

OSCE-LED SURVEY ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

# WELL-BEING AND SAFETY OF WOMEN

**MONTENEGRO**  
RESULTS REPORT



## OSCE-led survey on violence against women: Montenegro



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# Background

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the world's largest regional security organization, deals with a broad range of security-related challenges, including the protection of human rights and promotion of gender equality. Among the Organization's main areas of focus are fostering regional security co-operation, as well as conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict management. The OSCE comprises 57 participating States, covering a region that spans across all of Europe and includes the United States, Canada and Central Asia, as well as Mongolia. Through the work of the Secretariat, three specialized institutions and 16 field operations, the OSCE works to address numerous security challenges and assists participating States with the implementation of their comprehensive political commitments.

The OSCE recognizes violence against women and girls (VAWG)<sup>1</sup> as both a threat to individuals and a broader security concern, and it therefore sees preventing and combating VAWG as one of its priority areas. VAWG is a persistent human rights violation that threatens the security and safety of countless women and girls all around the world. It affects not only their lives, hindering their full and equal participation in society, but also the lives of those who are close to them; it ultimately has a lasting impact on their health and well-being and on their children, communities and societies at large as well.

Gender inequality lies at the root of gender-based violence against women and girls. The OSCE plays a key role in working with national stakeholders to build their capacity to prevent gender-based violence and to protect survivors<sup>2</sup>. Under the slogan "Bringing Security Home", the OSCE has stressed that women and girls need to be safe both in public and at home, so that they can reach their full potential and contribute to political, economic and social development.

Violence against women and girls also occurs in times of conflict, and the OSCE commissioned this qualitative and quantitative study in order to shed light on the prevalence of different forms of VAWG in non-conflict and conflict-affected settings in selected OSCE participating States: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, North Macedonia and Serbia, Moldova and Ukraine. Research was also conducted in Kosovo<sup>3</sup>.

This study, the first such representative survey conducted in South-Eastern Europe or Eastern Europe to provide comparable data across the region, encompasses gender attitudes and the experiences of women from minority groups<sup>4</sup>. Its aim is to provide robust data in order to develop more comprehensive and evidence-based policies, strategies, programmes and activities to prevent and combat VAW. The ultimate goal of this research is to provide evidence for informed decision-making and advocacy at different levels and thereby contribute to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals, and to a reduction of VAW in the target regions, improved services for survivors and greater security for women.

<sup>1</sup> The terms "violence against women" (VAW) and "violence against women and girls" (VAWG), which are used interchangeably in this report, include physical, sexual and psychological violence by intimate partners and non-partners, as well as stalking and sexual harassment.

<sup>2</sup> This report uses the terms "survivor" and "victim" interchangeably.

<sup>3</sup> All references to Kosovo, whether to the territory, institutions or population, in this text should be understood in full compliance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244.

<sup>4</sup> The questionnaire used in this study was based on, and is comparable to, the questionnaire used by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights in the 28 EU member states in 2012.







# Executive summary

## Introduction

This report presents the findings from the OSCE's qualitative and quantitative study on violence against women and girls in Montenegro. The study was implemented in spring/summer 2018 and involved:

- **15 key expert interviews**, providing an overview of issues relating to violence against women and conflict-related acts of violence;
- A survey on experiences of violence among **a representative sample of 1,227 women aged 18–74 living in Montenegro** using a multistage, stratified, random probability sample design;
- **Eight focus groups with women from various demographic backgrounds** on their attitudes towards the subject;
- **Four in-depth interviews** with women who had experienced violence in order to understand, in more detail, the impact the violence had on them.

## Key findings

Most women are concerned about the issue of violence in Montenegro. More than six in ten think that VAW is common (62%), including nearly a quarter who think that it is very common (23%). Around a quarter (26%) personally know someone among their family, friends (26%) or in their neighbourhood (24%) who has been subjected to violence. More than six in ten have seen advertising on VAW (61%), and 71% feel they would know what to do if they experienced violence. While most have heard of specific services to help affected women, few women have actually accessed those services following their experiences of violence.

- Nearly one in five (19%) women say they have experienced physical and/or sexual violence since the age of 15 at the hands of a partner or non-partner.
- Fifteen per cent of women who have had a previous partner have experienced one or more forms of such violence at the hands of a previous partner, compared to 12% at the hands of a current partner among those currently in a relationship, and 9% at the hands of a non-partner (since the age of 15).
- More than one in twenty women say they have been stalked (6%). Since the age of 15, more than three in ten have experienced sexual harassment (31%), while 18% say they were sexually harassed in the 12 months prior to the survey.

## Violence against women affects women of all ages, from every income group and from every region of the country

The impact of violence can be severe and long-lasting. Survivors are often left with feelings of shock, fear, annoyance or anger in response to the most serious incidents of violence. Psychological consequences, such as anxiety and a loss of confidence, were experienced by around half of women who have ever had a partner in relation to the intimate partner violence (IPV) they experienced.

Violence against women and girls is both a cause and a consequence of gender inequality, perpetuated by inequitable gender norms and attitudes. One-third of surveyed women say that Montenegro is a society where the needs of boys and men are prioritized both at home and in the workplace, adding that a victim-blaming attitude still exists in the country. More than two-fifths believe that most of their friends would agree that “a good wife should obey her husband even if she disagrees” (43%), and 14% say that their friends would agree that “it is a woman’s obligation to have sex with her husband”. A quarter agree that violence against women is often provoked by the victim. But the data from this study suggests that such attitudes are slowly changing.

Indeed, on a range of attitudinal statements tested in this research, younger women, those who reached tertiary education or are in paid employment and those living in urban areas are distinctly less likely to go along with broad notions of women’s subservience to a male partner. However, it is important to recognize that this does not negate forms of violence experienced by these groups. Younger women, for example, are more likely to say they have experienced sexual harassment since the age of 15 than older women (34% of those aged 18–29 versus 24% of those aged 60 or over), while no differences are observed in the prevalence of non-partner physical or sexual violence across different age groups.



## Women who have been directly affected by conflict are more likely to have experienced physical violence at the hands of a partner or non-partner

More than three in ten women (31%) say they experienced a form of physical violence, from slapping to beating, at the hands of an adult—mainly their parents—before they were 15 years old. This was often repeated. For example, while 4% of women say an adult slapped them or pulled their hair so that it hurt on one occasion up to the age 15, 17% say this happened more than once.

Although Montenegro has not had an armed conflict on its territory that lasted longer than one week since World War II, one in six women have lived in a situation where there was an active armed conflict, the great majority of whom experienced the 1999 NATO intervention. Conflict-affected women are more likely to have experienced physical violence in childhood (47%), physical violence at the hands of a partner or non-partner (27%) and discrimination at work (14%).

Few women contacted specific services after experiencing violence. Even following the most serious incidents of physical and/or sexual violence, the vast majority of survivors did not inform the police. This may be linked to the belief, held by two in five women, that domestic violence is a private matter that should be kept within the family.

These attitudes are one of the barriers preventing women from accessing services. Women have kept violence private, and some also feel a sense of shame about their experiences. There can also be a belief that the violence is not worth reporting, either because it is not serious enough or because no one would be able to help.

Additionally, some women are fearful about what might happen if the perpetrator found out that the violence was reported. The qualitative research found that women mistrust institutions like the police in issues relating to VAW and would only seek help in cases of severe physical or sexual violence. Furthermore, the lack of long-term support, e.g., with housing and money, means that leaving a partner is practically impossible, which makes reporting pointless and potentially dangerous.

Half of the women who have experienced some form of sexual harassment talked to no one about their experience. For those who did talk about it, the most common people to talk to were a friend or family member—they generally did not contact any services, such as the police or aid organizations.

However, societal norms about speaking openly about violence appear to be changing. Younger women are less likely to agree that domestic violence is a private matter and more likely to believe that women experiencing domestic violence will speak to a range of people, such as a family member or healthcare worker. Young women who have actually experienced sexual harassment are more likely to have told someone about it, particularly a friend.

## Conclusions

The findings of the survey and the qualitative research point to the following conclusions (summary, see chapter 8 for details):

- 1. Social norms and attitudes contribute to gender inequality and violence against women.**

Many women in Montenegro believe that women should obey their husbands and that domestic violence is a private matter. The qualitative research also showed that it is considered normal for women to have sex with their partners even when they do not want to. These beliefs contribute to gender inequality and an environment where violence against women is tolerated.
- 2. Violence against women is underreported and there is a lack of trust in the institutions that should provide support and services to victims**

Although the majority of women believe that violence against women is a common experience, and one in five women have shared that they have experienced physical and/or sexual violence, most women do not report violence to the police or other institutions. Shame, fear of the perpetrator and mistrust in institutions are among the most common barriers to reporting. There is a worrisome trend of counter-reporting, which puts the blame on the victim, while reporting and prosecuting psychological and sexual violence is particularly difficult. One in four women say they do not feel well informed about what to do if they experience violence, with this figure rising to 52% among women finding it difficult to cope on their income.
- 3. There is a sound legal framework, but it needs to be updated and fully implemented**

Montenegro has good laws and policies, but they are not adequately implemented. Most cases of domestic violence are treated as misdemeanours, and prison sentences are rare. Experts suggested that more effort should be invested in combating not just physical domestic violence but psychological violence and sexual violence as well.
- 4. There are gaps in the provision of quality support services and the capacity of women's shelters and other support services, particularly for vulnerable groups such as ethnic minorities and women with disabilities**

The quality and capacity of women's shelters need to be improved. Women need long-term accommodation, financial help and support in finding work. There is a lack of legal help and sexual violence referral centres. Women from ethnic minorities, including Roma women, and women with disabilities face additional obstacles in accessing specialized services.

**Shame, fear of retaliation by the perpetrator and mistrust of services are the main barriers to reporting**



### Recommendations

The above findings and conclusions drawn from the survey, the key expert interviews and the qualitative research point to further specific recommendations to address violence against women:

#### **Monitoring the implementation of legislation and aligning it with the Istanbul Convention**

##### **For the Government**

- Expand strategies and policies to include all forms of VAW, include the data from the 2017 survey and this survey into relevant action plans, and recognize the term “gender-based violence”.
- Ensure monitoring of the implementation of policies and strategies, penalize institutions that do not implement it.
- Ensure a victim-centred approach among all relevant institutions.

##### **For the Ministry of Interior**

- Ensure that emergency protective orders are implemented properly (i.e., that the perpetrator is removed from the home and not the victim).

#### **Co-operation, training and multi-sectorial approach**

##### **For the Government and the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights**

- Strengthen the integrated multisectoral response to violence against women. Evaluate the implementation of the new protocol for a multidisciplinary approach.

##### **For the Ministry of Health/Institute for Public Health and Ministry of Social Welfare**

- Finalize the protocol for healthcare workers, ensure adequate training for doctors and healthcare workers, including knowledge of the referral system, and train nurses who make house calls about identifying signs of violence and referring women to specialized support.
- Ensure adequate training for Social Work Centres, and develop strict policies on anonymity. Address reporting protocols, including whether a woman wants to disclose her identity and/or proceed with prosecution. Introduce disciplinary measures for breaching these policies.

**Specialized services for women and awareness-raising activities**

**For the Ministry of Social Welfare**

- Support NGO-run shelters in developing their quality and capacity to provide victims with longer-term support and financial assistance. Implement clear guidelines and standards that are determined in co-operation between the state and NGOs
- Within the licencing process for NGOs, ensure to take into account knowledge of substantial issues as well as existing experience and expertise.
- Provide programmes aimed at working with perpetrators as part of a co-ordinated community response.
- Include women victims of violence as first choices on unemployment lists and prioritize them when it comes to receiving apartments or other accommodations.
- Implement information and awareness-raising campaigns, particularly for women from disadvantaged backgrounds.

**For the Ministry of Education**

- Create education programmes that can be run in collaboration with leaders of the Roma community and introduce education on GBV for children of all ages, making sure to invite NGOs that work on VAW to share their expertise when developing new curricula.



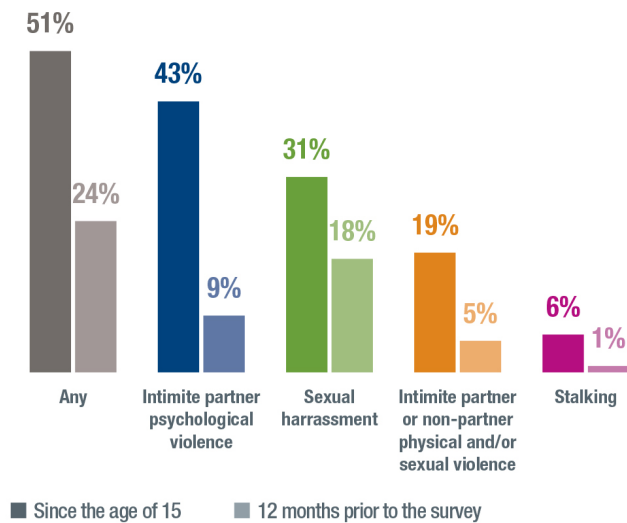




A quantitative survey was conducted among a representative sample of women aged 18 to 74 living in Montenegro. A total of 1,227 interviews were conducted face-to-face between April and August 2018. Data have been weighted to the known population profile.

## HIGH PREVALENCE OF DIFFERENT FORMS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

### HIGH PREVALENCE OF DIFFERENT FORMS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN



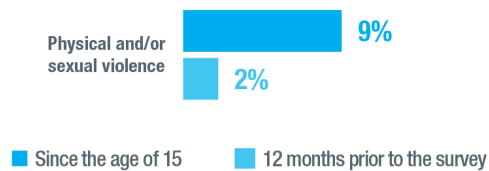
**116,000\***  
women have experienced some form of sexual harassment, stalking, intimate partner violence, or non-partner violence (including psychological, physical or sexual violence) since the age of 15

**35,000\***  
women have experienced intimate partner physical and/or sexual violence

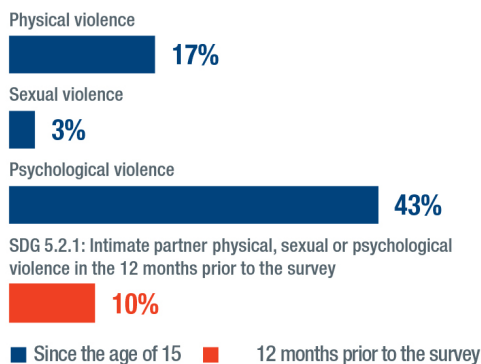
**19,000\***  
have experienced non-partner physical and/or sexual violence

\*Approximate figures

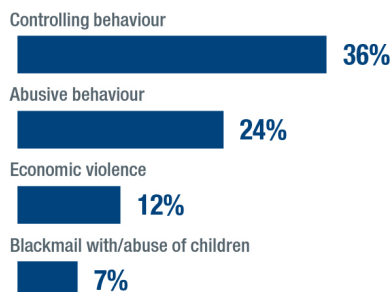
### ALMOST ONE IN TEN WOMEN HAVE EXPERIENCED NON-PARTNER PHYSICAL AND/OR SEXUAL VIOLENCE



### INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE



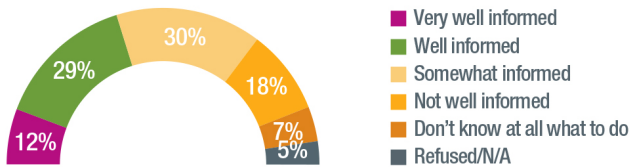
### INTIMATE PARTNER PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE IS THE MOST WIDESPREAD FORM



Base: Prevalence of sexual harassment, stalking, and non-partner violence are based on all women aged 18-74 (1,227); intimate partner violence is based on all ever-partnered women (1,117)

## LOW LEVELS OF REPORTING AND AWARENESS

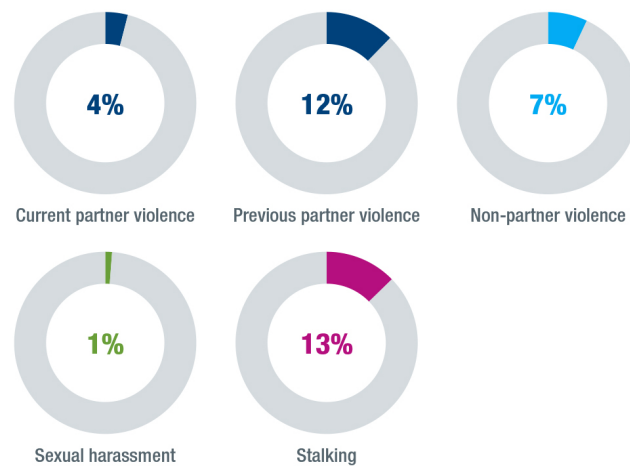
MANY WOMEN DO NOT FEEL INFORMED ABOUT WHAT TO DO IF THEY EXPERIENCE VIOLENCE



Base: All women aged 18-74 (1,227)

## LOW LEVELS OF REPORTING TO POLICE

% who contacted the police directly following the most serious incident of violence



Base: All women aged 18-74 who identify a most serious incident of each form of violence - current partner (70), previous partner (83), non-partner (73), sexual harassment (252), stalking (52)

## SILENCING AND VICTIM-BLAMING ATTITUDES

■ Totally/tend to agree ■ Totally/tend to disagree

Q: Would your friends generally agree or disagree with the following statements?

It is a wife's obligation to have sex with her husband even if she doesn't feel like it



It is important for a man to show his wife/partner who is the boss



Q: To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Violence against women is often provoked by the victim



Domestic violence is a private matter and should be handled within the family



Base: All women aged 18-74 (1,227)

## IMPACT OF THE MOST SERIOUS INCIDENTS

### VIOLENCE CAUSES PSYCHOLOGICAL SUFFERING

% who experienced one or more psychological consequences due to...

Intimate partner or non-partner physical and/or sexual violence



Sexual harassment



Stalking



### VIOLENCE CAUSES PHYSICAL SUFFERING

% who suffered one or more physical consequences due to...

Current partner violence



Previous partner violence



Non-partner violence



Any intimate partner/non partner violence



This translates into **nearly 13,000\*** women who were left with an injury or physical consequence, considering only the most severe cases they identified during their adult lifetime.

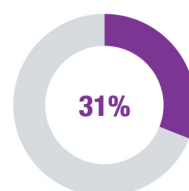
\*Approximate figures

Base: All women aged 18-74 who identify a most serious incident of each form of violence: current partner (70), previous partner (83) non-partner (73), any intimate partner/non partner violence (185)

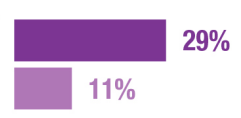
## VIOLENCE IN CHILDHOOD

ALMOST A THIRD OF WOMEN IN MONTENEGRO EXPERIENCED VIOLENCE BEFORE THE AGE OF 15

WOMEN WHO EXPERIENCED VIOLENCE IN CHILDHOOD ARE MORE LIKELY TO SAY THEY EXPERIENCED VIOLENCE IN LATER LIFE



Intimate partner physical and/or sexual violence since the age of 15



■ Experienced violence in childhood  
■ Did not experience violence in childhood

Base: All women aged 18-74 (1,227)

The figures regarding physical consequences of violence have been updated - figures in earlier versions of this report should be disregarded.

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# 1. How to read the data

## Introduction and main research goals

The OSCE-led survey captures the prevalence of violence against women in Montenegro based on a representative sample of the adult population of women (1,227 women aged of 18–74). The key demographics used in the research were women’s age, relationship and work status, whether they had children, whether they lived in urban or rural areas and whether they were affected by conflict or not. The main goals of this study are to provide evidence of the prevalence of VAWG and its consequences on women’s health and well-being for policy-making. The main research questions were:

- What is the extent of violence experienced by women in Montenegro?
- Which forms of violence do women experience in Montenegro?
- Who are the perpetrators of violence against women?
- What are the consequences of violence for women’s health and well-being?
- Do women report their experiences to the police or other authorities or organizations? If not, why not?
- Are there differences between women’s experiences of violence depending on their age, education, professional status, income or whether they are from a minority group or a rural area?

The study also endeavoured to better understand the above in light of women having experienced an armed conflict based on the definitions used in this study (see more in Chapter 5).

The OSCE-led survey asked women to distinguish between incidents that have occurred since the age of 15 and in the twelve months before the survey interview. This provides data that is of direct policy relevance with respect to current practice, such as reporting and responses to victims.

## Comparability between EU data and the area covered by the OSCE-led survey

This research is based on the methodology used by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), which was used for a survey on violence against women in 28 European Union member states.<sup>5</sup> This OSCE-led survey is therefore comparable to the FRA’s survey. The European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) uses the FRA’s data in its current work and plans to use the OSCE’s findings in the future. Finally, the OSCE study includes selected Eurobarometer<sup>6</sup> questions on attitudes towards VAW.

<sup>5</sup> Violence against women: an EU-wide survey. Main results (Vienna: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2015), accessed 8 May 2019, <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2014/violence-against-women-eu-wide-survey-main-results-report>.

<sup>6</sup> “Special Eurobarometer 449: Gender-based Violence”, European Commission, Directorate-General on Justice and Consumers, November 2016, accessed 26 January 2019, [https://data.europa.eu/euodp/data/dataset/S21115\\_85\\_3\\_449\\_ENG](https://data.europa.eu/euodp/data/dataset/S21115_85_3_449_ENG).

### Reluctance to share

In order to better understand the prevalence of VAW, context is very important. The OSCE included in the survey several questions on norms, attitudes and behaviour of women and their family and friends (including men), in relation to violence and experiences of reporting abuse. In comparing the OSCE's data with the EU's data on gender attitudes and norms (Eurobarometer No. 449)<sup>7</sup> this study suggests that where more women feel that domestic violence is a private issue, there is a tendency that fewer women report experiences of violence to the police and other organizations than in countries where there is a longer tradition of raising awareness of violence against women. The qualitative research confirms the taboo and shame linked to sexual violence is particularly prevalent.

### Prior research

There were two previous surveys on violence against women in Montenegro implemented by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) in 2012<sup>8</sup> and 2017.<sup>9</sup> The 2017 survey focused on violence in the family and was conducted on a representative sample of the adult (18 years of age and older) population of Montenegro and with a representative sample of the female population aged 15–65. According to the survey results, 61% of respondents recognized the problem of violence against women as an important social problem but not as a top priority. The most prevalent forms of violence were psychological (humiliation, insults, curses) followed by economic and physical (slapping, kicking, shoving/pushing). Respondents considered the most important causes of family violence to be substance addiction, gambling (45%), poverty (23%) and patriarchal norms and gender relations in the family (11%). According to the 2012 survey, many respondents demonstrated attitudes of tolerance or justification of such violence. One-quarter believed that “the victim is responsible for violence”, and one-quarter felt that violence was beyond the control of the perpetrator “because it is caused by circumstances beyond his reach”. Responsibility for violence was often placed on the victim, blaming her for not being able to leave her abuser. The findings further pointed to a misunderstanding of the situation and the problems and difficulties victims of domestic violence face, such as feelings of fear, a sense of powerlessness, uncertainty, a lack of family or institutional support and obstacles to establishing basic living conditions. According to the 2017 study, the direct and indirect costs of violence against women are very high. The annual cost or loss per victim was estimated at EUR 26,000, while indirect social costs due to the loss in fertility and productivity are estimated at 6% of GDP.

7 “Special Eurobarometer 449: Gender-based Violence”, European Commission, Directorate-General on Justice and Consumers, November 2016, accessed 26 January 2019, [https://data.europa.eu/euodp/data/dataset/S2115\\_85\\_3\\_449\\_ENG](https://data.europa.eu/euodp/data/dataset/S2115_85_3_449_ENG).

8 “Study on Family Violence and Violence against Women in Montenegro”, United Nations Development Programme, 2012, accessed 8 May 2019, [http://www.me.undp.org/content/montenegro/en/home/library/social\\_inclusion/DomesticViolenceStudy.html](http://www.me.undp.org/content/montenegro/en/home/library/social_inclusion/DomesticViolenceStudy.html)

9 “Violence in family and violence against women”, United Nations Development Programme, 2017, accessed 8 May 2019, [https://www.undp.org/content/dam/montenegro/docs/publications/si/Gender/IPSOS\\_family%20violence%20presentation\\_ENG%20final.pdf](https://www.undp.org/content/dam/montenegro/docs/publications/si/Gender/IPSOS_family%20violence%20presentation_ENG%20final.pdf).



### A guide to interpreting survey data

Where the percentages provided do not add up to or exceed 100, this may be due to rounding, the exclusion of “don’t know” responses or the fact that respondents were able to provide multiple answers to certain questions.

### Privacy and anonymity

Interviews were conducted face to face by trained and experienced female interviewers. Interviews were conducted by using a tablet and in private on the basis of the principles of informed consent. The women interviewed were informed that all the data collected would be confidential and anonymized.

### Forms of violence covered

The findings presented in this report are based on a set of questions asked in the OSCE survey concerning violence against women perpetrated by a non-partner or an intimate partner, as well as instances of sexual harassment, stalking, childhood violence and the impact of conflict on gender-based violence. The questionnaire was based on the definitions established in the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention).

To measure the (reported) prevalence of each type of violence, women were asked if they had experienced a range of different forms of violence in various reference periods as detailed in corresponding chapters of this report.

- Regarding **physical** and **sexual violence**, a list of questions that were asked in the research can be found on page 26 in Chapter 4.
- Regarding **psychological violence**, a list of questions that were asked in the research can be found on page 32 in Chapter 4.
- In terms of **sexual harassment**, women in the survey were asked the questions listed on page 35 in Chapter 4.
- For **stalking**, women in the survey were asked the questions listed on page 34 in Chapter 4.

**In this research, childhood violence** refers to violence before the age of 15. A list of questions that were asked about experiences of childhood violence can be found on page 41 in Chapter 4. The questions, methodology and the age of the respondents used in the OSCE-led survey differs from those used in the Adverse Childhood Experiences<sup>10</sup> surveys and the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey,<sup>11</sup> and the prevalence of childhood violence found in those surveys is not comparable.

**Regarding the chapter on conflict and gender-based violence** (Chapter 5), **armed conflict** was defined for the purposes of this research as armed fighting between two or more organized groups, attacks on communities or general insecurity caused by conflict, while women considered to be directly affected by conflict are those who have lived in a situation where there was an active armed conflict for a period of at least one week and who answered “yes” to at least one of the questions listed on page 44 in Chapter 5.

<sup>10</sup> World Health Organization, Adverse Childhood Experiences International Questionnaire (ACE-IQ) accessed 26 March 2019, [https://www.who.int/violence\\_injury\\_prevention/violence/activities/adverse\\_childhood\\_experiences/en/](https://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/activities/adverse_childhood_experiences/en/)

<sup>11</sup> UNICEF, Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) accessed 26 March, [https://www.unicef.org/statistics/index\\_24302.html](https://www.unicef.org/statistics/index_24302.html)

## OSCE-led survey on violence against women: Montenegro

**Partners** include individuals to whom the respondents were married, with whom they were cohabiting or with whom they were involved in a relationship without cohabiting. Non-partners include all perpetrators other than women's current or previous partners.

The **most serious incident** is defined as the incident that had the biggest impact on the surveyed women, either physically or psychologically.

### **An overview of the qualitative research**

Fifteen key experts working in Montenegro shared their views on the current state of how governmental institutions and NGOs are working to prevent VAWG, what support is available to women who have experienced VAWG and what improvements they recommend. These experts included representatives of international organizations as well as governmental and non-governmental institutions.

Eight focus group discussions were conducted with women from different age groups, women living in urban and rural Montenegro, women from different ethnic groups (Roma and Albanian) and women who have experienced conflict. The aims of these discussions were:

- to understand societal attitudes towards women generally and to understand VAWG and the perpetrators of such violence;
- to explore how attitudes towards VAWG have changed over time, including in periods of conflict;
- to explore the degree to which women are aware of existing support measures, their views on those measures and any barriers that might prevent them from accessing support; and
- to identify how prevention and support could be improved.

Four in-depth interviews were conducted with survivors of violence. The aims of these interviews were:

- to explore the forms of violence that women have experienced throughout their lifetime and the impact of conflict;
- to identify barriers to disclosing experiences and to seeking support, and to explore reasons why some women choose to disclose their experiences and others do not;
- to understand the support received, to identify gaps in service provision and to identify the unmet needs of women from specific minority groups (e.g., women from an ethnic minority or with a disability); and
- for women who have gained access to support (formal or informal), to understand how they were able to access such support and the impact this had on them.

## 2. Legal, institutional and policy context

This chapter briefly reviews key national legislation relating to violence against women<sup>12</sup>, preventing violence and protecting women from violence; data collection; and the impact of conflict on women. It draws on the views of the 15 key experts who were interviewed and a literature review, including reference to the latest Concluding Observations of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee)<sup>13</sup> and the 2017 baseline evaluation report by the Group of Experts on Action against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (GREVIO).<sup>14</sup>

### Introduction

Violence against women and girls impacts the lives of millions of women and girls and hampers progress towards comprehensive security for all. The OSCE, as the world's largest regional security organization, recognizes that VAWG not only affects women's personal safety and security, but also prevents them from participating in society or from using their skills and knowledge to their full potential.

The OSCE-led survey focused on gender-based violence against women perpetrated by their partners, family members, friends, acquaintances and colleagues, as well as unknown perpetrators.

Violence against women is a violation of the rights and fundamental freedoms of women, and a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women.<sup>15</sup> As gender inequality lies at the root of gender-based violence, it is important to take into account the broader context of women's status in the OSCE region in order to assess their safety and well-being.

In Montenegro, like in many other countries in South Eastern and Eastern Europe and across the globe, these inequalities are visible in different areas: political and economic participation; access to assets, income and services; and living standards and quality of life.

12 Trafficking in human beings and, more specifically, trafficking in women and girls for purposes of sexual exploitation is a form of gender-based violence against women. It is a serious human rights issue and a security issue. This study did not include questions on this type of violence, as researching trafficking in human beings involves a very high risk for its victims, and a household survey is not the appropriate research method. The FRA survey on which the OSCE-led survey is based did not investigate trafficking in women and girls either.

13 The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee) is a body of independent experts that monitors the implementation of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. General Recommendation No. 35 on Gender-Based Violence against Women updates General Recommendation No. 19, in particular paragraphs 10 and 19.

14 Report submitted by Montenegro pursuant to Article 68, paragraph 1 of the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (Baseline Report)", GREVIO, 11 July 2017, accessed 8 May 2019, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/istanbul-convention/montenegro>.

15 United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, 1994.

## OSCE-led survey on violence against women: Montenegro

Women in Montenegro are underrepresented in positions of political power, and they do not have the same influence that men have on policies, laws and reforms that shape socio-economic development. Women constitute less than a quarter (23.5%) of members of the national parliament. Their share among government members is 18.2%, with the highest governmental positions occupied by men (prime minister and deputy prime minister). Only 2% of mayors of municipalities are women.<sup>16</sup>

Women do not participate in the economy on an equal basis with men. They are underrepresented in the labour market, and employers are less likely to hire them than men. Their activity rate is 56.5%, which is much lower than for men (70.5%). The employment rate of working-age-women (15–64) is 46.8%, again significantly lower than that of men (59.4%).<sup>17</sup> Women are paid less for jobs of equal value. As a study on the gender wage gap has shown, women with the same labour-market characteristics as men had 16% lower wages, meaning that women would need to work 58 extra days per year to earn the same as men who are equally qualified.<sup>18</sup>

In rural areas, farming is mainly managed by men (they are heads of family farms in 87.1% of cases), while women make up the majority (66%) of the labour force on farms.<sup>19</sup> The unfavourable position of women in rural areas, particularly in the northern region (facing significant depopulation), is manifested in higher outward migration.<sup>20</sup>

The consequences of labour-market inequalities are manifested in pension gaps: among all beneficiaries of old-age and disability pensions (65 or older), only 34% are women.<sup>21</sup>

Gender inequalities are underpinned by still-prevailing patriarchal norms. More than half of respondents (55%) participating in a survey conducted for the purpose of programming gender-equality policies in Montenegro agreed with the statement that household work is more suitable for women.<sup>22</sup> More than half of respondents (56%) agreed with the statement that if a household has only one breadwinner, it is more natural for it to be the man.

Violence against women can only be fully understood and addressed within this context, as instruments available to eliminate it are limited or reinforced by actions in other areas in which women are not equal.

16 Women and Men in Montenegro 7th edition (Podgorica: Statistical Office of Montenegro, 2018), pp. 96, 104, accessed 8 May 2018, <https://www.monstat.org/userfiles/file/publikacije/Zene%20i%20muskarci%20u%20Crnoj%20Gori%202019%20preview%20FINAL.pdf>.

17 *ibid.*, p. 82.

18 Sonja Avlijaš et al., *Gender Pay Gap in the Western Balkan Countries: Evidence from Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia* (Belgrade: Foundation for the Advancement of Economics, 2013), pp. 13–14, accessed 8 May 2019, <https://www.fren.org.rs/sites/default/files/Gender%20pay%20gap%20in%20the%20Western%20balkan%20countries.pdf>.

19 Women and Men in Montenegro, p. 87.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

22 The survey was conducted in 2012 in partnership with the EU delegation to Montenegro, Montenegro's Ministry of Justice and the UNDP, cited in "Socio-ekonomski položaj žena u Crnoj Gori", *Evropski pokret Crna Gora*, p. 17, accessed 8 May 2019, <https://www.prs.hr/attachments/article/752/Socio-ekonomski%20polo%C5%BEaj%20%C5%BEena%20u%20Crnoj%20Gori.pdf>.



### 2.1: National legislative framework and implementation

Montenegro regained its independence in a peaceful and democratic referendum in 2006, and it became a member of the United Nations in June of that year. It has ratified all international commitments on gender equality, including the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1980) and its Optional Protocol. This was reinforced by the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), which commits participating countries to take steps towards achieving gender equality, as well as the Millennium Development Goals. It has ratified the Council of Europe’s Istanbul Convention and the UN Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages (2006). Montenegro has adopted the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which aim to address global challenges, such as poverty, inequality and climate change, as well as to improve access to health and education and build strong institutions and partnerships. One of the SDGs is Goal 5 on gender equality and women’s empowerment, with specific target 5.2, “Eliminating all forms of violence against women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation”.

Montenegro has taken measures to align its legislative framework with international standards. National legislation covers gender equality, domestic violence, sexual harassment, sexual and physical assault, rape within marriage, mandatory reporting and sex-disaggregated data collection and violence against children. The Criminal Code<sup>23</sup> prescribes, inter alia, penalties for the criminal offence of domestic violence and violence in the family. Changes in the Code in 2013<sup>24</sup> and updates in 2017 introduced two security measures—restraining orders and the removal of the perpetrator from a shared residence—and sanctions were introduced for, inter alia, female genital mutilation (Article 151), forced sterilization (Article 151b), psychological violence, stalking (Article 168a) and forced marriage (Articles 214–216). It redefined the criminal act of rape, so that it is now based on lack of consent instead of the use of force or a threat thereof. The 2011 Law on Protection from Violence in the Family<sup>25</sup> makes domestic violence a misdemeanour and stipulates punishment for perpetrators of violence and protection for survivors.

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#### Law on the Prevention of Domestic Violence – new obligations

Punishment for perpetrators of 10–60 days in prison or a fine of 3–20 times the minimum wage.	Long-term protection orders, emergency protection orders and temporary police eviction orders.	Obligations for professionals <sup>26</sup> to report domestic violence and a multi-agency approach.	Assistance for victims, including psychosocial and legal aid, medical care, assistance plan, confidentiality of data.
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<sup>23</sup> Montenegro’s ‘Criminal Code of Montenegro’ was published in the country’s official gazette. See, “Criminal Code of Montenegro”, “Official Gazette”, No. 70/2003. An English translation of the Criminal Code of Montenegro can be found on [https://www.unodc.org/res/cld/document/mne/2003/criminal\\_code\\_html/Montenegro\\_Criminal\\_Code.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/res/cld/document/mne/2003/criminal_code_html/Montenegro_Criminal_Code.pdf)

<sup>24</sup> Ibid

<sup>25</sup> Montenegro’s “Law on Protection from Violence in Family,” was published in the country’s Official Gazette. See “Law on Protection from Violence in Family,” Official Gazette., No. 46/10, 40/11. An English Translation of the Law on Protection from Violence in Family can be found at <https://www.legislationline.org/documents/id/19389>

<sup>26</sup> The term ‘professionals’ refers to members of a state administration agency, other agency, or a health, education, or other institution.

## OSCE-led survey on violence against women: Montenegro

The CEDAW Committee's 2017 report welcomed legislative reforms in Montenegro, in particular amendments to the Law on Gender Equality aimed at aligning it with European Union standards, and the Law on Free Legal Aid (2015). The Committee commended improvements to the institutional and policy framework aimed at accelerating the elimination of discrimination against women, as well as the strategy for protection from family violence. The Committee expressed concern, however, about:

- the limited impact of the legislation on the judiciary, police and civil society (perhaps indicating a lack of implementation and political will);
- the lack of implementation of the legislative framework to prevent and punish violence against women owing to weak intersectoral co-operation, insufficient human, technical and financial resources, a low level of gender sensitivity among members of the legal profession, the very small number of protection orders issued even after repeated reports of violence, and the increasing resort to issuing dual charges to both spouses in cases of domestic violence;
- the lenient sentences handed down for perpetrators of gender-based violence against women, despite the recent decision by the Judicial Council of Montenegro to implement tougher sentences.

These concerns were echoed by the experts interviewed for this report, who generally felt that, even though these laws appear good on paper, there are issues in relation to how they are *applied*. Some experts pointed out that, although existing laws enable prosecution for all types of violence defined by the Istanbul Convention, in practice different interpretations of the laws limit their power and impair the prosecution of perpetrators. They said that the focus was only on domestic violence and not on all forms of violence against women, adding that unmarried partners were not always specifically covered by the legislation.

Some experts expressed the opinion that there were differences in law enforcement regarding different types of violence, arguing that psychological and sexual violence were still not recognized and prosecuted as seriously as physical violence. One legal expert interviewed for this study reported: "Sexual violence is still a taboo in Montenegro. There is a huge gap between the number of cases that occur ... in practice and the number of the prosecuted crimes. [When we investigated this], there were usually sentences of about two years and rare cases when the sentence was four or five years, even though the limit in the law is up to ten years for rape." Experts also said that there were significant geographical differences in how laws were implemented.

### 2.2: Institutional mechanisms and co-operation

A number of strategies that address human rights protection and prevention of discrimination have been put in place, with important roles played by civil society organizations and international bodies, including the Protector for Human Rights and Freedoms (2014), the Parliamentary Committee for Gender Equality (2001), the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights Department for Gender Equality (2003), gender focal points at the state level and, at the local level, co-ordinators for gender equality and local councils for gender equality. The National Council for Gender Equality (2016) has specific responsibilities relating to violence against women: it analyses regulations and policy documents (with a working group on violence against women), at both national and local levels, from a gender perspective. Eight working groups have been established, including one specifically for violence against women. In 2017, the government established the Committee for Co-ordination, Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation of Policies and Measures for the Prevention of, and Fight against, All Forms of Violence, which is responsible for monitoring the implementation of the Istanbul Convention.<sup>27</sup>

Experts report that not all initiatives are working well. Gender focal points, for example, have assumed this role on top of their regular duties, and they lack the time necessary to undertake the required work. In addition, it was observed that local councils for gender equality were not holding regular meetings and that they might not be best equipped in terms of their commitment and understanding of the issues to fulfil their remit.

A number of protocols aim to establish and encourage the establishment of multidisciplinary co-operation. According to the participants of the round table held in November 2018 to validate this report, a new and revised Protocol on Action in Cases of Domestic Violence was signed on 28 September, replacing the old one from 2011; the Department for Gender Equality and Municipalities' Memorandum of Understanding on Co-operation Regarding Gender Equality at the Local Level (2015);<sup>28</sup> and the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare's Instructions on the Application of the Code of Conduct are also in place. The Instructions on the Application of the Code of Conduct include a narrative description of steps to be taken in multidisciplinary responses to cases of violence in the family. While welcoming these initiatives, some experts said that these protocols have not proved to be an adequate framework for victim-centred practice, not least because of their inconsistent application.

According to a key expert providing feedback for this report, the Women's Political Network (an association of women politicians from different parties) recently received the green light from the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Interior to open the floor for making amendments to a set of laws concerning violence against women to be initiated in 2019.

<sup>27</sup> Decision on the Establishment of the Coordination Committee for Coordination, Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation of Policies and Measures for preventing and combating All Types of Violence Covered by the Convention of the Council of Europe on the Prevention and Suppression of Violence Against Women and domestic Violence. Available from: <https://bit.ly/2VhOHUJ>

<sup>28</sup> OSCE, "All Montenegrin Municipalities Signed Memorandum of Understanding Committing to Promote Gender Equality", press release, 29 October 2015, accessed 8 May 2019, <https://www.osce.org/montenegro/195176>. These memorandums of understanding (MoUs) were signed by the municipalities, the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights and the OSCE Mission to Montenegro. A number of activities stemmed from these MoUs, including support for local action plans. With the Mission's support, an informal network of municipal focal points was created.

### 2.3: Availability of administrative and other data

Administrative data, disaggregated by sex, age, ethnicity, disability, geographical location and socio-economic background, is necessary for an accurate assessment of the situation of women, gender inequalities and the extent and nature of violence against women. Without data, it is impossible to take evidence-based corrective action.

Although Montenegro ratified the Istanbul Convention in 2013,<sup>29</sup> there is no systematic monitoring of its implementation or collection of gender-based data.<sup>30</sup> Instead, arrangements for monitoring data tend to be set up by individual organizations or groups of organizations. NGOs and the international community periodically conduct surveys and data analysis, as do state institutions.

Current arrangements for data collection include:

- Statistical Office of Montenegro (MONSTAT) publications, including *Women and Men* in Montenegro, provide data on domestic violence that enables comparative analysis. The data is sex-disaggregated but does not show the relationship between victims and perpetrators.
- Key institutions dealing with violence in the family, such as the police, social welfare institutions, prosecutors and the courts, which have their own data collection arrangements, which are not necessarily methodologically aligned but provide solid information.

Some key data is in the public domain, but it is not provided on a consistent basis or is not provided by all institutions. It is therefore difficult to obtain accurate and verified statistics. The availability of data also suffers from the fact that most state institutions do not have electronic systems for data collection:

- The police and the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare are exceptions to this. However, the electronic database used by the police has not been updated to comply with the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence in terms of data collection. The Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare recently (2014–2015) began collecting comprehensive data on social protection in relation to victims of violence against women.
- Healthcare institutions do not have an organized, up-to-date electronic system for collecting data and reporting on violence against women, since data is still recorded by specifying the nature of an injury rather than its cause.
- The same applies to educational institutions and misdemeanour bodies, which still tend to collect data in written registers and create statistics manually; however, the Ministry of Education is piloting a module on drop-outs and violence against children in its information system.

<sup>29</sup> Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, 2011, <https://www.coe.int/fr/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/090000168008482e>.

<sup>30</sup> "GREVIO's (Baseline) Evaluation Report on legislative and other measures giving effect to the provisions of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention): Montenegro", GREVIO, 25 October 2018, accessed 8 May 2019, <https://rm.coe.int/grevio-report-montenegro/16808e5614UNDP>.



In 2017, the CEDAW Committee expressed concern about the lack of accurate data on gender-based violence against women, in particular owing to the fact that each institution collects and processes data according to a different methodology, making it difficult to interpret cases of violence. Generalized data collection means that data on gender-based violence can be included within figures relating to domestic violence and is therefore not clearly visible or easy to find. These conclusions were reinforced both in the United Nations' 2017–2021 programme report<sup>31</sup> and in the European Commission's 2016 country report, although the latter reported that progress was being made on setting up a unified database, aligning methodologies and improving co-ordination.<sup>32</sup>

### 2.4: Prevention, protection and support

Preventive interventions can help to raise awareness, develop understanding and effectively address violence against women. There are a number of broad preventive activities in Montenegro, many of which are implemented jointly by NGOs, international organizations and institutional gender groups:

#### A number of broad preventive activities are carried out in Montenegro:

- Developing the criminal justice system so that perpetrators are held accountable. Experts commented on how the consistent application of the law and the application of appropriate penalties and punishments were key when it came to the prevention of GBV.
- Providing adequate social, medical, psychological and legal assistance to women survivors of violence and those at risk. For example, a national SOS line has been set up by the NGO SOS Hotline Nikšić, which is co-funded by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and the UNDP. It operates in Montenegrin, Albanian and English and is regularly publicized through both traditional and social media.<sup>33</sup>
- Organizing awareness-raising and capacity-building workshops with relevant stakeholders, especially at the local level. The OSCE Mission to Montenegro supports the implementation of the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights' action plan on implementation of the national strategy on gender equality, the implementation of the action plan for a more gender-sensitive parliament, as well as a network of municipal focal points.
- Organizing and implementing information and education campaigns, in particular dealing with gender stereotypes. National campaigns have mainly addressed intimate partner violence or domestic violence. Recent campaigns have used websites and information materials specifically designed to meet the needs of vulnerable target groups. A number of international campaigns have targeted a broader audience. The "16 Days of Activism against Gender-Based Violence" international campaign aims to challenge violence against women and girls by targeting the general public. The OSCE takes part in this global campaign to combat gender-based violence, as do many other organizations around the world, including in the UN system. "One Billion Rising" is another international campaign that was founded with the goal of ending rape and sexual violence against women by sparking a broader debate about GBV.

31 United Nations (2016). "Integrated United Nations Programme for Montenegro 2017-2022", United Nations, 2016, accessed 8 May 2019, [https://www.unicef.org/about/execboard/files/Montenegro-UNDAF\\_MNE\\_2017-2021.pdf](https://www.unicef.org/about/execboard/files/Montenegro-UNDAF_MNE_2017-2021.pdf).

32 "Montenegro 2016 Report Accompanying the document Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions 2016 Communication on EU Enlargement Policy", European Commission, 9 November 2016, accessed 8 May 2019, [https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/pdf/key\\_documents/2016/20161109\\_report\\_montenegro.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/pdf/key_documents/2016/20161109_report_montenegro.pdf).

33 See the SOS Linija website at <http://sosnk.org/sos-linija/>.

## OSCE-led survey on violence against women: Montenegro

Some experts think that while NGOs play a leading role in prevention activities, state institutions do not do enough. In the opinion of some experts, current prevention activities are not systematic and need to be better planned and implemented through different channels. They say, for example, that these activities should have a longer duration and an in-depth perspective aimed at changing traditional cultural attitudes in Montenegro. Some experts also said that preventive activities were geographically focused on the capital, Podgorica, while smaller communities were left out. It was therefore hard to judge how widespread preventive activities have been.

A range of training has been put in place for professionals dealing with violence against women, including justice practitioners, law enforcement officers and other professional staff working in social protection, education, health, welfare and other service providers. However, information on educational/training activities has not been held in a systematic way. Some experts also said that this training was just a step in the right direction towards a victim-centred approach and the application of the Istanbul Convention standards, adding that much more work still needed to be done.

The great majority of specialized services for women survivors of violence in Montenegro are run by NGOs. These organizations have a long-standing tradition of providing shelters (there are six in total—one for trafficking victims, one for LGBT victims and four for victims of violence against women—which the experts said were of varying standards), legal advice, medical and psychological counselling. They also run hotlines and other essential services. However, many such services experience funding insecurity and operate in specific geographic areas where state funding is lacking. The overall number of available services in Montenegro does not match the demand, especially when special issues such as sexual violence, stalking and forced marriage are taken into account.

Experts also expressed concern that orders on the removal of a perpetrator from his home or place of residence are rarely implemented by the police. There has been a pattern of mild sentences: in 2016, only 7% of 1,573 cases resulted in prison sentences, while the remaining cases resulted in fines, acquittals or protective measures; 85% of all reported cases fall under the Misdemeanour Act, where serious punishment is not deemed to be appropriate.<sup>34</sup> A 2015 UNDP survey found a high tolerance in the justice sector towards family violence and violence against women: the findings showed that half of the surveyed judges felt that violence was a private matter and should not be reported.<sup>35</sup> Uneven distribution of services has resulted in some rural areas and some minority communities, such as Roma and Albanian women, not being well served.

<sup>34</sup> “NGO report on the implementation of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence in Montenegro”, Women’s Rights Centre, Women’s Safe House, SOS Hotline for Women and Children Victims of Violence Nikšić, SOS Hotline for Women and Children Victims of Violence Podgorica, 2017.

<sup>35</sup> “Survey on perceptions of gender based violence among the judiciary in Montenegro”, UNDP and Montenegro Ministry for Human and Minority Rights, 2015, accessed 8 May 2019, available from <http://www.gendermontenegro.com/violence-in-family/publications/474-study-on-the-perceptions-of-gbv-among-judiciary-in-montenegro>

### 2.5: Consequences of conflicts for women

Montenegro did not experience war or armed conflict on its own territory following the dissolution of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, although it was inevitably affected by the subsequent conflicts in neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Kosovo. There is little or no data about the consequences of these conflicts on violence against women in Montenegro. However, there is a relationship between violence against women and the availability of firearms, which are predominantly in the hands of men rather than women. A study among survivors of severe domestic violence registered with SOS Nikšić and Safe Women's House in Podgorica and conducted by CEED Consulting in 2012<sup>36</sup> showed that 37 of the 100 women interviewed for the study were threatened with a weapon by their intimate partner. One in three of these survivors said the perpetrator tried to kill them. It is important to note that the sample of women included in this study is in no way representative of adult women in Montenegro and not even of victims of domestic violence (an overwhelming majority of whom never reach out to specialized support services or shelters). While these results cannot be generalized and thus cannot be compared with the findings of this OSCE-led survey, they clearly suggest that firearms play a significant role in the experience of those women who suffer extreme levels of violence in Montenegro. The EU, through SEESAC, consequently supported Montenegro's two-year weapons amnesty, which started in 2015, together with a campaign to sensitize the public to the risks associated with the possession of firearms.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Study on Family Violence and Violence against Women in Montenegro".

<sup>37</sup> SEESAC "SEESAC Supports Montenegro's Campaign to Legalize and Collect Illicit Weapons", press release, 24 June 2015, accessed 8 May 2019, <http://www.seesac.org/News-SALW/SEESAC-Supports-Montenegros-Campaign-to-Legalize-and-Collect-Illicit-Weapons/>.



33%

One-third of women in Montenegro believe their friends would agree that “it is important for a man to show his wife/partner who is the boss”.

14%

One in seven women believe that their friends would agree that “it is a wife’s obligation to have sex with her husband even if she doesn’t feel like it”.

42%

More than two in five women agree that domestic violence is a private matter and should be handled within the family.

62%

More than three in five women think that, in general, violence against women by partners, acquaintances or strangers is very or fairly common.

## 3. Attitudes towards gender roles and violence against women

The research conducted for this report shows that men's and women's roles and behavioural expectations in Montenegro are complex and nuanced, likely to be informed by age, levels of education, paid employment and the presence of children in the household.

Montenegrin women in the qualitative research described playing multiple, challenging roles in society, the most significant of which was motherhood. Older women expressed the belief that they were best placed to manage all the household tasks and that their gender contributed to their ability to do this well; however, these tasks were burdensome and seldom recognized.

They said that the unpaid work that women do in the household and for the family was often not acknowledged or respected. Some women also felt disrespected and degraded by their husbands and mothers-in-law and said that they were not able to contribute to decision-making in the home.

**“We Montenegrin women carry a lot on our back, the whole family. [Our] husbands are usually treated like guests at home.”**

**Female, aged 51+, Rural, conflict-affected**

The women who took part in the qualitative research said the recent expansion of women's roles to include paid work outside the home had given women greater independence and led to them being treated more equally. They added, however, that the expansion of their responsibilities created increased pressure in public life, which was not absorbed by greater equality in private. The expectation that women should be the primary caregiver and homemaker remained, they said, which means that the end of a busy working day is only the start of a woman's day.

**“Montenegrin women are expected to do all their work on time, to be employed and [to be a] housewife at the same time, to do their work according to an eight-in-one principle, that is, to be like an octopus with tentacles.”**

**Female, aged 35-50, urban**

Women were also expected to look a certain way. Women who took part in the qualitative research noted how there was a very narrow role that they had to comply with. On the one hand, they said women were expected to always be well groomed, i.e., to wear make-up and nice clothes. On the other hand, if they were seen as going too far with this, by wearing too much make-up or clothing considered too provocative, they said they were then judged as being promiscuous.

The women said they were also judged by different standards than men in terms of marriage and sexual relations. They said, for example, that they were expected to marry younger than men, by the age of 30, and not to have had multiple sexual partners.



## There was a perception among the women interviewed that boys and men in Montenegro are given preferential treatment from an early age

**“Can you imagine a woman who would come and say that she had a relationship with 100 men—it’s not possible. She would immediately be characterized as a woman of low morals, while a man who said that would be considered a super guy.”**

**Female, aged 18–29, rural**

According to the women who took part in the qualitative research, boys and men are prioritized in Montenegrin society from birth. They said that families were happier to have sons and that they treated their daughters and sons differently, showering their sons with unconditional love. They also said that men were treated more favourably in the workplace than women, earning higher salaries and promotions to more senior positions. Men were also said to have greater amounts of leisure time (as they had fewer responsibilities at home) and more sexual freedom.

**“In families that have both male and female children, sons are usually protected. They don’t have to do anything, while daughters have to do all the work. This disbalance is created early in childhood.”**

**Female, aged 51+, urban**

**“[A boy] is always loved and accepted no matter what he is like, because he is male.”**

**Female, aged 18–29, rural**

However, women who took part in the qualitative research expressed the belief that the increasing number of women in the workplace has led to changes in social expectations of women. For example, they said that working women had more freedom to spend time outside the home, that there was less pressure for women to establish a family at an early age and that they were also allowed to show affection towards men more openly.

Some women also said that attitudes towards men’s roles were changing, with it becoming more acceptable for men to take a role in helping their wives in the household.

**“Our men have changed a lot. They [now] agree to help women, particularly [people with families] are willing to do everything. They have really changed a lot compared to the situation some 20 or 30 years ago, particularly in terms of housework.”**

**Female, aged 51+, urban**

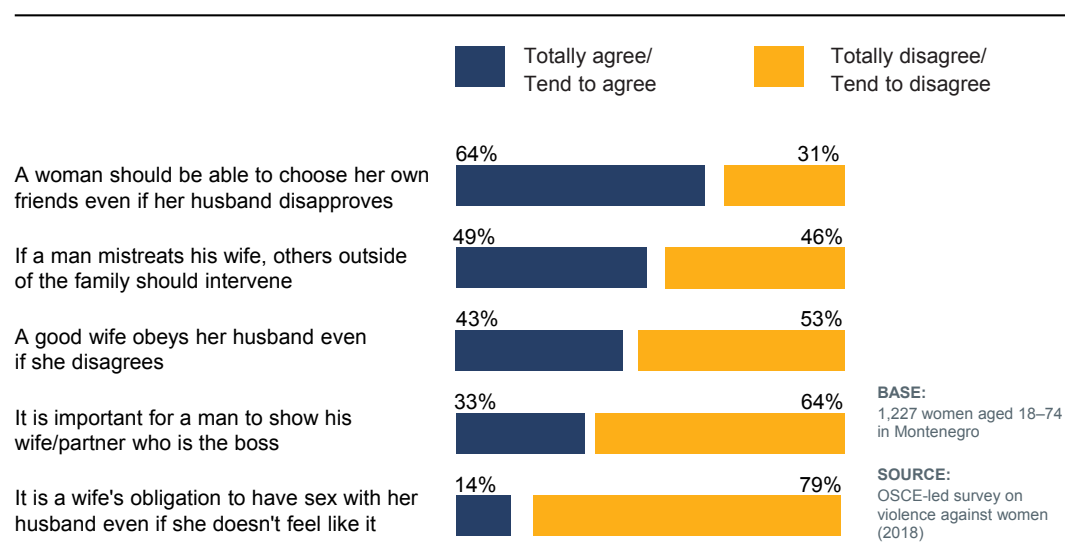
### 3. Attitudes towards gender roles and violence against women

The ambivalence of views on social norms relating to gender was demonstrated within the quantitative data. Around two-thirds of women said that their friends would agree that they “should be able to choose their own friends even if their husband disapproves”, and that their friends would disagree with the notion that “it is important for a man to show his wife who the boss is”. Moreover, nearly four in five women (79%) said their friends would disagree with the claim that “it is a woman’s obligation to have sex with her husband even if she does not feel like it” (Figure 3.1).

The disparity between norms and attitudes was mostly prevalent when women in Montenegro were asked whether their friends and family would agree that “a good wife should obey her husband even if she disagrees”. Forty-two per cent of women think that this attitude is prevalent among their friends, while 53% say that their friends would disagree with this notion. Similarly, while half agree that “if a man mistreats his wife, others outside the family should intervene”, almost as many disagree.

**Figure 3.1: Perceptions of social norms and acceptable behaviours**

People have different ideas about families and what is acceptable behaviour for men and women in the home. Please tell me whether your friends would general agree or disagree with the following statements.



On all the statements asked about in Figure 3.1, women aged 18–29, with tertiary education, in paid employment and who are comfortable financially say their friends are distinctly less likely to agree with the broad notions of women’s subservience to a male partner. Women aged 30–39 are also less likely than average to hold some of these views.

In contrast, women aged 60 or over are more likely to find ideas such as “wives should obey their husbands” and that “it is a woman’s obligation to have sex with her husband even if she doesn’t feel like it” to be acceptable to their friends and family. These sorts of views also tend to be more likely to be held by women with children compared to women without children (in part due to the older age profile of those who have children), unemployed women, women in the north of Montenegro and women finding it difficult to cope on their present income. These views are also more prevalent among women living in rural areas, where 41% of women think their friends would agree that “it is important for a man to show his wife/partner who the boss is”, compared with 29% of women living in urban areas.

Respondents were given a range of scenarios and asked if sexual intercourse without consent could be justified in any of them, such as sex within a marriage or partnership, if either the woman or assailant had been drinking or if the woman was wearing provocative clothing. The great majority of women do not feel that having sexual intercourse without the woman’s consent can be justified. At least three-quarters of women would disagree strongly that sexual intercourse can be justified in any of the scenarios presented. Nevertheless, this

## OSCE-led survey on violence against women: Montenegro

is not a unanimous view: 15% of women, for example, feel that sexual intercourse without consent could be justified in a marriage or between partners who live together. Again, there are some generational differences, with women aged 18–29 (4%) less likely to feel that sexual intercourse without consent is justified in a relationship than women over 60 (28%).

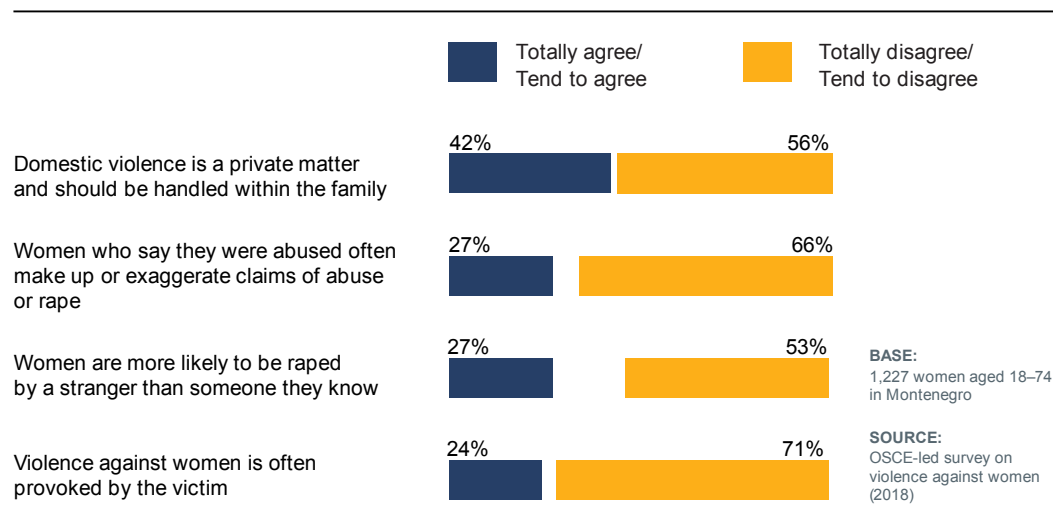
Attitudes to violence are not completely clear-cut either. As Figure 2.2 illustrates, around one in four women agree that violence against women is often provoked by the victim (24%) and that women who say they were abused often make up or exaggerate claims of abuse or rape (27%). According to the European Commission’s Special Barometer 449 on gender-based violence, fewer women across the EU believe the same.<sup>38</sup> On average, 15% of women in the EU think that violence is often provoked by the victim (ranging from 6% in the Netherlands to 58% in Latvia), and 19% of women in the EU think that women exaggerate claims of abuse or rape (ranging from 7% in Sweden to 43% in Malta).

Over two-fifths of women believe that domestic violence is a private matter and should be handled within the family (42%). These views are again more prevalent among women over 60, as well as among women living in the north or with children in the household. They are also more prominent among women living in rural areas (52%) than those living in urban areas (37%). Women aged 18–29, with tertiary education and in paid employment are less likely to hold any of these beliefs.

In Montenegro, three times as many women say that domestic violence is a private matter as in the EU, where on average 14% agree with this notion.<sup>39</sup> In Croatia, about one-quarter of women believe the same. The EU range on this issue is from 2% in Sweden to 31% in Romania, perhaps indicating that women from countries with a longer tradition of raising awareness of gender equality are more open to discussing their experiences of violence, but also that this attitude is much more prevalent in Montenegro than in any EU country.

**Figure 3.2: Underlying attitudes to violence against women**

Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.



In the qualitative research, the reasons for violence were said to be associated with the characteristics or challenges faced by specific individuals such as alcoholism or mental-health issues. The women who took part in the research, including both those who had experienced violence and those who had not, did not blame societal factors for violence against women.

<sup>38</sup> “Special Eurobarometer 449: Gender-based Violence”.

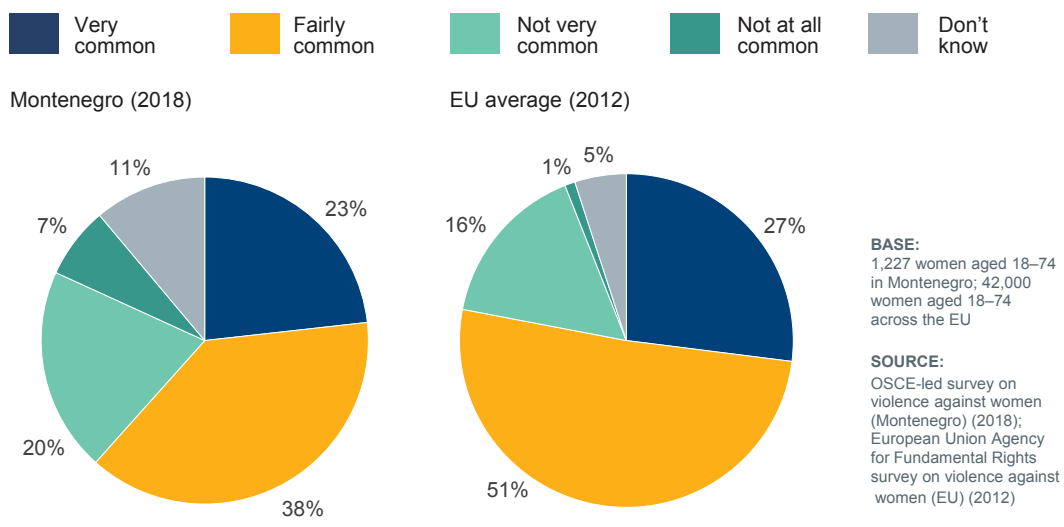
<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

**Over forty per cent of women surveyed believe that domestic violence is a private matter and should be handled within the family. This is more than double the percentage of those who say the same across the EU.**

The quantitative research found that 62% of women believe that violence against women is common in Montenegro, which is lower than the EU average of 78% (ranging from 54%–93%), which was measured in an earlier survey conducted by the FRA (Figure 3.3). Only a little over a quarter of women in Montenegro (27%) believe that violence against women is not common. Women in the north (78%) are more likely to say it is common compared to women in the south (45%), as are women finding it very difficult to cope on their present income (85%). Women aged 18–29, women without children and women who have never had a partner are more likely than average to say it is uncommon, while the unemployed are less likely to do so.

**Figure 3.3: Perceptions of the pervasiveness of violence against women**

How common do you think violence against women by partners, acquaintances or strangers is in Montenegro?



Around a quarter of women personally know someone among their family and friends (26%) who has been subjected to violence, and a similar proportion know someone who has been subjected to violence in their neighbourhood (24%). The prevalence is higher among women who have had a previous partner, those who are unemployed and those who are finding it very difficult to manage on their present income.





9%

Almost one in ten women surveyed say they have experienced physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of a non-partner since the age of 15.



17%

Almost one in five women who have ever had a partner have experienced physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of an intimate partner.



43%

Psychological violence at the hands of a partner has affected more than two in five of women who have ever had a partner in their lifetime.



31%

Nearly one-third of women have experienced sexual harassment since the age of 15.

## 4. Violence against women in Montenegro

### 4.1: Physical and sexual intimate partner violence

Just under half of women (45%) who have, or have ever had, a partner say they have experienced violence at the hands of their intimate partners. For the most part, this violence has been psychological (43%, the same as the EU average), but one in six (17%) women state that they have experienced physical violence,<sup>40</sup> and 3% say they have experienced sexual violence.<sup>41</sup> The indicated prevalence for each type of violence is somewhat lower than in the EU, where on average 20% of women (ranging from 11% in Austria to 31% in Latvia) state that they have experienced physical violence and 7% sexual violence (ranging from 3% in Croatia to 11% in Denmark).

#### Differences in the indicated prevalence across countries:

It is important to note that countries with longer traditions of gender-equality policies and awareness-raising campaigns (such as the Nordic countries and in Western Europe) also have higher rates of women reporting experiences of violence.

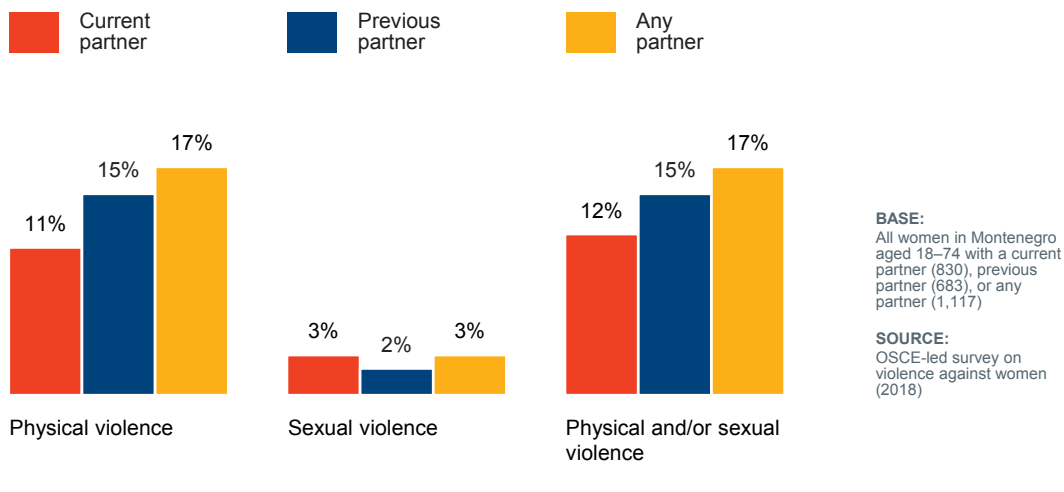
According to the FRA survey across the EU, for example, the three countries where women were most likely to say they had experienced physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of a partner or a non-partner since the age of 15 are Denmark (52%), Finland (47%) and Sweden (36%). The indicated prevalence rate is lowest in Croatia (21%), Austria (20%) and Poland (19%).

<sup>40</sup> With regard to physical violence, women in the survey were asked the following questions: has someone/a current partner/previous partner ever 1) pushed you or shoved you? 2) slapped you? 3) thrown a hard object at you? 4) grabbed you or pulled your hair? 5) punched you or beaten you with a hard object or kicked you? 6) burned you? 7) tried to suffocate or strangle you? 8) cut or stabbed you or shot at you? 9) beat your head against something? In this report, the prevalence of physical violence is based on respondents who report having experienced at least one of these forms of violence on at least one occasion. The prevalence of physical violence is provided for current partners, previous partners, any intimate partner (either current or previous) and non-partners. The reference period for non-partner violence was since the age of 15/in the 12 months prior to the survey, and for partner violence it was whether this had ever happened during their relationship or in the 12 months prior to the survey.

<sup>41</sup> Concerning sexual violence, women were asked: Since you were 15 years old and in the past 12 months, how often has someone 1) forced you to have sexual intercourse by holding you down or hurting you in some way? 2) Apart from this, how often has someone attempted to force you to have sexual intercourse by holding you down or hurting you in some way? 3) Apart from this, how often has someone made you take part in any form of sexual activity when you did not want to or were unable to refuse? 4) Or have you consented to sexual activity because you were afraid of what might happen if you refused? The prevalence of sexual violence is based on respondents who reported having experienced at least one of these forms of violence on at least one occasion. The prevalence of sexual violence is provided for current partners, previous partners, any intimate partners (either current or previous) and non-partners. The reference periods are as above.



**Figure 4.1: Prevalence of intimate partner physical and/or sexual**



Women who participated in the qualitative research who had experienced intimate partner violence (IPV) tend to have experienced a range of types of violence - psychological, physical and sexual - at the hands of their partners. Some women say they had highly controlling husbands who would not let them work or who, in some cases, would not let them have children because of the perceived damaging effect it would have on their physical appearance. Some women had also experienced serious threats of violence, such as the case of one woman whose husband followed and threatened her with an axe.

Slapping and pushing or shoving are the forms of violence most commonly mentioned at the hands of both current and previous partners. These are also the most prevalent forms of violence in the EU, on average.

**Forty-five per cent of women who were surveyed and who have, or have ever had, an intimate partner say they have experienced violence at the hands of a partner since the age of 15**

## 4. Violence against women in Montenegro

**Table 4.1: Forms of intimate partner physical violence**

How often has your current partner/your previous partner done any of the following to you?

	Current partner % ever happened	Previous partner % ever happened
Slapped you?	9	12
Pushed you or shoved you?	7	9
Grabbed you or pulled your hair?	3	5
Beat you with a fist or a hard object, or kicked you?	2	3
Beat your head against something?	2	2
Thrown a hard object at you?	2	2
Tried to suffocate you or strangle you?	1	2
Cut or stabbed you, or shot at you?	0.3	0.3
Burned you?	0.2	0.1

**BASE:** All women in Montenegro aged 18–74 with current partner (830) or previous partner (683)

**SOURCE:** OSCE-led survey on violence against women (2018)

Consenting to sexual activity because of fear of what might happen otherwise is the most common form of sexual violence women who have ever had a partner say they have experienced (Table 4.2). Women in the qualitative research said that, when it comes to sex, men’s needs were considered more important than women’s, which meant it was considered fairly normal for a woman to have sex with her partner even if she did not want to.

**“It doesn’t matter what she feels at that moment. What’s important is that he [can do] whatever he wants.”**

**Female, aged 51+, urban**

**Table 4.2: Forms of intimate partner sexual violence**

How often has your current or previous partner done any of the following to you?

	Current partner % ever happened	Previous partner % ever happened
Have you consented to sexual activity because you were afraid of what might happen if you refused?	3	2
Apart from this, attempted to force you into sexual intercourse by holding you down or hurting you in some way?	1	1
Apart from this, made you take part in any form of sexual activity when you did not want to or you were unable to refuse?	1	1
Forced you into sexual intercourse by holding you down or hurting you in some way?	1	1

BASE: All women in Montenegro aged 18–74 with current partner (830) or previous partner (683)

SOURCE: OSCE-led survey on violence against women (2018)

#### Patterns in intimate partner violence<sup>42</sup>

The data suggests that violence against women in intimate partner relationships takes place on a continuum. Rather than being an isolated incident, it tends to happen repeatedly over a long period of time. Of those women who say they experienced their first incident of current partner physical and/or sexual violence five or more years before the survey, 46% experienced their most recent incident in the 12 months prior to the survey, and a further 6% said their most recent incident had taken place between one and four years earlier.

Of the women who have experienced physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of their current partner, 85% were living with their partner at the time of the first incident (or threat thereof), compared to 82% in the EU. For previous partner violence, 63% of previous partners were living with the women concerned at the time of the first incident of violence (or threat thereof), compared to 62% in the EU.

Among respondents who were pregnant during their relationship with their partner and who experienced violence (or threats thereof) during the relationship, almost half (46%) of the victims of current partner violence and a similar proportion of the victims of previous partner violence (48%) say that physical or sexual violence (or threats thereof) took place during the pregnancy. This is much higher than the EU average, where one in five (20%) said they experienced violence while pregnant during the relationship, and one in three (33%) said the same about a previous partner.

When asked what happened in their most serious incident of current or previous partner violence, women most commonly mentioned being slapped (mentioned by over a half of those who have experienced current partner and/or previous partner violence). Being pushed or shoved or threatened with physical violence are mentioned as being involved in the most serious incident by around a third of women for both current partner and previous partner violence. Women in Montenegro are more than twice as likely as those in the EU to report being slapped as the most serious incident, with 64% of women stating that this was involved in their most serious incident of current partner violence and 54% in their most serious incident of previous partner violence, compared to 28% in the EU on average for the former and 25% for the latter.

<sup>42</sup> While the reporting rates/prevalence of physical and sexual violence discussed above do not include threats of such violence, other questions related to when such violence occurred and the details of the most serious incidents do include threats of violence.

## 4. Violence against women in Montenegro

**Table 4.3: Most serious incident of intimate partner violence**

I would like you to think about the most serious incident by your current/previous partner. Which of the things on this card happened at that time? By "most serious", we mean an incident that had the biggest impact on you.

	Current partner %	Previous partner %
Slapped you	64	54
Pushed you or shoved you	36	36
Threatened to hurt you physically	33	30
Beat you with a fist or a hard object, or kicked you	15	15
Grabbed you or pulled your hair	14	17
Threw a hard object at you	13	7
You have consented to sexual activity because you were afraid of what might happen if you refused	10	5
Beat your head against something	10	9
Tried to suffocate you or strangle you	6	11
Forced you into sexual intercourse by holding you down or hurting you in some way	4	4
Made you take part in any form of sexual activity when you did not want to or you were unable to refuse	1	5
Attempted to force you into sexual intercourse by holding you down or hurting you in some way	0	6
Cut or stabbed you, or shot at you	0	1
Burned you	0	1

**BASE:** All women in Montenegro aged 18–74 who have ever experienced violence from a current partner (89) or previous partner (101)  
**SOURCE:** OSCE-led survey on violence against women (2018)

Women in the qualitative research described physical violence as being the least acceptable form of violence, and the general view was that a woman should leave a relationship as soon as any form of physical violence takes place. They expressed the belief that once physical violence starts, it will continue and will likely escalate in severity. This was echoed by women who had experienced physical IPV who said that once violence started, it did not stop until the woman left the relationship.

**“Today it will be a tap on the head, tomorrow a slap in the face and the day after tomorrow a punch.”**

**Female, aged 30–50, rural**

### Physical and sexual intimate partner violence in the 12 months prior to the survey

One in twenty women (5%) state that they experienced physical violence at the hands of a current or previous partner in the 12 months prior to the survey, and 2% say the same in relation to sexual violence.

Being pushed or shoved or being slapped were the most prevalent forms of current partner physical and/or sexual violence (each mentioned by 4%) and of previous partner physical and/or sexual violence (each mentioned by 1%) in the 12 months prior to the survey. Two per cent of women with a current partner say that they consented to sexual activity in the 12 months prior to the survey because they were afraid of what their partner might do if they refused.

#### 4.1.1: Intimate partner psychological violence

Women who took part in the qualitative research expressed the belief that psychological violence was the most common type of violence against women that might take place at home, in the workplace and on the street. They said it was often considered normal and not thought of as violence. Psychological violence, especially verbal insults, was believed to be common within marriage. This could lead to physical violence, they said, which was also seen as a fairly common culmination of psychological violence. In some cases, the responsibility for the violence was placed on the victim, where women were said to have provoked men's reactions by "nagging" them.

**"Yes, a woman maybe starts verbally nagging, then they start quarrelling, and the culmination of this is physical conflict."**

**Female, aged 18–29, urban**

Women expressed the belief that a partner was very likely to perpetrate psychological violence and that this was to be expected if their partner was having difficulties at work or in their social life. They also said that society tolerated this type of violence and that parents would tell women to endure it. Some women shared that, while not considered serious by society, they found psychological violence even harder to endure than physical violence, as it wore them down on a daily basis.

**"I feel that the emotional violence is even worse than physical [violence] because if you are being put down and nagged every day, it is constant mental harassment, so it's worse."**

**Female, aged 18–29, rural**

Indeed, the survey findings indicate that over two in five women (43%, the same as the EU average<sup>43</sup>) have encountered psychological violence at the hands of their current or previous partner at some point in their lifetime. The various forms of psychological violence asked about were categorized into four broad types as follows:

<sup>43</sup> The forms of psychological violence in italics were not asked about in the FRA survey.

**Economic violence**, which includes a woman being prevented from making decisions about family finances and from shopping independently and being forbidden to work outside the home.

**Controlling behaviours**, which include situations where a woman's partner tries to keep her from seeing her friends, *restricts her use of social media sites (such as Facebook, Twitter, etc.)*, tries to restrict contact with her birth family or relatives, insists on knowing where she is in a way that goes beyond general concern, gets angry if she speaks with another man, suspects that she has been unfaithful, *forbids the use of contraception or otherwise restricts decisions on family planning, prevents her from completing school or starting a new educational course, wants to decide what clothes she can wear or expects to be asked for permission so she can see a doctor.*

**Abusive behaviours**, which includes situations where a woman's partner forbids her to leave the house at all or *forbids her to leave the house without being accompanied by a relative*, takes away her car keys or locks her up, belittles or humiliates her in front of other people or in private, purposefully scares or intimidates her (e.g., by yelling or smashing things), makes her watch or look at pornographic material against her wishes, threatens to hurt or kill someone she cares about (other than her children), threatens to hurt her physically, *threatens her with violent sexual acts (like rape, forced pregnancy, etc.)* and *hurts or threatens to hurt her when visiting, picking up or bringing back her children (previous partner only).*

**Using a woman's children to blackmail her or abusing her children**, which includes threatening to take her children away, threatening to hurt her children, hurting her children or making threats concerning the custody of her children (previous partner only).

Women who were in a relationship were asked if any of these things had happened sometimes, often or all of the time or had never happened, while women who had been in previous relationships were asked if any of their previous partners had ever done any of these things to them.<sup>44</sup>

**In the qualitative research,  
psychological violence was seen  
to be the most common form  
of violence against women  
in Montenegro and was  
viewed as a precursor to  
physical violence**

<sup>44</sup> In relation to being threatened with physical or sexual violence, women were asked how many times their current and/or previous partner had ever done this and how often they had done it in the 12 months prior to the survey.

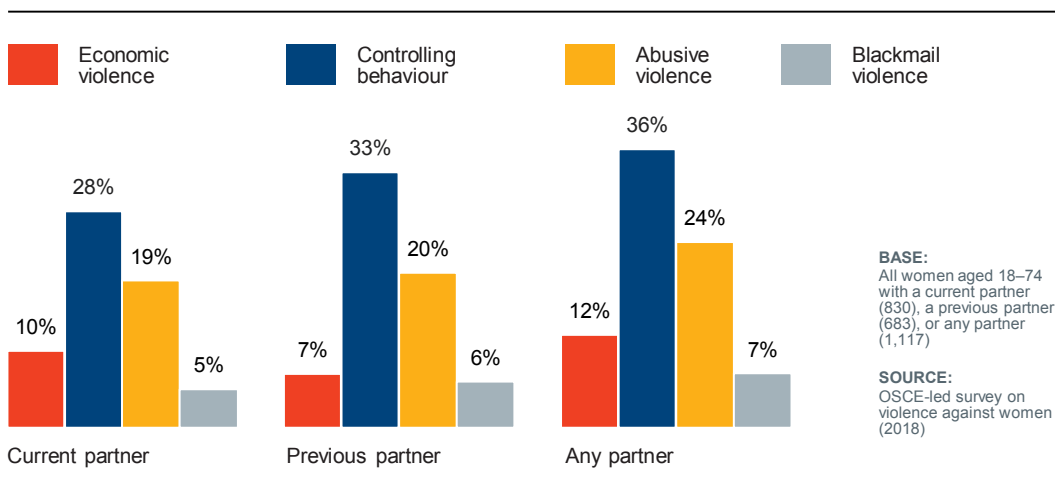


Overall, 36% of women who have ever had a partner have experienced controlling behaviours on the part of a current or previous partner, with partners insisting on knowing where they were going beyond general concern (21%) and getting angry if she spoke with another man (21%) mentioned most often within this category.

Around a quarter of women have experienced abusive behaviours. This includes over 19% of respondents who say they have been belittled or humiliated in private.

Economic violence has been experienced by 12%, and 7% of those who currently or have ever had children say their children have been used for blackmail or that their children have been hurt by an intimate partner.

**Figure 4.2: Prevalence of the different forms of intimate partner psychological violence**



**More than two in five women who have ever had a partner state that they have encountered psychological violence at the hands of their current or previous partners**

### 4.2: Stalking

More than one in twenty women (6%) say they have been stalked<sup>45</sup> at some point since they were 15 years old, and 1% say they were stalked in the 12 months prior to the survey. This is lower than in the EU, where on average 18% of women say they have been stalked, ranging from 8% in Romania to 33% in Sweden. It is also less than half the prevalence in Croatia (13%).

## Societal norms encourage women to accept controlling behaviour on the part of men and suggest that the men have a right to know a woman's whereabouts

The most common forms of stalking are offensive, threatening or silent calls (2% compared with the EU average of 11%) and sending emails, text messages or instant messages that were offensive or threatening (2% compared with 5% in the EU).

Perpetrators of stalking are most likely to be someone the woman did not know (51%). A friend, acquaintance or neighbour was the next most common category (15%), and previous partners are identified as the perpetrators by 11% of those who have experienced stalking. The most serious cases ended after a few days in 28% of cases, while 35% lasted more than a few days but less than three months. However, some women reported that stalking continued for a long time. In 9% of cases, it lasted over two years (similar to the EU prevalence of 10%) and over five years in 6% of cases, compared to the EU average of 11%.

Annoyance was the most common reaction to the most serious incident of stalking (56%), but in a quarter of cases it also frightened the woman (25%). Longer-term psychological consequences include anxiety (for 29% of women in the most serious case), panic attacks (14%) and difficulty sleeping (9%). Just over half of women experiencing stalking discussed it with friends or relatives (54%) compared with over three-quarters of women in the EU who did the same (77%). Four in ten women confronted the perpetrator (40%), and 28% threatened to call the police or take legal action, similar to the EU average. One in eight (13%) reported the most serious incident of stalking to the police.

Among women in the qualitative research who had experienced violence, stalking was often the last phase of violence that might be experienced by a woman who had a violent partner. The stalking tended to occur when a woman tried to end the relationship and it was perceived as the man's final attempt to maintain control over her. The women themselves had either seen their former partner stalking them or had been warned about it by neighbours and friends. When women confronted their former partners about the stalking, the men threatened and insulted them and, in some cases, physically assaulted them. Women who had experienced stalking said that they were not always focused on the risk that it posed to them, but instead were just concentrating on the process of divorce or separation.

<sup>45</sup> Stalking behaviours include sending the victim emails, text messages or instant messages that were offensive or threatening; sending the victim letters or cards that were offensive or threatening; making offensive, threatening or silent phone calls to the victim; posting offensive comments about the victim on the Internet; sharing intimate photos or videos of the victim on the Internet or by mobile phone; loitering or waiting for the victim outside her home, workplace or school without a legitimate reason; deliberately following the victim around; or deliberately interfering with or damaging the victim's property.

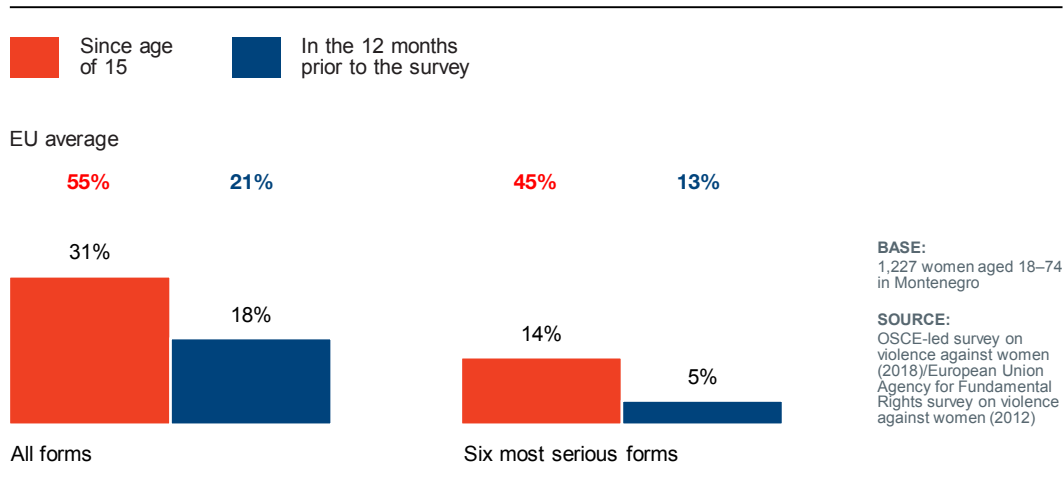
**“They told me later on how they saw him near my house with an axe, but I wasn’t thinking about that much at the time. I wasn’t afraid of him. I only wanted to be free of him.”**

**Survivor of non-conflict-related violence.**

### 4.3: Sexual harassment

More than three in ten women (31%) have experienced at least one form of sexual harassment (as listed in Figure 4.4)<sup>46</sup> since they were 15 years old, and nearly one in five (18%) experienced sexual harassment in the 12 months prior to the survey (Figure 4.3). One in seven women (14%) have experienced more serious forms of sexual harassment (5% in the 12 months prior to the survey).<sup>47</sup> In the EU, 55% of women, on average, said they had experienced sexual harassment, ranging from 24% in Bulgaria to 81% in Sweden. Montenegro’s average is significantly lower than both the EU average and the prevalence in neighbouring Croatia (41%). The countries with longer traditions of gender-equality policies and awareness-raising campaigns (the Nordic countries and Western Europe) also have higher rates of women sharing their experiences of sexual harassment.

**Figure 4.3: Prevalence of sexual harassment**



According to the survey findings, the most common forms of sexual harassment suffered by women are intimidation through staring or leering or inappropriate invitations to go out on dates, each of which has been encountered by around one in eight women since they were 15 years old (Table 4.3). In the EU, staring and leering is the most common type (30%), closely followed by unwelcome touching, hugging or kissing (29% in the EU compared to 8% in Montenegro).

<sup>46</sup> In terms of sexual harassment, women in the survey were asked: How often since you were 15 years old/in the past 12 months have you experienced any of the following: 1) unwelcome touching, hugging or kissing? 2) sexually suggestive comments or jokes that offended you? 3) inappropriate invitations to go out on dates? 4) intrusive questions about your private life that offended you? 5) intrusive comments about your appearance that offended you? 6) inappropriate staring or leering that you found intimidating? 7) somebody sending or showing you sexually explicit pictures, photos or gifts that offended you? 8) somebody indecently exposing themselves to you? 9) somebody making you watch or look at pornographic material against your wishes? 10) unwanted sexually explicit emails or SMS messages that offended you? 11) inappropriate advances that offended you on social networking websites such as Facebook or in Internet chat rooms? With regard to each form of sexual harassment, women could indicate whether they had experienced it never, once, two to five times or six times or more. The prevalence of sexual harassment is based on respondents who reported having experienced one of the listed items at least once. Six forms of sexual harassment were selected for their severity, and they are referred to in this report as “the most severe forms” of sexual harassment.

<sup>47</sup> The most serious forms of sexual harassment are reported as “unwelcome touching, hugging or kissing”, “sexually suggestive comments or jokes that offended you”, “somebody sending or showing you sexually explicit pictures, photos or gifts that offended you”, “somebody indecently exposing themselves to you”, “somebody making you watch or look at pornographic material against your wishes” and “unwanted sexually explicit emails or SMS messages that offended you”. The prevalence of the most severe forms of sexual harassment is based on respondents who report having experienced at least one of these six forms of sexual harassment on at least one occasion.

## 4. Violence against women in Montenegro

**Table 4.4: Prevalence of sexual harassment**

At times you may have experienced people acting towards you in a way that you felt was unwanted and offensive. How often since you were 15 years old, until now, have you experienced any of the following?

	Never %	Once %	2-5 times %	6+ times %
Unwelcome touching, hugging or kissing	91	4	3	1
Inappropriate staring or leering that made you feel intimidated	85	5	6	3
Sexually suggestive comments or jokes that made you feel offended	92	2	3	2
Somebody sending or showing you sexually explicit pictures, photos or gifts that made you feel offended	98	1	0.2	0.2
Inappropriate invitations to go out on dates	87	4	4	4
Intrusive questions about your private life that made you feel offended	88	2	4	4
Intrusive comments about your physical appearance that made you feel offended	91	2	3	2
Unwanted sexually explicit emails or SMS messages that offended you	91	1	1	1
Inappropriate advances that offended you on social networking websites such as Facebook, or in internet chat rooms	73	2	2	2
Somebody indecently exposing themselves to you	96	2	1	0
Somebody made you watch or look at pornographic material against your wishes	97	1	0.3	0

BASE: 1,227 women aged 18–74 in Montenegro  
SOURCE: OSCE-led survey on violence against women (2018)

Almost half of those who have experienced sexual harassment say that the perpetrator was someone they did not know (49%), which is lower than the EU average (68%). More than two in five women say the perpetrator was a friend, acquaintance or neighbour (41%), which is more than in the EU (31% on average). Someone from a work context is the next most commonly mentioned perpetrator (20%), which is lower than in the EU (32%).

While perpetrators of sexual harassment tend to be men, this is not always the case. Sixty-four per cent of women who have experienced sexual harassment say that the perpetrators were men only, but 24% say both men and women were involved, and 3% say that the perpetrators were female only.

In over a quarter of cases of the most serious incident of sexual harassment, more than one person was involved (27%).

## More than three in ten women have experienced sexual harassment since the age of 15

In the qualitative research, sexual harassment was said to be fairly common, although less common than psychological violence. The women who took part in the research said sexual harassment was most prevalent within the workplace. Forms of sexual harassment that took place in the workplace included bosses making women work in poor conditions, making additional demands of them and threatening them with dismissal if they did not meet those demands, and making them feel replaceable.

The women taking part in the research said that there were few examples of women winning a sexual harassment case. They said that this was because men in senior positions in companies were well connected socially and able to protect themselves.

**“Women must endure harassment in order to keep their jobs. There isn’t a single harassment case in Montenegro where a woman has actually won. Each of those bosses has some form of backing from above. They are aware that women cannot hurt their position.”**

**Female, aged 18–29, urban**

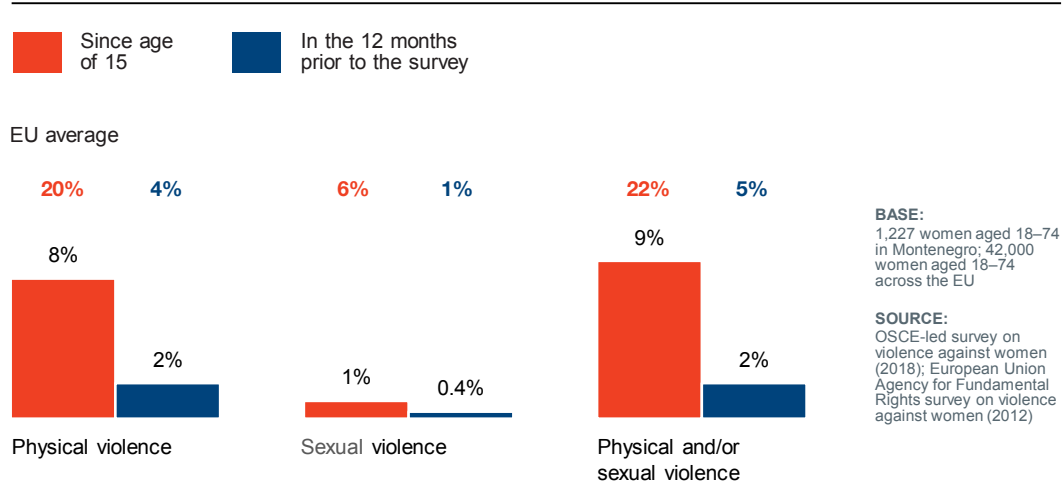
### 4.4: Physical and sexual violence at the hands of non-partners

Almost one in ten (8%) women asked about their experiences in this research say they have been subjected to one or more forms of physical violence<sup>48</sup> by a non-partner since they were 15 years old (2% in the 12 months prior to the survey), while 1% have been subjected to sexual violence<sup>49</sup> (0.4% in the 12 months prior to the survey) (Figure 4.4). This is much lower than in the EU, where on average 20% of women said they had experienced non-partner physical violence (ranging from 10% in Austria, Greece, Poland and Portugal to 36% in Denmark), and 6% said they had experienced non-partner sexual violence since the age of 15 (ranging from 1% in Greece and Portugal to 12% in Sweden).

<sup>48</sup> The prevalence of physical violence is calculated on the basis of the number of women who say they have experienced at least one of the following forms of violence since the age of 15 or in the 12 months prior to the survey: being pushed or shoved; being slapped; someone throwing a hard object at them; being grabbed or having their hair pulled; being punched or beaten with a hard object; being kicked; being burned; someone trying to suffocate or strangle them; being cut, stabbed or shot at; or having their head beaten against something.

<sup>49</sup> Prevalence of sexual violence is calculated on the basis of the number of women who say they have experienced at least one of the following forms of violence since the age of 15 or in the 12 months prior to the survey: someone holding them down or hurting them in some way in order to force them to have sexual intercourse, someone attempting to force them into sexual intercourse by holding them down or hurting them in some way, being forced to take part in any form of sexual activity when they did not want to or were unable to refuse or consenting to sexual activity because they were afraid of what might happen if they refused.

Figure 4.4: Prevalence of non-partner physical and/or sexual violence



Among those women who took part in the qualitative research and who had experienced violence, it was found that psychological violence, sexual harassment and sexual violence were considered the most common forms of non-partner violence. These women said that such acts were normally perpetrated by a man that the woman knew rather than by a complete stranger.

**“It is usually someone the woman knows, a bridesman, her uncle, her brother-in-law, her father-in-law. My father-in-law offered me money to go to bed with him.”**

**Survivor of violence**

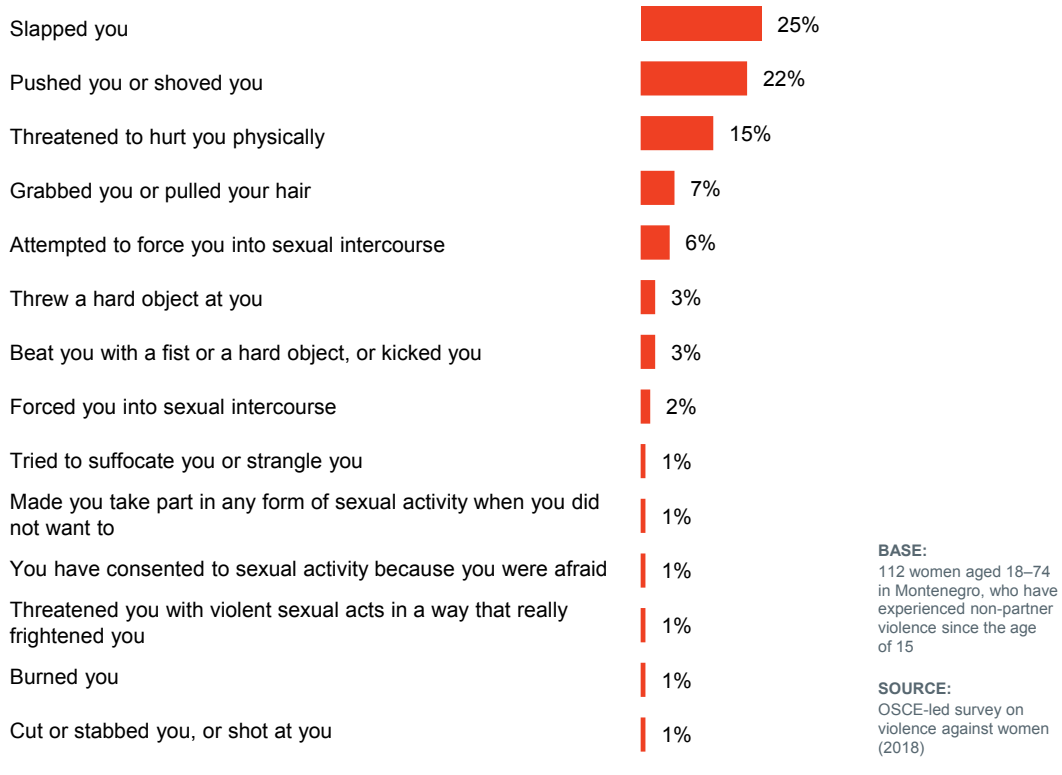
According to the survey data, the most prevalent forms of physical violence women say they have been subjected to by a non-partner are being slapped, mentioned by 5% of women, which is lower than the EU average of 8%, and being pushed or shoved, mentioned by 4% (13% in the EU). One per cent of women in Montenegro experienced each of these forms of violence in the 12 months prior to the survey. No single form of sexual violence asked about has been experienced by more than 1% of women.

Being slapped (25%) and being pushed or shoved (22%) are also the most commonly mentioned types of violence identified in the most serious incident of non-partner violence experienced.



**Figure 4.5: Women’s most serious incidents of non-partner violence**

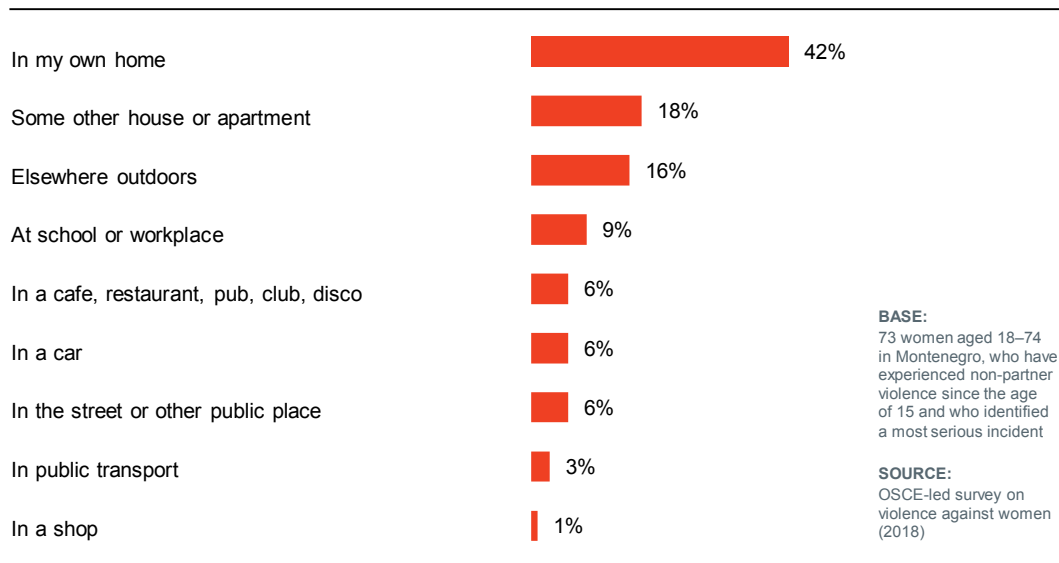
I would like you to think about the most serious incident of violence you experienced at the hands of a non-partner. Which of the things on this card happened at that time? By “most serious”, we mean the incident that had the biggest impact on you.



In Montenegro, 42% of the most serious incidents of non-partner violence took place in the woman’s own home, much higher than in the EU, where 27% of the most serious incidents took place in the woman’s own home. During the in-depth interviews with survivors of non-partner violence, it was described how, in small towns and villages, women were often exposed to repeated contact with perpetrators, who they could not avoid. In particular, it was hard for women to distance themselves from family members who committed violence against them.

**Figure 4.6: Location of the most serious incident of non-partner violence**

Thinking about your most serious incident of non-partner violence, where did it take place?



#### 4.4.1: Perpetrators

Almost two in five women (39%) who have experienced non-partner physical violence say the perpetrator was a relative or family member, and 13% say it was one of their partner’s relatives. Relatives are also among the most often mentioned perpetrators in the EU (31%). A friend, acquaintance or neighbour is mentioned by 15% as the perpetrator (19% in the EU), and someone else they knew but did not specify is mentioned by 16% (20% in the EU). Unknown perpetrators are mentioned far more frequently in Montenegro (31%) than in the EU (7%).

Men are identified as the perpetrators of non-partner physical violence by 64% of those women who have experienced such violence, with 48% of survivors mentioning a man only and 23% that both men and women were involved. Women are identified by 32% (with 16% mentioning women only). The remainder (20%) do not know the gender of the perpetrator or prefer not to say.

The perpetrators of non-partner violence that women identified in the qualitative research included birth family members, members of the woman’s extended family or her partner’s family (such as parents-in-law) and colleagues. Women who, after marriage, moved in with their husband and his birth family could be subjected to violence at the hands of their parents-in-law. Mothers-in-law were the most commonly named perpetrators of psychological violence, which included belittling, cursing and humiliating women. Fathers-in-law were also mentioned as perpetrators of both physical and psychological violence against women.

**“When it comes to in-laws, no woman is ever good enough for their son. He’ll whine to his mum that his wife didn’t make him lunch or something, and then she’ll say, ‘Come to mamma, let me iron that for you.’”**

**Female, aged 18–29, rural**

## Twenty-nine per cent of women who experienced childhood violence say they have experienced intimate partner physical and/or sexual violence later in life

Women who took part in the qualitative research said that co-workers, particularly senior male colleagues, were also perpetrators of psychological violence. The women speculated that they felt that they could commit violence without fear of consequences because unemployment is high, and employees are easily replaced.

One in six of the most serious incidents identified were perpetrated by someone who was drunk (17%). In over four out of five most serious incidents, the perpetrators acted alone.

### 4.5: Experience of violence during childhood<sup>50</sup>

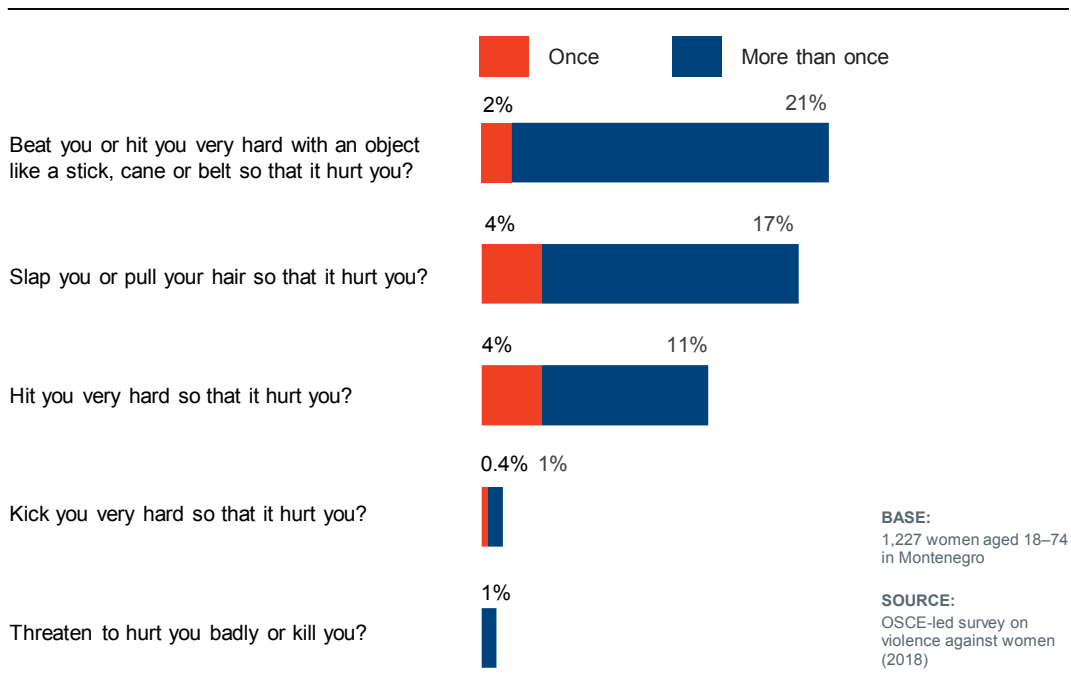
Thirty-one per cent of women experienced some form of physical violence at the hands of an adult before they were 15 years old, compared to 27% in the EU. Most commonly, around one in five were beaten very hard with a stick, cane or belt (23%) or were slapped/had their hair pulled so that it hurt (21%, similar to 22% in the EU), while 15% were hit so hard it hurt (Figure 4.7). Parents were the primary perpetrators of this violence, with mothers mentioned more often than fathers.

Such violence was unlikely to be a one-off event. The most common forms of childhood violence were reported as being experienced more than once by the majority of those experiencing each form

<sup>50</sup> Childhood violence refers to violence before the age of 15. In terms of physical violence before the age of 15, women were asked the following questions: Before the age of 15, how often did an adult who was 18 years of age or older do the following to you: 1) slap or pull you by the hair so that it hurt? 2) hit you very hard so that it hurt? 3) kick you very hard so that it hurt? 4) beat you very hard with an object like a stick, cane or belt? 5) Stab or cut you with something? In terms of sexual violence before the age of 15, women were asked the following questions: Before the age of 15, how often did an adult who was 18 years of age or older do the following to you when you did not want them to: 1) expose their genitals to you? 2) make you pose naked in front of any person or in photographs, video, or on an Internet webcam? 3) touch your genitals or breasts against your will? 4) force you to have sexual intercourse? In terms of psychological violence before the age of 15, women were asked the following questions: Before the age of 15, how often did an adult family member do the following to you: 1) say that you were not loved? 2) say that they wished you had never been born? 3) threaten to abandon you or throw you out of the family home? Before the age of 15, how often did an adult who was 18 years of age or older do the following to you: threaten to hurt you badly or kill you? The prevalence of childhood violence is based on respondents who report having experienced at least one of the items listed above for either physical, sexual or psychological violence or any of the three.

**Figure 4.7: Experiences of physical violence before the age of 15**

Before you were 15 years old, how often did any adult, do any of the following to you



The prevalence of psychological violence in childhood is much lower, at only 4%. Sexual violence suffered in childhood is even less common, with fewer than 1% of women saying they have had such experiences. One may expect that some of these experiences were not shared with the interviewers, i.e., we must assume a certain level of latency in issues related to sexual violence both in childhood and later in life. In the EU, where sexual abuse of women has become part of the public discourse in several countries in a way that the perpetrators rather than the victims tend to be stigmatized, 12% of women reported sexual violence in childhood, ranging from 1% in Romania to 20% in France and the Netherlands. Croatia has a rate of 2%.

The main perpetrators of childhood violence were identified as parents, other family members and in some cases teachers. The types of violence experienced by women included corporal punishment at the hands of their parents and teachers, which was considered a normal part of growing up and learning about what was acceptable behaviour. Therefore, it was not necessarily identified as violence at the time and tended to still not be considered as such at the time of the interview.

Women who experienced some form of childhood violence are more likely to say they have experienced physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of both non-partners and partners: 17% of women who experienced childhood violence say they have experienced non-partner physical and/or sexual violence, compared with 5% of those who did not experience childhood violence. For intimate partner physical and/or sexual violence, the respective figures are 29% and 11%.





One in ten women in Montenegro could be defined as directly conflict-affected.



## 5. Conflict and violence

### 5.1: Conflict-related experiences

This section looks at how conflict has been experienced by women in Montenegro and how this has affected the levels of violence they have experienced.

Women were asked if they had lived through a period of active armed conflict for at least one week. Around one in seven (15%) mention that they lived through the NATO intervention in 1999, even though this lasted less than a week on the territory of Montenegro. Other conflicts mentioned are the conflict in Croatia (2%), in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2%) and in Kosovo (1996–1999, 1%). A very small number of women experienced more than one of the above conflicts.

Overall, 10% of women can be identified as directly affected by conflict<sup>51</sup>, which is defined as having lived through a period of conflict and having at least one of the conflict-related experiences discussed below.

Among those who say they have lived through a period of conflict for at least one week, the majority have had at least one conflict-related experience from the list included in the questionnaire.

- More than half (53%) heard gunshots, the sound of bombing or shelling in the local area where they lived (most often in relation to the NATO intervention).
- A quarter (25%) lived where armed personnel (regular military or other armed groups) were stationed or moving in larger numbers for at least a week (in half of these cases, this was in relation to the NATO intervention).
- A quarter (25%) say that a member of their immediate family or their spouse took part in the conflict (in half of these cases, this was in relation to the NATO intervention).
- One in five (20%) say that civilians where they lived were detained. Of the 42 people who said this, 14 said it was in relation to the NATO intervention, 11 in relation to the conflict in Croatia and 11 in relation to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Over one in five (21%) said that civilians where they lived died (of the 44 women who said this, 18 cases related to the NATO intervention and 11 to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina).
- One in eight (13%) women who experienced conflict had property destroyed or seriously damaged as a result (of the 28 women who said this, 11 cases related to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and eight to the conflict in Croatia).
- More than a fifth (21%) had to flee their home, with the majority later able to return home (18 women said they fled their home in relation to the NATO intervention and 12 in relation to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina).

<sup>51</sup> The definition of “conflict-affected” is having lived in a situation where there was an active armed conflict for a period of at least one week and answering “yes” to at least one of the following questions: “Did you hear gunshots, the sound of bombing or shelling in the local area where you were living at the time of the conflict?” “Did you live for at least a week in a location where armed personnel (regular military or other armed groups) were stationed or moving in larger numbers? This may include local residents participating in the conflict.” “Did you witness fighting in the local area where you were living at the time of the conflict?” “Was the property (e.g., your home, car, livestock) of your immediate family destroyed or seriously damaged due to the conflict?” “Was the property (e.g., your home, car, livestock) of your immediate family taken by an armed group?” “Was it impossible to find work in the local area due to the conflict (office/factories were closed or destroyed, it was too dangerous)?” “Did an immediate family member or your spouse or partner take part in the conflict or participate in fighting as a member of an armed group?” “Did you play an active part in fighting during the conflict?” “Were civilians from the local area where you were living detained or imprisoned?” “Did civilians in the local area where you were living die due to the conflict?” “Were you personally physically attacked or injured due to the conflict?” “Did you have to flee your home during (any of) the conflict(s) you experienced?”



## OSCE-led survey on violence against women: Montenegro

In the qualitative research, women did not tend to think of themselves as impacted severely by the 1990s conflicts. They said that the conflicts were likely to have impacted men who were involved more directly and that they may have developed post-traumatic stress disorder as a result.

The women in the survey who were defined as directly affected by conflict were also asked about other consequences of having lived through conflict, from the availability of public services to the loss of family members and experiences of violence. Two in five had at least one of the experiences listed in Table 5.1.

**Table 5.1: Experiences of women directly affected by conflict**

Please tell me whether you experienced any of the following during the armed conflict(s) that you have experienced.

	Yes %
Men in your family (husbands, fathers, brothers) were away from home and the family, (because they had to flee, fought in the conflict, were detained, went missing)	31
Health services (including women's health services) that you previously used were unavailable or inaccessible for a longer period of time.	16
Members of armed groups harassed local women in the area where you lived	16
Armed groups deliberately used threats, rumours or actual violence against women to terrify the local population in the area where you lived	16
No law enforcement (police or other organization to keep law and order) present in your local area, for a prolonged time	13
Women in your family had to go into potentially dangerous places (i.e. through frontline/boundary line or close to explosives like mines) for work or to fetch essentials for the household (firewood, food, drinking water, fuel, etc.)	11
An immediate family member or your spouse or partner was injured or died due to fighting / violence?	10
Members of armed groups employed deeply humiliating practices against local women in the area where you lived, such as forcing women to strip naked in public, mutilating their bodies, having them undergo internal body cavity searches for no reason, etc.)	5
Circumstances caused women to offer sexual services in exchange for essential goods or for ensuring the safety of their family in the area where you lived.	5

BASE: 139 women aged 18–74 in Montenegro who have been affected by armed conflict  
SOURCE: OSCE-led survey on violence against women (2018)

In the qualitative research, there were some women who considered themselves more directly impacted by the aforementioned conflicts in the region. They tended to find the separation from their families the most traumatic aspect. These women were children at the time of the conflicts and were separated from their parents and sent to live in different parts of the country or in a different country. Child refugees were taken in by families across Montenegro. Some of them felt that their foster families only provided accommodation because of the exemptions that they were given on utility bills as a result. The women said that children were often neglected or abused by these families.

**“I remember everything, the train, when I sat in the train leaving my mom and dad. I couldn’t get used to it there, the new place, the new rules. I had another uncle there, my dad’s other brother, and I remember how they threw us like a ball [back and forth] between one another. Each of them wanted us in their flat because people who accommodated refugees didn’t have to pay for electricity. I was used to my uncle and aunt when this other uncle took us, so I was desperate again, because they were strangers to me.”**

**Survivor of conflict-related and non-conflict-related violence**

Women who were refugees said that this had an impact on them throughout their lives. As refugee children, they were treated as outsiders by their peers at school, which led to subsequent verbal abuse and rejection. As adults, these women said that they are still classed as foreigners by the government. Women refugees said that despite having lived in the country for more than 20 years, they do not have the rights of citizens, such as the right to vote.

### 5.2: Conflict and violence against women

The number of women directly affected by conflict who have also experienced partner and/or non-partner physical violence is low (n=41), and any statistical analysis in this group should be treated with appropriate caution, but 17% of these women associate some of the physical violence they have experienced with the conflict. Women who are directly affected by conflict are more likely to have experienced physical violence at the hands of a partner or non-partner (27% compared with 18% of women who are not conflict-affected) and physical violence at the hands of an adult during childhood (47% versus 30%, respectively). Women identified as directly conflict-affected were asked if their experiences of sexual harassment or physical and sexual violence at the hands of partners or non-partners were connected with an armed conflict or not.

Today, one in ten (10%) women who were directly affected by conflict and suffer from an illness or disability attribute this to that conflict.

In the qualitative research, women said that many people still had access to firearms following the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, and they expressed the belief that the prevalence of firearms had increased the number of violent acts. However, women did not share any personal experiences of being threatened with firearms.

The proportion of women from the survey who say they have been assaulted or threatened with a firearm is very low, and the data should be treated with appropriate caution. Overall, 1% of women surveyed say they have been assaulted or threatened with a firearm (21 respondents in total). Among those who have experienced partner or non-partner violence since the age of 15, 5% have been assaulted or threatened with a firearm (13 respondents).



42%

More than two in five victims of non-partner physical and/or sexual violence felt the impact of at least one of a range of psychological reactions in response to their most serious incident.



37%

More than a third of women who identified a most serious incident of intimate partner or non-partner physical and/or sexual violence experienced one or more physical injuries as a result of the incident.



5%

The police came to know about the most serious incident of current partner violence in only 5% of cases.

## 6. Impact of violence on women's lives and barriers to seeking support


This chapter provides an overview of the impact of violence on women's well-being, as well as information about whether they reported their experiences to anyone and, if they did, how satisfied they were with the response. Throughout these questions, women were asked about the impact of their most serious incident of physical or sexual violence, incl. threats of both. The most serious incident was defined as the one that had the most impact on the woman, either psychologically or physically.

### 6.1 Psychological responses and physical injuries

The emotional impact of experiencing any form of violence is widespread, with almost all respondents indicating some emotional response. Survivors of intimate partner physical and/or sexual violence are most likely to say they experienced fear, with annoyance, shock, anger and embarrassment also common emotions in response to their most serious incident of violence. Survivors of non-partner physical and/or sexual violence are more likely to experience shock.

**Table 6.1: Emotional reactions to physical and/or sexual violence (most serious incident)**

Thinking about your most serious incident, did you feel any of the following as a result?



	Current partner	Previous partner	Non-partner
	%	%	%
Fear	42	49	34
Shock	31	30	46
Annoyance	26	41	34
Embarrassment	26	23	21
Shame	23	13	20
Anger	20	32	35
Guilt	20	17	6
Aggressiveness	11	10	16
None of the above	13	16	14

**BASE:** Women in Montenegro aged 18–74 who have experienced physical and/or sexual violence since the age of 15 and who identified a most serious incident: current partner (70), previous partner (83) or non-partner violence (73)

**SOURCE:** OSCE-led survey on violence against women (2018)

## OSCE-led survey on violence against women: Montenegro

Most of those who experienced sexual harassment felt at least one of the emotions in Table 6.1 (76%), but embarrassment (39%) and annoyance (38%) are mentioned more often than the fear or shock experienced by those experiencing violence.

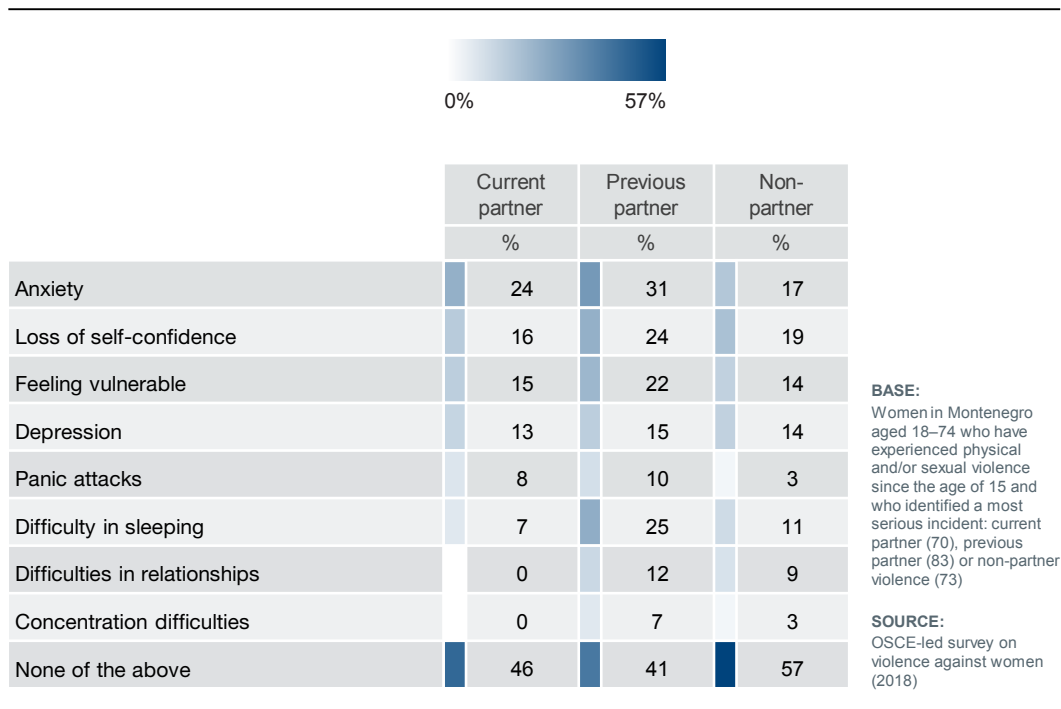
Just over half of survivors of previous partner violence (53%) and slightly under half of survivors of current partner violence (47%) have experienced long-term psychological consequences as a result of their most serious incident, with anxiety being the most frequent psychological reaction among both groups. The incidents with previous partners left more permanent marks on survivors' psyche, with sleeping disorders and self-esteem problems affecting about a quarter of these women (25% and 24%, respectively).

Two-fifths of survivors of physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of non-partners say they suffered from at least one of the longer-term psychological reactions listed in Table 6.2 as a result of their most serious incident. Loss of self-confidence is the most common, mentioned by one-fifth of respondents, followed by anxiety, depression and feelings of vulnerability.

Among women who were directly affected by conflict and who experienced violence, anxiety is more pronounced: 49% of these women indicate having felt anxiety as a result of their most serious incident at the hands of any perpetrator, as opposed to 24% of those who are not conflict-affected.

**Table 6.2: Psychological consequences of physical and/or sexual violence (most serious incident)**

Thinking about the most serious incident, did you suffer from any of the following as a result?



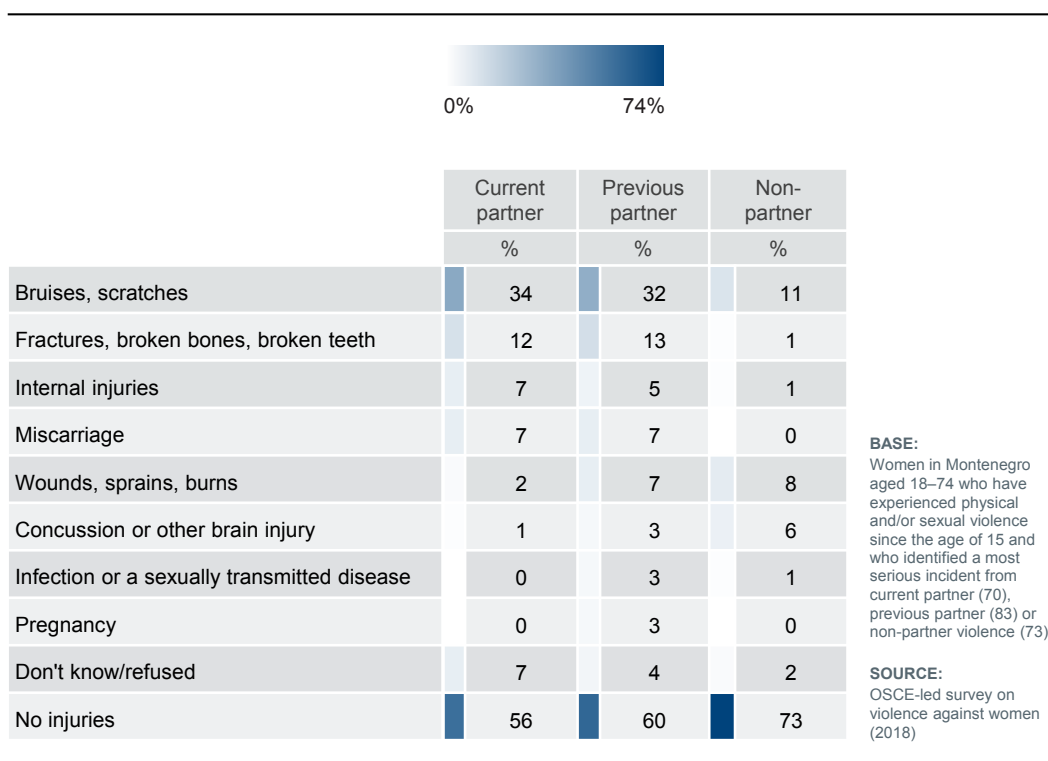
## 6. Impact of violence on women's lives and barriers to seeking support

Sexual harassment did not lead to the same extent of psychological reactions as physical or sexual violence. Nearly four-fifths of women say they suffered no longer-term psychological impact from their most serious incident. However, 12% suffered anxiety, and 8% experienced a loss of self-confidence as a result of the incident of sexual harassment they considered the most serious.

Fewer women suffered from a physical injury or other physical consequence than emotional or psychological impacts as a result of the violence they experienced, though many were still affected in this way. Physical injuries are more common among survivors of current or previous partner violence, with around a third reporting some type of injury following their most serious incident. The most common type of injuries are bruises or scratches; however, one in eight also mentioned fractures or broken teeth. Physical injuries were less prevalent among survivors of non-partner violence. A quarter report that they suffered from some sort of physical injury (25%), with bruises or scratches experienced the most frequently.

**Table 6.3: Physical injuries arising from physical and/or sexual violence (most serious incident)**

Thinking about the most serious incident did it result in any of the following?





## **The most-mentioned source of information, advice or support women say they wanted after the most serious incident of physical and/or sexual violence perpetrated by their partner, both in Montenegro and the EU, was just someone to talk to who could provide moral support**

During the in-depth interviews with survivors of violence, these women described how the consequences of abuse were of both a physical and psychological nature. Physical injuries included bruises and damage to internal organs. Psychological impacts included lower self-esteem, anxiety and depression.

There were some women who had experienced violence at the hands of a partner and had managed to leave the relationship. These women said that this experience, while difficult, had strengthened them and shown them their ability to raise their children well on their own.

**“I got a divorce about twenty years ago ... my logic was modern: to raise that child to be healthy, normal and sane. I never saw my husband again, and my son has never met his father. Nevertheless, he grew up to be a well-mannered, sane and overall good young man.”**

**Female, aged 51+, urban**

### **6.2: Support that survivors of violence want**

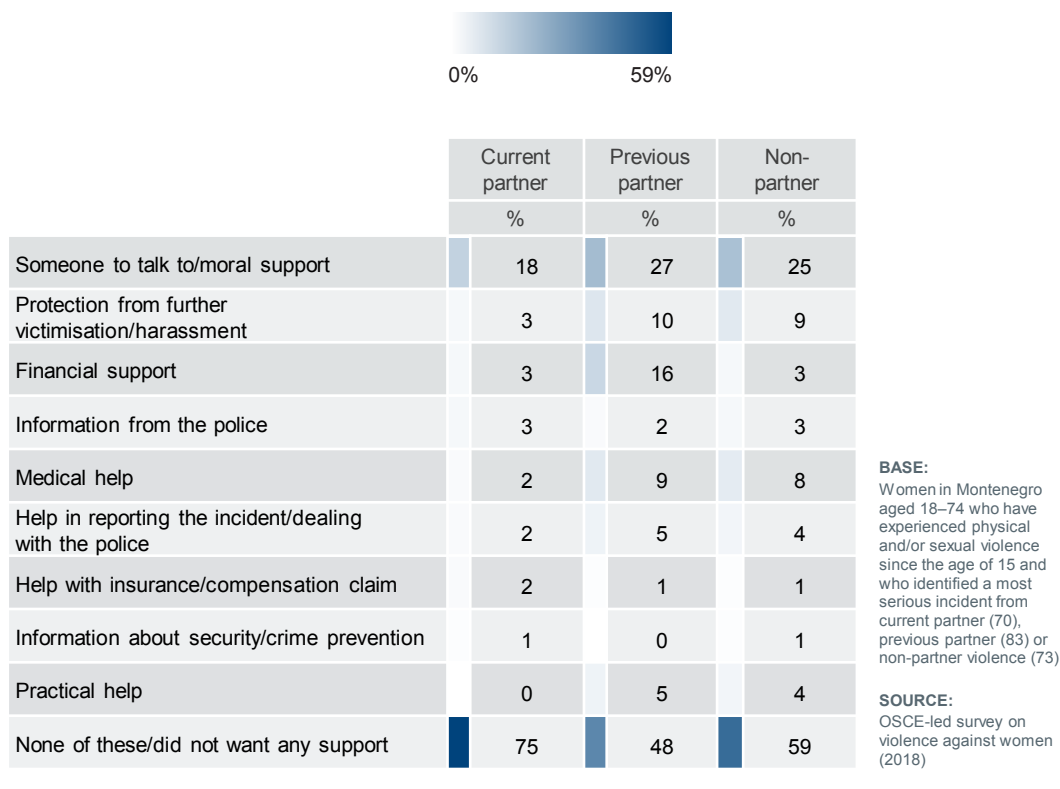
All respondents who had experienced physical or sexual violence were asked if they needed some type of assistance following the most serious incident that they had experienced.

In both Montenegro and in the EU, survivors most often say what they most wanted was just someone to talk to who could provide moral support. However, the majority of survivors – particularly survivors of current partner violence (75%) – say that they would not have wanted any of the types of information, advice or support asked about in the OSCE-led survey. Survivors of non-partner violence did not want any support or advice in 59% of cases, compared to a much lower EU average of 36%.

## 6. Impact of violence on women’s lives and barriers to seeking support

**Table 6.4: Types of information, advice and support wanted after a woman’s most serious incident**

What types of information, advice or support would you say you wanted following the most serious incident you experienced?



The type of support women wanted following experiences of violence was discussed in more detail in the in-depth interviews with survivors of violence. The unmet needs of women who had suffered violence were primarily related to practical support. The only tangible support that women were offered at support centres were counselling sessions (with psychologists) and medications (from psychiatrists). The women said that all the support they were offered was short-term, such as shelter, and there was no financial or other support to help them leave their partner and start a new life. Some women were able to access financial support or accommodations through their family. However, women without this support were concerned primarily about how they would find a safe place to live and manage financially.

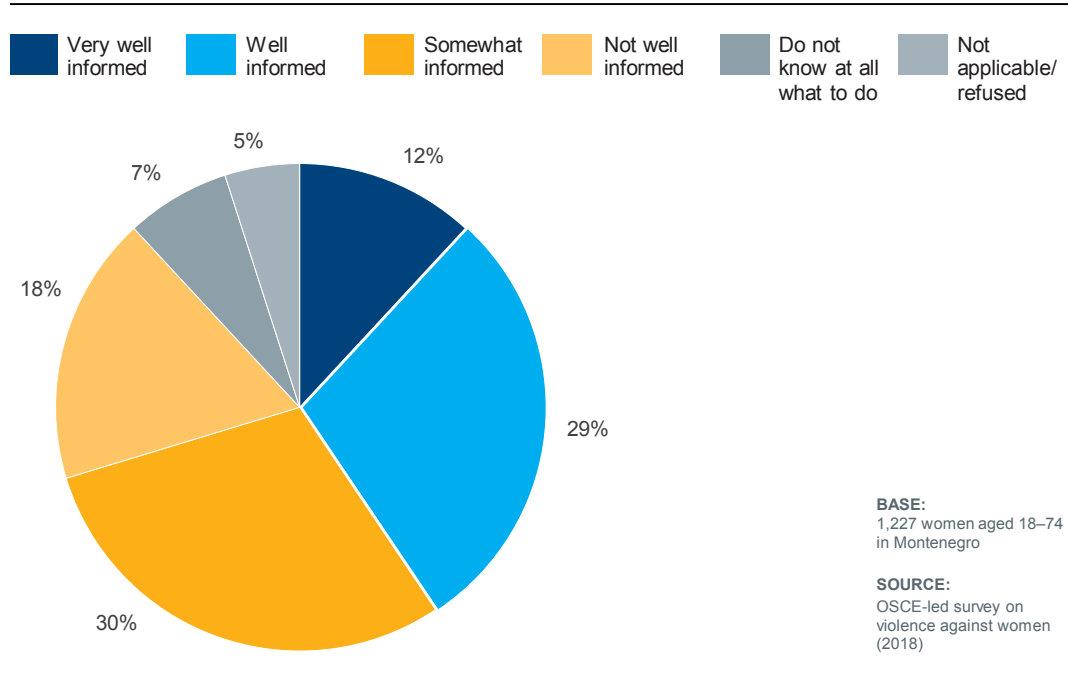
**“Social services should offer some form of help, at least for a period of time, like in Scandinavian countries. There, the woman is protected, [she] gets an apartment and a job so that she [can] support herself and her children - at least for six months or so, until she gets on her own two feet.”**

**Female, aged 18–29, urban**

Four in ten women say they feel informed about what to do if they were to experience violence. Women over 60 are less likely to feel very well or well informed (23% versus 40% overall), as are women living in the north (30% compared with 53% in the south), women doing unpaid work in a family business (31%) and women finding it difficult or very difficult to survive on their present income (25%). Women in paid work (53%) and with tertiary education (55%) are more likely to feel very well or well informed. Women living in rural areas are significantly more likely to indicate not knowing at all what to do in case of violence than those in urban settings (13% versus 5%, respectively).

**Figure 6.1: Awareness of what to do after experiencing violence**

How well informed do you feel about what to do if you experience violence?



Women were asked if they had heard of three organizations that offer support to victims of violence. Awareness of the Women’s Safe House Podgorica was highest, with over four in five women having heard of it. Next was SOS Telephone Podgorica with 62%. Here awareness varied according to demographics, with more highly educated women, those in paid employment, women aged 40–49 and women living in the central region being more likely to have heard of the organization. Awareness was lower among women who are over 60, unemployed, homemakers and those living in the north of Montenegro. The least well-known organization was the NGO SOS Hotline Nikšić, although more than half (52%) of women had heard of it, rising to 66% of women who had been affected by armed conflict.

Overall, almost nine in ten women (87%) are aware of at least one of the three organizations asked about, with nearly half (48%) indicating that they are aware of all three organizations. However, despite these organizations being well known, they are not generally women’s first port of call after suffering incidents of violence or sexual harassment.

## 6. Impact of violence on women’s lives and barriers to seeking support

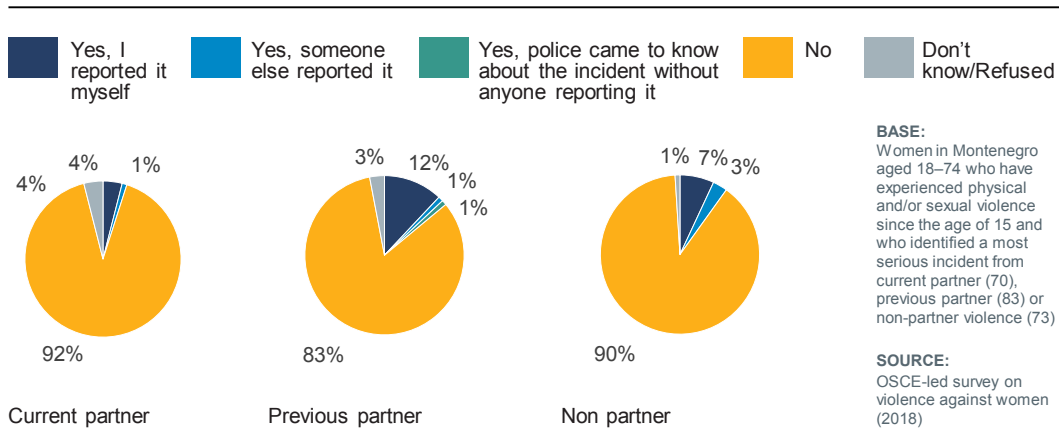
### 6.3: Reporting experiences of violence and harassment

In the survey, women were asked whether the police or other organizations came to know about their most serious incident of physical or sexual violence, including threats of physical and sexual violence.

Even following a woman’s most serious incident of physical and/or sexual violence, the police did not come to know about it in the majority of cases, as seen in Figure 6.2 below.

**Figure 6.2: Contact with the police following a woman’s most serious incident of physical and/or sexual violence**


Did the police come to know about the [most serious] incident?



Women tended not to contact other services either. In relation to current partner violence, three-quarters of those who identified a most serious incident did not contact the police or another organization (76%), and the same is true for 72% of cases of the most serious incidents of previous partner violence and 80% of cases of non-partner violence (Table 6.5).

**Table 6.5: Contacts after the most serious incident of physical and/or sexual violence**

Did you contact any of the following services as a result of the most serious incident?



	Current partner	Previous partner	Non-partner
	%	%	%
Doctor, health centre or other health care institution	13	14	9
Hospital	10	15	12
Police (self-reported)	4	12	7
Social services	3	9	1
Legal service/ lawyer	2	14	3
Church/faith-based organization	1	0	5
Another service/ organization	0	1	2
Victim support organization	0	1	2
Women's shelter	0	3	1
No organization or police contacted	76	72	80

**BASE:**  
Women in Montenegro aged 18–74 who have experienced physical and/or sexual since the age of 15 and who identified a most serious incident: current partner (70), previous partner (83), non-partner (73)

**SOURCE:**  
OSCE-led survey on violence against women (2018)

## **Seventy-six per cent of women who experienced current partner physical and/or sexual violence and who identified a most serious incident did not contact the police or another organization following it**


The main reasons women did not report their most serious incident of violence to the police are that the survivors dealt with things by themselves, perhaps only involving friends and family, or they considered it too minor. In relation to the most serious incident of current partner violence, survivors were also particularly concerned about not wanting their partner to be arrested. Fear of their partner is also mentioned more often by those who experienced current partner violence, as is their partner not letting them report it to the police, believing it was their fault, and someone else stopping them from doing so. Wanting to keep the incident private is mentioned by around one in five of those experiencing current partner and previous partner violence.

Given the small sample sizes, it is not possible to identify demographic differences as to why women who had been subjected to violence did not seek help.



**Table 6.6: Reasons women did not contact the police**

Why did you not contact the police?



	Current partner	Previous partner	Non-partner
	%	%	%
Dealt with it myself/involved a friend/family matter	37	49	39
Too minor/not serious enough/never occurred to me	35	29	38
Didn't want my partner/offender arrested or to get in trouble with police	30	3	5
Fear of partner/offender	25	8	7
Didn't want anyone to know/kept it private	23	18	9
My partner did not let me	21	8	0
Thought it was my fault	20	3	3
Somebody else stopped me or discouraged me	20	7	0
Shame, embarrassment	12	9	7
Did not want the relationship to end	12	7	-
Afraid I would lose the children	11	8	0
Did not think they would do anything	6	5	4
Too emotionally upset to contact the police	1	5	3
Did not think they could do anything	1	1	1
Went directly to magistrate or judge to report	1	0	1
Would not be believed	0	4	3
Somebody else had reported it, or police came to know about it on their own	0	0	3
Went someplace else for help	0	0	3
Could not contact the police because of conflict	0	0	1

**BASE:**  
Women aged 18–74 in Montenegro who have experienced violence but who did not seek support from organizations following most serious incident: current partner (66), previous partner (72), non partner (67)

**SOURCE:**  
OSCE-led survey on violence against women (2018)

## 6. Impact of violence on women's lives and barriers to seeking support

In the qualitative research, violence against women is not something that women found easy to discuss, and it was speculated that the majority of violence against women goes unreported. Women who did confide in others about violence tended to speak to close friends or family members. They said that friends would primarily offer emotional support but would be unlikely to provide practical help, such as financial support.

There were mixed views on the extent to which women thought that they would let their family know about violence. Some women had informed their birth family about violence and been told that they should endure it and not go through a divorce. Others had been offered support from their families but only at a cost. One woman had asked for help and was told that she could return home to her family, but only if she never had contact with her husband again. She was unwilling to do this and so did not accept their help.

**“My parents told me to come back home. I had no contact with them for a year or two ... It's not easy to leave the man you love.”**

**Survivor of violence**

Reporting to institutions, such as the police or social welfare services, tended to happen only when women were subjected to severe physical or sexual violence, or where they could not avoid involving these institutions. As such, there was a lot of distrust in these institutions.

**“I think that [women] don't [contact] institutions because they don't trust them. I have never heard of a positive outcome. I have never heard of a woman being helped by an institution. I don't trust them.”**

**Female, aged 30–50, rural**

### **Case Study: A's story**

- A married at 18, and her husband was physically violent from the start.
- A and her husband had two children. At one crisis point, he would not let her feed one of them.

**“When my baby was two months old, my husband came home drunk and prevented me from seeing the baby, so I couldn't breastfeed her the whole night.”**

- She sought help from a safe house and received advice that helped her feel empowered to leave her husband. However, she was then referred to a social worker and lawyer who told her that she should try to make her marriage work, and so she went back to her husband.

**“Social workers came and persuaded me to go back because of the child.”**

- After returning home, there was a second crisis point, when A's husband hit her while she was holding one of her children. This prompted A to seek help from her birth family. Her family helped her during this period by allowing her to live with them.
- A sought a divorce. The police and social services were also involved during this period, and A said that they favoured her husband and were not supportive. They gave the father custody of the children for two months during this period. A eventually won the custody battle but said that this was without the support of the authorities.

Barriers to reporting were discussed in some detail in the qualitative research. The key reasons for women not reporting violence were shame, fear of retributive acts by the perpetrator and lack of trust in relevant institutions.

**Box 6.1: Barriers to reporting identified in the qualitative research included:**

1. **Shame**, including shame associated with having allowed the violence to happen and shame associated with divorce
2. **Fear**, that the perpetrator would find out that they told someone and that this could make the violence worse.
3. **Mistrust of services**: fear that they would not be believed or taken seriously, especially if the woman is part of an ethnic minority.

According to the women who took part in the qualitative research, shame seems to have both internal and external components. Internally, a woman usually blames herself for letting her situation escalate to such an extent and does not report violence because that would include admitting “defeat”. External components are more prominent in rural areas, where upbringing is more traditional, and the women expressed the belief that separating or getting a divorce would bring shame to her family. Some women said that their parents would not allow them to speak out about being abused and would refuse to support their daughter

**““There are parents who say: ‘Keep silent and live with it. It’s better that way.’ Also, when a woman gets married, they would also say: ‘Don’t embarrass me, for there is no coming back. You can jump in the Morača [river] as far as we are concerned if something happens.”**

**Female, aged 51+, urban**

Survivors who are fearful of their parents’ reaction found it very difficult to seek help. One woman managed to obtain a divorce but was so fearful of her mother’s reaction that she continued to live abroad even though she wanted to return to Montenegro. She did not return to Montenegro until her mother had died.

Survivors were also worried about the perpetrator hurting them again if they reported the violence. They were concerned that the police would not protect them while they awaited a divorce or trial. This is also connected with the perceived ineffectiveness of institutions, with women seeing the police and judicial system as unlikely to process any case of violence against women quickly.

A key concern for women was that, in reporting violence to institutions, they would not be believed. That is why women who experienced violence tended to only involve the police in cases of severe physical or sexual violence that they felt could be proved. The women who took part in the qualitative research said that the police were likely to side with the perpetrator and would advise the women to withdraw charges; otherwise, they said, the perpetrator would likely harm them again.

Women who took part in the qualitative research expressed the belief that women from ethnic minorities (like Roma or Albanians) might have difficulties reporting violence because of the prejudice that they face in society. It was said that the police and other institutions would be less likely to help Roma women, as the police consider violence a normal part of life in the Roma community. Those whose first language was not Montenegrin were also expected to find it more difficult to access information about how to report violence and access support.

## 6. Impact of violence on women's lives and barriers to seeking support

### Reporting sexual harassment

Half of survivors talked to no one (49% compared to 35% in the EU) following their most serious incident of sexual harassment. These women, for the most part, said that they were able to deal with it themselves (66% compared with 52% in the EU on average) or that it was too minor an occurrence and that it might never have occurred to them to report it (38% compared with 30% in the EU). For a minority of women, however, other factors came into play: some wanted to keep it private (7% compared to 8% in the EU) and some did not think it would help (4%). Women in Montenegro are less likely to cite embarrassment or shame (4%) than in the EU on average (13%) and compared with any one EU country, where the proportion of women who provide this reason for not speaking to anyone ranges from 5% in Cyprus to 25% in Denmark and France. For those who did talk about their most serious incident of sexual harassment, the most common people to speak to were a friend (37%, rising to 57% among 18–29-year-olds, who were more likely to have talked to someone following an incident), a relative or family member (15%) or a boyfriend or partner (5%). Women's first thoughts were not about services, the police or aid organizations.

### 6.4: Satisfaction with services

Given how few women reported their most serious incident of violence to the police or other organizations and institutions, it is not possible to evaluate from the survey data how satisfied they were with their experiences.

The qualitative research found that survivors of violence had very limited personal experiences of relevant services, but feedback suggests that satisfaction with services is generally low. Views of women's shelters or safe houses were mixed, though the women who took part in the research did say that shelters and safe houses tended to offer professional counselling. However, emotional support tended to be the limit of what was offered. Women were critical of the fact that no longer-term practical support was offered to help them to leave their husband. They said that ultimately the staff would encourage them to return to their husbands.

Survivors were also critical of the efficiency of the judicial system in bringing cases to trial. They said that, after a report of violence, the process is very slow, that the police are too slow to do anything to protect the woman, and that there is plenty of time for the abuser to commit further and more violent crimes. The women also said that the staff working in these institutions were unlikely to empathize with them and more likely to side with the perpetrator.

**“They told me to keep silent, not to be short-tempered. They talked as if they knew him. They told me to keep silent to prevent him from harming me and to prevent him from taking custody of our child. The police wanted to give the child to him because his parents, the child's grandparents, were helping him. They really didn't help me much.”**

**Survivor of violence**





# 7. Experiences of violence among specific groups of women

The survey collected a range of details from respondents in order to provide a more in-depth analysis of the extent to which violence is experienced by different groups of women. The purpose of this is to identify the prevalence and risk of experiencing violence among specific groups. This chapter focuses on significant differences in the indicated experiences of all forms of violence, including sexual harassment, among different groups of women.

### Age

As discussed in Chapter 3, age is a significant discriminator of attitudes towards women and violence. There are also variations in the prevalence of violence across different age groups.

Women aged 18–29 are less likely than average to say they have experienced non-partner physical and/or sexual violence since the age of 15 (5% versus 9% overall). They are also less likely to have ever experienced physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of a current partner (1% versus 12% overall). While this might be expected given that older women would have accumulated more experiences over their lifetime or as a result of being in their current relationship for a longer time, younger women are also less likely to say they experienced current partner violence in the 12 months prior to the survey (1% versus 6% overall). It is women aged 40–49 who most often indicate that they have experienced physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of a current partner both ever and in the 12 months prior to the survey (18% and 10%, respectively).

Previous partner physical and/or sexual violence is also less often reported by those aged 18–29 (7%), while those aged 30–39 are more likely to say they have experienced this (23%), as are those aged 60 or over (20%).

Women aged 60 or over are less likely to say they have been subjected to sexual harassment since the age of 15 (24% versus 31% overall), while sexual harassment in the 12 months prior to the survey is more likely to have been experienced by younger women (23% of those aged 18–29 and 24% of those aged 30–39, compared to 18% overall).

The qualitative research revealed that younger women felt that they would be less likely to be believed if they reported violence, as the perception was that they overreacted to situations. They also expressed the belief that they would be advised that they were too young to “give up” on a marriage, especially if children were involved. On the other hand, the women taking part in the research said that older women would also be discriminated against, with the relevant services questioning why they were pursuing the issue at the time if they had endured it for so long.



### Relationship status

The data was analysed to determine whether each respondent has a current partner (currently married, living together without being married or involved in a relationship without living together), has had a previous partner (previously married, living together without being married or involved in a relationship without living together) or has never had a partner.

Women who have had a previous partner are consistently more likely to say they have experienced violence. They are four times as likely to have experienced non-partner physical violence at some point in their lives (12% versus 3% of women without a previous partner) and also in the 12 months prior to the survey (3% versus less than 1%).

Women who have had a previous partner are also more likely to say they have experienced violence in their current relationships than those who have not had a previous partner. The prevalence of current partner psychological violence among those with a previous partner is 42% compared with 30% of those with no previous partner. For current partner physical violence, the respective figures are 16% and 7% and for current partner sexual violence, 4% and 2%.

This group of women are more likely than those who have not had a previous partner to say they have experienced sexual harassment at some point in their lives and also in the 12 months prior to the survey (24% versus 10%, respectively). They are more than twice as likely (7%) as women without a previous partner (3%) to indicate that they have been subjected to stalking.

### Employment status and occupation

Unemployed women are more likely to say they have experienced childhood physical violence (41% versus 31% overall).

There are some differences in the prevalence of sexual harassment that may be linked to work patterns. Women who are self-employed are more likely to say they have experienced sexual harassment at some point in their lives (50% versus 31% overall) and also in the 12 months prior to the survey (31% versus 18% overall). Students are also more likely to say they were sexually harassed in the 12 months prior to the survey (27%).

In contrast, women who are retired and who are fulfilling domestic responsibilities are less likely to say they were harassed in the 12 months prior to the survey or, in the case of retired women, ever.

### Education

The survey asked women about the highest level of education they had completed: primary, secondary or tertiary education. The one pattern seen across the data is that women who have reached tertiary education are less likely to indicate experiences of physical (10% versus 17% overall) or sexual (0% versus 3% overall) violence at the hands of a partner. They are also less likely to have been subjected to psychological violence as a child (1% compared to an average of 4%).

## 7. Experiences of violence among specific groups of women

### Income

Women participating in the survey were analysed according to four income groups: those living comfortably on their present income, those coping, those finding it difficult, and those finding it very difficult. Women who are living comfortably on their present income are less likely to say they have experienced non-partner physical violence (5% versus 8% overall) or physical violence at the hands of a previous partner (10% versus 15%). They are also less likely to indicate experiences of physical violence as a child (26% compared to 32% overall).

### Minority groups

Within the total sample of 1,227 women, 70 indicated that they belonged to an ethnic or religious minority group in the area where they lived. The small bases make it impossible to conduct an in-depth analysis for these minority groups; however, the data suggests that women who consider themselves a part of a religious minority indicate higher rates of sexual harassment since the age of 15 (58% versus 31% overall - note the small base for a religious minority of n=28).

### Women with children

Women with or who have had children are more likely to say they have experienced physical violence at the hands of an intimate partner both at some point in their lives (19% versus 9% of women without children) and in the 12 months prior to the survey (5% versus 1%). They are also more likely to say they have ever experienced intimate partner sexual violence (4% versus 0%). Women with children are more likely than women without children to see domestic violence as a private matter and to believe that VAW is often provoked by the victim, as discussed in Chapter 3. They are also more likely than women without children to believe that their friends would disagree that people outside the family should intervene if a man mistreats his wife and to believe that women often make up or exaggerate claims of abuse or rape.

However, women without children (who also tend to be younger) are twice as likely (8%) to have been stalked than those with children (4%).

### Location

Women living in urban areas are more likely to say they have experienced non-partner physical violence both at some point in their lives (10% compared to 3% of women living in rural areas) and in the 12 months prior to the survey (2% versus 0%, respectively). However, there are no distinctions in the indicated prevalence of intimate partner violence, sexual harassment or stalking between women living in urban areas and those living in rural areas.

Women in the central region (11%) are more likely than women in the north (5%) to have experienced non-partner physical and/or sexual violence (11% versus 5%, respectively).

Women living in the north are less likely to say they experienced physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of a current partner in the 12 months prior to the survey than those living in the central and southern regions (2% compared to 7%). However, those living in the north are more likely to have experienced previous partner physical and/or sexual violence than those living in other regions (23% vs 14%).

Fewer women in the north say they have been subjected to sexual harassment (24% versus 31% overall).

In the qualitative research, women thought that those living in rural areas were at several disadvantages in their ability to report violence. First, they said they were less likely to have access to relevant institutions, with most of the services based in cities. The women also speculated that attitudes towards violence would be different in rural areas, with the community tending to see it as a normal part of marriage and something that women should tolerate. The women expressed the belief that even rural women themselves would be less likely to be aware of what constitutes violence.

**Current-partner characteristics**

Background information on the age, education, employment and certain experiences and behaviours of the respondents' partners were collected. A few differences in the prevalence of current partner violence are evident when examining these. Psychological violence is more likely to be experienced by women whose partners have secondary education (40%) than those who have tertiary education (28%). The same is also true of physical violence (13% and 5%, respectively). Women whose partners are unemployed are also more likely to say they are experiencing psychological violence (55% versus 36% on average). While the bases are small, there is evidence to suggest that when a current partner drinks regularly, violence is a more common occurrence.

**Experiences of psychological violence are more commonly indicated among women whose partners are unemployed**

## 7. Experiences of violence among specific groups of women







## 8. Conclusions and recommendations

The survey and the qualitative research point to four key conclusions regarding violence against women in Montenegro:

### 1) Social norms and attitudes contribute to gender inequality and violence against women

Women are concerned about violence against women in Montenegro. More than three in five (62%) women believe that VAW is common. Indeed, more than two in five women (42%) have experienced some form of intimate partner or non-partner psychological, physical and/or sexual violence since the age of 15. Nearly a fifth of women who have ever had a partner indicate they have experienced physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of a current or previous partner (19%), while 31% of all women have experienced sexual harassment. Social norms and attitudes concerning women's roles and the level of acceptance of gender inequality provide a context for this violence. Women in the qualitative research shared that women in Montenegro were expected to fulfil traditional roles and to behave in certain ways, such as always looking good, marrying young and not having multiple sexual partners. They said that women were the primary caregivers and were responsible for household maintenance. The concept of wifely obedience still exists, with 43% of women believing that their friends would agree that a "wife should obey her husband". At the societal level, experts argued for recognition of the term "gender-based violence" rather than "domestic violence", which, they said, minimizes the fact that violence mostly affects women.

A 2015 UNDP study<sup>52</sup> found that half of the judges in Montenegro believe that domestic violence is a private matter. The OSCE-led survey data supports this, with a high proportion of women also indicating the same belief (42%), which is much higher than in any EU country. About a quarter of women (24%) believe that women often provoke violence, and 27% believe that women exaggerate claims of abuse and rape. Concerning sexual violence, men's needs are considered more important than women's, and it is considered normal for women to have sex with their partners even when they do not want to.

*In its Concluding Observations (2017), the CEDAW Committee recommended that the state sensitize the media to the need to eliminate gender stereotypes by promoting positive images of women as active participants in social, economic and political life and of men as active participants in household and child-rearing responsibilities. GREVIO (2018) strongly encouraged the government to carry out long-term awareness-raising campaigns to address attitudes and perceptions around domestic violence, as well as particular forms of violence such as rape. Further education was recommended for professionals, particularly police and judges, on the different manifestations of violence against women, their detection and root causes, as well as the prevention of secondary victimization.*

<sup>52</sup> "Survey on perceptions of gender based violence among the judiciary in Montenegro", UNDP and Montenegro Ministry for Human and Minority Rights, 2015, accessed 8 May 2019, available from <http://www.gendermontenegro.com/violence-in-family/publications/474-study-on-the-perceptions-of-gbv-among-judiciary-in-montenegro>



**2) Violence against women is underreported, and there is a lack of trust in the institutions that should provide support and services to victims**

Another issue highlighted was the process of reporting violence.

Less than one in ten women reported their most serious incident of intimate partner physical and/or sexual violence to the police. One in four women say they do not feel well informed as to what they should do in case they experience violence, and this figure rises to 52% among women finding it very difficult to cope on their income. More than three in four (76%) women survivors of current partner violence and 80% of survivors of non-partner violence did not ask for any support from the police or other organizations following the most serious incident they experienced. This trend is worrisome because violence has a serious impact on women. As discussed by the women in the qualitative research, psychological violence in intimate partner relationships is especially widely tolerated and not prosecuted because it is not considered serious. Women, however, shared that they found this type of violence very difficult to endure. Especially worrisome is the finding that nearly half of women who experienced IPV said that their current partner (46%) or their previous partner (48%) was violent towards them during pregnancy, which is a much higher proportion of women than in the EU.

According to the experts interviewed for this study, when a woman in Montenegro reports intimate partner violence to the police, the perpetrator typically submits a counter-report. It seems that if police officers do not take into account who the primary aggressor is, it is possible that both the man and the woman will be punished by the legal system, thus demoralizing women and discouraging them from reporting violence again. Indeed, women in the qualitative research expressed a lack of trust in institutions that should provide support and services to victims. They were worried that they would not be believed, so they only reported cases of severe physical and sexual violence that they felt could be proven. After reporting, the women felt the procedure was too slow and that the institutions involved were likely to side with the perpetrator and encourage the victim to return to him.

While few women contacted an institution or an organization after their most serious incident of violence, when they did contact an organization, it was most likely to be a hospital, doctor or healthcare centre. Apart from detecting signs of violence and submitting reports, the health sector has a key role in ensuring that women receive adequate support and are referred to other specialized support services, such as specific victims organizations, free legal aid or social services.

Reporting and prosecuting sexual violence are particularly difficult. According to the experts, sexual violence is still a taboo. There is a huge gap between the actual number of cases of sexual violence and the number of prosecuted crimes, as women are reluctant to testify or they retract their statements.

The research revealed that Roma women in particular would not seek help due to the fact that violence against women is seen as the norm in their community by the institutions that should support them.

*The CEDAW Committee made a large number of recommendations concerning violence against women, including to allocate resources to combat stereotypical attitudes and tolerance for gender-based violence against women within law enforcement institutions, to combat any approach that gives preference to preserving the family over women's rights, to ensure that reconciliation is not given priority over the prosecution of perpetrators and to encourage the reporting of domestic violence against women and girls by launching awareness-raising campaigns and by increasing the number of well-trained and gender-sensitive judges and law enforcement officials. GREVIO further recommended that the state ensure the swift and impartial response of all law enforcement officials to cases of domestic and other forms of violence against women on the basis of full respect for women's right to life and physical integrity.*

### **3) There is a sound legal framework, but it needs to be updated and fully implemented**

Key experts expressed the belief that the first step to tackling violence against women in Montenegro should be to fully implement and act upon the legislation, policies and conventions that are already in place. They said that Montenegro has good laws, but that they are not adequately applied.

A barrier to implementation can be found in both societal and institutional attitudes towards violence and gender roles. The UNDP study from 2015 found that 85% of all cases of domestic violence reported to the police are treated as a misdemeanour, although the OSCE-led survey shows that half of the women who experience violence suffer from long-term psychological consequences. The UNDP survey found that only in 7% of reported cases of violence did the perpetrator receive a prison sentence. Numerous national strategies and policies in line with the Istanbul Convention have not yet been fully implemented, including the new Protocol, which will manage standardization of all institutional procedures regarding cases of domestic violence and violence against women.

Experts also noted that updates were required for some relevant policies and legislation, and that they had to be aligned with the Istanbul Convention. Strategies deal mostly with domestic violence, so the experts suggested that more effort is needed to address all forms of violence against women, particularly sexual and psychological violence. Legislation regarding criminal proceedings was also said to be inadequate, as protections for women only come into force after court proceedings are over.

*The CEDAW Committee recommended the harmonization of domestic legislation with the Istanbul Convention by ensuring that criminal law provisions punishing gender-based violence against women are strictly enforced, including by providing capacity-building for judges, prosecutors and police and other law enforcement officers on the strict application of those provisions. GREVIO recommended ensuring more operational clarity between the misdemeanour offence of domestic violence and that of a criminal law nature, as well as more dissuasive sanctions for the misdemeanour offence of domestic violence, and that protection orders be made available for immediate protection of all victims of domestic violence, regardless of charging decisions by prosecutors or the institution for misdemeanour proceedings.*

**4) There are gaps in the provision of quality support services and the capacity of women's shelters and other support services, particularly for vulnerable groups such as ethnic minorities and women with disabilities**

The experts and women who took part in the qualitative research said that the **quality and capacity of women's shelters needed to be improved**. For the women from the qualitative research, one of the key things they wanted was for shelters to provide longer-term practical help to enable women to leave their partners, so that they could do so without the help of their birth family. In particular, they said that women needed long-term accommodations, financial help and support in finding a job. The experts noted that there was a lack of capacity to provide accommodations for women and that shelters were inconsistent in both number and quality depending on the region. They said that there was currently a lack of legal help provided for women and a lack of centres for women who had experienced sexual assault. One issue identified was a lack of agreement between institutions on the terminology used to describe different forms of violence and a lack of coordination for sharing data on cases of violence.

The experts said that women from ethnic minorities, displaced women, women from rural areas and those with disabilities were **particularly at risk**. Some of the experts interviewed added that **Roma women** experienced discrimination due to their gender and ethnicity and need adequate, targeted support in terms of economic empowerment and contacting institutions. Experts reported several cases of child marriages in recent years. They pointed out that women from **rural areas** are especially vulnerable, as they lack access to support services. They said that these women may also be living in a community with more traditional values that are less likely to endorse divorce. Additionally, women with **disabilities** were said to be less likely to be able to access help, and that the services that they approach may not have the resources to provide them with tailored support. Some recent steps to address this lack of support were identified, such as a new service provided by the Safe House for Women.

*The CEDAW Committee recommended that the state ensure the availability of a sufficient number of adequate shelters and that victims of violence receive counselling, rehabilitation and support services. More specifically, GREVIO recommended that suitable funding opportunities be developed such as long-term grants based on transparent procurement procedures to ensure sustainable funding levels for women's NGOs that run specialist support services for women victims of all forms of violence, and that rape crisis and/or sexual violence referral centres be set up to ensure a sensitive response by sufficient numbers of trained and specialized staff.*

### **Recommendations**

The survey findings and findings from the qualitative research point to further specific recommendations to address violence against women:

### ***Monitoring the implementation of legislation and aligning it with the Istanbul Convention***

#### **For the Government**

1. Expand strategies and policies beyond domestic/family violence to all forms of violence and include the data from the 2017 survey and this survey in relevant action plans.
2. Recognize the term “gender-based violence” and stop using “domestic violence”, which minimizes the fact that the victims are mainly women.
3. Ensure that there is a way to monitor the implementation of policies and strategies and to penalize institutions that do not implement them.
4. Ensure a victim-centred approach among all relevant institutions.

#### **For the Ministry of Interior**

5. Ensure that emergency protective orders are implemented properly (i.e., that the perpetrator, and not the victim, is removed from the home).

### ***Co-operation, training and multisectoral approach***

#### **For the government and the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights**

6. Strengthen the integrated multi-sectoral response to violence against women.
7. Evaluate the implementation of the new protocol for a multidisciplinary approach in co-operation with all actors involved at least once a year and make adjustments if needed.

#### **For the Ministry of Health/Institute for Public Health and the Ministry of Social Welfare**

8. Finalize the planned protocol for healthcare workers, which will outline how medical staff should act in (suspected) cases of gender-based violence regarding reporting, and providing evidence of, acts of violence against women.
9. Ensure adequate training and education on all forms of violence against women for doctors and healthcare workers. Training should be based on the Istanbul Convention and should counter traditional attitudes and practices that present a barrier to successful prosecution of violence against women. Invite NGOs that work on VAW to share their expertise for developing the training programmes.
10. Ensure that doctors and healthcare workers have sufficient knowledge on the referral system and can point women towards additional support.
11. Inform and train nurses who make house calls in identifying signs of violence and in referring women to specialized support.
12. Ensure adequate training and education on all forms of violence against women for personnel working at Social Work Centres. Training should be based on the Istanbul Convention and should counter traditional attitudes and practices that present a barrier to successful prosecution of violence against women. Invite NGOs that work on VAW to share their expertise for developing the training programmes.
13. Develop strict policies to ensure anonymity. Address reporting protocols, including whether a woman wants to disclose her identity and whether she wants to proceed with prosecution. Train staff on these policies and introduce disciplinary measures for breaching them.

***Specialized services for women and awareness-raising activities***  
**For the Ministry of Social Welfare**

14. Support NGOs that run shelters in developing their quality and capacity to include providing survivors with access to longer-term support and financial assistance when leaving an abusive relationship. Implement current legislation and clear guidelines and standards from the relevant institutions, as determined in co-operation between the state and NGOs. Regular monitoring and inspections can ensure that these standards are met, providing a consistent type of service for survivors and a more collaborative approach to the issue between NGOs and the state.
15. Within the licencing process for NGOs, ensure that not only the technical criteria are taken into consideration but also knowledge of substantial issues, as well as existing experience and expertise. Organizations that did not previously work on the topic of VAW should not be able to provide specialized services to victims because of the sensitivity of the topic.
16. Provide programmes aimed at working with perpetrators as part of a co-ordinated community response.
17. Include women victims of violence as first choices on unemployment lists and prioritize them when it comes to receiving apartments or other accommodations.
18. Implement information and awareness-raising campaigns, particularly for women from deprived backgrounds.

**For the Ministry of Education**

19. As follow-up to past initiatives, create education programmes that can be run with leaders of the Roma community.
20. Introduce education on gender-based violence for children of all ages in order to achieve a culture shift that will challenge current societal norms related to violence against women. Invite NGOs that work on VAW to share their expertise when developing new curricula.

## 8. Conclusions and recommendations





# ANNEXES

## **Annex 1: Survey and qualitative fieldwork**

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) commissioned Ipsos to undertake a qualitative and quantitative study into violence against women in seven OSCE participating States. The study was also conducted in Kosovo. This is the first comparative study of its kind, and it is intended to be used for to improved policy-making in future by both national and international stakeholders working on policy-making and programme implementation in South Eastern of Eastern Europe. This report presents the findings for Montenegro.

The study comprises the following elements:

- A quantitative survey among a representative sample of 1,227 women aged 18 to 74 was conducted between 5 April and 20 August 2018.
- A multistage, stratified, random probability sample was used. The sample frame, a list of census enumeration areas (CEAs) with an address register, last updated in 2011, was obtained from the Statistical Office of Montenegro. The CEAs are often quite small and do not allow enough addresses to be selected so that the target number of interviews per primary sampling unit (PSU) can be achieved. Hence, alternative units needed to be created by merging, where necessary, two or more neighbouring CEAs into one new unit. These newly created territorial units, with a minimum size of 30 households, were then used as PSUs.
- The sample frame covers all territories in Montenegro, but due to fieldwork practicalities, all settlements with fewer than 30 households (after the merging of CEAs) were excluded. Montenegro is a highly mountainous country with a lot of remote villages that have a small number of inhabitants. Since these areas are very small and hard to reach and therefore impractical to cover, they were excluded from the coverage. Four per cent of the target population live in these settlements. Additionally, homes built or inhabited since 2011 were not covered, because they were not available in the sample frame. The effect this had on coverage was not expected to be large, but the actual proportion is not known. Overall coverage was 96%.

## OSCE-led survey on violence against women: Montenegro

- The sample framework was stratified by region and size of residential area. PSUs were then selected within each stratum with probability proportional to size. A total of 115 PSUs were selected, and a set number of addresses was selected within each sampled PSU with the aim of conducting 10 interviews within each PSU. In areas where the available address details enabled unique identification of addresses, these were selected randomly from the register prior to the start of fieldwork. In areas where this was not possible, the addresses were not preselected prior to the fieldwork, but the selection was done at the same time as the interviews via a random walk approach. When more than one household was identified at a selected address, one household was randomly selected by the electronic contact sheet. In each sampled household, one woman was selected for the interview. The respondent was selected randomly from the list of all eligible women in a selected household, i.e., all women aged 18–74 within the household were listed by age in descending order on the electronic contact sheet. Then the contact sheet randomly selected one of them using a random-number generator.
- Interviews were conducted face-to-face by specifically trained female field workers (see Annex 2 below for more details on training and protocols).
- The response rate achieved was 34%,<sup>53</sup> and the average eligibility was 82%. The weights were calculated in two stages: a) sampling design weights; and b) post-stratification weights. The design weights reflected probabilities of selection of respondents, while post-stratification weights were calculated to compensate for the non-response. Region, size of residential area and age categories were used for post-stratification in Montenegro.
- Eight focus group discussions (FGDs), including groups with women from ethnic minorities and women with experience of conflict, which took place 18–21 June 2018. The focus group composition was as follows:

<sup>53</sup> The response rate is calculated as follows and in accordance with the RR3 definition of response rates by the American Association for Public Opinion Research. See Standard Definitions: Final Dispositions of Case Codes and Outcome Rates for Surveys, 7th edition (Oakbrook Terrace, IL: The American Association for Public Opinion Research, 2011), p. 46.

Table A1.1: Composition of focus groups

FGD	Location	Number of participants	Age group	Ethnicity	Number conflict-affected	Number with children	Number in work
1	Urban	8	30–50	Montenegrin, Serbian	8	5	5
2	Urban	8	51+	Montenegrin, Serbian	4	6	4
3	Rural	8	18–29	Montenegrin	0	5	5
4	Rural	8	35–55	Albanian	2	6	4
5	Urban	8	35–55	Roma	8	8	1
6	Rural	8	51+	Montenegrin, Serbian	4	5	2
7	Urban	8	18–29	Montenegrin, Serbian	0	4	3
8	Rural	8	30–50	Montenegrin, Serbian	8	5	5

- Four in-depth interviews (IDIs) with survivors of violence in August 2018:

Table A1.2: Profile of in-depth interviews

IDI	Location	Age group	Ethnicity	Work status	Has children	Medical condition/Disability
1	Urban	35–55	Montenegrin	Working	Yes	No
2	Urban	35–55	Bosnian/Montenegrin	Not working	Yes	No
3	Urban	55+	Montenegrin	Working	Yes	No
4	Suburban	65+	Montenegrin	Not working	No	No

- Six key expert interviews to provide an overview of issues relating to VAW and of conflict-related acts of violence, which took place between June and August 2017 and a further round of 9 key expert interviews that took place in July 2018 to explore changes since the first round and to gather recommendations for the OSCE.

## OSCE-led survey on violence against women: Montenegro

The survey was designed to be nationally representative of women in Montenegro aged 18–74. A breakdown by demographics is shown in Table A1.3.

**Table A1.3: Weighted and unweighted sample profile**

Age	Weighted %	Unweighted %	Unweighted <i>n</i>
18–29	21	23	284
30–39	20	16	197
40–49	19	20	241
50–59	18	18	229
60+	21	22	276
<b>Economic activity</b>			
In paid work	35	36	444
Self-employed	4	4	52
Helping in a family business (unpaid)	3	1	18
Unemployed	16	17	211
Pupil, student, in training	9	8	102
Not working due to illness or disability	1	1	11
Fulfilling domestic duties and care responsibilities	12	11	131
Retired	20	20	246
Compulsory military/community service/other	0.2	0.2	2
<b>Education</b>			
No formal education	1	1	9
Primary education	2	3	31
Secondary education	78	78	949
Tertiary education	18	19	230
<b>Location</b>			
Urban	68	72	889
Rural	32	28	338
<b>Conflict-affected</b>			
Yes	10	11	139
No	90	89	1,088



Due to differences in methodology, sampling and questionnaire design, the results of this survey will not be directly comparable with other national surveys conducted in Montenegro.

### Sampling tolerances

As the data is based on a sample rather than the entire population, and the percentage results (or estimates) are subject to sampling tolerance, not all differences between results are statistically significant at the 95% confidence level. When calculating the confidence intervals, the effective sample size must be taken into consideration.

The effective sample size (or the design effect, a related concept) is linked to individual estimates, and so it will vary across estimates. To calculate the design effects for the total sample size, a formula based on the following ratio was used:

Design effect = (unweighted sample size) \* (sum of the squared weights) / (square of the sum of weights)<sup>54</sup>

This approach to design effect estimation is related to disproportional sampling (in the case of the OSCE survey, the women in each household were selected with unequal probability, depending on the number of eligible women in the household), as well as unequal nonresponse across population segments, which were corrected with post-stratification weights (as described above).

The table below summarizes the design effect for the total sample size and conflict-affected sample size and provides confidence intervals based on the effective sample size for a survey estimate of 50%.

**Table A1.4: Effective sample sizes and confidence intervals**

	<i>N</i>	Design effect	Effective sample size	95% confidence interval for a survey estimates of 50% based on a weighted sample	
				Lower	Upper
<b>All women aged 18–74</b>	1,227	1.377	891	46.7%	53.3%
<b>Conflict-affected women</b>	139	1.240	112	40.7%	59.3%

54 Leslie Kish, "Weighting for unequal Pi", Journal of Official Statistics, 8 (1992): 183–200.



**Annex 2: Ethical and safety considerations**

Given the sensitivity of the survey, a number of steps were taken to protect both respondents and interviewers from potential harm and to provide sources of support in the event of distress:

- All interviewers were women who had experience conducting surveys on sensitive issues and who are native speakers of the language used for the interviews. All interviewers were required to attend a two-day briefing.
- For the protection of both respondents and interviewers, interviewers were instructed not to disclose in advance that the survey was about violence and to conduct the survey in complete privacy.
- At the end of the interview, all respondents were offered information on support organizations that they could contact should they wish to discuss any issues arising as a result of taking part in the survey.
- The project co-ordinator was available for interviewers to speak to at any time during fieldwork, and individual meetings with counsellors could be arranged if needed.
- Adherence to ethical principles is a cornerstone of the research methodology used for the OSCE-led survey, and the procedures used by the World Health Organization<sup>55</sup> and the United Nations *Guidelines for Producing Statistics on Violence against Women*<sup>56</sup> were taken into account.

**Annex 3: More detailed tables and graphs – SDG indicators**

**SDG Indicator 5.2.2: Proportion of women and girls aged 15 or older subjected to sexual violence by someone other than an intimate partner in the 12 months prior to the survey, by age, area and education.**

All women aged 18–74 who have ever had a partner (1,227)	0.4%
18–29 years old (284)	0%
30–39 years old (197)	1.2%
40–49 years old (241)	0%
50–59 years old (224)	0.3%
60+ years old (276)	0%
Residents of urban areas (889)	0.5%
Residents of rural areas (338)	0%
No education/primary education (40)	0%
Secondary education (949)	0.5%
Tertiary education (230)	0%

55 Ethical and safety recommendations for intervention research on violence against women. Building on lessons from the WHO publication *Putting women first: ethical and safety recommendations for research on domestic violence against women* (Geneva: World Health Organization, 2016), accessed 8 May 2019, <https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/251759/9789241510189-eng.pdf>.

56 *Guidelines for Producing Statistics on Violence against Women: Statistical Surveys* (New York: United Nations, 2014), accessed 8 May 2019, [https://unstats.un.org/unsd/gender/docs/guidelines\\_statistics\\_vaw.pdf](https://unstats.un.org/unsd/gender/docs/guidelines_statistics_vaw.pdf).

**SDG Indicator 5.2.1: Proportion of women and girls aged 18–74 who have ever had a partner and who were subjected to physical, sexual or psychological violence by a current or former intimate partner in the 12 months prior to the survey, by age, area and education.**

All women 18–74 (1,117)	10%
18–29 years old (226)	8%
30–39 years old (186)	11%
40–49 years old (235)	13%
50–59 years old (213)	8%
60+ years old (240)	10%
Residents of urban areas (812)	10%
Residents of rural areas (305)	9%
No education/primary education (37)	12%
Secondary education (856)	11%
Tertiary education (217)	3%

Women were asked how often they had experienced different forms of psychological violence at the hands of their current partner: never, sometimes, often or all of the time.

For previous partner violence, women were asked if they had ever experienced various forms of psychological violence. Threats of physical or sexual violence, as part of psychological violence, are the only forms of psychological violence recorded in the 12 months prior to the survey.

As such, a proxy has to be used to calculate SDG indicator 5.2.1, as follows:

- women who experienced threats of physical or sexual violence at the hands of their current or previous partner in the 12 months prior to the survey
- women who have experienced any of the other forms of psychological violence **often** or **all the time** at the hands of their current partner
- women who experienced any of the forms of physical or sexual violence at the hands of their current or previous partners in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Annex 4: Overview of key figures

Prevalence of violence

Any psychological/physical/sexual violence at the hands of a partner or non-partner	Since the age of 15	42%
Any physical/sexual violence at the hands of a partner or non-partner	Since the age of 15	19%
	In the 12 months prior to the survey	5%
Non-partner violence	Since the age of 15	Physical: 8% Sexual: 1%
	In the 12 months prior to the survey	Physical: 2% Sexual: 0.4%
Intimate partner violence – any partner	Since the age of 15	Physical: 17% Sexual: 3% Psychological: 43%
	In the 12 months prior to the survey	Physical: 5% Sexual: 2% Psychological: 9%
Sexual harassment	Since the age of 15	Any: 31% Most severe forms: 14%
	In the 12 months prior to the survey	Any: 18% Most severe forms: 5%
Stalking	Since the age of 15	6%
	In the 12 months prior to the survey	1%
Violence during childhood (physical, sexual, psychological)	Up to the age of 15	32%

### Consequences of the most serious incident

Non-partner violence	Emotional: 85% Psychological: 42% Physical: 24%
Intimate partner violence	Emotional: 85% Psychological: 52% Physical: 38%
Sexual harassment	Emotional: 76% Psychological: 22%
Stalking	Emotional: 78% Psychological: 38%

Reporting of the most serious incident	% of women who reported it themselves to the police	% of women who did not contact the police or another organization
Non-partner violence	7%	80%
Current partner	4%	76%
Previous partner	12%	72%
Sexual harassment	1%	N/A
Stalking	13%	N/A

### Attitudes and norms

% who agree that their friends would generally agree that it is a woman's obligation to have sex with her husband even if she does not feel like it	14%
% who think violence against women at the hands of partners, acquaintances or strangers is common in Montenegro	62%
% who think domestic violence is a private matter and should be handled within the family	42%
% who agree that women are more likely to be raped by a stranger than someone they know	27%

### Conflict-affected women

Proportion of directly conflict-affected women in Montenegro:	10%
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## Annex 5: Respondent characteristics (weighted)

		All women		Women who have ever had a partner	
		%	Number	%	Number
<b>Residential area</b>	Urban	68	837	69	769
	Rural	32	390	31	344
<b>Age category</b>	18–19	4	54	2	23
	20–24	9	105	7	80
	25–29	8	101	9	97
	30–34	11	130	10	115
	35–39	10	119	10	113
	40–49	19	229	20	224
	50–59	18	224	20	217
	60–69	16	190	16	175
	70–74	6	70	6	63
	75–79	0	2	0	2
<b>Education</b>	None	1	11	1	11
	Primary	2	26	2	24
	Secondary	79	960	78	864
	Tertiary	18	225	19	210
<b>Do you have any children?</b>	Yes, own children	71	871	77	851
	Yes, took care of step- or foster children	0	1	0	1
	Yes, both	29	351	23	257
	Refused to say	0	4	0	3
<b>Employment</b>	In paid work	36	434	36	401
	Self-employed	4	53	5	52
	Helping in a family business (unpaid)	3	32	3	32
	Unemployed	16	194	17	182
	Pupil, student, in training	9	108	6	64
	Not working due to illness or disability	1	12	1	10
	Fulfilling domestic duties and care responsibilities	12	145	13	143
	Retired	20	242	20	223
	Compulsory military service or other community service	0	1	0	1

		All women		Women who have ever had a partner	
		%	Number	%	Number
<b>Current job/ occupation</b>	Elementary occupations	24	123	25	119
	Plant and machine operator and assembler	1	7	2	7
	Building, crafts or a related tradesperson	8	40	8	39
	Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery worker	1	6	1	6
	Sales, customer or personal service worker	28	146	27	133
	Clerical support	17	86	16	78
	Technician or associate professional	13	67	12	59
	Professional	3	18	4	17
	Manager	2	11	2	11
	Employed in a military capacity by the armed forces	0	1	0	1
	Refused to say	3	14	3	14
	<b>Which of the descriptions on this card comes closest to how you feel about your household income nowadays?</b>	Living comfortably on present income	34	419	34
Coping on present income		54	658	54	601
Finding it difficult on present income		7	84	7	73
Finding it very difficult on present income		5	56	4	49
Don't know		1	8	1	6
Refused to say		17	86	16	78
<b>Do you have your own personal bank account, i.e., one that is not shared with anyone else in your family?</b>	Yes	53	653	53	586
	No	46	563	47	517
	Not applicable	1	9	1	8
	Refused to say	0	3	0	2
	Refused to say	53	653	53	586
<b>Conflict-affected</b>	Yes	10	127	11	123
	No	90	1100	89	990



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Attitudes

			Women who say they were abused often make up or exaggerate claims of abuse or rape		Violence against women is often provoked by the victim		Domestic violence is a private matter and should be handled within the family		Women are more likely to be raped by a stranger than someone they know	
			Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
			%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number
<b>Total</b>		%	27	66	24	71	42	56	27	53
		Number	333	808	299	872	512	689	330	654
<b>Residential area</b>	Urban	%	23	70	22	74	37	61	25	56
		Number	189	588	187	617	310	509	211	466
	Rural	%	37	57	29	65	52	46	30	48
		Number	143	220	112	255	201	180	118	188
<b>Age category</b>	18–29	%	16	80	12	83	31	67	25	61
		Number	41	207	30	215	79	175	66	158
	30–39	%	21	72	17	80	41	56	26	61
		Number	52	179	43	199	102	140	64	151
	40–49	%	19	72	22	73	38	60	25	57
		Number	44	166	51	168	88	137	58	131
	50–59	%	38	55	30	64	39	59	26	54
		Number	85	123	68	143	88	132	58	121
60+	%	42	50	41	55	59	40	32	35	
	Number	111	130	107	145	153	105	84	92	
<b>Education</b>	None	%	96	4	100	0	100	0	54	0
		Number	11	0	11	0	11	0	6	0
	Primary	%	24	51	36	48	82	18	40	22
		Number	6	13	9	12	21	5	10	6
	Secondary	%	28	65	25	71	43	55	27	51
		Number	272	621	236	679	411	528	263	489
	Tertiary	%	18	77	18	80	30	69	22	70
		Number	41	173	40	180	66	155	49	158
<b>Ever had a partner</b>	Yes	%	28	65	26	70	43	55	28	53
	Number	310	722	285	777	482	606	306	589	
<b>Children</b>	Yes	%	32	61	29	67	47	51	28	50
		Number	277	533	250	586	412	443	245	436
	No	%	16	78	14	82	28	70	24	62
		Number	55	275	47	286	99	245	84	218

Employment			Women who say they were abused often make up or exaggerate claims of abuse or rape		Violence against women is often provoked by the victim		Domestic violence is a private matter and should be handled within the family		Women are more likely to be raped by a stranger than someone they know	
			Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
In paid work	%	13	81	14	83	28	70	21	63	
	Number	58	351	59	362	121	306	91	275	
Self-employed	%	15	80	16	82	35	64	25	68	
	Number	8	42	8	43	18	34	13	36	
Helping in a family business (unpaid)	%	39	55	37	47	42	51	17	60	
	Number	12	17	12	15	13	16	5	19	
Unemployed	%	31	60	32	61	65	33	45	35	
	Number	60	117	63	119	126	65	87	68	
Pupil, student, in training	%	19	78	7	90	19	78	26	64	
	Number	20	84	7	97	21	84	28	69	
Not working due to illness or disability	%	58	42	46	46	46	54	40	45	
	Number	7	5	6	6	6	7	5	6	
Fulfilling domestic duties and care responsibilities	%	45	49	31	63	55	44	20	58	
	Number	66	70	45	91	79	64	29	84	
Retired	%	41	50	40	58	52	47	29	40	
	Number	99	121	96	139	125	112	69	97	
Compulsory military service or other community service	%	49	51	100	0	0	100	0	100	
	Number	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	

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Occupation			Women who say they were abused often make up or exaggerate claims of abuse or rape		Violence against women is often provoked by the victim		Domestic violence is a private matter and should be handled within the family		Women are more likely to be raped by a stranger than someone they know	
			Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
			%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number
Elementary occupations	%	20	76	15	80	30	69	26	59	
	Number	24	93	19	99	37	85	31	73	
Plant and machine operator and assembler	%	35	65		83	52	48	7		
	Number	2	5	0	6	4	3	1	0	
Building, crafts or a related tradesperson	%	9	86	14	83	40	58	42	51	
	Number	4	34	5	33	16	23	17	20	
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery worker	%	89	12	89	12	100	0	0	61	
	Number	6	1	6	1	6	0	0	4	
Sales, customer or personal service worker	%	10	83	14	84	30	69	22	61	
	Number	14	121	20	123	43	100	33	89	
Clerical support	%	12	85	14	85	20	79	13	76	
	Number	10	73	12	73	17	68	11	65	
Technician or associate professional	%	17	77	17	78	29	69	18	67	
	Number	11	51	11	52	19	46	12	45	
Professional	%	12	88	16	84	19	81	6	86	
	Number	2	16	3	15	3	14	1	15	
Manager	%	24	76	14	86	46	45	25	70	
	Number	3	8	2	9	5	5	3	8	
Military	%	0	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	
	Number	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	

			Women who say they were abused often make up or exaggerate claims of abuse or rape		Violence against women is often provoked by the victim		Domestic violence is a private matter and should be handled within the family		Women are more likely to be raped by a stranger than someone they know	
			Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
<b>Household income</b>	Living comfortably on present income	%	21	72	17	78	36	62	24	60
		Number	87	303	72	325	152	258	101	252
	Coping on present income	%	30	64	27	70	42	56	27	51
		Number	198	418	178	460	279	367	175	338
	Finding it difficult on present income	%	35	55	33	59	53	46	39	40
		Number	29	46	28	50	44	39	33	34
Finding it very difficult on present income	%	31	65	34	58	58	42	36	46	
	Number	17	36	19	32	33	23	20	26	
<b>Conflict-affected</b>	Yes	%	29	67	30	67	45	54	36	22
	No	Number	37	85	38	84	56	69	45	146
	Yes	%	27	66	24	72	41	56	26	33
	No	Number	296	723	260	788	455	620	284	186
<b>Bank account owner</b>	Yes	%	22	71	21	75	35	63	25	57
	No	Number	146	462	137	487	227	411	166	373
	Yes	%	33	60	29	67	50	48	29	48
	No	Number	186	336	160	376	282	268	163	271

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Prevalence of intimate partner violence (at the hands of any partner)

		Partner or previous partner psychological violence - Ever		Partner or previous partner physical violence - Ever		Partner or previous partner sexual violence - Ever		Partner or previous partner psychological, physical or sexual violence - Ever		Partner or previous partner physical or sexual violence - Ever		
		No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	
<b>Total</b>	%	57	43	83	17	97	3	55	45	83	17	
	Number	638	475	928	185	1,077	35	613	500	923	190	
<b>Residential area</b>	Urban	%	56	44	84	16	97	3	54	46	83	17
		Number	433	336	642	126	743	26	416	352	640	128
	Rural	%	60	40	83	17	97	3	57	43	82	18
		Number	205	139	286	58	334	10	196	147	283	61
<b>Age category</b>	18-29	%	59	41	94	6	99	1	59	41	94	6
		Number	117	83	188	12	198	2	117	83	188	12
	30-39	%	49	51	80	21	97	3	49	51	79	21
		Number	111	117	181	47	221	7	111	117	180	48
	40-49	%	61	39	80	20	96	4	55	45	78	22
		Number	137	87	179	45	215	9	123	101	176	49
	50-59	%	59	41	86	14	96	4	57	43	86	14
		Number	128	89	187	31	209	8	124	93	186	31
60+	%	59	41	80	20	97	3	57	43	80	20	
	Number	143	98	192	49	233	7	136	104	192	49	
<b>Education</b>	None	%	69	31	57	43	90	10	45	56	57	43
		Number	7	3	6	5	10	1	5	6	6	5
	Primary	%	52	48	75	25	93	7	52	48	75	25
		Number	12	11	18	6	22	2	12	11	18	6
	Secondary	%	57	43	82	18	96	4	55	46	82	18
		Number	491	373	711	153	832	32	471	393	706	158
	Tertiary	%	59	41	90	10	100	0	58	42	90	10
		Number	124	86	189	21	209	1	122	88	189	21

			Partner or previous partner psychological violence - Ever		Partner or previous partner physical violence - Ever		Partner or previous partner sexual violence - Ever		Partner or previous partner psychological, physical or sexual violence - Ever		Partner or previous partner physical or sexual violence - Ever	
			No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
				%		%		%		%		%
<b>Ever had a partner</b>	Yes	%	57	43	83	17	97	3	55	45	83	17
		Number	638	475	928	185	1,077	35	613	500	923	190
<b>Children</b>	Yes	%	57	43	81	19	96	4	54	46	81	20
		Number	488	364	691	161	817	35	463	389	686	166
	No	%	57	43	91	9	100	0	57	43	91	9
		Number	147	111	234	24	257	1	147	111	234	24
<b>Employment</b>	In paid work	%	57	44	82	18	97	3	54	47	81	19
		Number	227	174	327	74	390	11	215	186	326	75
	Self-employed	%	52	48	79	21	89	11	52	48	77	23
		Number	27	25	41	11	46	6	27	25	40	12
	Helping in a family business (unpaid)	%	45	55	77	24	92	8	45	55	77	24
		Number	14	17	24	7	29	3	14	17	24	7
	Unemployed	%	57	43	79	21	96	4	55	45	79	21
		Number	104	78	145	38	175	7	101	82	145	38
	Pupil, student, in training	%	57	43	100	0	100	0	57	43	100	0
		Number	36	28	64	0	64	0	36	28	64	0
	Not working due to illness or disability	%	57	43	91	9	100	0	57	43	91	9
		Number	6	4	9	1	10	0	6	4	9	1
	Fulfilling domestic duties and care responsibilities	%	58	42	83	17	97	3	55	45	81	19
		Number	82	60	119	24	139	4	79	64	116	27
	Retired	%	61	39	87	13	98	2	58	42	87	13
		Number	135	88	193	29	218	5	129	94	193	30
	Compulsory military/ community service	%	49	51	49	51	100	0	49	51	49	51
		Number	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1



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Occupation			Partner or previous partner psychological violence - Ever		Partner or previous partner physical violence - Ever		Partner or previous partner sexual violence - Ever		Partner or previous partner psychological, physical or sexual		Partner or previous partner physical or sexual violence - Ever	
			No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
			%		%		%		%		%	
Elementary occupations	%		46	54	74	26	98	2	44	56	74	26
	Number		55	64	89	31	117	2	53	67	89	31
Plant and machine operator and assembler	%		83	17	25	76	83	17	7	93	7	93
	Number		6	1	2	5	6	1	1	7	1	7
Building, crafts or a related Tradesperson	%		43	57	76	24	88	13	43	57	73	27
	Number		17	22	30	10	34	5	17	22	29	10
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery worker	%		61	39	61	39	61	39	61	39	61	39
	Number		4	3	4	3	4	3	4	3	4	3
Sales, customer or personal service worker	%		61	39	86	14	95	5	60	40	86	14
	Number		81	52	114	18	126	7	79	53	114	18
Clerical support	%		65	35	88	12	99	1	62	38	88	12
	Number		51	27	68	10	77	1	48	30	68	10
Technician or associate professional	%		45	55	82	18	99	1	44	56	82	18
	Number		26	33	48	11	58	1	26	33	48	11
Professional	%		58	42	81	19	100	0	58	42	81	19
	Number		10	7	14	3	17	0	10	7	14	3
Manager	%		52	48	80	21	100	0	52	48	80	21
	Number		6	5	9	2	11	0	6	5	9	2
Military	%		0	100	100	0	100	0	0	100	100	0
	Number		0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0

			Partner or previous partner psychological violence - Ever		Partner or previous partner physical violence - Ever		Partner or previous partner sexual violence - Ever		Partner or previous partner psychological, physical or sexual violence - Ever		Partner or previous partner physical or sexual violence - Ever	
			No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
<b>Household income</b>	Living comfortably on present income	%	61	39	87	13	97	3	60	40	87	13
		Number	235	148	333	49	370	12	229	153	332	50
	Coping on present income	%	55	45	82	18	97	3	53	48	81	19
		Number	330	271	493	108	583	18	316	285	489	112
	Finding it difficult on present income	%	57	43	79	21	95	5	51	50	79	21
		Number	42	31	58	15	69	4	37	36	57	16
Finding it very difficult on present income	%	52	48	75	25	97	3	52	48	75	25	
	Number	26	23	37	12	48	1	26	23	37	12	
<b>Conflict- affected</b>	Yes	%	50	50	77	23	97	3	48	52	77	23
		Number	62	61	95	28	119	4	59	64	95	28
	No	%	58	42	84	16	97	3	56	44	84	16
		Number	576	414	833	157	958	31	554	436	828	162
<b>Bank account owner</b>	Yes	%	55	45	85	15	98	2	54	46	85	15
		Number	325	261	499	86	574	12	315	271	498	87
	No	%	59	41	81	19	95	5	56	44	80	20
		Number	304	214	419	98	494	24	288	229	415	102

## Current partner violence by current partner characteristics

			Partner psychological, physical or sexual violence - Ever		
			No	Yes	
Total		%	62	38	
		Number	506	315	
Current partner's age category	18-29	%	63	37	
		Number	61	36	
	30-39	%	65	35	
		Number	99	53	
	40-49	%	57	43	
		Number	100	74	
	50-59	%	66	34	
		Number	126	65	
	60+	%	58	42	
		Number	115	83	
	Current partner's employment	In paid work	%	66	34
			Number	295	151
Self-employed		%	62	38	
		Number	68	42	
Helping in a family business (unpaid)		%	65	35	
		Number	7	4	
Unemployed		%	43	57	
		Number	25	33	
Pupil, student, in training		%	43	58	
		Number	4	6	
Not working due to illness or disability		%	0	100	
		Number	0	2	
Fulfilling domestic duties and care responsibilities		%	12	88	
		Number	1	6	
Retired		%	58	42	
		Number	96	69	
Compulsory military service or other community service	%	100	0		
	Number	0	0		

			Partner psychological, physical or sexual violence - Ever	
			No	Yes
Current partner's occupation	Elementary occupations	%	64	36
		Number	68	38
	Plant and machine operator and assembler	%	69	31
		Number	32	14
	Building, rafts or a related tradesperson	%	60	40
		Number	48	32
	Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery worker	%	54	46
		Number	15	13
	Sales, customer or personal service worker	%	64	37
		Number	55	31
	Clerical support	%	68	32
		Number	49	23
	Technician or associate professional	%	66	34
		Number	56	29
Professional	%	62	38	
	Number	17	10	
Manager	%	86	14	
	Number	21	4	
Military	%	71	30	
	Number	5	2	
Current partner's education	None	%	0	100
		Number	0	0
	Primary	%	75	25
		Number	6	2
	Secondary	%	58	43
		Number	322	238
Tertiary	%	70	30	
	Number	173	73	
Earnings	Partner earns less	%	47	53
		Number	8	9
	Both earn roughly the same amount	%	70	31
		Number	66	29
	Partner earns more	%	58	42
		Number	114	84

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		Partner psychological, physical or sexual violence - Ever		
			No	Yes
<b>Current partner's occupation</b>	Elementary occupations	%	64	36
		Number	103	59
	Plant and machine operator and assembler	%	72	28
		Number	48	19
	Building, rafts or a related tradesperson	%	68	33
		Number	84	40
	Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery worker	%	63	37
		Number	64	37
	Sales, customer or personal service worker	%	64	36
		Number	67	38
	Clerical support	%	70	30
		Number	50	22
	Technician or associate professional	%	76	25
		Number	114	37
	Professional	%	73	28
		Number	66	25
Manager	%	67	33	
	Number	23	11	
Military	%	58	43	
	Number	6	4	
<b>Current partner's education</b>	None	%	33	67
		Number	3	7
	Primary	%	56	44
		Number	98	76
	Secondary	%	67	33
		Number	590	290
Tertiary	%	66	34	
	Number	232	121	
<b>Earnings</b>	Partner earns less	%	61	39
		Number	16	10
	Both earn roughly the same amount	%	67	33
		Number	137	68
	Partner earns more	%	69	31
		Number	217	97

			Partner psychological, physical or sexual violence - Ever	
			No	Yes
<b>Current partner's alcohol consumption</b>	Never, less than once a month	%	64	36
		Number	488	275
	Weekly	%	27	73
		Number	8	22
	Most days/every day	%	0	100
		Number	0	7
<b>Current partner's drug use</b>	Never, less than once a month	%	62	38
		Number	504	312
	Most days/every day	%	0	100
		Number	0	1
<b>Partner ever fought in an armed conflict</b>	Yes	%	59	41
		Number	36	24
	No	%	62	38
		Number	461	285



## Non-partner violence since age of 15

			Non-partner physical violence - since the age of 15		Non-partner sexual violence - since the age of 15		Non-partner physical or sexual violence - since the age of 15	
			No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
<b>Total</b>		%	90	10	99	1	89	11
		Number	750	87	828	9	747	90
<b>Residential area</b>	Urban	%	97	3	99	1	97	4
		Number	377	13	387	2	376	14
	Rural	%	95	5	100	0	95	5
		Number	248	13	260	0	248	13
<b>Age category</b>	18–29	%	89	11	98	2	89	11
		Number	221	27	245	4	220	28
	30–39	%	95	5	99	1	94	6
		Number	217	12	226	3	215	14
	40–49	%	92	8	99	1	92	9
		Number	207	18	221	3	205	19
	50–59	%	89	11	100	0	89	11
		Number	232	29	261	1	232	29
60+	%	90	10	99	1	89	11	
	Number	750	87	828	9	747	90	
<b>Education</b>	None	%	88	12	100	0	88	12
		Number	10	1	11	0	10	1
	Primary	%	100	0	100	0	100	0
		Number	26	0	26	0	26	0
	Secondary	%	91	9	99	1	91	9
		Number	874	86	949	11	870	90
Tertiary	%	95	5	100	0	95	5	
	Number	213	11	224	1	213	11	
<b>Ever had a partner</b>	Yes	%	91	9	99	1	91	9
		Number	1,017	95	1,101	11	1,013	100
<b>Children</b>	Yes	%	91	9	99	1	90	10
		Number	792	80	861	11	788	84
	No	%	94	6	100	0	94	6
		Number	332	20	351	0	332	20

		Non-partner physical violence – since the age of 15		Non-partner sexual violence - since the age of 15		Non-partner physical or sexual violence - since the age of 15		
		No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	
Employment	In paid work	%	92	8	100	0	92	8
		Number	401	33	432	2	401	33
	Self-employed	%	87	13	93	7	87	13
		Number	46	7	49	4	46	7
	Helping in a family business (unpaid)	%	95	5	100	0	95	5
		Number	30	2	32	0	30	2
	Unemployed	%	91	9	99	1	91	9
		Number	177	17	193	2	176	18
	A pupil, student, in training	%	95	5	100	0	95	5
		Number	102	6	108	0	102	6
	Not working due to illness or disability	%	91	9	100	0	91	9
		Number	11	1	12	0	11	1
	Fulfilling domestic duties and care responsibilities	%	94	6	97	3	92	8
		Number	136	9	141	4	133	12
	Retired	%	90	10	100	0	90	10
		Number	217	25	241	1	217	25
	Compulsory military service or other community service	%	100	0	100	0	100	0
		Number	1	0	1	0	1	0

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Occupation		Non-partner physical violence – since the age of 15		Non-partner sexual violence - since the age of 15		Non-partner physical or sexual violence - since the age of 15	
		No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Elementary occupations	%	91	9	99	1	91	9
	Number	112	11	122	1	112	11
Plant and machine operator and assembler	%	100	0	100	0	100	0
	Number	7	0	7	0	7	0
Building, crafts or a related tradesperson	%	80	20	93	8	80	20
	Number	32	8	37	3	32	8
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery worker	%	100	0	100	0	100	0
	Number	6	0	6	0	6	0
Sales, customer or personal service worker	%	91	9	99	1	91	9
	Number	133	13	144	2	133	13
Clerical support	%	98	3	100	0	98	3
	Number	84	2	86	0	84	2
Technician or associate professional	%	88	12	94	7	100	0
	0	0	0	63	4	67	0
Professional	%	97	3	97	3	100	0
	Number	17	1	17	1	18	0
Manager	%	77	23	77	23	100	0
	Number	8	2	8	2	11	0
Military	%	100	0	100	0	100	0
	Number	1	0	1	0	1	0

		Non-partner physical violence – since the age of 15		Non-partner sexual violence - since the age of 15		Non-partner physical or sexual violence - since the age of 15		
		No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	
<b>Household income</b>	Living comfortably on present income	%	95	5	99	1	94	6
		Number	398	21	415	4	395	24
	Coping on present income	%	90	10	99	1	90	10
		Number	593	65	653	5	591	67
	Finding it difficult on present income	%	89	11	98	2	89	11
		Number	75	9	83	1	75	9
Finding it very difficult on present income	%	93	7	98	2	93	7	
	Number	52	4	55	1	52	4	
<b>Conflict-affected</b>	Yes	%	88	12	99	1	88	12
		Number	112	15	126	1	112	15
	No	%	92	8	99	1	92	8
		Number	1,015	85	1,090	10	1,011	89
<b>Bank account owner</b>	Yes	%	92	8	99	1	92	8
		Number	599	53	647	5	599	53
	No	%	92	8	99	1	91	9
		Number	516	47	556	6	512	51

## Sexual harassment and stalking

		Sexual harassment - since the age of 15		The most severe forms of sexual harassment - since the age of 15		Stalking - since the age of 15		
		No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	
			%	Number	%	Number	%	Number
<b>Total</b>		69	31	86	14	95	6	
		844	383	1,054	173	1,159	68	
<b>Residential area</b>	Urban	67	33	85	15	94	6	
		562	276	709	128	788	49	
	Rural	73	28	89	12	95	5	
		283	107	345	45	371	19	
<b>Age category</b>	18–29	66	35	91	9	96	5	
		170	90	236	24	248	12	
	30–39	62	38	81	19	94	6	
		155	94	202	47	234	15	
	40–49	67	33	83	17	95	5	
		153	76	191	39	217	12	
	50–59	74	26	83	17	95	5	
		166	58	187	37	213	12	
	60+	76	24	91	9	94	6	
		199	62	239	23	245	17	
	<b>Education</b>	None	88	12	100	0	100	0
			10	1	11	0	11	0
Primary		85	15	90	10	97	3	
		22	4	23	2	25	1	
Secondary		69	31	86	14	95	5	
		663	297	826	134	912	49	
Tertiary	65	35	84	16	92	8		
	145	79	189	36	207	17		
<b>Ever had a partner</b>	Yes	67	33	85	15	95	6	
		749	364	948	164	1,052	61	
<b>Children</b>	Yes	69	31	85	15	96	5	
		604	268	741	132	833	39	
	No	67	33	88	12	92	8	
		236	115	310	41	323	29	

Employment		Sexual harassment - since the age of 15		The most severe forms of sexual harassment - since the age of 15		Stalking - since the age of 15	
		No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
In paid work	%	69	32	84	16	94	6
	Number	297	137	365	69	409	25
Self-employed	%	50	50	70	30	97	3
	Number	26	26	37	16	51	2
Helping in a family business (unpaid)	%	59	41	79	21	80	20
	Number	19	13	25	7	25	6
Unemployed	%	69	31	86	14	97	3
	Number	134	61	167	27	188	6
Pupil, student, in training	%	62	38	93	7	92	8
	Number	67	41	101	8	100	9
Not working due to illness or disability	%	53	47	93	7	100	0
	Number	7	6	12	1	12	0
Fulfilling domestic duties and care responsibilities	%	70	30	83	17	96	4
	Number	101	44	121	24	140	5
Retired	%	77	23	92	9	94	6
	Number	187	55	221	21	228	14
Compulsory military service or other community service	%	49	51	49	51	49	51
	Number	0	1	0	1	0	1



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			Sexual harassment - since the age of 15	The most severe forms of sexual harassment- since the age of 15	Stalking - since the age of 15			
<b>Occupation</b>	Elementary occupations	%	60	40	74	26	94	6
		Number	73	50	91	32	116	7
	Plant and machine operator and assembler	%	65	35	65	35	100	0
		Number	5	2	5	2	7	0
	Building, crafts or a related tradesperson	%	43	57	87	14	93	7
		Number	17	22	34	5	37	3
	Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery worker	%	12	89	12	89	50	50
		Number	1	6	1	6	3	3
	Sales, customer or personal service worker	%	72	28	86	14	98	2
		Number	106	40	125	20	143	3
	Clerical support	%	76	24	93	7	92	9
		Number	65	21	80	6	79	7
	Technician or associate professional	%	62	38	79	21	89	11
		Number	41	26	53	14	60	7
	Professional	%	83	17	91	9	97	3
		Number	15	3	16	2	17	0
	Manager	%	66	34	81	19	85	15
		Number	7	4	9	2	9	2
Military	%	100	0	100	0	100	0	
	Number	1	0	1	0	1	0	
<b>Household income</b>	Living comfortably on present income	%	72	28	90	10	95	5
		Number	300	119	378	41	397	22
	Coping on present income	%	66	34	83	17	94	6
		Number	433	225	546	112	620	38
	Finding it difficult on present income	%	78	22	88	12	95	5
Number		66	18	74	10	80	4	
Finding it very difficult on present income	%	66	34	83	17	94	6	
	Number	37	19	46	10	52	3	
<b>Conflict-affected</b>	Yes	%	64	37	78	22	89	11
		Number	328	189	404	113	458	59
	No	%	56	44	77	23	89	11
		Number	850	657	1154	352	1336	171
<b>Bank account owner</b>	Yes	%	69	31	85	15	93	7
		Number	449	204	556	96	609	44
	No	%	69	31	87	13	96	4
		Number	386	177	487	76	539	24

## Annex 6: Acknowledgements

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