# POPULATION, MUNICIPALITIES AND SETTLEMENTS IN UPPER POLOG

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#### **Abstract**

This paper deals with the population of Upper Polog, comparing municipalities. Particular importance is given to the analysis of the process of population changes during the period 1994-2021/2022. Demographic changes in municipalities have directly or indirectly influenced the emergence of demographic problems. Therefore, through this paper, we aim to highlight the changes in population size in municipalities and the factors that lead to these changes.

The municipalities and settlements of Upper Polog are characterized by relatively good population and dynamic demographic developments. In this context, the study of population and settlements is of great importance for the economic and social development of municipalities, the region, and the state. The methods used in this paper are: descriptive, analytical, comparative, statistical, and cartographic, based on population data obtained from the State Statistical Office of the Republic of North Macedonia.

Keywords: number, population, settlements, municipality, Upper Polog.

#### 1. Introduction

Upper Polog is a region with a relatively dense population and a fast-changing demographic landscape. Understanding these population trends is crucial—not just for local planning, but also for supporting the broader economic and social development of the municipality, the region, and the country.

How many people live in the area, how quickly the population is growing, and how communities are spread across the region all play a role in shaping economic opportunities and improving quality of life. This part of the country includes the urban municipality of Gostivar, along with the rural municipalities of Vrapčište and Mavrovo-Rostuše. Together, they cover about 1352 km2, which makes up 5.2% of North Macedonia's total land area and about 4.6% of its population.

The primary objective of this research is to highlight the changes in the total population at both the regional level and among municipalities, as well as to identify the factors contributing to these changes.

The central hypothesis posits that, due to the unfavorable economic and political conditions of the country—particularly of the region in question—there have been significant changes in the total population.

For this reason, the study focuses on demographic changes in Upper Polog, analyzing the overall population trends based on census data, population density, ethnic composition, and the territorial organization of the region.

## 2. General movement of the population

The Upper Polog subregion stands out from other parts of North Macedonia because of its unique demographic and social features, as well as the way its population has changed over time. The first official population counts in North Macedonia were carried out in 1921 and 1931. More official data for Upper Polog come from later censuses done in 1948, 1953, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1994, 2002, and most recently in 2021 (published in 2022). For the city of Gostivar, there are even older records, with population data going back to 1874. Looking at all this information for both Gostivar and the wider Upper Polog area, it's clear that the population has generally grown over time. However, there have been periods when migration caused notable changes in population numbers.

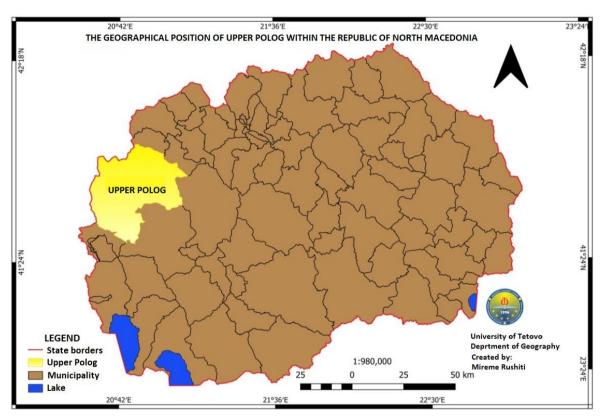


Figure 1. Geographical position of Upper Polog

For this reason, the population size is a crucial factor, as it determines the number of people who are the primary and irreplaceable drivers of any economic development. In other words, they are the main agents behind both the production and consumption of material goods. The primary factors influencing population migration are predominantly economic in nature, including high unemployment rates, the pursuit of improved working conditions, and the desire for enhanced living standards and overall quality of life.

Table 1. Total Population change in the municipalities of Upper Polog, 1948–2022

Total pop	Total population change in the municipalities of Upper Polog										
R. year	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1994	2002	2020	2021	R.202 2	
Vrapčišt	1311	1481	1564	1883	2264						
e	8	1	9	1	1	23408	25399	27606	31129	19888	
%	21.7	22.0	23.9	24.0	23.2						
70	6	1	9	7	7	22.11	22.07	23.01	23.31	23.47	
Gostivar	3133	3508	3515	4679	6243						
Gostivai	7	4	6	3	5	70737	81042	83591	93956	59816	
%	51.9	52.1	53.9	59.8	64.1						
70	8	4	0	2	7	66.82	70.44	69.68	70.36	70.60	
Mavrov											
O-	1583	1738	1442	1260	1222						
Rostuše	4	8	0	1	2	11715	8618	8769	8457	5024	
%	26.2	25.8	22.1	16.1	12.5						
70	6	4	1	1	6	11.07	7.49	7.31	6.33	5.93	
Upper	6028	6728	6522	7822	9729	10586	11505	11996	13354		
Polog	9	3	5	5	8	0	9	6	2	84728	
%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100%	

Source: State Statistical Office of the Republic of North Macedonia, compiled by the author.

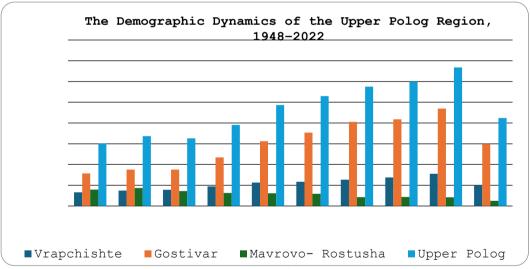


Figure 2. The demographic dynamics of the Upper Polog Region, 1948–2022

In 1948, the Upper Polog region had a population of 60289, which then steadily increased over the following censuses to reach 84728 by 2022. The municipality of Gostivar, as an urban center, had 31337 residents in 1948. This number grew over time, reaching 59816 by 2022—accounting for about 70.60% of Upper Polog's total population.

Between 1948 and 2022, the population of Gostivar increased by 28479 people, or roughly 1.3 times. This significant growth in the number of residents across the municipalities is mainly due to a high natural population increase, which, prior to 1981, was over 20 ‰.

## 3. Administrative-territorial reorganization of Upper Polog

After the administrative division in 1996, which created many municipalities and led to extreme centralization, the system proved to be impractical and inefficient. The constitutional changes that emerged from the Ohrid Framework Agreement became a key condition for a new administrative division and the decentralization of local government.

As a result, in December 2004, the Macedonian Assembly passed a law to reorganize the administrative-territorial structure and redistribute powers, reducing the number of municipalities to 84, and later to 80 after 2014. In the Upper Polog region, the number of municipalities was reduced from nine to just three larger ones. This reorganization aimed to preserve spatial mobility for the population and settlements, maintain traditions, and ensure a balanced distribution of wealth and human resources.

Table 2. Municipalities in the Upper Polog Region

		Amo	Population				Set	Densit	y inhb./	km <sup>2</sup>	
N o.	Municipa lity	Are a in km <sup>2</sup>	1994	2002	2020	202	tle me nt	1994	2002	2020	2022
1	Vrapčište	157. 98	2446 5	2539 9	2755 0	198 88	15	154.8 6	160.7 7	174.3 9	125.8 9
2	Gostivar	513. 39	7508 0	8104 2	8384 7	598 16	35	146.2 4	157.8 6	163.3 2	116.5 1
3	Mavrovo- Rostuše	663. 19	1041 8	8618	8893	504	42	15.71	12.99	13.41	7.60
	Upper Polog	1334 .6	1099 63	1150 59	1202 90	845 47	92	82.40	86.21	90.13	63.35

Source: Ministry of Local Government

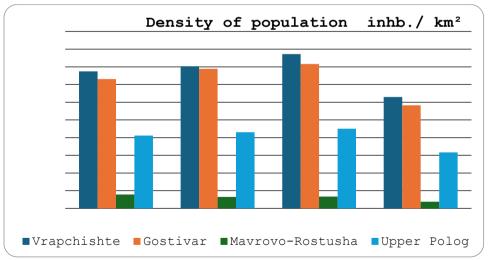


Figure 3. Density of population of the Upper Polog Region, 1994–2022

In 2004, all municipalities changed in area, population, settlements, ethnic composition, and more. The urban municipality of Gostivar was merged with the rural municipalities of Chegrane, Dolna Banjitsa, and Srbinova; the municipality of Vrapčište was joined with Negotino; and the Mavrovo municipality merged with Rostuše, which has a majority Macedonian population and covers a larger area with higher altitude.

The new municipalities in Upper Polog differed significantly in terms of size, number of settlements and population, ethnic makeup, and levels of economic development. Gostivar is a mixed urban-rural municipality, while the other two are predominantly rural.

There are also notable differences in area size: the largest municipalities are Mavrovo-Rostuše (663,19 km²) and Gostivar (513.39 km²), while Vrapčište is the smallest at 157.98 km². The two largest municipalities also have the highest number of settlements—42 in Mavrovo-Rostuše and 35 in Gostivar.

In terms of population, Gostivar is the most populous with 83768 people (59816 residents as of 2021), while Mavrovo-Rostuše has the fewest, with 8893 people (5042 residents in 2021).



Figure 4. Municipalities of Upper Polog

3.1. Municipality of Gostivar: The Municipality of Gostivar is one of the largest urban municipalities and is located in the northwestern part of the Republic of North Macedonia. It enjoys a favorable geographic position and good transportation connections, as the main highway E-852 passes through its central area. Together with the municipality of Tetovo and several other municipalities in the western part of the country, Gostivar lies within one of the most fertile valleys not only in North Macedonia but also in the wider region.

Table 3. Geographical characteristics of the settlements of the Municipality of Gostivar

		Popula		iiciits of t	Agrarian structure (ha)					
N o.	Municipalit y and settlements	Elevati on (m)	Are a in km²	1994	2002	2022	Arabl e land	Pastur es	For ests	Total
	Gostivar	780	408, 6	7508 0	8173 4	5981 6	7509	10945	209 05	39359
				3049	3584	3281				
1.	Gostivar	530	7,4	4	7	4	419	410	4	833
2.	Balin Dol	560	4,0	2990	2501	2059	173	12	188	373
3.	Belovishte	580	8,9	2551	2267	1208	276	156	391	823
4.	Brodets	1060	14,9	533	1136	/	279	2436	661	3374
5.	Vrutok	654	10,9	1176	1127	640	344	27	622	993
6.	G. Banjitsa	585	**	1738	4423	3436	**	**	**	**
7.	G. Gjonovica	810	14,3	20	4	40	110	462	835	1407
8.	G. Jelovce	1220	35,4	2	2	4	278	1919	127 9	3476
9.	Debreshe	615	10,0	4422	4847	2859	564	134	188	886
10						3138				
	D. Banjitsa	543	12,9	5005	4356		193	49	824	1066
11	D. Gjonovica	680	**	244	242	35	**	**	**	**
12	D. Jelovce	960	11,4	18	10	3	270	248	593	1111
13	Zhelezna R.	960	26,2	200	98	37	222	31	235 9	2612
14	Zdunje	590	3,2	1206	2140	1410	163	59	59	281
15	Korito	1420	31,7	754	675	57	200	1252	731	2183
16	Kunovo	960	9,5	19	11	6	117	145	684	946
17	Lakavitsa	540	12,5	955	994	522	176	9	103 9	1224
18	Leshnica	700	2,6	133		128	69	66	120	386
19	M. Turchane	600	1,4	630	1013	96	56	5	73	134
20	Mitroj Krsti	840	4,0	87	-	9	56	17	310	383

21						287			108	
	Padalishte	840	16,9	1001	721		213	378	9	1680
22						21				
	Pechkovo	930	11,2	56	48		139	349	566	1054
23						1116				
	Raven	640	4,3	1571	1615		122	47	299	398
24						183				
•	Simnitsa	720	13,1	464	-		430	291	775	1302
25						317			114	
	Srbinovo	670	17,8	1028	1039		157	461	1	1759
26						54				
•	Strajane	1100	8,3	354	307		144	63	615	822
27						3				
	Sushitsa	625	10,8	26	8		58	172	856	1086
28	_					137			157	
	Trnovo	920	19,5	573	539		312	39	8	1928
29	Tumchevish					250				
	te	490	3,2	252	235		285	11	11	307
30	TT: 0	1.440	10.4		_	/	0.4	40	000	1000
	Kjafa	1440	10,4	34	5	2000	94	42	902	1038
31	г :	500	110	4220	1650	2809	500	42	207	1010
	Forino	500	11,0	4229	4652	1006	509	42	397	1018
32	C1 :1 -	520	10.2	2400	2070	1236	216	1072	200	1777
	Chajle	520	18,2	2480	3070	4022	316	1073	388	1777
33	Charmana	400	21.6	7054	6749	4022	716	510	626	1963
2.4	Chegrane	498	21,6	7054	6748	692	716	510	636	1862
34	Daghana	740	0.0	1042	1054	683	242	22	602	067
25	Rechane	740	9.9	1043	1054	151	243	32	692	967
35	Mirdita					151				
•	iviiiuita									

The municipality includes 35 settlements, of which 9 are hilly, 22 are situated on plains, and only a few—such as Gorno Jelovce, Korito, Strajane, and Kjafa—are mountainous. The total population is 59816, with ethnic composition roughly as follows: 55.3% Albanians, 21.4% Macedonians, 12.7% Turks, among others. The population density stands at 116.45 inhabitants per km², almost twice the national average.

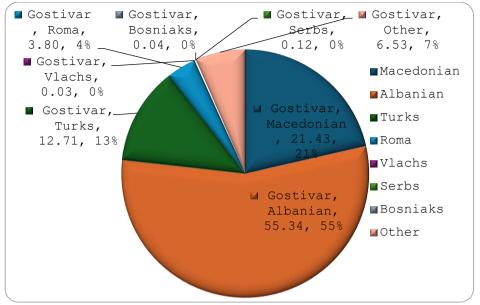


Figure 5. Ethnic Composition of the Population of the Municipality of Gostivar, 2021

There is a total of 20054 families (7136 in urban areas), with an average household size of about 3 members. The total number of housing units is 27945 (9450 urban), which means an average of approximately 2.2 persons per household. These figures indicate significant overcrowding and highlight the difficult economic conditions faced by the local population.

In the central settlement of Gostivar, 32814 residents (35847 total population) live, accounting for 55% of the municipality's total population.

From an agricultural perspective, the land is dominated by forests covering 20905 hectares, pastures spanning 10945 hectares, and arable land of 7509 hectares. The plain settlements offer good conditions for agricultural development, while the hilly and mountainous settlements are more suited for livestock farming and forestry activities.<sup>1</sup>

3.2. Municipality of Vrapčište: The Municipality of Vrapčište is a rural municipality of medium size located in the northwestern part of the Republic of North Macedonia. In terms of absolute altitude, it ranks among municipalities with roughly average elevation in the country. Like most other municipalities in the Polog valley, Vrapčište enjoys a favorable geographic position and good transportation connections. The main highway E-852 runs through its eastern peripheral area, connecting Skopje through Tetovo and Gostivar to the popular tourist destination of Ohrid.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Popovski, V.& Selmani, A. & Panov, N. (2006): "Komunat e Republikës së Maqedonisë", Shkup

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Popovski, V.& Selmani, A. & Panov, N. (2006): "Komunat e Republikës së Maqedonisë", Shkup

Table 4. Geographical characteristics of the settlements of the municipality of Vrapčište

	Municip			Populati		ents of th	Agrarian structure (ha)				
N	ality and	Elevat	Area	Ториган		1					
0.	settleme	ion	in	1994	2002	2022	Arabl	Pastu	Fore	Tota	
	nts	(m)	km²	1771	2002	3	e land	res	sts	1	
	Vrapçhi		185,			1984				14	
	shte	716	1	24465	25399	2	4820	5366	4686	872	
	Vrapčišt					4003					
1.	e	580	8,5	5235	4874		661	85	32	778	
	Vranovts					321					
2.	i	800	9,8	670	480		150	28	779	957	
3.	Galate	600	3,6	970	1151	980	248	43	21	312	
4.	Gorjane	940	5,5	100	70	25	198	180	136	514	
5.	Gradec	540	10,3	4266	4555	3934	735	47	141	973	
	Dodri					3546					
6.	Dol	570	6,4	4199	5223		459	14	111	584	
	Gjurgjev					198					
7.	iste	1000	16,1	706	403		350	854	267	1471	
8.	Zubovce	600	4,0	554	762	844	330	17	25	372	
9.	Kalishte	840	22,0	873	681	511	247	832	1107	2186	
10	Llomnits					118					
	a	1030	27,6	796	574		203	1773	678	2654	
11						3068					
	Negotino	575	8,0	3331	3673		584	110	23	717	
12	Novo					6					
<u>.                                    </u>	Selo	600	1,7	21	19		42	0,8	120	163	
13	Pozharan					28					
	e	920	29,4	58	26		318	1362	1176	2856	
14						1351					
	Sanokos	570	2,3	1404	1634		152	9	49	230	
15						918					
	Toplitsa	570	2,3	1282	1274		143	11	21	175	

The municipality consists of 15 settlements, of which only Gorjane, Gjugjeviste, Lomnitsa, and Pozharane are located in hilly terrain, while the remaining settlements are situated on plains. The total population across these settlements is 19842 residents (25399 inhabitants), of whom approximately 76% are Albanians, 15.6% Turks, 4.4% Macedonians, and others.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Residents population

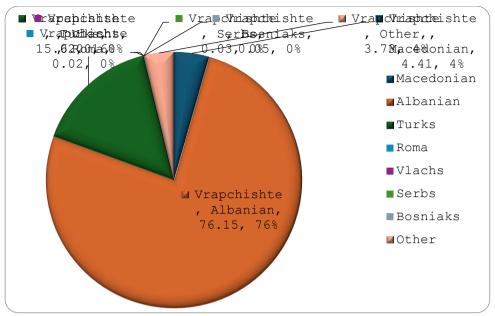


Figure 6. Ethnic Composition of the Population of the Municipality of Vrapčište, 2021

The population density is 126.4 inhabitants per km², which is noticeably below the national average. There are 5225 families in total, with an average household size of about 2.6 members. The total number of housing units is 7509 (5820), meaning an average of 4.4 persons live in each household.

The central settlement, Vrapčište, with 4005 residents (4874), is the largest settlement and accounts for about 6% of the municipality's total population.

3.3. Municipality of Mavrovo and Rostuše: The Municipality of Mavrovo and Rostuše is one of the largest municipalities in terms of area in the Republic of North Macedonia and is located in the western part of the country. It also has the highest average altitude among all municipalities in the country. The municipality comprises 42 settlements, of which 15 are situated on plains, 23 in hilly areas, and 4—Belichica, Kichinitsa, Krakornica, and Sushica—are mountainous. Krakornitsa is the settlement with the highest altitude in the country. In terms of the number of settlements, this municipality ranks among the top ten largest in North Macedonia.

In table below-\*No cadastral data. \*\*Together with Grekaj.

Table 5. Geographical characteristics of the settlements of the municipality of Mavrovo-Rostuše

Rosti	Rostuše											
No	Municipalit	Elevatio	Are	Popula	tion		Agrarian structure (ha)					
NO	y and		a in	1994	200	202	Arabl	Pasture	Forest	Tota		
	settlements	n (m)	km²	1994	2	2	e land	S	S	1		
						504						
	Mav			1041	859	2				818		
	Rost.	1093	655	8	2	_	3126	24913	30148	7		
	22050	1070	000		_	212	0120	21710	00110	308		
1.	Mavrovo	1230	31,1	191	166	212	117	1517	1452	6		
1.	Wiaviovo	1230	31,1	171	100	708	11/	1317	1732	152		
2.	Rostushe	720	15,3	960	872	700	63	261	1197	132		
3.	Adzhievci	760	4,8	213	149	100	31	27	404	462		
٥.	Auzmevei	700	4,0	213	149	2	31	21	404			
1	Daliahiaa	1470	25.0	0	4	2	122	1502	700	242		
4.	Beliçhica	1470	25,0	9	4	/	132	1502	789	3		
5.	Bibaj	1200	3,8	46	31	,	83	3	287	373		
6.	Bitushe	954	6,2	180	96	161	70	210	287	567		
						/	_			101		
7.	Bogdevo	1210	11,6	13	5		36	584	397	7		
8.	Boletin	820	7,2	-	-	/	*	*	*	*		
9.	Velebrdo	840	7,6	899	750	367	61	296	336	693		
						37				101		
10.	Vidushe	1110	10,2	216	185		52	338	625	5		
						21				127		
11.	Volkovija	1100	10,4	19	89		99	198	981	8		
						132				264		
12.	Vrben	1260	25,6	188	142		116	1180	1347	3		
						187				106		
13.	Vrbjani	960	14,4	640	625		389	79	596	4		
	3					48				632		
14.	Galichnik	1350	64,4	1	3		2	5553	770	5		
			,			3				181		
15.	Grekaj	1100	18,2	11	20		23	681	1112	6		
	or only	1100	10,2			30		001	1112	248		
16.	Duf	1000	25,0	66	39		295	525	1660	0		
10.	241	1000	20,0	00	160	714	275	020	1000	292		
17.	Zhirovnica	900	33,3	2086	8	/14	195	1361	1364	$\begin{bmatrix} 2/2 \\ 0 \end{bmatrix}$		
17.	Zimovinea	700	33,3	2000	0	6	173	1301	1304	181		
18.	Zhuzhnje	1140	19,4	6	8	0	85	951	775	1		
19.	Janche	760	4,8	162	146	102	31	27	404	462		
20.	Kichinitsa	1420		102	140	102	*	*	*	*		
-			4,4	20	15	1	92		*			
21.	Krakornica	1530	8,2	28	13		92	468	250	810		
22	T 1	1200	45.0			29	150	1100	2272	455		
22.	Lazaropole	1300	45,9	2	0	21	159	1120	3272	1		
	т	1000	21.0	20		31	62	774	1204	216		
23.	Leunova	1260	21,8	38	6	101	63	774	1324	1		
	Mavrovi	1200		101		121	l	di.	, t.	l		
24.	Anovi	1280	*	191	167		*	*	*	*		

25.	Nivishte	1160	**	-	-	-	**	**	**	**
						59				144
26.	Nikiforovo	1270	14,6	10	10		38	772	638	8
						32				111
27.	Nistrova	1180	15,2	160	121		132	114	872	8
						5				125
28.	Nichpur	1150	12,8	16	13		60	43	1153	6
29.	Novo Selo	820	5,5	35	33	17	87	131	321	539
30.	Orkjushe	940	6,7	24	15	13	77	10	562	649
31.	Prisojnica	820	3,3	347	315	259	39	96	189	324
						-				196
32.	Ribnica	1110	21,7	65	5		58	893	1010	1
33.	Rosoki	980	11,1	-	-	1	*	*	*	*
34.	Selce	-	17,0	-	-	4	*	*	*	*
						25				169
35.	Sence	1180	17,5	88	21		84	544	1065	3
					211	105				
36.	Skudrinje	940	9,3	2221	9	5	78	109	617	804
						22				221
37.	Stretkovo	1000	23,4	28	25		90	300	1823	3
38.	Sushica	1410	10	-	-	-	*	*	*	*
						2				164
39.	Tanushe	1200	16,7	93	16		43	1204	402	9
						498				149
40.	Trebishte	940	15,4	1157	765		120	358	1014	2
						24				
										356
41.	Tresonche	1000	36,2	9	8		26	2684	853	3
42.	Cerovo	860	6.1	27	19	14				

The total population is 5042, with 1474 (29.2%) Macedonians, 1555 (30.8%) Turks, 470 (9.8%) Albanians, and 21.3% identified as others, according to the 2021 census. Compared to 1994, the population has decreased by 17.5%, indicating a significant depopulation trend in the municipality. Many residents have migrated elsewhere, and some settlements—such as Boletin, Kichinitsa, Nivishte, Rosoki, Selce, and Sushica—are already experiencing or are at risk of this decline.

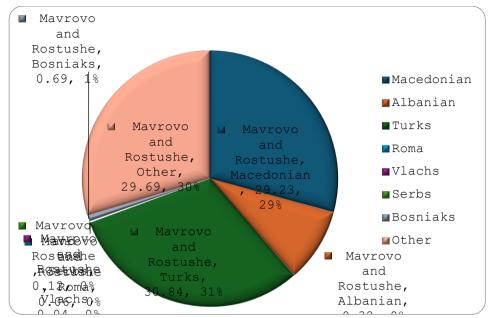


Figure 7. Ethnic Composition of the Population of the Municipality of Mavrovo and Rostuše, 2021

Population density is only 7.6 inhabitants per km², making it one of the least densely populated municipalities in the country. The total number of families is 2315, with an average household size of 3.16 members. There are 5440 housing units in total, but with an average of just 0.88 residents per household, both figures fall below the national average. The low occupancy rate is largely due to the high number of vacation homes built in Mavrovi Anovi and Mavrovo. In the central settlements of Mavrovi Anovi live 121 and Rostuše 708 residents respectively, together accounting for only 6.07% of the municipality's total population. Skudrinje, with 2119 residents, is the largest settlement in terms of population.

Agricultural land is dominated by forests (30148 hectares), pastures (24913 hectares), and arable land (3126 hectares). In terms of forest area, this municipality ranks second in the country, and fourth in terms of pasture area. Here, in the settlement of Volkovija, there is the Zhivko Brajkovski cooperative, one of the largest cooperatives for keeping sheep and goats, then the Kocho Racin agricultural cooperative in the settlement of Lazaropole, as well as the Ar kom economy for keeping cows and producing milk in the settlement of Trebishte. The current municipality was formed through the merger of the former municipalities of Mavrovi Anovi and Rostuše as part of the latest territorial reorganization.

#### 4. Conclusions

According to the latest official data, the resident population of the municipality has increased during the period from 2002 to 2022. The municipalities in Upper Polog are characterized by a relatively strong population base and very interesting demographic developments. Vrapčište experienced a population growth of 1.7%, while Mavrovo-Rostuše saw a population decline of about 3%.

The population distribution across Upper Polog is not uniform. The highest population density is found in the flat areas of the Polog valley, particularly in the municipalities of Gostivar, with 116.45 inhabitants per km², and Vrapčište, with 126.4 inhabitants per km². In contrast, Mavrovo-Rostuše, a largely rural and mountainous municipality, has a much lower population density of only 7.6 inhabitants per km².

From the settlements in these municipalities, it can be concluded that due to spontaneous and expansive urbanization processes, demographic depopulation has occurred, disrupting the socio-economic balance between urban and rural areas. According to the latest census, the

villages that have been depopulated include Brodets and Kjafa in Gostivar municipality, as well as seven villages in Mavrovo-Rostuše: Boletin, Bibaj, Bogdevo, Kichinitsa, Nivishte, Sushica and Ribnica.

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