belgrade, which have started in March 2011 in Brussels.

The arrest of Ratko Mladic in May 2011 has moved Serbia closer to get the EU candidate status, from which it has been effectively blocked since 2008. That the infliction of tensions in Kosovo is a deliberate weapon of anti-EU circles in Belgrade is no secret in Serbia. With the clear demand made by the German Chancellor, it remains to be seen if the liberal democratic forces in Belgrade consider the North of Kosovo a trade-off worth the price of EU accession.

Mitrovica is a city that has garnered a lot of attention in the Western Balkans. It has attracted special interest from multiple local and international researchers for three main reasons: 1. Mitrovica and Northern Kosovo appear to be among the last unsolved territorial conflicts in the Balkans, 2. Mitrovica lies at a distinct point of continued ethnic divide, where violence has become a regular phenomenon since the abolition of autonomy of the SAP Kosovo, and 3. The attempt of policymakers to ease tensions has led to multiple initiatives, which again demanded or resulted in further research and interest on the city.

The paper argues that this attention on Mitrovica lies in a traditional misperception of its geopolitical importance. While the multiple and diverging governance levels fail to arrive at sustainable solutions for the wellbeing and security of the region, Mitrovica has changed from a former showcase of Yugoslav socialist politics into a backyard of Pristina and Belgrade politics. This failure is attributed to the inability of the responsible actors to create sustainable economic development.

A realistic policy for a systematic utilization of Mitrovica's resources for regional and global competition has not been formulated. With long-term solutions nowhere in sight, Mitrovica is sailing down the path of de-industrialization. Large numbers of former inhabitants have left the town and today Mitrovica has

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<sup>2</sup> BBC, "Germany's Angela Merkel ties Serbian EU hopes to Kosovo", 23 August 2011.

See: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14631297>

been transformed into a haven for peoples from other regions and from different social backgrounds of the Kosovar society.

*IKS, February 2012*

# 1. INTRODUCTION

Over the past centuries, Mitrovica's economic development and strategic importance in the region has been determined by foreigners. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Mitrovica served as a large garrison town located at the gate to the very sensitive area of Sanjak, the control of which secured the connection of the Ottoman Empire to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The railway connection was built precisely to fit this purpose and it gave its economy the first push towards the development of manufacturing and trade. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Habsburg Empire took over the role of the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, Serbia began to seek the connection with Montenegro and later the annexation of Bosnia and of Kosovo, a goal that was achieved in 1919. Mitrovica's prominence declined and transportation and commerce stagnated.

In the 1930s, the arrival of English investors led to the conception of the stages of Mitrovica's industrial development. After the socialist revolution, a large amount of monetary transfers from other Yugoslav Republics to Mitrovica determined the growth of the industry, as well as the population.

The end of the Kosovo war in 1999, followed by the presence of a large number of troops and international involvement, saw the reestablishment of Mitrovica's importance as a garrison town, but also the destruction of its industry. Since the independence of Kosovo in 2008, neither geostrategic arguments, nor sound economic plans have led to a considerable growth in Mitrovica. The former industrial giant, the "Trepca" complex, has returned to its 1930s development level with a diminished mining and processing sector. Reviving manufacturing by state and private investors does not seem possible in the mid to long term, making Mitrovica again a political and economic backwater – now as a commuter town for Pristina.

An agreement between Belgrade and Pristina is not in the horizon. However, such an agreement will also not end the tensions in the town, since they are not only of an ethnic nature, but also of social origin. The town's dependence on public sector jobs and transfers –mistaken as a sign of its importance by both Serb and Albanian inhabitants – has turned it into a rent-seeking economy. This seems to reflect the mindset of the people living in Mitrovica and of those working for them abroad and in Pristina. Potential investors are deterred by its location, one-dimensional approach and the lack of own initiative. Twelve years have passed and no productive boost has taken place, leaving rent seeking as the only economic activity that exists in town.

In addition to these changes, there have been shifts in the demographic composition of the town, both in the Northern as well as Southern part. The productive members of society are leaving the town, while the recipients of aid and transfers are staying behind. At the same time, construction in a growing housing sector provides the only stable income. This largely marks the permanent transfer of the rural and central Kosovo population into the outskirts and of emigrant population into the center of the town. The formerly most developed town of Kosovo is now dependent on its ability to tie its fate to the development of the capital, Pristina.

## 2. THE HISTORICAL DIMENSION – THREE FACES OF MITROVICA

*.. this lofty fortress of Mitrovica is called The Inauspicious Fortress. Situated at the extreme western point of the Kosova plain, it is not dominated by any higher ground. It is oval shaped and constructed of chiseled [sic.] stonework. It is extremely solid and cannot be undermined with trenches or tunnels. There is a single gate. Inside, there are no memorable buildings. At the base of the fortress flows the.....river, which originates in the mountains of Peja in Albania, joins the Llap river, and flows down until it joins the Morava. In these regions, this fortress is called Mitrovica of Kosova.*<sup>3</sup>

### 2.1. War

War and conflict have had a lasting impact in the image of Mitrovica. In the past 150 years, Mitrovica's fate has been that of a city in the midst of an area torn between rivaling interests. From 1699 until 1826, it was the competition of the Habsburgs and the Ottoman Empire. From 1903 onwards, there were ambitions of an emerging Serbian state, backed by Russia and confronting Austria-Hungary (and Germany). In addition, the Albanian and the Serbian national movements were waging their interests on a regional level. All actors in the framework of their historical circumstances (Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, Bosniaks, Turks and Austrians) identified Mitrovica as an important gate to be controlled and themselves as their gatekeepers.

The slopes of the Kollashini i Ibrit/Stari Kolašin, the Çiçavica/Čičavica Planina and of the Shala e Bajgorës/Kopaonik were populated for many centuries by Albanian and Slavic tribes subsisting mainly on agriculture and farming. Four valleys direct travelers from different directions - Peja/Peć, Prishtina, Kollashin/Kolašin and Novi Pazar - to the location of the confluence of the rivers Ibër/Ibar, Sitnicë/Sitnica and Lushta. Major trade and communication routes, as well as military roads have been intersecting here since ancient times, the ends of which were located in as faraway places as Shkodra, Dubrovnik, Thessaloniki and Sarajevo. Thus, the interests of the local population regularly clashed with international interests.

The Ottomans continued to maintain a garrison in Mitrovica. It was there to secure the supply lines of Ottoman forces up in the northern outskirts of their empire in Bosnia-Herzegovina but also to protect the trade routes from the 'highlanders'.

Many foreign armies have passed through Mitrovica over the last 150 years. The Austro-Hungarian Empire secured military control over the Sanjak of Novi Pazar in 1878, explicitly including Mitrovica in Article 25 of the Treaty of Berlin<sup>4</sup>, which was controlled together with Ottoman troops. At the same time, prominent leaders from Mitrovica and the surroundings, like Isa Boletini, Azem Galica, Hasan Prishtina, and Rexhep Mitrovica organized the Albanian 'kachak' resistance and contributed to the Albanian national awakening. In 1903, Russia's attempt to open a consulate in Mitrovica resulted in the

3 Evliya Chelebi, Seyahatname(1660). See: <http://www.albanianhistory.net/texts16-18/AH1660.html>

4 See: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1878berlin.asp>

assassination of Russian-Ukrainian consul Grigorij Shcherbina<sup>5</sup> and led to the uprising of the Albanian highlanders against the Turkish troops in Mitrovica. When Austria annexed Bosnia in 1908 and retreated from Sanjak, Kosovo Albanians rose again with 7,000 troops, at first on the side of and then against the Young Turks defending, their ambitions to have their own Albanian territory.<sup>6</sup>

In 1910 and 1912, Albanian troops rose once more against the Turkish rulers to fight for autonomy, accepting weapons even from the Serbian Kingdom. Then in 1912, Serbian troops conquered Mitrovica during the First Balkan War. In 1913, during the Second Balkan War, Montenegrin and Serbian troops united in Mitrovica<sup>7</sup> and in the winter of 1915 Serb troops retreated through Mitrovica to Albania, and Austrian and German troops conquered the town. In 1918, Serbs returned together with French troops from Thessaloniki. With the end of WWI in 1918, the ‘Committee for the National Defense of Kosova’ (Komiteti i Mbrojtjes Kombëtare të Kosovës) organized a guerrilla war against the newly established SHS state, waging war until 1923. In 1941, German troops conquered Mitrovica and united Kosovo with Albania. They remained there only until the winter of 1944. In the hope to defend their newly united state of Albania, the movement “Balli Kombëtar” started a hopeless war against the victorious partisans. Their resistance started with an attack on a few thousand troops on the “Trepca” complex in Mitrovica in December 1944 and lasted until July 1945 when the Yugoslav People’s Army conquered Kosovo. In 1999, following the NATO intervention, French KFOR troops moved to Mitrovica and turned it into their headquarter.

The arrival and departure of so many different foreign troops have left a distinct impression on each generation in the last one and half centuries. Their motivations may have been manifold and independent of the interests of the local population, and while the essence of their warfare may have changed fundamentally from occupation to humanitarian assistance over the 20<sup>th</sup> century, for the local population the impression of Mitrovica’s geostrategic significance remains.

## 2.2. Trade

Mitrovica has always experienced growth in historic periods of continued peace. Located at the crossroads of several distinctly separated regions the town acquired over centuries the importance of a trading town. It was pleasantly located on the ancient trails of the caravans transporting goods from the Adriatic coast all the way into the heartland of Rumelia and Macedonia – secured by stationed military. The Mitrovica bazaar existed until the 1990s in the heart of the old city. For a long time in Mitrovica’s history, precious ore that was mined in the Kopaonik Mountains, that stretch all the way from *Zveçan/Zvečan* to Novobërdë/Novo Brdo near Pristina, served for the minting of coins.<sup>8</sup>

A decisive moment in Mitrovica’s history marks the connection to the railway line from Thessaloniki in 1874. The German-Jewish businessman Baron Maurice de Hirsch built it based on concessions from

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5 Svetlana Polkovnykova, ‘Paying with their lives’, Denj September 9th 2003.

See: <http://www.day.kiev.ua/en/article/culture/paying-their-lives>

6 An Albanian Brigand. The Amazing Career of Issa de Boletini. See: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=CHP19121123.2.103>

7 Clarence and Richmond Examiner (Grafton, NSW:1889-1915) The Balkans , July 1913, p.5.

8 Saxons were called by Serbian rulers in the 13th century to mine the ore. They stayed until the 16th century, when the Ottoman rulers restricted the export of metals. Their presence is documented by a Saxon catholic mine at the Stari Trg (Old Market) some 9 km from Mitrovica. In Ottoman times, Mitrovica (and Stari Trg) also served as an outpost of Venetian traders from Ragusa (Dubrovnik).

the Ottoman state.<sup>9</sup> Starting out in Thessaloniki, the railway line was to go all the way to the Bosnian border at Dobrlin (Doboj) and unite with the Austrian railway network. However, after the occupation of Bosnia and the Sanjak, the Turkish refrained from further works. Austria-Hungary had ambitions to continue its construction from the north to circumvent Serbian territory. Nonetheless, their ambitions in Sanjak vanished in 1908, when Austria withdrew after the Young Turkish Revolution.

The railway station in Mitrovica remained the last connecting point in the region of Northern Kosovo and Sanjak for over half a century, which supported Mitrovica's dominance as a local trading post. Within the next decade, the town doubled its population to about 7,000 citizens. It began to stretch out with new buildings towards the railway station west of the Sitnicë/Sitnica River. Settlers would arrive from other towns of the region like Niksic, Gjilan/Gnjilane, Pristina, Gjakova/Đakovica and Novi Pazar. In 1884, the bridge over the Ibër/Ibar River was built, and in 1896 the Serb orthodox population was allowed to build its first formal church in the town and to open their own school.<sup>10</sup>

The failure of the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary to connect Kosovo with the Western provinces also marks the cause of its later decline in Western Balkans. When Serbia completed its connection with the Ottoman railway network in 1886, it became the dominant trading route in the central Balkans and Mitrovica found itself isolated. It wasn't until 1931 that Mitrovica was connected to the Serbian railways network in the east, which was also the year when Trepca Mining Ltd. began to operate.

## 2.3. Industry

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Mitrovica was still a small Ottoman town in the midst of great changes. Its population had more than doubled within three decades and showed a dynamic development. The political changes taking place led to the arrival and the departure of sizable populations. In the 1920s, Serbian authorities began to colonize the former Ottoman *chiflik*<sup>11</sup> in Kosovo and seized the land confiscated from rebel Albanians. Seventy thousand Serb and Montenegrin settlers arrived in Kosovo within only five years.<sup>12</sup> Mitrovica, as a majority Serb region did not receive too many settlers, but large numbers of Turks, as well as Muslim Albanians and Bosniaks left the region (again) to settle in the territory of modern Turkey. Some 30,000 citizens populated the villages around Mitrovica in their larger territorial unit, the *srez*<sup>13</sup>, with a two third majority of orthodox Serbs, the rest being Albanian.<sup>14</sup> By 1921, ten thousand people lived in Mitrovica. It was still a distinct mixture of nationalities – 3,900 Serbs and other Slavs (especially Bosniaks), 3,400 Turks and about 1,900 Albanians.<sup>15</sup>

Mitrovica's city center is nestled by the river Ibër/Ibar in the north and the Sitnicë/Sitnica river in the east of the town. Still the old-style Turkish bazaar, the hamaam, and the Gazi *İsa* Bey Mosque (built in 1725, destroyed in 1999) dominated its urban center. However, the town had already expanded. North of the Ibër/Ibar was the Bosnjacka Mahala, a neighborhood of Muslim Slavs and Albanians who had left

9 See: <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/7739-hirsch-baron-maurice-de-moritz-hirsch-freiherr-auf-gereuth>

10 Nušić, B. 1903. Kosovo: opis zemlje i naroda, p. 286.

11 A term used for a system of land management in the Ottoman Empire. For more information see: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chiflik>

12 Elsie, R. 2004. Historical Dictionary of Kosovo, p. 4.

13 Political entity, akin to municipalities, during the period before WWII.

14 16,334 inhabitants, 10364 orthodox and 5,970 of Islamic faith. 10,695 spoke Serbian or another Slavic language, 5,635 Albanian. Kraljevina Jugoslavija, Opsta Drzavna Statistika Definitivni rezultatit popisa 1921, Sarajevo 1932, p. 94/95

15 10,045, of which 3,887 spoke Serbian or another Slavic language, 3,387 Turkish and 1,860 Albanian. Kraljevina Jugoslavija, Opsta Drzavna Statistika Definitivni rezultatit popisa 1921, Sarajevo 1932, p. 94/95

Bosnia (after the Austrian occupation) and Serbia (after its expansion into the outskirts of the Ottoman Empire). Their buildings under the vineyards of Mitrovica marked the outskirts of the city. The Austro-Hungarian and Turkish military rule between 1878 and 1912 influenced the architecture of the city and the buildings in the city center acquired a western outlook, most prominently the large new garrison on the Karagac. East of the Sitnicë/Sitnica river was the railway station and the space between the city center and the railway stations was quickly filling up with new houses.

The economy was largely that of a trading town with small-scale artisanal shops. Mitrovica was also the seat of the *kadiluk* administration, a territorial subdivision of the *sanjak*.

With the end of WWI, however, Mitrovica lost gradually its prominent function as a garrison town. The forces stationed there were now much smaller and Mitrovica turned into the backwater of Serbia within the SHS state. This did not change until the next decade.

	individual entrepreneurs	actively employed	inactive household members	total
agriculture	2609	9676	10732	20409
industry	573	1584	2227	3811
trade	458	840	1942	2782
other profession	335	625	962	1587
public services	47	1296	899	2195
	4022	14021	16762	30784

■ TABLE 1: POPULATION REGISTRATION OF MARCH 31, 1931 (EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS)<sup>16</sup>

The economic situation measured by the 1931 census still displays a pre-industrial environment. Over two thirds of the households in the *srez* Mitrovica lived off agriculture. Crafts and industry with 572 entrepreneurs employed about 1,600 workers. The magnitude of the loss in trade significance of the town is displayed by the decrease in the number of people making their living through commercial activity rather than from manufacturing. Public services such as schools, police, health and administration already were making up ten percent of the jobs.

Nonetheless, a new future for Mitrovica already had started five years earlier. In 1926, the U.S. born “king of copper” Chester Beatty was contacted in London by representatives of the prime minister of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS), Nikola Pašić. In the course of these negotiations, Beatty and his renowned Selection Trust Ltd. acquired a holding on the mineral rights in the Kopaonik mountains. The same year his prospectors dispatched to Kosovo and discovered the leftovers of a Saxon mine near the former medieval town Stan Tërg/Stari Trg.

Until then, trade and war had defined the fate of the small town of Mitrovica, and now foreign investment opened the door to an industrial age, not only for Mitrovica, but also for all of Kosovo. Selection Trust Ltd. founded the Trepca Mines Ltd. in London and later several other companies, which developed the Stan Tërg/Stari Trg mines into the richest lead and zinc ore resource in Europe within barely a decade. During the following five years, Mitrovica changed fundamentally. When extraction started in 1930, the capacity of the mines rose from an initial 500 tons per day to 2,000 tons by 1932. The company explored

<sup>16</sup> Final census numbers of the registration in 31 March 1931. Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovnistva od 31 Marta 1931 godine. Knjiga IV, p.323.

Retrieved from: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/82632980/Definitivni-Resultati-Popisa-Stanovnistva-Od-31-Marta-1931-Godine-Knjiga-IV>

and drilled the first gallery of the mine, constructed flotation for ore enrichment in *Zveçan/Zvečan* and connected it with Stan Tërg/Stari Trg via a hanging conveyer belt.

Trepca opened its offices, built homes for the miners, as well as laboratories and support services. Employment rose quickly, with 3,911 people working in the mine. Many workers arrived from other countries, especially Englishmen and Russian emigrants. Commerce and administration also grew considerably. 2,195 people were now employed in public services, such as schools, health institutions, public administration while 1,591 worked in other professions.<sup>17</sup> Mitrovica was now connected through the railway line with Raska, Kraljevo and Belgrade. 2,782 persons made their living from trade and other services. Suddenly, Mitrovica was at the peak of production, trade and commerce with a railway station receiving equipment and dispatching its loads to the Thessaloniki harbor and to processing capacities in Northern Serbia.

Most of this development in Mitrovica *srez* did not take place in town, as the mines, the smelter, as well as the miners' homes were further away, in *Zveçan/Zvečan* and in the Kopaonik mountains. However, the town benefited a lot: it now had new hotels, cinemas, a new boulevard running through the old city to the Ibër/Ibar bridge, and a new modern park at the banks of the Ibër/Ibar.

Until 1940, the mines yielded 5.7 million tons of ore and produced 625,000 tons of lead, 685,000 tons of zinc and 444,000 tons of mixed concentrate of lead, copper and pyrite. Most of the produce was exported to Germany. With a new emission at the London Stock Exchange, the company invested in new equipment and a lead smelter in *Zveçan/Zvečan*, which started to work in the same year. With the outbreak of WWII, this steep development ended and in 1941, the Germans seized Northern Kosovo. The mines opened forced labor camps and battery production sites were producing batteries for Germany's tank and submarine fleet. With Kosovo turned into a battlefield of German, Italian, Bulgarian and Albanian troops fighting Yugoslav partisans, Mitrovica paid a heavy price. The railway lines were totally destroyed, a large numbers of Serbs were deported and Albanians were either killed, or fled.

## 2.4. Summary

The pre-WWII history of Mitrovica doesn't only tell us about the different facets of its development. It also holds an important lesson for the current situation and its possible future. For many centuries, the many features of Mitrovica were created and developed by foreign powers that assigned no real significance to the fate of the town. The garrison, the bazaar, the railway station, the mines and smelters were constructed to exploit the resources and to use the advantages that Mitrovica provided largely for a foreign benefit. With the influence from outside and further-reaching interests, Mitrovica prospered over time. However, its prosperity was never assured, because one cannot speak of local development. Armies, traders, artisans and industrial workers came regularly from outside. There were no significant initiatives for development from inside the town. Local political elites, which would represent the population living in the area surrounding the town, did not emerge. Even worse, the surrounding villages with their traditions and interests stood in opposition to the urbanization slowly growing in Mitrovica.

The arrival of the Ottomans in the battlefields of Kosovo in 1389 was as unforeseen as the departure of the Austrians from Sanjak in 1908. In addition, the local population could not have predicted the arrival of an American mining billionaire. For centuries, they themselves did not even show any interest in

<sup>17</sup> Organizata Punonjese per Veprintari Grafike, "Mitrovica and Region", 1979, p. 127.

exploiting the present riches. Chester Beatty did not discover the potentials of Mitrovica by travelling to Kosovo, but by visiting the libraries of London.

Moreover, even when the local population raised arms to support foreign conquerors, like Kosovo Serbs did for Habsburg lieutenant general Piccolomini in 1699 or Isa Boletini in 1908 for the Ottomans, they were unable to calculate the outcome of their own actions. Worse even the battles for their own nations, be it the Albanian, Serb, Bosniak or simply an imagined pan-orthodox empire or the Islamic ‘umma’, proved all too often in vain for the present population. Neither of them achieved long-term security by laying their fate in the hands of their closest champions. On the contrary, these national causes have made Mitrovica a harbor of largely foreign settlers.

On the other hand, in times of decline after wars, the town offered space for the immigration of impoverished peoples from the nearby surroundings. As such, the town population carried for centuries the marks of a globalized urban society, but also that of a rural local one.

Rebecca West notes her surprise when she arrives in a hotel in Mitrovica in 1937:

*“Certainly the large café we entered was very clean and proud and well found, and entirely lacked the Balkan touch: that is to say, nothing in the place looked as if it had been brought from somewhere else and adapted to its present purposes by a preoccupied intellectual. But the people who were sitting there were Balkan enough.”*<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> West, R. 1941. Black Lamb and Grey Falcons. A Journey through Yugoslavia, p. 918

# 3. THE DEMOGRAPHIC DIMENSION

## 3.1. Growth and Decline

For centuries, Mitrovica had been located at the center of a large compact territory. However, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was suddenly located on the edge of a crumbling empire. Within that territory, Albanians emancipated themselves from the Ottoman rule and attempted to establish an autonomous territory against the pressing interests of Serbia and Montenegro. From the outside, large migration waves changed the structure of Kosovo's population. Orthodox Christians left the area before WWI and displaced Muslim peoples (Bosniaks, Turks and Albanians) – the so-called *muhaxheri* – started coming in.<sup>19</sup>

These migration waves targeted especially the thriving town of Mitrovica. Branislav Nušić, the Serbian consul to the Ottoman Kosovo *vilayet*, described Mitrovica in 1903:

*"There are no old families, which could be called Mitrovcani. ... It is populated by settlers from other towns in a way that life there is of no specific type. Mitrovica has no own costumes nor an own language. ... The circumstance, that Mitrovica is populated by foreigners, makes its public life more exuberant and liberal than in other Kosovo townships."*<sup>20</sup>

After the Balkan Wars and WWI, this stream of migration seized. Even in the period of 'colonization', the region of Mitrovica was largely surrounded by Serb settlers. In 1931, the area around Mitrovica was still inhabited only by around 30,788 citizens. About 22,000 people were speaking Serbo-Croatian or some other Slavic language, while 5,788 spoke Albanian and 2,717 a third language, most likely Turkish. The town of Mitrovica had only slightly grown to 11,295 inhabitants.<sup>21</sup>

The growth initiated by the opening of the Trepca mines in 1930 lasted only one decade before the start of WWII. After 17 years, in 1948, Mitrovica found itself ravaged by the World War and the battles between the Yugoslav partisans, and Serb and Albanian nationalists. From then on Trepca became the setting of a socialist economic revolution.

For the first decade industrial development throughout Yugoslavia meant nationalization, collectivization and reconstruction of the existing facilities. For Trepca this meant that the company had no longer a foreign ownership and that its development had to rely now on local knowledge. The building of two

19 About 50,000 Kosovo Albanians and some 20,000 Muslim Bosniaks that settled largely in the border area of the crumbling empire leave the territories conquered by Serbia. After WWI, again large numbers dispatch from newly conquered territories, this time towards the center of Turkey. Then in a first wave after 1921, almost 50,000 Serb and Montenegrin settlers arrive in Kosovo.

From Jagodić, M. The Emigration of Muslims from the New Serbian Regions 1877/1878, Balkanologie - Vol. II, n. 2, December 1998.

20 Nušić, B. 1903. Kosovo: opis zemlje i naroda. page 287

21 Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovnistva od 31 Marta 1931 godine. Knjiga II

See: <http://de.scribd.com/doc/82633873/Definitivni-Rezultati-Popisa-Stanovnistva-Od-31-Marta-1931-Godine-Knjiga-II>

Also: <http://pod2.stat.gov.rs/ObjavljenePublikacije/G1931/pdf/G19314001.pdf>

new roasters and the silver refinery in 1950 marked the beginning of larger investments. In 1951, the building of a smaller zinc-smelter followed. During the 1950s, two new mines in Novobërdë/Novo Brdo and Kishnica were opened based on completely new prospects north of Pristina. The new development demanded a new qualified workforce, which largely arrived from outside the province. In the first five years of development until 1953 the number of inhabitants in the town of Mitrovica increased by 3,000 to 16,900. Until 1961, the town population increased once more by 9,500. Mitrovica doubled within only 13 years to 26,400 inhabitants.

The high importance of Trepca for Yugoslavia's industrial development meant that it received huge amounts of investments, for a period of almost thirty years, from the 1960s to 1989s. The increased autonomy and a changed attitude of the Yugoslav powerbrokers towards the neglected province of Kosovo brought large new capital investments in the 1960s. In 1964, the NPK fertilizer plant began to be built. The plant was supposed to be supported by a sulfuric acid plant, which started to be built a year later.<sup>22</sup> Not surprising, this industrial boom created a period of uninterrupted population growth. Throughout the 1960s, the town population grew once more by 14,500 people, reaching 40,900 inhabitants.

The next wave of investments followed in the 1970s. The Thermo Power plants were built in mid 1970s. In an attempt to create an overspill of industrialization into the rest of Kosovo, the now "Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo" founded new companies of the so-called "Trepca Group" throughout the province. These huge investments were financed by the Yugoslav development funds. In 1974, a new battery factory was built in Mitrovica. In 1974, a paint and varnish factory opened up in Vushtrri/Vučitn, a jeweler and electro-contacts factory in Prizren, sporting ammunition plant in Skënderaj/Srbica. Beside the already existing Mitrovica battery factory, another factory for industrial batteries was built in Peja/Peć in 1979, a galvanizing plant in Vushtrri/Vučitn followed in the year 1981 together with a Ni-Cas battery factory in Gjilan/Gnjilane. In 1983, the new flotation in Tuneli i Parë/Prvi Tunel was constructed. A metal processing factory was established in Gjakova/Đakovica. In 1978, one of the largest investments of Trepca started out, the building of a lead refinery. Mitrovica's population grew by over 14,000 citizens and in 1981, the city housed 55,241 inhabitants.

Trepca operated now in four distinct processes: extraction, flotation, smelting and downstream processing. In addition to that, it had other production and marketing units. The headquarters of the company in Mitrovica included a transportation division, a trailer factory, a bank, an insurance company, a laboratory, a metallurgical institute, a health institute, a hotel, a canteen, a textile factory etc. In the 1980s, Trepca received one of the most advanced electrolytic zinc smelters.<sup>23</sup>

The company itself could not finance such an expansion from its own proceeds. On the contrary, there was hardly a year that Trepca made a profit. Under socialist operating circumstances, its main objective was to increase the production and the number of job openings. The major source for its growth was therefore the Yugoslav Federal Fund, funding the development of insufficiently developed republics and autonomous regions. It is estimated that over the lifespan of the socialist regime, Trepca received US\$5 billion as "write-off" debt from the state.

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22 The fertilizer turned out to be a failure, since its products proved fatal, and thus the sulfuric acid plant never fulfilled its purpose. In 1965, the reconstruction (expansion) of a lead smelter and the construction of a new larger zinc smelter started. Both were supposed to start working in 1967 and while the zinc plant was on schedule, the work on the lead smelter, one of the four largest in the world, was completed in 1974.

23 By 1989 Trepca operated the following mines and flotations: Trepca mine, Tuneli i Parë/ Prvi Tunel flotation, Novobërdë/ Novo brdo, Hajvali and Kishnica mines with the Kishnica flotation, Badovc, the Cernac and Belo Brdo mines, Leposavic/ Leposavi flotation.

Nevertheless, in the 1980s the company almost fulfilled the aspirations of the socialist planners: The Trepca mines supplied the metallurgies in *Zveçan/Zvečan* and Mitrovica, while chemical plants in Mitrovica would deliver the semi-products for the upstream processing plants. The lead and zinc, cadmium and precious metals like gold, silver and bismuth went to the three battery factories in Mitrovica, Peja/Pec and Gjilan/Gnjilane, to the ammunition factory in Skënderaj/Srbica, to the metal processing factories in Gjakova/Đakovica and Prizren, the color factory and the galvanization plant in Vushtrri/Vučitn. The rest of the yield was sold on the “free market.”

The town and municipality of Mitrovica did not have many other socialist enterprises. There was a bakery, a sawmill, a construction material plant, a collection point for tobacco and two smaller textile companies. Thus, all economic activities focused on Trepca and its workers. Mitrovica had the entire infrastructure that was needed and available at that time, such as the institute for lead and zinc, the faculty for metallurgy and a clinic for occupational medicine. With the town infrastructure designed around the needs of the Trepca workers, Mitrovica now resembled an expanded factory. The daily life of the people in Mitrovica revolved in and around this significant company. They used Trepca facilities for health services, spent their leisure time in Trepca hotels and ate at the Trepca canteen.

### 3.2. Arrival and Departure

The growth of the socialist industrial sector attracted a lot of people who came to Mitrovica searching for jobs. According to statistical data, in 1985, 15,523 citizens came to the city from other places in Kosovo, 4,412 came from other republics of Yugoslavia and 167 came outside of Yugoslavia.<sup>24</sup> This number constituted about a third of the city’s population, implying that migration was responsible for a considerable increase in the population.

The continued growth changed the ethnic composition of the town. Mitrovica was inhabited by Turks and Albanians in the 1930s, however, during the 1950s Turks left in a large emigration program negotiated between Yugoslavia and Turkey. Within the next two decades the number of Serbs (and Montenegrins) increased by more than 6,000. At the same time over 10,000 Albanians migrated from the surrounding villages and throughout Kosovo to Mitrovica. In the following two decades the number of Serbs and Montenegrins remained the same while 7,500 Muslims and Roma arrived in Mitrovica. The Albanian population grew by almost 20,000.

■ TABLE 2: ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF MITROVICA (1931-1991)

Year	total	Serbs	Montenegrin	Albanians	Muslims	Roma	Croat	Slovenes	Macedonian	Yugoslav	Turks	others
1931	10,103	4,048		1,860							3,287	908
1953	16,101	4,944		7,517			148	78	123	407	2,145	739
1961	26,721	10,807	1,775	13,574	710	85	170	96	166	355	...	...
1971	42,610	10,454	1,815	24,749	2,225	1,273	203	70	157	60	...	23
1981	52,866	8,933	1,503	32,390	4,082	4,299	155	63	119	295	...	14
1991*	...	8,112	1,127	561	2,760	4,760	82	...	...	319	...	830

\* The 1991 census was boycotted by Albanians and partially by Muslim (later Bosniak) citizens

<sup>24</sup> Institute of History of Kosovo. 1985. “Mitrovica e Titos 1945-1980. - 2,335 were from Serbia proper, 195 from the SAP Vojvodina, 429 from Bosnia& Herzegovina, 864 from Montenegro, 237 from Croatia, 291 from Macedonia, 61 from Slovenia.”

The demographic development in the rural surrounding of Mitrovica is more difficult to describe. While the larger political entity in the pre-WWII times was the *srez*, socialist Yugoslavia introduced the concept of the socialist municipality -*opština*- only later in the 1950s. For that reason the post-war municipality of Mitrovica included larger territories, precisely those of Zveçan/Zvečan and of Zubin Potok, which had either belonged to different territories before WWII, or formed separate territorial units.<sup>25</sup>

To assess the development of the rural areas of Mitrovica, we have to compare the territories of 1991 with the organization that was before. In 1961, the number of citizens in Mitrovica's villages was 23,116, 20,095 out of which were Albanian. In 1981, the rural population had grown to 34,665. This included also the large new mining settlement erected up in Stan Tërg/Stari Trg where 29,888 of the villagers were Albanians. By 1991, the number of the population increased to 40,562.<sup>26</sup> However, the population census of 1991 was boycotted by the Kosovo Albanian population as a sign of protest against the abolition of the autonomy of the province. Therefore, the census numbers are based on extrapolations and a preliminary micro-census of 1989. Thus, it remains unknown how many of the citizens were Albanians. Trepca miners and large demonstrations throughout 1988 and early 1989<sup>27</sup> were meant to support the campaign of Kosovo Albanians against the abolition of the autonomy of SAP Kosovo from Serbia.<sup>28</sup> After the autonomy of Kosovo was finally abolished in 1989/1990, Serbia tried to force the Albanian workers into obedience to the new Serb rulers. As a reaction, the Kosovo Albanian workforce staged a strike on September 4<sup>th</sup>, 1990. The Serbian regime reacted by massively laying off the Kosovo Albanian workforce from socialist workers collectives resulting in the creation of catastrophic conditions for Albanian citizens, especially in Mitrovica.

The number of Albanians employed in the Trepca complex in Mitrovica fell within a single year from 6,471 to merely 221. This in turn affected all other sectors of the local economy too. The formal exclusion of Albanian workers continued until the end of the Kosovo war in 1999. The consequences of bad economic policy and the effective embargo proclaimed by the UN over the warmongering of Serbia between 1992 and 1999 led to the further decline of industrial output in Mitrovica. While in 1990 still some 3,229 (mainly) Serb workers were employed only in Trepca companies, the number of industrial workers in all Mitrovica dropped until 1995 to merely 869.<sup>29</sup>

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25 While the smaller territories around Mitrovica were integrated in the socialist municipality, Zubin Potok existed as a municipality until 1965, when it was integrated into Mitrovica. The territory of Zubin Potok – the so-called Rezalska valley - consisted once of some 61 villages with about 10,000 citizens. In the 1970s the artificial Gazivoda lake was created. The villagers resettled and began to migrate to Mitrovica.

However, in the 1980s the process of adding Zubin Potok to Mitrovica was reversed. Under Yugoslav legislation the municipality of Zubin Potok was reestablished in 1987.

See: [http://www.zubinpotok.org.rs/so\\_zubin\\_potok\\_files/so\\_zubin\\_potok.htm](http://www.zubinpotok.org.rs/so_zubin_potok_files/so_zubin_potok.htm)

See: OSCE Zubin Potok-Municipal Profiles, 2006

26 Republic Institute for Statistics (Republicki Zavod za Statistiku) Opštine u godini 1999, Belgrade 2000.

27 Palairet, M. 2002. Trepca 1965-2000, p. 14

28 See: IKS, A power primer: A handbook to politics, people and parties in Kosovo, Prishtina 2011

29 Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia 1995, p. 436 - Mitrovica had a total of 5,693 workers in that year, including schools and hospitals.

**TABLE 3: CHANGES IN THE NUMBER OF POPULATION OVER THE YEARS**

Year	Town	Rural
1931	11,295	...
1948	13,901	18,899
1953	17,195	21,521
1961	26,721	24,026
1971	42,160	29,197
1981	52,866	34,665
1991	64,323	40,562
2011	50,400	35,957

While the time passed on without any improvement in sight, a large number of Albanian workers were forced to emigrate abroad in search for jobs. The population went down by 18 percent from 1991 until 2011. The drop was steeper in the town (22 percent) than in the countryside (11 percent).

In 2004, the UNMIK administered municipality of Mitrovica estimated the number of citizens in the municipality to be 90,000, explaining:

*“The estimate of 90,000 inhabitants of Mitrovica municipality is very rough. The number of people living in the municipality is uncertain and contested – with some estimates (for example the municipal estimate of 140,000 inhabitants) based on the pre-war census when the municipal boundaries were larger (including Zvečan/Zveçan and Zubin Potok). In 1999, UNHCIC estimated a figure of 83,500 – although the means for arriving at this figure is not specified. OSCE estimated the population to be 105,000 in 2003 (extrapolating from the voter registration lists). In 2004, the European Stability Initiative estimated 82,000 (extrapolating from the number of registered primary school children). We have arbitrarily chosen a figure between the latter two.”<sup>30</sup>*

The majority Serb population living in the territory of Mitrovica on the northern side of the Ibër/Ibar river successfully resisted the reestablishment of the former Mitrovica municipality. The functioning part of the municipality in the South of the Ibër/Ibar never had any Serb representatives in its municipal assembly. Therefore, the northern population was also never effectively integrated into the administrative structures of the municipality. Instead, UNMIK structures executed the function of the municipality in the North.

This became considerably more difficult after the declaration of Kosovo's independence. Since 2008, the Mitrovica municipality in the northern part is de facto independent from the municipality structures of Mitrovica (South). Additionally, the OSCE tolerated the reelection of a municipal assembly under Belgrade legislation in May 2008. In 2011, the Kosovo Government initiated the creation of a preparatory administration for a future Mitrovica North municipality. This project is opposed by the political structures in Mitrovica North, because it is seen as a first step of integration into an independent Kosovo. The continued opposition for over almost 12 years obstructed a professional evaluation of the population north of the Ibër/Ibar river. In Northern Mitrovica the census of 2011 was boycotted by the Serb population.

<sup>30</sup> UNMIK, Harvey, J. & Schwartze, S. 2004. Mitrovica Agenda for Local Economic Development.

See: [http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi\\_mitrovica\\_donors\\_en.pdf](http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_mitrovica_donors_en.pdf)

The population of the villages in the Mitrovica municipality grew from over 35,000 in 1981 to 40,000 in 1991, and since then has shrunk again to 36,000 in 2011. However, this process is very uneven, if we compare the development in the settlements. In 29 villages, the number of citizens has declined sharply. This includes also the two mining settlements Stan Tërg/Stari Trg and Tuneli i Parë/Prvi Tunel. The population in these villages halved from 17,198 in 1981 to 8,663 in 2011. Five of the villages depopulated completely. This development affected also the two only villages with a Serb majority Svinjare and Gornji Suti Do. Generally this decrease concerns mainly Albanian villages.

In eleven villages, all located in the vicinity of Mitrovica town but not directly on the main transversals and exit roads<sup>31</sup>, the population growth has remained only meager (just 15 percent within the past 30 years). Here the population has grown from 11,098 to 12,774 inhabitants.

Only six settlements - Kçiq i Vogël/Malo Kicice, Kutlloc/Kutlovac, Lisicë/Lisica, Shipol/Šipolje, Vaganicë/Vaganica and Zhabar i Poshtëm/Donje Žabare - experienced very strong growth. Here the population grew from 6,369 in the year 1981 to 16,568 inhabitants in 2011. Their economic development has become largely independent from local opportunities of work. Instead, the population uses the proximity to Mitrovica and their location at the major exit roads to Vushtrri/Pristina and to Skënderaj/Peja to commute to their workplaces in Pristina and Mitrovica. This has turned them into "commuter settlements."

### 3.3. National vs. Local

Contrary to the development in the suburbs of Mitrovica, the number of citizens in the town of Mitrovica grew only a little. In 1981, there were already 32,390 Albanian citizens living in the town, while 30 years later in 2011, the figure is only 33,646.

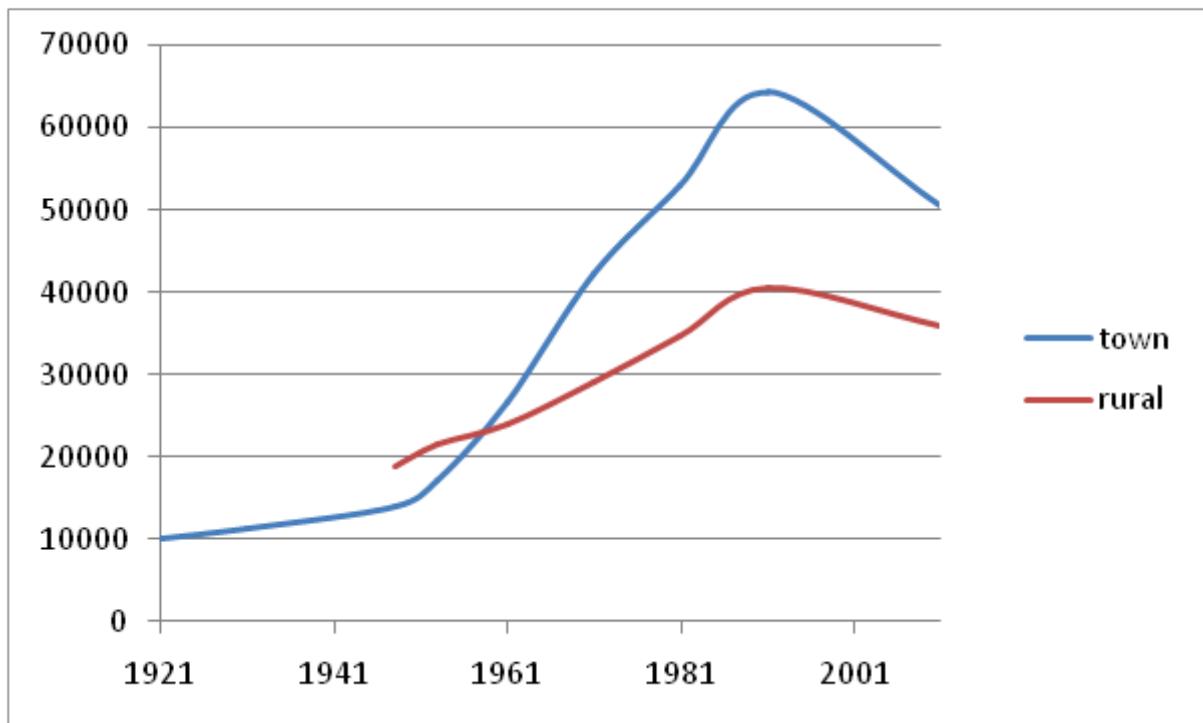
When the war fighting reached the Ibër/Ibar in 1999, most Kosovo Serbs and Roma had fled to the north of the town. The Roma mahala was completely destroyed. The Bosnjačka mahala (where a large number of Muslim Slavs lived together with Albanians), located on the northern side of the Ibër/Ibar, as well as some few areas along the Ibër/Ibar, west of the town center, remained against all odds, ethnically mixed.

The Kosovo Albanian population in the high-rise buildings in the northern part of the town center was expelled, as were Albanian citizens from other Serb dominated municipalities of Northern Kosovo. There they were replaced by Kosovo Serb citizens that fled from places south of the Ibër/Ibar, not necessarily only within Mitrovica municipality but also from other municipalities like Ferizaj/Uroševac, Rahovec/Orahovac, Peja/Peć. Additionally, the displaced population from the villages of the Shala/Bajgora area, which had been uprooted by the Serbian Army during 1999, had fled to the south of the town.

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<sup>31</sup> Broboniq, Kçiq i Madh, Koshtovë, Lushtë, Pirq, Suhodoll i Poshtëm, Shupkovc, Vinarc i Epërm, Vinarc i Poshtëm, Zasellë, Zhabar i Epërm

■ FIGURE 1: POPULATION GROWTH AND DECLINE IN RURAL AND URBAN MITROVICA 1921-2011



Similarly to the Albanian IDP's (internally displaced persons) in the southern part of the town, incoming Kosovo Serb refugees squatted into the apartments that were left vacant by fleeing Kosovo Albanian citizens. Attempts to clear property issues after the war were met with a strong resistance, primarily from the displaced population that were either afraid to return, or were not welcomed when they attempted to return themselves.<sup>32</sup>

For years, minority return into home villages and municipalities was obstructed from all sides. The process picked up somewhat in the years before 2004, until the riots of March 2004 broke out north and south of the Ibër/Ibar river. Many of these promising return projects were halted and have not been tried since. Statistics show that there is still resistance to rural return. In 2011, in all of Mitrovica there are still 564 disputed property cases. Most of them affect rural housing property.<sup>33</sup>

The process of migration of displaced persons does not only create problems between Albanians and Serbs, but also between native Mitrovica Serbs and newcomers. One respondent stated:

*“Differences are visible between Serbs who always lived in Mitrovica and who remained in small number, and those Serbs that settled in Mitrovica after the war in 1999. The fact is that there is a really small number of Mitrovica natives in the city, maybe five percent.”<sup>34</sup>*

The assessment of the number of Serbs living in Mitrovica nowadays is the most contested. In 2010, the UNMIK Administration for the North claimed that about 22,530 Serbs were living in Mitrovica North.

32 IKS, Interview with Besim Hoti, Spokesperson Kosovo Police, Mitrovica, October 2011.

33 IKS, Interview with Arian Krasniqi, Kosovo Property Agency, September and October 2011.

34 IKS, Interview with respondent from Mitrovica North, 15 July 2011.

That number included some 5,000 to 7,500 Kosovo IDPs.<sup>35</sup> If that would be the case, then the number of Serbs (and Montenegrins) in Mitrovica would have been 15,000 to 17,500 in Mitrovica before the Kosovo War. However, the 1991 census shows that already then the number of Serbs and Montenegrins living in the town of Mitrovica was smaller than 10,000 and on a declining path since the 1960s. It is therefore much more likely that developments after the Kosovo War have turned the former Serb town population north of the Ibër/Ibar river into a minority in its own home.<sup>36</sup> Serb residents in Mitrovica today are outnumbered by IDPs as is proven by a recent UNDP poll, which states that 67.4 percent of the population of Mitrovica North has not lived in the town before 1999.<sup>37</sup>

Mitrovica South experienced a similar development. The same UNDP survey from 2011 reports that merely 57.3 percent of Albanian citizens of the south declared they had lived in Mitrovica before 1999. Approximately 19.8 percent claimed to have taken up residence in Mitrovica after 1999.<sup>38</sup> This amounts to over 14,000 citizens that have not been citizens of Mitrovica before the war. The rest declined to answer the question. If we assume that this large group of people migrated or was displaced to Mitrovica after the war, it shows that the Albanian population of Mitrovica has not shrunk from around 83,000 in 1991 to 60,000 inhabitants in 2011. Instead, some 34,000 citizens may have emigrated from Mitrovica in the course of the 1990s, partially replaced now by new settlers.

Estimates of the number of population in Mitrovica North remain until today uncertain and contradictory. For instance the UNMIK Administration in 2010 for the North of Mitrovica reports 22,530 Serbs<sup>39</sup>, while indicating that this number includes 5,000 to 7,000 IDPs. However, the number of Serbs, Montenegrins and other Slav population in Mitrovica in 1981 has not been larger than 10,800. It is hard to imagine, that the local population could have doubled given that the Serb population has actually been shrinking. In 2003, the European Stability Initiative calculated for the North of Mitrovica a population of 16,352 based on primary school enrolment. Another indicator is the participation in the last local elections. In 2008 and in 2010 the Belgrade government called the citizens of Mitrovica twice to the polls to elect a municipal assembly for (North) Mitrovica. The voter's registry of the Republican Elections Committee of Serbia declared some 20,372 eligible voters for Mitrovica, i.e. a similar figure to the data of UNMIK.<sup>40</sup> However, in two subsequent local elections of Serbia, not more than 6,000 voters participated in the elections indicating that the number of citizens in Mitrovica North could be much lower than officially stated.

### 3.4. Summary

The three trends of emigration, internal displacement, and the inflow of population from the countryside and neighboring rural municipalities (Albanians) and further away (Serbs) have contributed to a complete change of livelihood in the municipality and especially in the town of Mitrovica in the last two decades.

After the dissolution of the former workforce of Trepca and other socialist enterprises in Mitrovica, the population diminished through emigration. At least a third of the Albanian citizens and likely over a half of the other population of Mitrovica has left their homes during the 1990s. With the inflow of

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35 OSCE Mitrovicë/Mitrovica Municipal Profiles–based on UNMIK Administration in Mitrovica Local Communities Office – February 2010.

36 IKS, Interview with Kosovo Serb residents in the North of Mitrovica, October 2010.

37 UNDP, Public Opinion Survey Mitrovica, 2011, p.16.

38 UNDP, Public Opinion Survey Mitrovica, 2011.

39 UNMIK Administration in Mitrovica Local Communities Office – February 2010.

40 Republic of Serbia, Serbian Election Commission, Report on the elections results for Municipal Assembly held in Kosovska Mitrovica. May 2010.

rural population and of emigrants from neighboring municipalities the social division in the town has deepened.

Additionally, the inflow of displaced persons in Mitrovica North and Mitrovica South have led to the cultural division of the urban population. The largest part of the population of Mitrovica North has never had any contact with citizens in Mitrovica South. Immigrants from the countryside and other municipalities lack traditions of mutual coexistence, for which Mitrovica was once famous. This impacts especially the younger population. While over a third of the Albanian population older than 30 speaks Serbian, the younger population to a large extent doesn't speak and understand the language.

Still, it would be wrong to interpret the development of Mitrovica only from the angle of ethnic conflict, expulsion and emigration. The population of Mitrovica and its surrounding area was largely stagnant in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The basic reason for the population growth of Mitrovica until the 1990s was the rise of the Trepca company as a socialist enterprise. The success of this policy was largely dependent on huge transfers of development funds allocated for Kosovo. It still remains to be investigated how much of that development was healthy and based on sound economic theory.

It is also wrong to explain developments in Mitrovica exclusively through the lens of an alleged conflict of the Serb and Albanian population. In fact, the villages around the town of Mitrovica have always been ethnically exclusive; very few of them ever had mixed populations. In this setup the existence of a socialist town with a mixed population in an ethnically divided rural surrounding would have demanded attention to the development of these areas, when in fact little has been done in this regard. On the contrary, the socialist development model even demanded the social uprooting of the rural population and their transfer to the town. Beside the two mining villages Stan Tërg/Stari Trg and Trepca, enterprise employment was almost nonexistent in the surrounding mountainous villages of Mitrovica. This state planning put a heavy toll on the rural population, when the only source of employment provided by Trepca throughout sixty years of its development came to a standstill in the 1990s. Most villages had no fallback alternative opportunities other than emigration.

As described, the development of Trepca was also based on the immigration of large numbers of workers from other regions. Part of Mitrovica's growth until the 1980s was dependent on the influx of workforce, first Serb and Montenegrin, then Bosniak and Roma. The largest group nevertheless was Albanian. It seems more than natural, that the group developing another perspective than that of emigration will be the one that enjoys deeper roots in the nearer surrounding. Mitrovica is going through a development phase in the last two decades, in which 'foreign factors' are less and less determinant for its future. This also shapes the expectations of the remaining population. Though foreign troops and security forces are still present in Mitrovica, their determination is not to stay, like it was so often the case in past centuries. While the population of Mitrovica North is still reliant on larger transfers from Serbia, the population of Mitrovica South relies on the means that can be earned in the local economy. Currently, we are observing the process of final 'Kosovarisation' on the side of the Albanian population.

# 4. THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION

## 4.1. State Dependency

In 2003, a detailed analysis by the European Stability Initiative (ESI) gave an account of the employment and income situation in the divided town. According to that research, some 10,816 people were employed in the South and some 6,168 in the North of Mitrovica. The situation was much more favorable in the North, because the Serbian Government provided for some 3,456 additional public jobs on top of 1,202 jobs provided by the Government of Kosovo and municipal budget. Moreover, the North benefited from 4,476 additional stipends and transfers (pensions, social aid, etc) from Belgrade. The generous support to Mitrovica North propelled the employment and income level to a historical high. Nevertheless, the Northern private sector was smaller than the Southern one. In the South, the employment rate had reached 27 percent, while the North provided employment only for every second citizen of working age.<sup>41</sup> The massive transfers and wage top-ups supplied every citizen in the North with an average income of about €162 per capita<sup>42</sup>, while the income level in South Mitrovica was just €38 per capita.<sup>43</sup>

The 2011 population census for Mitrovica showed that the estimates made by ESI for the local population size had only been relatively accurate – the population of South Mitrovica counted some 7,000 inhabitants more now. In March 2011, 71,909 persons were living in South Mitrovica.<sup>44</sup> The growth of population derived partially from the ongoing return process from Europe. Minority returns from Europe from 2009 until April 2011 alone accounted for 1,259 persons. Additionally, the population in the South increases by almost 1,300 children per annum. The population under 25 years of age in South Mitrovica makes up 47 percent of the total population.

Based on the census we now know the accurate age structure. The working age population includes 46,484 persons, out of which some 12,418 have an own work income<sup>45</sup>, and another 10,456 of them have a regular employment<sup>46</sup>. Persons without formal employment are for the most part farmers<sup>47</sup>. Based on the Agricultural Household Survey 2008 we estimate that around 1,755 people work fulltime in the agricultural sector.<sup>48</sup> Altogether, the employment ratio (jobs/

41 Concerning the age structure, we are referring to the document of PISG from 2003, in which the difference of the age structure of Kosovo Serbs and Kosovo Albanians, referring to the World Bank LSMS, Living Standard Measurement Survey (LSMS) 2000. The working age population of Kosovo Albanians was in 2000 60.7 percent of the total, while that of Kosovo Serbs was 67.7 percent of the total population. See: Provisional Institutions of Self Government - Statistical Office of Kosovo, Kosovo and its Population - A brief description (Revised version), June 5, 2003

42 European Stability Initiative, Cash income: North Mitrovica and Zveçan

(ESI calculations). See: [http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi\\_mitrovica\\_economy\\_id\\_2.pdf](http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_mitrovica_economy_id_2.pdf)

43 Lessons Learned and Analysis Unit of the EU Pillar of UNMIK in Kosovo & European Stability Initiative, A Post-Industrial Future, Background Paper Wilton Park Conference, 30 January – 1 February 2004, Prishtina 2004

44 See: <http://census.rks-gov.net/>

45 [http://census.rks-gov.net/istarMDEE/MD/dawinciMD.jsp?a1=yC&a2=z\\_0&n=1UR906000B1&o=1C&v=1UR060GF000B100000000&p=0&sp=null&l=0&exp=0](http://census.rks-gov.net/istarMDEE/MD/dawinciMD.jsp?a1=yC&a2=z_0&n=1UR906000B1&o=1C&v=1UR060GF000B100000000&p=0&sp=null&l=0&exp=0)

46 This number implies employed, self-employed (so-called own-account workers), employers, working hands in households. [https://census.rks-gov.net/istarMDEE/MD/dawinciMD.jsp?a1=yC&a2=mF0&n=1UR906\\$\\$\\$\\$\\$&o=&v=1UR060J300V71000000&p=0&sp=null&l=0&exp=0](https://census.rks-gov.net/istarMDEE/MD/dawinciMD.jsp?a1=yC&a2=mF0&n=1UR906$$$$$&o=&v=1UR060J300V71000000&p=0&sp=null&l=0&exp=0)

47 387 register no employees, 2,032 register only one employee.

48 USAID, Agricultural Household Survey 2008, Republic of Kosovo, Statistical office of Kosova, Estimated as follows: The working age population in agricultural households all over Kosovo according to AHS 2008 was 851,362. The same population in Mitrovica made out 19,502 persons. That is 9% of the total- Agricultural full employment is 81,740, from

working age population) in South Mitrovica in 2011 is at 27.5 percent, slightly better than the situation described in 2003 by ESI.

**■ TABLE 4: EMPLOYMENT AND OTHER INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES IN MITROVICA SOUTH 2011 (IKS) AND NORTH 2003 (ESI)**

	South	North
population	71,909	16,352
working age	46,453	11,070
inactive population	20,600	n/a
• lower and higher secondary schools	5,489	n/a
• students	2,350	n/a
• housewives	8,385	n/a
• early pensioners	3,264	n/a
• social aid recipients	1,112	1,895
recipients of stipends & transfers	12,892	622
unemployed	13,066	n/a
working population	12,787	5,315
employment ratio	27.5%	48.0%
• private sector	5,225	1,050
• public sector	4,028	3,805
• farming	1,755	n/a
• SOEs	1,538	572
• IC employment	241	180
recipients of remittances	1,915	n/a

Of all urban municipalities in Kosovo, Mitrovica has the lowest employment rate and the highest number of dependents from state transfers.

## 4.2. Employment in South Mitrovica

The 2011 census shed light on all sources of income, other than wages, of the citizens of (South) Mitrovica. Even though only 5,074 individuals are registered as older than 64 years, 6,761 individuals receive a pension from the state. This is an indication of the state support to workers, who were formerly employed with Trepca and who now receive these transfers until they reach pension age. In addition, 5,842 citizens of South Mitrovica receive social aid from the budget of Kosovo. The social aid to the citizens includes unemployment benefits, sickness and maternity allowances, scholarships and so on. In total, 12,892 persons live from some sort of state transfer, while around 1,915 citizens declared that their first income source are remittances from abroad. The above mentioned transfers do not constitute a big sum of money and are rather modest when compared to the cost of living, and thus leaving the citizens with weak purchasing power. According to a survey by the UNDP, in 2010, approximately 47.2 percent of the responding households listed their income at €0-211 per month, which means that around 6,236 households in Mitrovica South live on a meager income of €0-211 per month. 40.5 percent of

which 9 % is 1755 people work in Mitrovica agricultural households on a fulltime basis.

households, listed an income between €212-500 per month, while only 2.6 percent declared that their income was above €500 per month.<sup>49</sup>

A structural reason for relative poverty is the high percentage of young population, which can still not generate income. 33,552 persons are younger than 25. The second structural reason for the continued poverty is the extremely low employment ratio of women. Only 3,622 women in Mitrovica South actually work, making up for an employment rate of only 15.5 percent. As for the male population, a third of them work in the informal sector, such as agriculture. Finally, 8,796 men are formally employed. Their employment ratio is at 38 percent.

According to the business registry and census data, the private economy of Mitrovica is organized around trade and services. 2,550 individuals are employed in retail and wholesale, while only 1,860 are employed in trading companies, as declared to the business registry. Manufacturing outside of the socially owned factories is largely undeveloped. Other larger sectors of employment are hotels and restaurants (with 460 registered businesses), transportation (mainly of passengers, with 440 businesses), and construction.

### **4.3. Employment in North Mitrovica**

Employment and unemployment rates in North Mitrovica are much more difficult to ascertain. In 2003, ESI calculated that the private sector in the North of Mitrovica employs 1,050 people. The employment in SOEs was estimated at 320 people, while the international community employed 215 people. Public employment paid by the Kosovo municipal budget was estimated at 1,767 workers, while 7,171 people received social assistance and Trepca stipends. In addition, the Serbian Budget kept 4,105 people in the public sector on their payroll and paid some 2,396 through social transfers.<sup>50</sup>

The new situation in Mitrovica and the whole North of Kosovo makes this kind of research extremely difficult. The Serb National Employment Agency located in North Mitrovica refused to provide any information.<sup>51</sup> The Vice President of the Municipality, Saša Petrović, insisted that exact number of people employed in Mitrovica could not be estimated due to “permanent immigration.”<sup>52</sup> The information that can be collected is therefore scarce and cannot be regarded as a reliable description of the population.

The biggest employers are the public institutions, such as the university, the university clinic, and the municipality administration. However, there are also many cultural organisations, such as the Prishtina National Theatre – Mitrovica, the House of Culture, the Centre for Culture, etc., that account for a considerable share of employment. They all remain located in Mitrovica and their influence on the other Kosovo Serb municipalities is hard to measure.

A comparison of the socio-economic developments between Mitrovica North and South is hampered by uncertain and largely unavailable updated data for the North. It is difficult to know the precise size of the population and the development trends. Still the comparison of available data renders some very interesting parallels between Mitrovica North and South. Both parts of the town suffer largely from the

49 UNDP, Public Opinion Poll November 2010. Around 1000 people from 14 to 64 years of age in Mitrovica were surveyed.

50 European Stability Initiative. 2004. Post Industrial Future? Economy and Society in Mitrovica and Zveçan. p.10. See: [http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document\\_ID=61](http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document_ID=61)

51 IKS interview with Tatjana Avramovic, employee in National Employment Office, 22 June 2011, Mitrovica North

52 IKS interview with Sasa Petrović vice president of Serbian Municipality, 29 June 2011, Mitrovica North

collapse of the former Trepca giant. Incomes from the industry are nonexistent in the North. The same is true for Mitrovica South, where productive jobs in the zinc, in the battery factory and in the chemical industry have almost disappeared. Now employment exists only in the Stan Tërg/Stari Trg mines and at the flotation at Tuneli i Pare/Prvi Tunel. The demise of Trepca explains the existence of a largely impoverished and aging workforce in both parts of Mitrovica.

While in South Mitrovica about 25 percent are employed in the private sector, largely in agriculture, North Mitrovica has almost no agricultural surfaces. The private sector in South and North Mitrovica lacks production enterprises and focuses instead on trade and services. Most of the jobs are in the public sector. North Mitrovica is profiting from an unnatural political preference over other locations in Kosovo exercised by the Serbian Government as of 2004. Instead of providing a decentralized supply of public institutions to the Kosovo Serb population that lives scattered in several municipalities throughout Kosovo, the Serbian Government decided to concentrate most central state institutions and ‘parallel’ former provincial institutions in Mitrovica North.

#### 4.4. Evolution of a new town

None of the Albanian workers that went on a strike in 1991 could have predicted that their dismissal from work as a sanctioning measure by the Milosevic regime would have lasted so long. When the Kosovo war ended in summer 1999, everyone in Mitrovica expected that the future of the town would resemble the prosperous past. However, the hopes of the population that the former industry would be reinvigorated and that most of the households could find work again in one of the factories of the Trepca complex were crushed.

Instead, the last functioning plants closed down in the years following the end of the war.<sup>53</sup> Then the Government of Kosovo started the project of privatization of socially owned enterprises. Still at that point, most people expected that the companies could be spun off from the debt-burdened RHMK Trepca. Meanwhile the employment of all remaining Trepca companies shrank to 1,411 employees, with only some 830 remaining in Mitrovica (South).

None of the working units of Trepca can cover their operational costs. The Government has to cover 30 percent of the costs of the mines and flotations in Mitrovica, 65 percent of the costs for the Artana mine and its flotation in Novobërdë/Novo Brdo, and 10 percent of those of the battery factory, the chemical industry, the zinc metallurgy and the process equipment factory. The latter are not producing, but they generate income through renting out their premises to the Kosovo Customs Terminal and to a local university faculty.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> The flotation in Tuneli i pare had been already damaged during the war. Then on July 6th, 1999 the lowest 10th and 11th gallery of the Stan Tërg /Stari Trg mines was flooded, because KFOR stopped supplying the water pumps with electricity. On May 26th, 2000 the electrolysis of the zinc smelter burnt down while guarded by the French KFOR. In addition, on the August 14th, 2000 KFOR stormed the lead factory in Zvecan, when the massive lead intoxication became known. They shut the smelter down in an unprofessional way and damaged it heavily.

<sup>54</sup> Agjencja Kosovare e Privatizimit, 2010.

**■ TABLE 5: NUMBER OF WORKERS IN THE TREPCA ENTERPRISE UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRIVATIZATION AGENCY OF KOSOVO UNTIL 9.11.2011**

Name of the entity	Location	No. of employees
Management	Mitrovica	47
Prishtina ground office	Prishtina	2
Mine and flotation Kishnica	Kishnica	316
Mine and flotation Stari Trg	Mitrovica	636
Zinc metallurgy	Mitrovica	67
Processing parts factory	Mitrovica	39
Energy department	Mitrovica	16
Battery factory	Mitrovica	28
Chemical factory	Mitrovica	31
Ammunition factory	Skenderaj	3
Security	Mitrovica	197
Work health center	Mitrovica	6
Customs terminal	Mitrovica	23
in Mitrovica		1,152
in North Kosovo w/o Mitrovica		1,170
Elsewhere		321
<b>Total</b>		<b>1,411</b>

At the same time, in the Southern part of Trepca the state has to finance the stipends to the 3,926 laid off workers. Another 2,300 receive stipends for their ‘formal’ employment. Every month, Trepça is obliged to pay €39,000 for early pensions and €10,500 for stipends. The costs of transfers to the unemployed workforce have increased since 2000 to some €35 million.

A vision for the future exists – at least within the management of Trepca. According to their exploration, evaluation and calculations, they foresee the modernisation of the Stan Tërg/Stari Trg, Novobërdë/Novo Brdo, Kishnica/Kižnica, Cernac and Bellobradë/Belo Brdo mines. Two new mines should be opened at Zjaca and Draznja. All three flotations need to be modernized. The plan also foresees the rehabilitation of the zinc smelter, the construction of a new lead smelter and the rehabilitation of the sulfuric acid and the fertilizer plants. Together with the necessary training and costs for social issues the price tag is €176 million.

While most of Trepca’s production has stalled, the environmental damages the company has caused over 50 years of its operations remain. Over 60 million tons of ore remains (gangue and slag) are spread mainly along Kosovo river banks, polluting the environment. Settled dust that has been created from mine deposits during the past decades has created a high level of pollution in Mitrovica. Currently, the air pollution in Mitrovica exceeds the WHO recommended values by 20 times (Tahirxylaj, Fejza, Avdullahu, Latifi, 2008, p. 300). Water and soil are equally affected, as water from drainage pours directly into the Ibër/Ibar and Sitnicë/Sitnica rivers. Cleaning the waste has an estimated cost of €60 million.

At the same time, the current company is burdened by demands of foreign investors who invested during the Milosevic regime. The amount of Trepca’s accumulated debt stands at about €250 million.

Given these enormous costs deriving from past mismanagement, it becomes clear that the problem for Trepca is not its future potential, but rather its past. The decisions to be taken are so costly, that since

2001, no Government has had the courage to attempt a renationalisation of the company. The peculiar way in which the company collapsed after the Kosovo war has effectively hidden to the public the real causes of its death. The Government cannot afford to cover the costs of a clean restart through transfer of Trepca debts and obligations to the Kosovo consolidated budget. On the other hand, the company has not been privatised even though ten years have passed since the inception of that program. Instead, it has filed for bankruptcy under a special moratorium, protecting it from further demands of its debtors:

*“Effective from 8th of November 2011, all actions, proceedings and acts of any kind aimed at determining the validity of, enforcing or satisfying any Claim or Interest with respect to the Enterprises mentioned in this notice, or their Assets, shall be suspended and shall only continue with the permission of the Special Chamber of Supreme Court of Kosovo on Privatisation Agency Related Matters (the Court).”<sup>55</sup>*

Within one year, the company will have to collect the demands of creditors. Only then, can the process start. This means that, most probably, a call will be issued in late 2012 for debtors to provide their claims against the former RHMK Trepca to the current Socially Owned Enterprise “Trepca” under PAK administration. The claims will then be handled by the Kosovo Privatisation Agency and will have to be proven, most likely, in court. It is therefore highly unlikely that any major decision about the fate of the current Trepca company can follow before the end of 2013. Foreign investors with claims will attempt to realize them in the course of court procedures that could drag on for a very long time.

Incomes in Mitrovica shrank, until the strongest and brightest left the town for some better future elsewhere. Nowadays they are sending back money to their families or save their earnings for the yearly trips back to Mitrovica. While the government in Pristina is stabilising the impoverished part of the population through pensions, social aid, stipends to former workers and public employment, the most troubled male population is slowly aging.

Meanwhile, at the bottom of the age pyramid grows a new generation of Mitrovicans that cannot even remember the times when the town was an industrial heavy weight in the international arena. Already in 2011, the population under 25 makes up more than 33,000 inhabitants. Every year some 1,200 to 1,300 new citizens are born in Mitrovica. This means that despite the fact, that Mitrovica has not been able to transform its economy from socially owned to private, and despite the lack of any sustainable private sector development its population is continuously increasing.

The absence of a sustainable economy has taken its toll on Mitrovica and its citizens. For most, the only alternative is to leave the town for better opportunities elsewhere, but many of the citizens are either too old or unqualified to do so. Workers, who once had a stable income, have begun to live from renting out premises of their former companies, which cannot be privatised under the present circumstances, a phenomenon particularly widespread in the North. Also, in the socially owned enterprises of the South, namely in Trepca, thousands of people are not embarking on any alternative way of income generation as long as they can earn a minor income from former privileges.

One sector of the economy that had experienced a boom in the post-war period was construction. In the beginning, it was mainly post-war reconstruction, but soon new houses began to be built, both in the town and surrounding villages. In 2011, more than one decade after the war, the total number of newly

<sup>55</sup> Agjencja Kosovare e Privatizimit, Moratorium Notice. See: [www.pak-ks.org/repository/docs/Moratoriumi-eng.pdf](http://www.pak-ks.org/repository/docs/Moratoriumi-eng.pdf)

constructed apartment blocks and private houses in South Mitrovica was 5,564. The number of buildings built before 1999 was 7,383. Construction took place also in North Mitrovica, the sources of which were mainly state-funded loans.

As discussed above, the current population of Mitrovica can hardly be sustained by the number and the type of jobs that are presently available. Additionally people in Mitrovica will seek any employment they can find in Prishtina or elsewhere. The construction of superfluous space in the city will most likely lead to considerably lower prices of living space in the near future, so that further migration to Mitrovica is likely. Mitrovica can turn into a commuter town, in which costs of living and apartment prices will always remain low enough to secure a certain demand. These prices will also keep many people from emigrating permanently to the more expensive Pristina.

While the political and economic situation in Mitrovica remains (at least in the next five to ten years) in a stalemate, with real impulses missing, the town will turn step by step into a fully Kosovarised town with a majority of Serbs in the North and a majority of Albanians in the South. This special situation provides also opportunities for the remaining minorities, who have found their role here. They are settling mainly South and North along the Ibër/Ibar river which remains unappealing for Serbs and Albanians.

The picture we have painted of Mitrovica is not very attractive and hardly very promising. The town will be shaken in the future by further immigration and by an increase of its population in the South, as well as by more emigration in the North. A resurrection of the production of Mitrovica, which will eventually come one day, demands the full attention and financial sacrifice not only of the local Government, but also of the whole Kosovar population. Meanwhile, Mitrovica will lose the importance it has had in the past twenty years.

## 5. ANNEX

### Population of Mitrovica settlements (names of 1981) in census 1961, 1981<sup>56</sup> and 2011

Albanian	Serbian	1961	1981	2011
Mitrovicë	Косовска Митровица	26,721	52,866	48,404*
Stantërg	Стари Трг (руд.нас. + село)	222	1,833	1,042
Tunel i Parë	Први Тунел	1,627	1,602	1,006
	Subtotal urbanized areas	28,570	56,301	50,452
Kutlloc	Кутловац	282	238	473
Lisicë	Лисица	140	21	519
Kçiq i Vogël	Мало Кичиће	431	572	1,348
Vaganicë	Ваганица	564	1123	2,000
Shipol	Шиполье	456	3131	4,834
Zhabar i Poshtëm	Доње Жабаре	515	1284	7,394
	Subtotal growing settlements	2,388	6,369	16568
Broboniq	Брабоњић	789	1,014	1,023
Kçiq i Madh	Велики Кичић	1,801	3,055	3,412
Koshtovë	Кошутово	984	1,517	1,702
Lushtë	Љушта	230	462	637
Pirq	Пирче	220	351	511
Suhodoll i Poshtëm	Доњи Суви До	402	739	789
Shupkovc	Шупковац	748	1,505	1,518
Vinarc i Epërm	Горње Винарце	210	336	362
Vinarc i Poshtëm	Доње Винарце	384	741	959
Zasellë	Засела	601	594	791
Zhabar i Epërm	Горње Жабаре	389	784	1,070
	Subtotal stagnating settlements	6,758	11,098	12,774
Bajgorë	Бајгора	1,049	1,282	1,098
Bare	Баре	704	1,037	841
Batahir	Батаире	119	70	0
Dedi	Дедиње	339	324	0
Gushac	Гушавац	315	538	475
Kaqandoll	Качандол	816	769	119
Koprivë	Коприва	215	229	55
Kovaçicë	Ковачица	363	500	27
Maxherë	Маћера	336	287	55
Mazhiq	Мажић	329	476	253
Melenicë	Мељеница	451	682	475
Ovçar	Овчаре	82	69	0
Rahovë	Орахово	435	782	396
Rashan	Горње Рашане Доње Рашане	564	695	364
Rekë	Река	220	412	224
Rrzhanë	Ржана	287	233	0
Selac/seljance	Сељанце	823	554	164
Stranë	Страна	191	133	0
Suhodoll i Epërm	Горњи Суви До	263	428	224

56 Nacionalni sastav stanovnistva SFR Jugoslavije, Knjiga I, Podaci po naseljima i opstинама, Kniga III, Belgrade 1991 and Saveznis Zavod za Statistiku Popisi stanovnistva, domaćinstava i stanova u 1961. godini, Nacionalni sastav stanovnistva FNR Jugoslavije, Belgrade 1994.

Svinjarë	Свињаре	731	787	567
Tërstenë	Трстена	465	545	163
Vërbnicë	Врбница	456	418	313
Vidishiq	Видушиќ	674	1,058	249
Vidomiriq	Видомириќ	227	272	195
Vllahi /Valac	Влахиње	799	848	271
Zabërxhë	Забрће	177	222	70
Zijaqë	Зијача	90	113	17
	Subtotal declining settlements	12,121	14,357	7,406
	TOTAL	49,837	88,125	87,200

\* Mitrovica (South) plus 16,352 according to the 2004 calculation of European Stability Initiative.

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